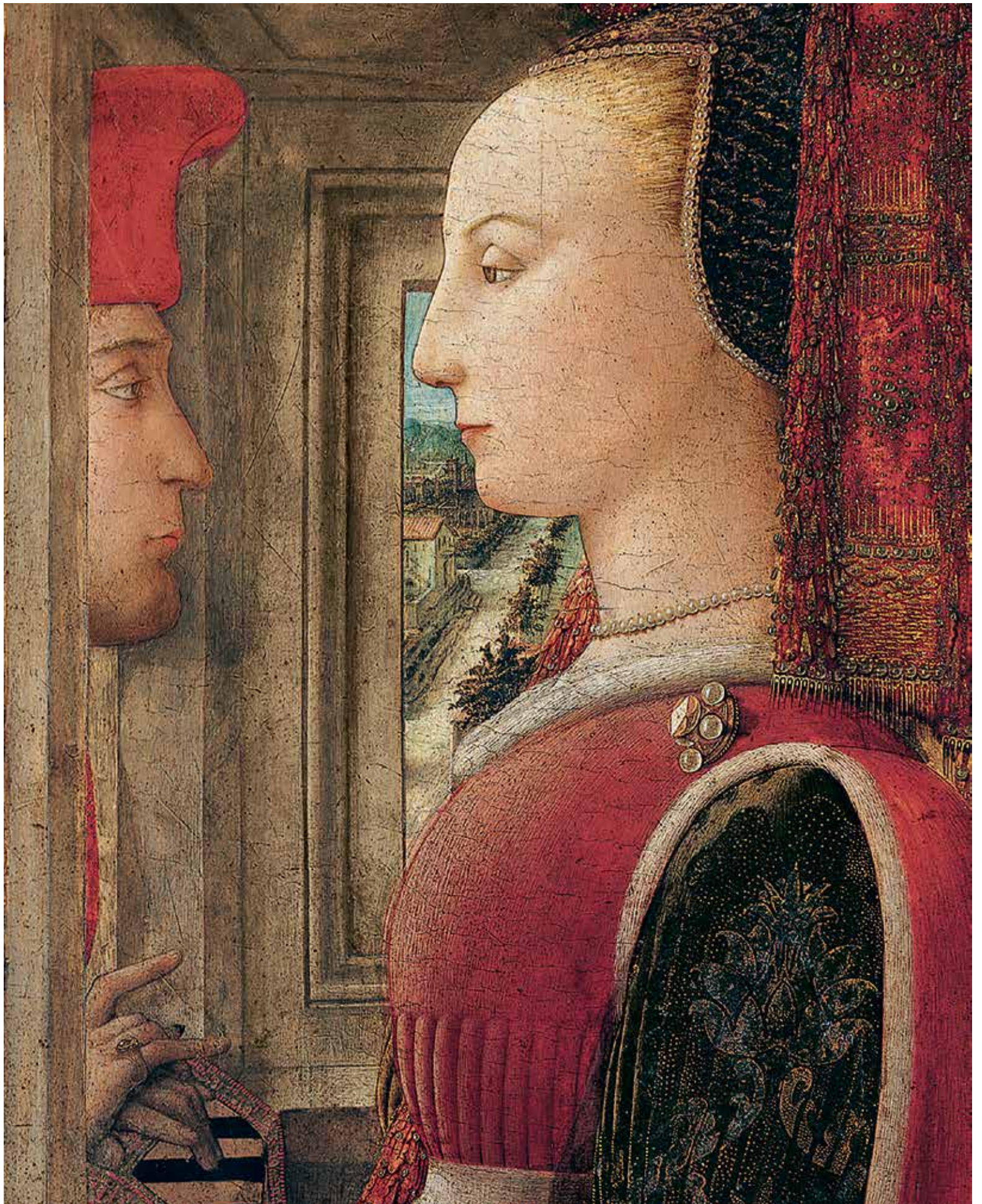




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Illustration on p. 2: Fra Filippo Lippi (Italian, ca. 1406–1469). Detail of *Portrait of a Woman with a Man at a Casement*, ca. 1440. See fig. 1, p. 64.

Illustration on pp. 8–9: Detail of the Metropolitan Vase. Guatemala or Mexico. Maya, Late Classic, 7th–8th century. See fig. 7b, p. 47.

Contents

Sophilos and Early Greek Narrative

MARY B. MOORE, 10

Fragments of Time: Ancient Glass in the Department of Greek and Roman Art

CHRISTOPHER S. LIGHTFOOT, 30

Creation Narratives on Ancient Maya Codex-Style Ceramics in the Metropolitan Museum

JAMES A. DOYLE, 42

Protecting Fertility in Fra Filippo Lippi's

Portrait of a Woman with a Man at a Casement

J. RUSSELL SALE, 64

A Palace for Louis XVI: Jean Augustin Renard at Rambouillet

BASILE BAUDEZ, 84

Jean Pillement: Shipwrecks and the Sublime

KATHARINE BAETJER, 96

Stormy Weather in Revolutionary Paris:

A Pair of Dihl et Guérhard Vases

IRIS MOON, 112

A Disputed Pastel Reclaimed for Degas:

Two Dancers, Half-Length

MARJORIE SHELLEY, 128

Design Drawings from the Studios of Louis Comfort Tiffany: An Introduction

ALICE COONEY FRELINGHUYSEN, 146

Louis Comfort Tiffany's Designs for American Synagogues (1889–1926)

PATRICIA C. PONGRACZ, 148

Drawing, Photography, and the Design of Tiffany Studios'

Te Deum Laudamus Mosaic Triptych

MARINA RUIZ MOLINA AND CHRISTINE OLSON, 162

Photographic Portraiture in West Africa: Notes from "In and Out of the Studio"

GIULIA PAOLETTI AND YAËLLE BIRO, 182

MANUSCRIPT GUIDELINES FOR THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL

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ABBREVIATIONS

MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*
MMJ *Metropolitan Museum Journal*

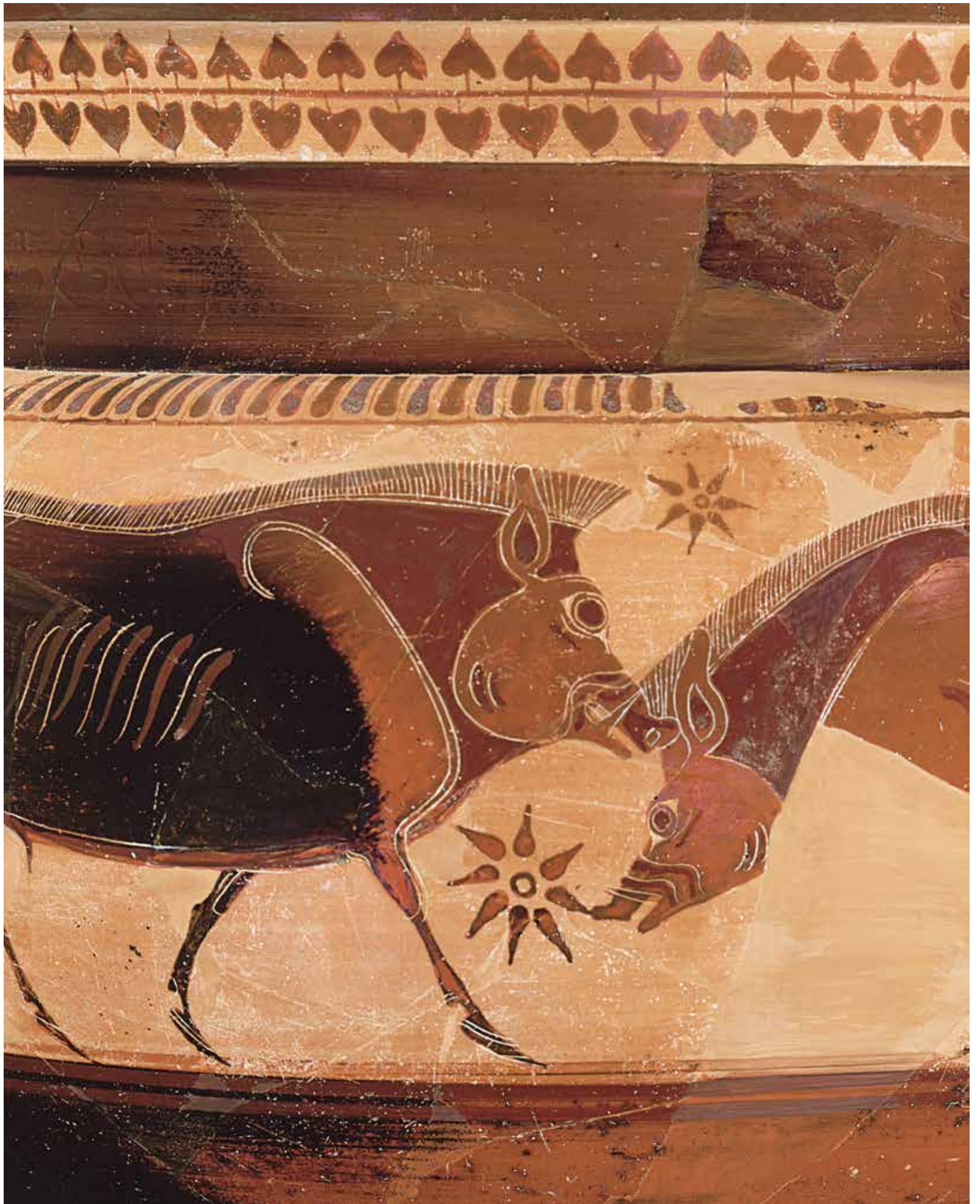
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METROPOLITAN
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MARY B. MOORE

Sophilos and Early Greek Narrative

Greek vases decorated during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. offer the most important visual evidence of how the Greeks envisioned all aspects of divine, heroic, and human behavior. In the first three decades of the sixth century B.C., many vase painters explored the possibilities of the Attic black-figure technique and the invention of new shapes, both large and small on which to display their skills, leading to ambitious illustrations of mythological themes, hitherto unknown in Greek vase painting.¹ The most significant vase painter was Sophilos, an imaginative artist active from about 580 to 570 B.C., or possibly a bit later.² Sophilos knew the Greek alphabet and was the first known Greek vase painter to sign his name, which appears on four of his vases. Three are dinoi that he signed as painter (Sophilos egrapsen): Athens, NMAcr., NM 15165, ex Acr. 587; Athens, NM 15499 (fig. 1); and London, BM 1971.1101.1 (fig. 2).



fig. 1 Fragment of an Attic black-figured dinos signed by Sophilos as painter, showing the chariot race at the Games for Patroklos, ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, preserved H. 11 1/4 in. (30 cm). The National Museum, Athens (NM 15499)

The dinos is a deep bowl without a foot or handles. The fourth is a louterion—Athens, NM 15942, 15918, ex 2035, 1–2—and the signature may be as painter or potter.³ The louterion is a shallow dish with a foot and two handles. Sophilos was also the first to label many of the mythological figures, because at that time the gods and heroes had not yet acquired their identifying attributes and they were difficult to recognize without an inscription. On Athens, NM 15499 (fig. 1), he labeled the subject, the Games for Patroklos—an original, and possibly unique, solution for identifying a scene that would otherwise look like a generic chariot race. His inscriptions are not mere tags, but form integral parts of the compositions.⁴

Sophilos decorated many vases of various shapes and sizes, and his facility in adapting human figures to the respective surfaces lends credibility to the suggestion that he was a potter as well as a painter. In a lecture delivered at Oxford University on February 15, 1999, Dietrich von Bothmer proposed that “Sophilos began his career as the potter for the Gorgon Painter, in

particular of his dinos in the Louvre, E 874.”⁵ So far, however, no certain potting signature by Sophilos has survived,⁶ but it would not be surprising in the least if one appeared among future discoveries.

Sophilos’s pictorial interests differed greatly from those of his contemporaries, who specialized in animal friezes and komasts (lively padded dancers).⁷ Instead, he applied his talent to less repetitious, often rare subjects, such as the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the Departure of Amphiaraos for Thebes, and the Games for Patroklos, as well as memorable representations of old age. Sophilos gave new energy, individuality, and spirit to the silen (the mythological creature later called a satyr). He was the first artist to include recognizable architecture in his compositions and to depict the frontal face of a figure that is not a Gorgon. At least six times, Sophilos painted a frontal chariot drawn by four horses—an ambitious pictorial challenge because depicting horses frontally is far more difficult than showing them in profile.



fig. 2 Attic black-figured dinos with stand signed by Sophilos as painter, showing the procession at the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, H. with stand 28 in. (71 cm). British Museum, London (BM 1971.1101.1)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art is particularly fortunate to have two important vases attributed to Sophilos, each dating about 580 B.C. One is MMA 1977.11.2, a large, well-preserved example of the type known as a proto-volute-krater, an extremely rare shape in Attic vase painting (fig. 13); this vase will be discussed later.⁸ The other, illustrated here for the first time, is MMA 1977.193, a fragment of a dinos that depicts parts of two silens, one of them facing the viewer (fig. 3).

They are among the earliest preserved examples of this amusing mythological creature in Greek art.

The dinos was used for mixing wine and water at banquets (see fig. 2). It has a flat rim and a very short neck but no foot, so it requires a stand for support. Its figural and ornamental decoration is set in friezes.⁹ MMA 1977.193 comes from the shoulder of a dinos, where it sheared off from the join with the neck (see fig. 3).¹⁰ A frieze of thick tongues borders the figures

fig. 3 Fragment of an Attic black-figured dinos attributed to Sophilos showing the heads and shoulders of two silens, ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, H. 2 7/8 in. (7.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Bruce P. McNall, 1977 (1977.193)



at the top of the composition; some of the tongues have a large red dot at the bottom that appears randomly applied. Below the frieze are the upper parts of two silens. The one on the left faces the viewer. His companion looks toward him, and his raised right hand and open mouth suggest he is dancing and singing. Their names are inscribed, but too little is preserved to complete either one.

This fragment has been linked with Sophilos, but without any discussion of its attribution. I believe that Sophilos painted it, and its shape supports the attribution. Based on the surviving evidence, Sophilos painted more dinoi than any other Attic black-figure artist, very likely because the form provided generous space for friezes depicting his complicated mythological subjects, such as the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis and the Games for Patroklos.¹¹ In addition to the three dinoi that Sophilos signed,¹² Sir John Beazley, the foremost authority on Athenian vases, listed four others, plus a fragmentary dinoid vessel, and Güven Bakır added a further dinos. Moreover, there is a fragment in the collection of Arthur S. Richter (*fig. 11*), as well as others in the Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge (Mass.) (1995.18.23), and I propose to add two more—the fragment under discussion, MMA 1977.193 (*fig. 3*), and Athens, Agora P 18567 (*fig. 14*)—making a total of thirteen, counting the dinoid.¹³ The tongue pattern on MMA 1977.193 is closest to the one on Athens, NM 15499 (*fig. 1*), only there, each alternate tongue is painted red.

SILENS AND SATYRS

Iconographically, the silen and the satyr look alike. Each is characterized by a face that has big, round eyes; a large snub nose and equine ears; a human body that is smooth or hairy; a horse's tail; and legs that are either human or equine.¹⁴ Which term to use when describing an unlabeled representation depends on the date of the vase on which it appears. In using the term *silen* rather than *satyr* in this article, I follow Guy Hedreen and Timothy Gantz, who noted that the earliest representations should be called “silens” because this is how they are inscribed on the François Vase by Kleitias dating about 570 B.C.¹⁵ There, in the scene of the Return of Hephaistos to Olympus (*fig. 4*), three silens (inscribed: ΣΙΛΗΝΟΙ) accompany Dionysos. These creatures are hoofed, but they have fully human faces and their equine ears are barely noticeable. They appear very civilized, no doubt owing to the Olympian setting. From the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. on, silens are an important part of the life of Dionysos. Modern scholarly literature focuses on this aspect of them, as well as their relation to the development of Greek drama beginning in the late sixth century B.C. and continuing well into the fourth. At some point, later than the material discussed in this article, *satyr* became the term used to describe this figure.¹⁶

The silens depicted on vases that predate the François Vase are playful, exuberant creatures who generally enjoy life, often drink too much, make music, dance enthusiastically, and pursue nymphs



fig. 4 Detail of the François Vase, an Attic black-figured volute-krater signed by Ergotimos as potter and by Kleitias as painter, showing a detail of the Return of Hephaistos to Olympus, ca. 570 B.C. Terracotta, H. 26 in. (66 cm). Museo Archeologico Etrusco, Florence (4209)

with obvious amorous intentions that are sometimes reciprocated.¹⁷ Unlike satyrs, silens are not especially threatening and they do not cause harm, but they are often pests.

THE SILENS ON MMA 1977.193

The silen at left faces the viewer. Most of his forehead and some of his hair are preserved, as well as a very long upright left ear, both eyebrows, the bridge of his nose, and a little of his left eye (fig. 3). To the right of him are the first two letters of his name and the start of the third: TP [. . .]. The silen at right faces left, with his head and shoulder in profile. He has two tall ears painted red; long incised straight hair and beard; a large, round eye; and a pronounced snub nose, its tip added in red. His open mouth reveals large incised teeth, perhaps a reference to his part-animal nature; depictions of teeth occur

most often in representations of animals, as for example, the lion on MMA 38.11.10, a fragment attributed to the Lion Painter that is probably from a neck-amphora dating about 630–620 B.C. (fig. 5).¹⁸ There is a thick red circle on this silen's cheek, a blob of red on his shoulder, and a painted red line accents the incised line defining his collarbone. His raised right hand, held horizontally, appears to the left of his forelock, with long fingers together and thumb downward; Sophilos even included the thumbnail. Six letters of the silen's name appear behind him: ΕΙΙΙΨΟΙ[. . .].¹⁹ A deep scratch cuts through his face, and beside it, in front of his mouth, there is a thick line of glaze; it is unclear what, if anything, these features represent. A partial curved form at the break to the left of this silen's beard is more intelligible. It appears to be the top of one handle of a kantharos held diagonally, indicating it is empty; if it were held horizontally, there would not be enough space for the missing letters of the frontal silen's name (fig. 6).²⁰ It would be most unusual for a silen, rather than Dionysos, to



fig. 5 Fragment of an Attic black-figured neck-amphora attributed to the Lion Painter showing the head of a lion, ca. 630–620 B.C. Terracotta, max. W. 4 in. (10.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1938 (38.11.10)



fig. 6 Reconstruction drawing of fig. 3



fig. 7 Detail of the dinos with stand in fig. 2 showing Peleus in front of his palace holding a kantharos

hold a kantharos, and if our silen does, he may be the earliest known to us. Sophilos was apparently familiar with this shape, because on the signed dinos in London (fig. 7; also see fig. 2), Peleus holds out a kantharos as he greets his guests.²¹

SOPHILOS AND SILENS

Sophilos was not the only early Attic painter who depicted silens. A few instances by contemporary artists are known, and it is possible that Sophilos saw some in the Kerameikos, the potters' quarter of ancient Athens. These silens illustrate how different painters were imagining this relatively new addition to the mythological repertoire. An engaging example, slightly earlier than those by Sophilos, occurs on a Deianeira lekythos in the manner of the Gorgon Painter dating about 590 B.C. There, a cheerful-looking silen is astride a leaping donkey, which bites the arm of a fleeing nymph. She looks as if she is trying to run out of the picture, for her feet are incised in the black glaze below the panel.²² The examples from Sophilos's time, dating about 580–570 B.C., include a trio of silens on a dinos or a krater fragment in Cortona attributed by

Enrico Parabeni to the KX Painter. The fragment preserves the upper parts of each. One silen dances, another carries a large column-krater, and the third holds out an ovoid neck-amphora.²³ On a fragmentary dinos connected with the Group of the Dresden Lekanis, the artist inserted an excited silen pursuing a nymph between a scene of komasts (revelers) frolicking around a column-krater and a representation of the Hunting of the Calydonian Boar.²⁴ An unattributed fragment, perhaps of a hydria (water jar), depicts the head and hands of a silen playing the aulos, a double-reed instrument.²⁵ In addition, silen protomes decorate three oinochoai (jugs) dating about 600 B.C. or slightly later—for example, the one at right on Agora P 24945, which has an open mouth and large incised teeth (fig. 8).²⁶

The faces of these silens appear in profile, and none of their names are inscribed. The silen at left on MMA 1977.193 (fig. 3) may be the first frontal silen in Attic black-figure, for the next one occurs about 570 B.C., on MMA 26.49—the aryballos signed by Nearchos as potter and attributed to him as painter (fig. 9).²⁷ A masturbating silen on the back of the handle looks out at the viewer and is flanked by two similar ones, in profile,

fig. 8 Attic black-figured oinochoe attributed to the Manner of the Gorgon Painter showing a lotus between the heads of two confronted silens, ca. 600 B.C. Terracotta, preserved H. 4 7/8 in. (12.5 cm). Athens, Agora (P 24945)



fig. 9 Detail of the back of the handle of an Attic black-figured aryballos signed by Nearchos as potter and attributed to him as painter showing three silens masturbating, ca. 570 B.C. Terracotta, H. 3 1/8 in. (7.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, the Cesnola Collection, by exchange, 1926 (26.49)

fig. 10 Fragment of an Attic black-figured dinos attributed to Sophilos showing a silen grasping a nymph, ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, preserved H. 3 3/8 in. (9.1 cm). Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul (4514)

shown with open mouths and white teeth. Earlier examples of the frontal face are representations of Medusa; since her face turns all beholders to stone, it must be depicted frontally. The faces of her Gorgon sisters are also shown frontally, but they do not seem to have her special power of petrification.²⁸ Good examples occur on the name vase of the Gorgon Painter.²⁹

On the signed dinoi depicting the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis—Athens, NMAcr., NM 15165, ex Acr. 587, frag. i and London, BM 1971.1011.1 (fig. 2)—Sophilos painted two female figures looking out at the viewer.³⁰ Each plays the syrinx, or panpipe, a wind instrument fashioned from several hollow water reeds fastened together, and best illustrated with its player facing the viewer.³¹ On MMA 1977.193 (fig. 3) the lower

half of the frontal silen's face is not preserved, so we cannot determine if he played the syrinx. Probably not, because the silen or satyr usually plays the aulos (double flute), in which case he is depicted in profile (see fig. 4).³² The silen on MMA 1977.193 may simply be calling the viewer's attention to himself and his companions, for "in archaic painting the frontal face is not used haphazard."³³ In any case, this silen seems to stand quietly, unlike his companion silen with raised right hand and open mouth. He compares very well with the silen pursuing a nymph on the fragment of a krater or a dinos by Sophilos from Lindos and now in Istanbul (fig. 10).³⁴ He has a similar nose, his hands are quite large with very long fingers, and articulated fingernails on his left hand.³⁵ The main difference is that the Istanbul silen is hairy.³⁶

Two more details point to Sophilos as the painter of MMA 1977.193. One is the straight hair of the silen at right. Long hair by Sophilos is usually wavy, but a good comparison is the straight hair of a siren on a fragment found on the Akropolis.³⁷ The other detail is the red splotch that occurs on his shoulder. A similar mark appears on the shoulder of the centaur pursued by Herakles.³⁸ This odd feature seems to appear only in the work of Sophilos.

The silens on MMA 1977.193 and the one on Istanbul 4514 (figs. 3, 10) are comparable to those on a dinos fragment in the collection of Arthur S. Richter,³⁹ which preserves parts of three ithyphallic silens to right (fig. 11). The one at left holds a karchesion, a very rare two-handed drinking vessel related to the kantharos.⁴⁰ Sophilos probably saw a karchesion, and it may have interested him, because he drew it in such careful detail. He again included fingernails on the silen's left hand (see fig. 10). The middle silen, shown running, is preserved





fig. 11 Fragment of an Attic black-figured dinos attributed to Sophilos showing parts of three silens, one holding a karchesion, ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, preserved H. 3¼ in. (9.4 cm). Collection of Arthur S. Richter

but for his head, most of his arms, and the lower parts of his legs, which were equine (the hock is preserved). These two silens are hairy, and the hair of their beards (just the ends) is straight. The third has a red torso but is otherwise smooth, and his legs are also equine. Between the silens at the left and at the middle is part of the latter's name: . . .]PATOΣ. J. Michael Padgett reads ΕΛΑΣΙΣΤ]ΠΑΤΟΣ (Elasistratos), I think correctly.⁴¹ The sigma is written retrograde, as in many inscriptions by Sophilos.⁴²

The silens on MMA 1977.193, Istanbul 4514, and the Richter fragment (figs. 3, 10, 11) were parts of larger compositions that very likely depicted more silens, probably nymphs, and perhaps even an image of Dionysos. What is particularly special about the silens by Sophilos is that each one has his own personality and his own identifiable, even memorable, features. It is as if the painter experimented with ways to present this new mythological creature, who would have a long and vigorous life in Greek art.

SOPHILOS AND ARCHITECTURE

Sophilos placed some of his figures in convincing architectural settings, a rare occurrence this early in Greek vase painting. Three famous examples, each on a signed dinos, are known. One is the grandstand full of enthusiastic spectators cheering at the funerary games held by the Greek hero Achilles in honor of his friend Patroklos (see fig. 1).⁴³ The other two—

fig. 12 Fragment of an Attic black-figured proto-volute-krater attributed to Sophilos showing part of a palace, ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, preserved H. 3¼ in. (8.2 cm). Athens, Agora (P 13848)

London, BM 1971.1101.1 and Athens, NMAcr. 15165, ex Acr. 587—depict the palace of Peleus and Thetis.⁴⁴ On the London dinos (see figs. 2, 7), the palace is complete: two black antae and two white Doric columns flank a solid closed door and support a metope-triglyph frieze. The palace on the Akropolis fragment preserves only the right half of the door, the white column, and the lower half of the anta.⁴⁵ These are impressive compositions, to which another may be added: Athens, Agora P 13848, dating about 580 B.C. (fig. 12).⁴⁶ There, from left to right, are a bit of a door (part of two black panels and a vertical red frame), a white Doric column outlined with red, and a black anta with a simple capital. The black glaze above it is all that remains of the metope-triglyph frieze, which extended a little beyond the capital. When the original rendering was complete, it resembled Peleus's palace on the London dinos (figs. 2, 7). The rough surface at the upper right is where one root of the handle sheared off. Below is part of a swan to right, its head turned back.

I see no reason to reattribute this fragment to the circle of Sophilos, as Bakir has proposed,⁴⁷ and prefer to keep it with the painter's own work, where Beazley placed it. Although little remains of the vase, there is enough to support Beazley's attribution, not only the architecture, but also the use of color—the white applied directly on the clay ground, rather than over the black glaze as is customary, and the use of red outline.⁴⁸ Less clear, however, is the shape of the vase. The evidence for a handle rules out the dinos. Beazley suggested that “it is perhaps from a column-krater or the like.”⁴⁹ Possibly, but Sophilos did not seem to like the column-krater very much; so far, there are only four attributed to him, and they do not rank among his best work.⁵⁰ In view of Sophilos's interest in uncommon shapes, I suggest that Agora P 13848 belongs to a



proto-volute-krater like the one in the Metropolitan Museum dated about 580 B.C. (fig. 13).⁵¹

The volute-krater is the most elaborate of the kraters.⁵² The handles are its eponymous feature: each is composed of two elements, a small upright loop on the shoulder joined to a flanged strap, which rises above the rim and then curves downward, forming a volute or spiral and resting on the topside of the rim. It is quite rare in Attic black-figure, and the earliest well-preserved example is the François Vase.⁵³

MMA 1977.11.2 is the earliest preserved Attic example of the proto-volute-krater (fig. 13). The mouth, neck, body, and foot resemble these parts of a contemporary column-krater in Athens, except that the body of MMA 1977.11.2 is taller.⁵⁴ Each handle is composed of an upright loop on the shoulder that supports a flanged strap, but it rises just a bit above the rim before curving downward and terminating in a slight curl that is not

quite a volute—hence the name *proto-volute-krater*. Jasper Gaunt remarked that “the elegant curvature of the handles, and their attachment to the top of the rim rather than the edge, are quite new. . . . The final result, even if eclectic, is magnificent.”⁵⁵ The figural decoration on MMA 1977.11.2 is set in panels, whereas that on Agora P 13848 (fig. 12) is not; instead, the swan below the handle, and very likely the one below the other handle, divides the front of the vase from the back. Traces of glaze and a red line below the handle root eliminate Agora P 13848 as a column-krater, because the glaze does not extend beyond the handle root on this shape unless the decoration is set in panels, which is not the case here.⁵⁶ The little that is preserved on Agora P 13848 suggests that the area below the handle is decorative, and reinforces the possibility that this fragment comes from an open vase of a different shape, namely, a proto-volute-krater. Did Sophilos perhaps



fig. 13 Attic black-figured proto-volute-krater attributed to Sophilos showing two confronted boars, ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, restored H. 19 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (49.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried Gift, 1977 (1977.11.2)

sign it as painter?⁵⁷ Admittedly, without more to go on, caution is necessary, but he may have signed as painter between the left anta and the column at the opposite side of the palace, just as he did on the London dinos (see fig. 7).

What remains of the subject on the Agora fragment strongly suggests that it was another rendering by Sophilos of the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis—not as long and all-inclusive as those on the two signed dinoi, but including Peleus, probably Iris, surely Chiron and Dionysos, and, depending on the space available, Olympians and possibly also a Muse.

SOPHILOS AND REPRESENTATIONS OF OLD AGE

Sophilos was the first Attic vase painter to depict old age. Two fragments illustrate his ability to portray this stage of life convincingly.⁵⁸

One appears on a fragment of a dinos found in the Athenian Agora, P 18567, dating about 580 B.C. (fig. 14).⁵⁹ At the left of the fragment is the lower neck and mane, the chest, part of the forelegs (but not the hind legs), and the tail of the left-hand trace horse (from the charioteer's vantage) of a frontal chariot team. The horse is white with red outline and the position of its incised black mane indicates its head was turned to the viewer's right. Next is an old man preserved to about hip level and probably sitting on the ground. Dressed in a cloak, he holds his right hand over part of his face and

bows his head in grief. His receding hair and beard were white (now flaked). Written above his head, next to the horse is . . .] XOΣ, retrograde but for the sigma (one unit remains, and traces of the other two indicate the sigma was not written retrograde).⁶⁰ Behind the old man is part of a female figure, including some of her cloak with a red border and her chiton incised with vertical wavy lines. Between them is a bit of red that may be the letters of another inscription, but not enough is preserved to be certain. Beazley described the scene: "Warrior leaving home (part of a frontal chariot; to the right of it, an old man showing grief, and the middle of another person)."⁶¹ He did not include the inscription, which is the key to identifying the subject.

The frontal chariot and details of drawing are sufficient evidence to attribute this fragment to Sophilos himself. The frontal chariot first appears in the work of the Gorgon Painter—one vase by the painter himself, and another in his manner. Two other examples are attributed to the KX Painter, and one is by the Anagyrous Painter.⁶² In addition to the frontal chariot on Agora P 18567, there are five other examples by Sophilos (some quite fragmentary but clearly depicting this subject, a recently invented composition that clearly interested him): Louvre E 873; Cambridge, FitzMus. GR 128.1899, ex N 128; Louvre C 12251; London, B 103.14.1-2; and Agora P 21572.⁶³ The hairs of the horse's tail on Agora P 18567 are drawn in a herringbone pattern, a rare style of tail that also appears on Louvre E 873 and Louvre C 12251, but not as well drawn. Fragment b of Agora P 21572 preserves the forelegs and tails of the right-hand pole and trace horses, and part of the chariot wheel and axle. The painter did not include the hind legs, which are also omitted on Louvre E 873 and Louvre C 12251, thus strengthening the attribution of Agora P 18567 to Sophilos. Cambridge, FitzMus. GR 128.1899, ex N 128 preserves the chests and parts of the forelegs of the left-hand pole and trace horses. The hind legs are also omitted, but the hairs of the tail are straight, not arranged in a herringbone pattern. Very little remains of the frontal chariot on London, B 103.14.1—just the upper parts of the right-hand pole and trace horses. The attribution of Agora P 18567 to Sophilos is confirmed by other features: the application of white directly on the surface of the clay rather than over the black glaze, and the use of a red line, here accenting the contours of the horse and the old man's beard.⁶⁴ On the man's shoulder there is also a splotch of red, which occurs on the neck of the silen at right on MMA 1977.193 (see fig. 3) and on the shoulder of a centaur on Athens, NM 15942, 15918, ex 2035, 1-2.⁶⁵

fig. 14 Fragment of an Attic black-figured dinos attributed to Sophilos showing part of a frontal chariot horse and an old man grieving, ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, max. dimension 4 3/8 in. (11.1 cm). Athens, Agora (P 18567)





fig. 15 Drawing of the obverse of a Corinthian black-figured column-krater by the Amphiaraos Painter once in Berlin (F 1655), showing the Departure of Amphiaraos, ca. 570 B.C. Terracotta, H. 18¼ in. (46.4 cm)

The subject of this scene is of considerable interest. The key lies in the old man and the letters of the inscription. In 1986, I tentatively suggested that the subject might be the death of Antilochos or his departure for the battle in which he is slain by Memnon, on the basis of the preserved letters of the inscription naming him.⁶⁶ Ann Brownlee has persuasively argued that the subject “is more likely the departure of Amphiaraos” and that the inscription names Amphilochos, his younger son. She is silent about the identity of the old man, but he may be Halimedes, a seer (see below).⁶⁷ This is a rather complicated Theban myth that culminates in the campaign of the Seven Against Thebes by the Argives.⁶⁸ Central to this myth is the dispute between Polyneikes and his brother Eteocles over which one would rule Thebes. Pertinent to the representations of the Departure of Amphiaraos, who was a seer, is the famous gold necklace given to his wife, Eriphyle, by Polyneikes so that she would bribe her husband to join the attack. Amphiaraos saw her take the necklace and tried to warn the Argives not to join the assault, but Eriphyle forced him to participate, even though he, as a seer, knew he would die in the attack.⁶⁹

Representations of the Departure of Amphiaraos for Thebes are very few, and all of them are later than Agora P 18567.⁷⁰ Two illustrations are close in date to the Agora fragment, however. One is the name vase of the Amphiaraos Painter—Berlin, F 1655, a Late Corinthian column-krater dating about 570 B.C. (fig. 15).⁷¹ All the names are inscribed. At the far left, Eriphyle stands in the palace holding the necklace,

which is very large. In front of her is Damoanasa, with a child on her shoulder, probably Amphilochos. Next are Ainippa, Eurudika, and the older son, Alkmaeon, beseeching Amphiaraos not to leave, but his father’s left foot is already in the chariot, ready to mount it. Baton stands in the vehicle holding the reins and a staff. A woman named Leotis appears alongside the next building, facing Baton. The last two figures are Hippotion and the seer, Halimedes, who sits on the ground with his right hand to his head, fully aware of what the future holds.⁷²

The second representation relevant to Agora P 18567 occurs on a Tyrrhenian neck-amphora dating about 560 B.C. and attributed to the Castellani Painter by Dietrich von Bothmer (fig. 16).⁷³ At the right are five shrouded women mourners gesturing and, to their left, a stooped, white-haired old man, probably a seer, with his right hand to his forehead. Farther left, a chariot is drawn by four horses, which step out smartly, guided by Baton. A Boeotian shield emblazoned with heads of a goat and a satyr hangs down his back. Standing on the far side of the chariot are three more mourning women and another white-haired old man, whose raised left hand almost touches Baton’s chin. The rest of the composition is difficult to read. Next is a short, stocky woman to left, with her left arm extended, facing a pleading boy, who is Alkmaeon. Between these two, with his helmet crest protruding above the panel, Amphiaraos strides to right, looking back and extending his right arm to Alkmaeon. The last figures are a woman to right, followed by another holding Amphilochos on



fig. 16 Drawing of the obverse of an Attic black-figured neck-amphora attributed to the Castellani Painter showing the Departure of Amphiaraos, ca. 560 B.C. Terracotta, H. 20 1/8 in. (51 cm). Museo Archeologico Etrusco, Florence (3773), and Antikenmuseum, Berlin (1711)

her shoulders. Eriphyle is noticeably absent: the next-to-last woman, who should be Eriphyle, does not hold the necklace, an essential detail in any representation of this myth.⁷⁴ On Berlin F 1655, for example, Eriphyle not only holds a huge necklace, but also makes the bridal gesture of holding her cloak away from her face (see fig. 15).⁷⁵

On Agora P 18567 (see fig. 14), Sophilos would have had plenty of room for an all-inclusive representation of the Departure of Amphiaraos. The frontal chariot would probably have been in the center on the front, and its four horses would have taken up quite a bit of space. The seer was seated on the ground, probably in a position similar to that of Halimedes on Berlin F 1655 (see fig. 15) only more upright. The slant of his back suggests he sits (compare the stooped seer on Florence 3773, and Berlin 1711 [see fig. 16], where the seer's back is completely vertical). The woman behind the seer on Agora P 18567 would be the nurse holding Amphilochos.⁷⁶ There might have been a building behind these figures to close this part of the composition, just as the palace of Peleus performs this function on London, BM 1971.1101.1 (see fig. 2). It is impossible to say if Amphiaraos was in the chariot, but Baton surely was. Perhaps Amphiaraos stood to the left of the chariot, facing the figures seeing him off, as he does on Florence 3773 and Berlin 1711 (see fig. 16). These would have included Alkmaeon, women, and Eriphyle with the necklace, though probably not standing within a palace as on Berlin F 1655 (see fig. 15), because such a structure

would have interrupted the composition.⁷⁷ It would not have been too difficult to fill out the rest of the composition with a complement of figures. The main participants in the myth would have been on the front of the dinos, and the lesser ones on the sides and back, as on the London dinos depicting the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis (see fig. 2).⁷⁸

The second illustration of old age by Sophilos appears on the fragment of a round-bodied hydria in the Maidstone Museum and Bently Art Gallery in Kent that probably dates about 580 B.C. (fig. 17).⁷⁹ The scene



fig. 17 Fragment of an Attic black round-bodied hydria attributed to Sophilos depicting Nereus, ca. 580 B.C. Terracotta, preserved H. 3 in. (7.6 cm). Maidstone Museum and Bently Art Gallery, Kent (A40)

depicted Herakles and Nereus (the Old Man of the Sea), with Hermes.⁸⁰ John Boardman was the first to connect this fragment with Sophilos, but he stopped short of a firm attribution: “The technique of red and white here employed on Nereus’ hair and beard is reminiscent of Sophilos. The drawing might be his, but seems more controlled and the head is quite unlike that on his column crater.”⁸¹

At the left of the fragment is the face of Nereus to right. His hair and long beard are white, with the contours and locks indicated by red lines. His face is painted red, his brow is furrowed, and he has a prominent nose. Around his head is a thin, incised fillet. His left arm is raised, perhaps in a gesture of greeting; what remains are the forearm and the hand with very long, straight fingers, typical of Sophilos. I am not certain what the three white lines around Nereus’ wrist or the slightly curved line along his forearm represent—they do not look like clothing or any recognizable adornment.⁸² Nothing is preserved of Herakles, and of Hermes there is very little (the tip of his beard at the right break; part of the entwined serpent finial of his kerykeion and some of its shaft; and, at the lower break, a bit of the fingers of the god’s right hand grasping it).⁸³ Nereus’s face contrasts completely with an earlier representation of him that Sophilos painted on Athens, NM 12587; there, Nereus is depicted in vigorous maturity, holding a serpent in his right hand.⁸⁴

CONCLUSION

Sophilos was the most important Greek vase painter during the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. He initiated and developed many of the technical and narrative possibilities of Attic black figure, especially mythological representations. He was the first known Greek artist who signed his name as painter, and he was the first to label many of the figures in several of his very ambitious representations. Sophilos was particularly skilled in creating unusual compositions of interacting human figures and adapting them to many different shapes, large and small, which may indicate that he was also a potter.⁸⁵ Sophilos’s originality extended particularly to new subjects that interested him, such as the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the Games for Patroklos, the Departure of Amphiaraos for Thebes, and playful silens, to name just four. He tried out new pictorial forms, such as the frontal face of a figure that was not a Gorgon and dignified, sensitive representations of old age; and he also met the complex challenge of depicting the frontal chariot team. In some of his compositions, he included architecture so detailed that one may easily recognize the individual parts of actual buildings he may have seen in Athens. Sophilos’s pictorial imagination and his capacity to create new and interesting compositions inspired Kleitias, Nearchos, the Castellani and Prometheus Painters, and other Attic painters of the next generation.

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NOTES

- 1 The basic references for Attic black-figured vase painters during this time are Beazley 1986, chap. 2: “Early Black-figure and the C Painter,” pp. 12–20; Boardman 1974 (1991), pp. 9–19; and Alexandridou 2011, *passim*.
- 2 For Sophilos, see especially Beazley 1956, pp. 37–43; Beazley 1971, pp. 18–19; Carpenter 1989, pp. 10–12; also the monograph by Bakir 1981. For other bibliography pertinent to this article, see Béquignon 1933, pp. 43–66; Beazley 1986, pp. 16–18; Williams 1983, pp. 9–34; Brownlee 1988, pp. 80–87; Immerwahr 1990, pp. 21–22; Brownlee 1995, pp. 363–72; La Genière 1995, pp. 35–43; Baurain-Rebillard 1999, pp. 155–62; Kilmer and Develin 2001, pp. 9–43; Sourvinou-Inwood 2008, pp. 128–131; Gex 2010, pp. 26–33; and Moore 2016.
- 3 Athens, NMAcr., NM 15165, ex Acr. 587, ΣΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ (Beazley 1956, p. 39, no. 15; Carpenter 1989, p. 10; Bakir 1981, pp. 64–65, A.2, pls. 3–5, figs. 5–9); Athens, NM 15499, from Pharsalos, ΣΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΜΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ (Beazley 1956, p. 39, no. 16; Beazley 1971, p. 18, no. 16; Carpenter 1989, p. 10; Bakir 1981, p. 65, A.3, pls. 6, 7, figs. 10–14; Alexandridou 2011, fig. 41; Moore 2016 [see note 2 above]); London, BM 1971.1101.1, ΣΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΜΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ (Beazley 1971, p. 19, no. 16*bis*; Carpenter 1989, p. 10; Bakir 1981, p. 64, A.1, pls. 1, 2, figs. 1–4; Williams 1983, pp. 9–34; Oakley 2013, p. 28, fig. 2); Athens, NM 15942, 15918, ex 2035, 1-2, ΣΟΦΙΛΟΣ . ΜΕ[.....]ΣΕΝ from Menidi (Beazley 1956, p. 42, no. 36 and p. 40, no. 21; Beazley 1971, p. 18, no. 21; Carpenter 1989, p. 11; Bakir 1981, pp. 68–69, A.20, pls. 8–10, figs. 15–20; for the signature, see Bakir 1981, pp. 6–7, and 68. It is not certain if this is a potting or a painting signature, because essential letters are not preserved. For this to be a potting inscription, the missing letters would have to be ΠΟΙΕ (e]poie[sen, made); and, for painting, ΓΡΑΦ ΜΕ[ΓΡΑΦ[ΣΕΝ, painted). See also *LIMC*, vol. 8 (1997), s.v. “Kentauroi et Kentaurides” (M. Leventopoulou), p. 692, no. 242, pl. 443.
- 4 See the remarks by Anthony Snodgrass concerning the interplay of word and image, especially “But there are very few places where the two come so close together as in the painted inscriptions on Greek vases. . . . The word can actually become a *part* of the image” (Snodgrass 2000, p. 22).
- 5 See Gaunt 2002, p. 36n19. For Louvre E 874, the name vase of the Gorgon Painter, an artist active from about 600 to 580 B.C., see Beazley 1956, p. 8, no. 1; Beazley 1971, p. 6, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 2. As a painter, Sophilos may have been a pupil of the Gorgon Painter (see Williams 1985, p. 28).
- 6 See note 3 above, specifically the discussion of Athens, NM 15942, 15918, ex 2035, 1-2, which may have had a potting signature by Sophilos.
- 7 For a brief description, see Beazley 1986, p. 18. For a full account of the subject, see Seeberg 1971.
- 8 Gaunt (2013, p. 75) notes that the general appearance of this krater has imitations in Sicily. See note 51 below.
- 9 For a general discussion of the dinos as it evolves in black figure, see Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 33–35; Brownlee 1988, *passim*, especially pp. 80–82; very briefly, Padgett 2003, p. 236.
- 10 MMA 1977.193 (*MMA Annual Report 1976–1977*, p. 53; Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 78n50, 80n58; Brownlee 1995, p. 371n27; Padgett 2003, p. 238n10). The surface has abraded here and there. Some of the glaze on the outside is quite thin in places, and there is a noticeable diagonal scratch on the face of the right silen. On the inside of the fragment, the glaze is rather thick and smooth, and there is a thin horizontal red line painted 0.09 cm. below the line that borders the tongues on the outside.
- 11 See, especially, the discussion of Sophilos and his compositions on dinoi in Brownlee 1988, pp. 80–82. The earliest well-preserved Attic black-figured dinos is the name vase of the Gorgon Painter, Louvre E 874, dating about 600 B.C. (see note 5 above). It depicts two scenes in the frieze: Perseus and the Gorgons flanked by chariots, and a fight between two unnamed hoplites. The next two dinoi are slightly later, dating ca. 590–570 B.C. One is connected with the Group of the Dresden Lekanis, Athens, Agora P 334, which also depicts multiple scenes (Beazley 1956, p. 23; Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 178–79, no. 610, pl. 58, 2; Carpenter 1989, p. 7; for the subjects, see below). The other is a fragment depicting a panther and a boar that may be by the KX Painter, London, BM 88.61.588 (Beazley 1956, p. 27, no. 2).
- 12 See note 3 above.
- 13 Some of them were noted in Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 33–34, 34n4; I include the full list here, exclusive of the three signed vases (see note 3 above). Louvre E 873 (Beazley 1956, p. 39, no. 12; Carpenter 1989, p. 10; Bakir 1981, p. 65, A.4, pls. 46–48, figs. 83–88). London, B 100 and B 601.26 (Beazley 1956, p. 39, no. 13; Carpenter 1989, p. 10; Bakir 1981, p. 72, B.1, pls. 66–70, figs. 131–38; reattributed to the Circle of Sophilos). Cambridge, FitzMus. GR 128.1899, ex N 128 (Beazley 1956, p. 39, no. 14; Carpenter 1989, p. 10; Bakir 1981, p. 66, A.6, pl. 65, fig. 129). Herakleion (Beazley 1971, p. 18, no. 14*bis*; Carpenter 1989, p. 10; Bakir 1981, p. 72, B.2, pls. 80, 81, figs. 158–60; reattributed to the Circle of Sophilos; I prefer to retain Beazley’s attribution). Bakir added London, B 103.14.1-2 to Sophilos (Bakir 1981, p. 66, A. 7, pl. 64, fig. 123). Athens, NMAcr. Acr. 585, a-b, the dinoid vessel (Beazley 1956, p. 40, nos. 17, 18; Beazley 1971, p. 18, nos. 17, 18; Carpenter 1989, p. 11; Bakir [1981, p. 68, A.17, pls. 35, 36, figs. 64, 65, 67, 68] recognized that these two fragments are from the same vase). The fragment in the Richter collection is published by Padgett 2003, pp. 236–38, with discussion of the attribution; see also Hedreen 1992, p. 74; Isler-Kerényi 2004, pp. 16–17, fig. 8; Isler-Kerényi (2007, p. 67n8) mistakenly gives Istanbul 4514 as the accession number of fig. 37: this is the Richter fragment; Lissarrague 2013, pp. 42–43, fig. 16; MMA 1977.193 and Athens, Agora P 18567. For Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Art Museums 1995.18.23 and its attribution, see Paul 1997, pp. 11–14 and p. 23, no. 1, pl. 46.
- 14 For silens and satyrs, see Hedreen 1992, *passim*; Hedreen, 1994, *passim*; *LIMC*, vol. 8 (1997), s.v. “Silenoi” (E. Simon), pp. 1108–33; Padgett 2003, pp. 27–46; Isler-Kerényi 2004, especially chap. 1, pp. 7–18: “The First Satyrs”; Lissarrague 2013. For good discussions of the ancient literary references, see Carpenter 1986, pp. 76–79, and Gantz 1993, pp. 135–39. For the names of silens and satyrs, see Kossatz-Deißmann 1991, *passim*; Lissarrague 2013, chap. 3, pp. 39–52: “Noms de satyres, le nom.” For the possible pre-Greek antecedents of the Greek satyr, see the introduction by Othmar Keel to Isler-Kerényi 2004, pp. VII–X.
- 15 Hedreen 1992, pp. 9, 74, 96n70, 162–63, for later use of the names silen and satyr; Gantz 1993, pp. 135–38; Hedreen 1994, p. 47n1; also Isler-Kerényi 2004, p. 2. For the François Vase, Florence 4209, signed by Ergotimos as potter and by Kleitias as painter, see Beazley 1956 p. 76, no. 1; Beazley 1971, p. 29, no. 1; Beazley 1986, pp. 24–34; Carpenter 1989, p. 21; Gaunt 2002, pp. 40–51; Moore 2011, pp. 1–13; most recently, Shapiro, Iozzo, and Lezzi-Hafter 2013, pl. 30 (signatures).
- 16 See Hedreen 1992, p. 9; also see Gantz 1993 (see notes 14 and 15 above) for a discussion of the terminology.

- 17 Nymphs should not be confused with maenads. Nymphs are linked with nature, they inhabit forests and meadows, they were the nurses of Dionysos, and they honored the god willingly. See Hesiod, *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 260–85 (Evelyn-White 1914, p. 425). Maenads were actual women who, when induced to a state of madness, were forced to worship Dionysos. A maenad often wears a feline skin over her chiton, and carries a snake as well as a thyrsos, an ivy-tipped rod. For good discussions of nymphs and maenads, see especially Hedreen 1994; *LIMC*, vol. 8 (1997), s.v. “Nymphai” (M. Halm-Tisserant and G. Siebert), pp. 891–902; *LIMC*, vol. 8 (1997), s.v. “Mainades” (I. Krauskopf and E. Simon) pp. 780–803.
- 18 MMA 38.11.10 (Beazley 1956, p. 2, no. 4; Carpenter 1989, p. 1). For the shape, see Athens, NM 16392 by the Lion Painter (Beazley 1956, p. 2, no. 2; Carpenter 1989, p. 1). A good early example of teeth is the lion head of a Chimaera by the Nettos Painter, Kerameikos inv. 154 (Beazley 1956, p. 3, no. 3; Beazley 1971, p. 3, no. 9). For horses: Athens, NM 353, the name vase of the Piraeus Painter (Beazley 1956, p. 2,--; Beazley 1971, p. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 1; best viewed in the drawing in Couve 1897, pl. 6); Athens, Kerameikos inv. 658 by the Piraeus Painter (Beazley 1956, p. 3; Beazley 1971, p. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 1).
- 19 For the names of silens and satyrs, see note 14 above. The third letter of the first name is probably an epsilon, because what remains of the left unit is too vertical to be an alpha (see the fragment in the collection of Arthur S. Richter [fig. 11 in this article]: the alpha following the rho). The second name is more complete, but it does not seem to have a parallel. The fourth letter is a koppa. For the koppa, see Jeffery 1961, pp. 33–34: “The use of *qoppa* (i.e. the guttural *k* before the vowels *o* and *u*) was widespread among the local scripts; only Lakonia and Phokis apparently lacked it altogether (pp. 100, 183). After the middle of the sixth century it gradually fell out of use.”
- 20 The kantharos is a vessel for drinking wine, and in Attic pottery it has a long history going back to the Protogeometric period, ca. 1100–900 B.C. The basic study is still Courbin 1953. In Attic black figure, the earliest example seems to be the one in Athens dating about 600 B.C. that was found in the cemetery at Vari and attributed by Ahlberg-Cornell to the Anagyrous Painter (Athens, NM 19174; Courbin 1953, p. 334, fig. 15 and p. 323n2 for the excavation report; Ahlberg-Cornell 1981, passim, pl. 27; Alexandridou 2011, fig. 15).
- 21 By the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., the kantharos is associated almost exclusively with Dionysos. One of the earliest representations of him holding one, also diagonally, occurs on Louvre E 860, attributed to a painter from the Tyrrhenian Group and dating ca. 565–550 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 103, no. 111; Carpenter 1989, p. 27; *LIMC*, vol. 3 [1986], s.v. “Dionysos” [C. Gasparri and A. Veneri], p. 482, no. 713, pl. 382).
- 22 Formerly in the Albright-Knox Art Gallery in Buffalo, G 600 (Beazley 1956, p. 12, no. 22; Beazley 1971, p. 8, no. 22; Carpenter 1989, p. 3; Hedreen 1992, p. 133; sale cat. Sotheby’s, New York, June 7, 2007, pp. 48–49, lot 33, with excellent photographs).
- 23 Paribeni 1972, pp. 391–92, pl. 64, a; Hedreen 1992, p. 74 and pl. 25; Isler-Kerényi 2004, p. 17, fig. 9 (line drawing).
- 24 Athens, Agora P 334 (see note 11 above).
- 25 London, B 103.16 and London, University College (Carpenter 1986, p. 91, pl. 18 B: mispoised). For the aulos, see Bundrick 2005, pp. 34–42.
- 26 These oinochoai are attributed to a painter working in the manner of the Gorgon Painter: Athens, Agora P 24945 shows a facing pair (Beazley 1971, p. 8, no. 1*bis*; Carpenter 1989, p. 3; Alexandridou 2011, p. 129, no. 253, fig. 10). The next two depict just a single head: Berlin, Humbolt-Universität, Winckelmann-Institut D 384, dated in the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 10, 3; Mertens 1993, p. 8, fig. 9); Gravisca inv. 73/5766, 73/5880 (Iacobazzi 2004, p. 23, fig. 1: 600–590 B.C.).
- 27 Beazley 1956, p. 83, no. 4; Beazley 1971, p. 30, no. 4; Carpenter 1989, p. 23; Mertens 2010, p. 64. For frontal faces in Attic vase painting, see Korshak 1987. For satyrs, see pp. 5–11 and p. 45 for a list of examples slightly later than the one by Nearchos, which Korshak dates ca. 560 B.C. (p. 45, no. 1).
- 28 For the Gorgoneion (the head) and the Gorgons, see *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), s.v. “Gorgo, Gorgones” (I. Krauskopf), pp. 285–330, especially 305–30 for the Gorgons themselves. The earliest preserved Gorgons in Attic vase painting are those on the famous Protoattic amphora found at Eleusis, dating about 670 B.C. See *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), p. 313, no. 312, pl. 184, and especially Mylonas 1957, pls. 10–14 and pl. B.
- 29 See note 5 above.
- 30 See note 3 above. The figure on the Athens dinos is a nymph (Bakir 1981, pl. 5, fig. 9); the one on the London dinos is a Muse (Williams 1983, p. 26, fig. 31).
- 31 For the origin of the syrinx, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I, 689–721 (Miller 1984, p. 53). For a full account of the panpipe and the syrinx, see Haas 1985, passim; more briefly, Bundrick 2005, p. 42.
- 32 For the aulos, see note 25 above.
- 33 Beazley (1986, p. 26), remarking on Dionysos in the scene of the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis on the François Vase by Kleitias, where the god looks out at the viewer (see note 15 above; for a good illustration, see Shapiro, Iozzo, and Lezzi-Hafter 2013, pl. 30). For satyrs and the syrinx, see Haas 1985, pp. 64–65. The few examples mentioned by her are fifth century B.C. and later.
- 34 Istanbul 4514 (Beazley 1956, p. 42, no. 37; Carpenter 1989, p. 11; Bakir 1981, p. 71, A.35, pl. 35, fig. 66).
- 35 See also the fingernails on the left hand of Zeus on the signed dinos found on the Akropolis, Athens, NMAcr., NM 15165, ex Acr. 587 (see note 3 above). For a good detail, see Bakir 1981, pl. 4, fig. 6.
- 36 Hedreen (1992, p. 126) suggested he is a performer and two lines on each wrist of this silen separate a hairy body stocking from his smooth skin.
- 37 Athens, NMAcr. Acr. 757 (Beazley 1956, p. 39, no. 10; Bakir 1981, p. 66, A.10, pl. 24, fig. 45). See also the mourner on the pinax in the Vlastos collection in Athens (Beazley 1956, p. 42, no. 38; Carpenter 1989, p. 11; Bakir 1981, p. 69, A.23, pl. 37, fig. 69).
- 38 Athens, NM 15942, 15918, ex 2035, 1-2; see note 3 above.
- 39 See note 13 above.
- 40 For the karchesion, see the comprehensive article by Love (1964), which brings together all of the literary references and the known find spots; more briefly, Boardman 1979; also Dusenbery 1998, pp. 743–44. Most of the known examples come from excavations in northern and eastern Greece. Of importance in our context is a small Attic fragment of a karchesion in black glaze that was found in a well in the Athenian Agora (P 26203), with its contents dated in the first half of the sixth century B.C. See Sparkes and Talcott 1970, p. 280, no. 624, pl. 27; for the well, see p. 396, Deposit O 7:9, ca. 580–565 B.C.: “Dumped filling with considerable early black-figure.” On Athens, NM 640, a skyphos by the KX Painter dating about 580 B.C., a komast holds a karchesion, but it is not nearly as detailed as the one on the Richter fragment. See Beazley 1956, p. 26, no. 21; Carpenter 1989, p. 7. This skyphos was once attributed to Sophilos by

- Semni Papaspyridi-Karusu (1937, pp. 123, 133, no. 19, "Zweite Periode [Strenger Stil], pls. 57, 2 and 58). For the Kantharos, see note 20 above.
- 41 Padgett 2003, pp. 237, 238n5; for the name, see also Kossatz-Deißmann 1991, p. 152. Lissarrague (2013, p. 43) reads the final letter as an N, thus]PATON.
- 42 See Immerwahr 1990, p. 21: "The sigmas vary in direction."
- 43 See note 3 above.
- 44 See note 3 above.
- 45 For a good detail, see Bakir 1981, pl. 3, fig. 5c.
- 46 See Beazley 1956, p. 41, no. 26; Carpenter 1989, p. 11. Bakir demoted this piece to the circle of Sophilos (Bakir 1981, pp. 72 and 74, B.18, pl. 83, fig. 170). The fragment is glazed on the inside, and thus comes from an open vase.
- 47 See note 46 above.
- 48 See Beazley 1986, p. 18: the use of a red line in this manner "is found only in works by Sophilos and on five fragments that are close to him." For its use elsewhere, see Moore and Philippides 1986, p. 154, no. 419.
- 49 Beazley 1956, p. 41.
- 50 Louvre C 12251 (Beazley 1956, p. 40, no. 23; Beazley 1971, p. 18, no. 23 [not C 11251 as elsewhere; corrected here]; Bakir 1981, p. 74, B.13, pl. 82, figs. 165–68; Carpenter 1989, p. 11). Athens, NM 12587 (Beazley 1956, p. 40, no. 24; Beazley 1971, p. 18, no. 24; Carpenter 1989, p. 11; Bakir 1981, p. 67, A.15, pl. 18, figs. 33, 34). Aigina 1775A (Beazley 1956, p. 41, no. 25; Carpenter 1989, p. 11; Bakir 1981, pp. 73–74, B.12, pls. 76–78, figs. 148–53). Louvre CA 1750 (Beazley 1971, p. 19, no. 24*bis*; Carpenter 1989, p. 11; Bakir 1981, pp. 67–68, A.16, pl. 63, fig. 121. Bakir demotes two of these to the Circle of Sophilos: B.12 and B.13, believing just A.15 and A.16 are by Sophilos himself).
- 51 MMA 1977.11.2. See Bothmer 1986, *passim*, but especially pp. 108–10; Moore and Philippides 1986, p. 78n50; Gaunt 2002, pp. 36–40 and pl. 9; Gaunt 2013, pp. 74–75, fig. 10.
- 52 For a detailed study, see Gaunt 2002; briefly, Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 25–26.
- 53 Florence 4209 (see note 15 above).
- 54 Compare Athens, NM 12587 by Sophilos (see note 50 above).
- 55 Gaunt 2002, p. 40 and particularly his detailed discussion (see note 51 above). For a profile drawing of the handle, see Bothmer 1986, p. 111, fig. 5 (upside down).
- 56 See Aigina 1775A, where the glaze on the handles extends into the area of glaze that frames each panel (see note 50 above).
- 57 Gaunt (2002, p. 40) proposes that Sophilos might be "both potter and painter of MMA 1977.11.2." For the possibility that Sophilos was the potter of the Menidi louterion, Athens, NM 15942, 15918, ex 2035, 1-2, see note 3 above; Gaunt 2002 p. 39 and n. 27.
- 58 For the subject, see Matheson 2009, *passim*, with copious bibliography.
- 59 Beazley 1956, p. 43, no. 4; Bakir 1981, p. 75, B.19, pl. 83, fig. 171: "Umkreis des Sophilos"; Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 322–23, no. 1912, pl. 121 (there, included with "open vases, shape uncertain"). Beazley, referring to Agora P 18567 and four others with red outline, remarked that "the drawing of the figures is much like Sophilos, and the hand may be his." I agree.
- 60 See Immerwahr 1990, p. 21 (above note 42).
- 61 See note 59 above.
- 62 See Ahlberg-Cornell 1981, pp. 100–101; for a general discussion of frontal chariots in early Attic black figure, pp. 100–109. The Gorgon Painter: Athens, NMAcr. Acr. 474 (Beazley 1956, p. 8, no. 2; Carpenter 1989, p. 2); Manner of the Gorgon Painter: Athens, NMAcr. Acr. 759 (Beazley 1956, p. 12, no. 31; Carpenter 1989, p. 4). The KX Painter: Rhodes 6747 (Beazley 1956, p. 24, no. 2); Cambridge, FitzMus. GR 131.1894, ex N 131.71, joining London, B 601.14 (Beazley 1956, p. 26, no. 29; Carpenter 1989, p. 8). The Anagyrous Painter: Athens, NM 19174 (Ahlberg-Cornell 1981, *passim*).
- 63 Louvre E 873 (see note 13 above); Cambridge, FitzMus. GR 128.1899, ex N 128 (see note 13 above); Louvre C 12251 (see note 50 above); London, B 103.14.1-2, added by Bakir (Bakir 1981, p. 66, A.7, pl. 64, fig. 123); Agora P 21572, two fragments of an olpe or an oinochoe (Moore and Philippides 1986, p. 201, no. 778, pl. 73).
- 64 See note 48 above.
- 65 See note 3 above.
- 66 Moore and Philippides 1986 (see note 59 above). See Gantz 1993, p. 622, for the death of Antilochos with ancient references, especially Homer, *The Odyssey* 4, 186–88 (Lattimore 1967, p. 70; *LIMC*, vol. 1 [1981], s.v. "Antilochos I" [A. Kossatz-Deissmann], pp. 830–38).
- 67 Brownlee 1995, p. 366, also p. 370nn15–18; see also Brownlee 1993.
- 68 For a full account, including all the ancient literary references, see Gantz 1993, p. 318 and especially pp. 467–510, also the useful genealogy charts on pp. 818–19: "Table 15: The Line of Kadmos" and "Table 16: The Line of Talaos," the father-in-law of Amphiaraios. For Amphiaraios, see *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), pp. 691–713 (I. Krauskopf); most recently, the monograph by Sineux 2007.
- 69 See Gantz 1993, pp. 510–19. Homer mentions Eriphyle's deceitful behavior twice: *The Odyssey* 11, 326–27: "and Eriphyle the hateful, who accepted precious gold for the life of her own dear husband" (Lattimore 1967, p. 176); *The Odyssey* 15, 246–47: "[Amphiaraios] never came to the doorsill of old age, but perished in Thebes, because his wife had been bribed with presents" (Lattimore 1967, p. 231).
- 70 See *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), s.v. "Amphiaraios" (I. Krauskopf), pp. 691–713, pp. 694–95, nos. 7–16 for the Greek examples; Sineux 2007, pp. 38–45. Amphilochos: *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), s.v. "Amphilochos" (I. Krauskopf), pp. 713–17; Alkmaion: *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), s.v. "Alkmaion" (I. Krauskopf), pp. 546–52; briefly, Serneels-Hofstetter 1992, pp. 152–62.
- 71 See Amyx 1988, p. 263, cat. no. 1; *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), s.v. "Amphiaraios" (I. Krauskopf), p. 694, no. 7, pl. 555.
- 72 For Halimedes, see *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), s.v. "Halimedes" (I. Krauskopf), pp. 408–9. In her commentary (p. 409), Krauskopf notes that some scholars have doubted the identification of Halimedes as a seer because Amphiaraios himself was a seer and the scene would hardly need a second. That may be the case, but the presence of another seer, especially one who is so visually expressive, reinforces the terrible disaster that will soon take place. Other authors have thought Halimedes is a slave or a pedagogue, but Krauskopf refutes these identifications, because a slave would not be so well dressed or hold a staff, and pedagogues do not appear in archaic art. Moreover, if Halimedes were a pedagogue, he should be closer to the two children.
- 73 Florence 3773 and Berlin 1711 (Beazley 1956, p. 95, no. 8; Beazley 1971, pp. 34 and 36, no. 8; Carpenter 1989, p. 25). The inscriptions are nonsense ones.
- 74 See Thiersch 1899, pp. 59–60: "Eriphyle scheint auf unserer Vase überhaupt nicht dargestellt zu sein, wenigstens ist sie durch kein Attribut gekennzeichnet." Krauskopf (*LIMC*, vol. 1 [1981], s.v. "Amphiaraios," p. 694, no. 9, pl. 556), however, identifies this woman as Eriphyle, as does Serneels-Hofstetter (1992, p. 161), who does not cite Krauskopf, but thinks the woman's

- position behind Alkmaeon identifies her as Eriphyle. I agree with Thiersch that this woman is unlikely to be Eriphyle, because of the omission of the necklace. One arm of this woman is extended above the outstretched arms of Alkmaeon, and if her hand held the necklace, it would be plainly visible.
- 75 For a very similar figure of Eriphyle, see the scene on the fragmentary lid of a lekane found on the Akropolis dating ca. 570–560 B.C. and attributed to the C Painter, Athens, NMAcr, Acr. 2112 (Beazley 1956, p. 58, no. 120; Carpenter 1989, p. 16; good illustration: *LIMC*, vol. 1 [1981], s.v. “Amphiaraios” [I. Krauskopf], p. 694, no. 8, pl. 556). On a Tyrrhenian neck-amphora, Basel, Cahn H.C. 921, attributed to the Archippe Painter by Dietrich von Bothmer and dating about 560 B.C., Eriphyle (inscribed) stands to right facing the departing chariot and holding out the necklace, which is inscribed HOP[M]OΣ (necklace). Oikles (inscribed), the father of Amphiaraios, rushes toward Baton (inscribed) and Amphiaraios, who stand in the chariot. See *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), p. 694, no. 10, pl. 556; for the attribution, see Krauskopf 1980, p. 115; Kreuzer 1992, pp. 37–38, no. 28.
- 76 See Johnston 1989, p. 267: “The position of the preserved letters of the name on 1912 [Agora P 18567] does not suggest that it can refer to any figure on the ground.” His point is that the letters of a vertically or diagonally written inscription should not begin above the head of the figure it names.
- 77 On a fragment of a Tyrrhenian neck-amphora, dating about 570–560 B.C., the Prometheus Painter depicted a scene of the departure of Amphiaraios with a frontal chariot, to the right of which is Eriphyle, with her name inscribed (Oxford G 137.53: Beazley 1956, p. 96, no. 11; Carpenter 1989, p. 25; Brownlee 1993, p. 328). Preserved are part of the chest and the legs of a pole and a trace horse, EPIΦVΛE, retrograde, a little of Eriphyle’s chiton and feet, as well as some of the necklace at the upper break. The attribution is by Dietrich von Bothmer (CVA, Metropolitan Museum of Art 4 [USA 16], p. 3). For a good photograph, see Krauskopf 1980, pl. 24, 3.
- 78 Williams 1983, p. 18, fig. 15, for the first side view; p. 19, fig. 17, for the back view, and p. 20, fig. 19, for the second side view.
- 79 Boardman 1958, p. 8; also, p. 7, pl. 2, fig. 1; Bakir 1981, p. 71, A. 36. pl. 64, fig. 126. See also Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, p. 7, no. 3, p. 14 and p. 109, fig. 3 (cropped at the right); *LIMC*, vol. 6 (1992), s.v. “Nereus” (M. Pipili), p. 826, no. 21.
- 80 For Nereus, see *LIMC*, vol. 6 (1992), s.v. “Nereus” (M. Pipili), pp. 824–37; Mommsen 2014, pp. 58–59. For Nereus designated as the Old Man of the Sea, see Hesiod, *Theogony* 233: “And men call him the Old Man because he is trusty and gentle and does not forget the laws of righteousness, but thinks just and kindly thoughts” (Evelyn-White 1914, p. 97).
- 81 Boardman 1958, p. 8.
- 82 It somewhat resembles the lines on the wrists of the silen on Istanbul 4514 (fig. 10), which Hedreen thought might be the end of the sleeve of a hairy stocking worn by an actor performing the role of a silen (see note 36 above). There is a pair of incised lines on the left wrist of Okeanos on London, BM 1971.1101.1 (see note 2 above and Williams 1983, p. 27, fig. 34).
- 83 Ahlberg-Cornell (1984, p. 16) did not realize that her photograph cropped the detail of Hermes’s beard and thought Nereus “holds a sceptre.”
- 84 See note 50 above. For a good detail, see Bakir 1981, pl. 22, fig. 42.
- 85 See notes 3 and 57 above.

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Fragments of Time: Ancient Glass in the Department of Greek and Roman Art

The Edward C. Moore Collection was one of the great gifts made to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in the late nineteenth century. Edward Moore was a talented silversmith based in New York, who in later life became the artistic director of silver manufacturing and chief designer at Tiffany & Co.¹ His collection comprised a wide variety of objects, numbering more than two thousand accessioned items. It is particularly famed for its Islamic ceramics, glass, and metalwork, but it also includes Japanese basketry, lacquerwork, metalwork, netsuke, pottery, and textiles.² Many of his silverware creations were inspired by Islamic and Japanese art. In addition, Moore amassed a sizable collection of Classical antiquities, mainly Greek (Attic), South Italian, and Etruscan vases, and ancient glass. There are two hundred intact or largely complete glass vessels, several of which are among the finest surviving examples of ancient glass in

fig. 1 Glass mosaic dish, rim fragment. Translucent cobalt blue, opaque white, and deep purple appearing black, L. 2¼ in. (5.5 cm), estimated Diam. of rim 11⅞ in. (30 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891 (91.1.1703)



the world. There is, for instance, the impressive mosaic jar that imitates semiprecious banded agate vessels (91.1.1303), the exceptional garland bowl (91.1.1402), and the fragmentary gold-band mosaic scyphus (91.1.2053).³ The Moore Collection also contributed as many as thirty-six examples to the Department of Greek and Roman Art's holdings of core-formed glass vessels of the Classical and Hellenistic periods (late sixth through first century B.C.).⁴

With all these riches it is, perhaps, not surprising that the 410 small fragments of ancient glass in the Edward C. Moore Bequest have been overlooked. Certainly, within the Department of Greek and Roman Art they have not previously been studied in any detail, and only one fragment (91.1.2033) has ever been published.⁵ There are no records of when and where the fragments were acquired by Moore, although some of the glass vessels were acquired from the sale of the Alessandro Castellani Collection in Rome on March 20, 1884.⁶ But the fragments themselves provide a number of clues to their probable provenance. Firstly, these small fragments, measuring on average less than two inches square (5 × 5 cm), were originally enclosed in cardboard mounts decorated with gilded edges (fig. 1). Secondly, almost all the fragments have been worked in modern times, with one surface having been ground and polished, leaving little or no trace of the weathered surface that had covered the glass since burial in antiquity (fig. 2).⁷ These two pieces of evidence suggest that the fragments were acquired in Rome, where there was a brisk trade in ancient glass fragments during the second half of the nineteenth century. David Grose was the first scholar to draw attention to the trade when he

published a catalogue of part of the ancient glass collection in the Toledo Museum of Art.⁸ He recorded 315 vessel fragments that all came to that museum from the Thomas E. H. Curtis Collection, although they had been acquired in Rome by the American painter Charles Caryl Coleman (1840–1928).

Several other substantial groups are known—Grose listed those in the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Murano Museo Vetrario, the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Florence, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.⁹ Another group is now in the National Museum of Scotland, acquired in 1879 from the Northesk Collection.¹⁰ In Rome itself there is a collection now in the American Academy, which belonged to another American painter, Elihu Vedder (1836–1923) and was presumably collected by him during his long residence there.¹¹ But the largest collection of mosaic glass fragments in Rome forms part of the immense Gorga Collection.¹² Giorgio Sangiorgi, a well-known antiques dealer in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries whose gallery was in the Palazzo Borghese in Rome, also amassed a sizable collection of fragments.¹³ Remarkably and at present inexplicably, in 1953 the Williams College Museum of Art in Williamstown, Massachusetts, acquired a collection of 591 glass fragments, most of which belong to cast mosaic vessels, although some are from cast monochrome and mosaic glass inlays.¹⁴ Only one fragment now has a gilded cardboard mount. Other collections probably remain to be located. Not all such fragments, however, come from Rome; for instance, an important group of finds comes from sites in northern Italy.¹⁵

fig. 2 Glass mosaic ribbed bowl, rim fragment. Translucent honey brown, cobalt blue, and opaque white, H. 2¼ in. (5.7 cm), estimated Diam. of rim 3½ in. (9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891 (91.1.1643)

fig. 3 Glass blown ribbed bowl, bottom fragment. Translucent purple; trail in opaque white, max. W. 2½ in. (5.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891 (91.1.1790)

It has been suggested previously that such large numbers of fragments do not constitute random finds from various construction sites across Rome but rather form the remains of one or more substantial dumps of ancient broken glass.¹⁶ Such a view is supported by the fact that many of the fragments are of polychrome mosaic glass, which was unsuitable for recycling in ancient Rome. Instead, they were dumped, only to be found again in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, because of their bright colors and attractive patterns, it was then quickly realized that the fragments could be turned into small, highly portable souvenirs for tourists. A lively trade ensued but, it would seem, the appetite of some collectors was so great (and, presumably, the price of individual fragments so low) that the supply soon dried up. The trade probably lasted for no more than half a century, between 1860 and 1910.¹⁷ Apart from the Williams College material, no new large groups of such material are known to have come into any collection, public or private, in the last hundred years.

Study of the 410 fragments in the Moore Collection was carried out during the summer of 2015; it forms part of a larger project to catalogue the entire collection of ancient glass in the Department of Greek and Roman Art. Some of the collection will likely feature in a printed volume, but all of it, some 2,762 accessioned items, can already be found on the Metropolitan's website.¹⁸ The latter will be the primary source of informa-

tion about each of the pieces, but the aim here is to draw attention specifically to the corpus of fragments in the Moore Collection and to comment on some of the more interesting examples.

A large majority of the fragments belongs to objects that were made by the casting or slumping technique.¹⁹ They include both vessel and inlay fragments and, as well as mosaic glass, there are pieces of monochrome glass in both categories. There are only two fragments of core-formed glass (91.1.1828, 91.1.2035) and five fragments of blown glass, one of which is a body fragment decorated with marvered blobs (91.1.1646); another is part of a mosaic bottle (91.1.2003), and the third is the bottom of a type of ribbed bowl known as a *Rippenschale* (91.1.1790; fig. 3).²⁰ I will return to the other two blown examples later since they merit more detailed discussion. In addition, there is a fragment of banded agate inlay that was mistakenly inventoried as mosaic glass (91.1.1819), and two modern pieces (91.1.1782, 91.1.1960).²¹ Significantly, the collection does not contain a single fragment of mold-blown glass, although a certain number of mold-blown vessels probably made in the East found their way to Italy during the first century A.D.²² There are, however, eight examples of small mold-blown glass bottles, all of Eastern manufacture, among the vessels in the Moore Collection.²³

The inlay fragments are worth mentioning if only to note that the circumstances behind their disposal as broken pieces must have been different from the vessel





fig. 4 Left: Glass monochrome inlay fragment. Opaque red, L. 1 3/4 in. (4.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891 (91.1.1709). Right: Glass monochrome dish fragment. Opaque red, L. 1 3/4 in. (4.3 cm); estimated Diam. of foot ring 6 3/4 in. (16 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891 (91.1.1716)

fragments. Whether they were used as architectural revetment or as furniture inlay, they would not have been subject to the same daily wear and tear as glass vessels.²⁴ Yet, clearly, certain amounts of glass decoration were gathered up and thrown away. There are fifty-seven examples in the Moore Collection, representing almost fourteen percent of the corpus. Two are in similar deep purple glass decorated with concentric wavy lines in opaque white (91.1.1686, 91.1.1901), measuring in thickness 5/16 in. (0.75 cm) and 3/8 in. (1 cm) respectively, which suggests that these fragments were used for wall, ceiling, or floor paneling.²⁵ By contrast, a monochrome strip (91.1.1940) is only 1/8 in. (0.27 cm) thick, indicating that it was inserted into a piece of furniture or a delicate opus sectile panel. A few of the inlays are in distinctive monochrome colors, including opaque blood red and jade green. The same colors were

also used for cast vessels. For instance, a square or rectangular revetment plaque in red (91.1.1709) can be compared with several vessel fragments, including the bottom of a dish (91.1.1716; fig. 4).²⁶ Objects in jade green are less common; the Metropolitan Museum has a rare intact example, a small cup or bowl (13.198.2), said to have been found near Emesa (modern Homs) in Syria more than a century ago. By contrast, one of the fragments in the Moore Collection (91.1.1631) belongs to a large shallow bowl or dish with an estimated rim diameter of 6 3/4 in. (17 cm) (fig. 5). The fragment is significant because it has an elaborate carved profile that is not otherwise known, although some fragments of mosaic carinated bowls in Toledo display similar cut ridges.²⁷ Another inlay fragment (91.1.1638) in the Moore Collection can be compared with the elegant cast jug in opaque light blue (17.194.170).²⁸ In all three groups the consistency in color is remarkable, implying that, at least in terms of opaque red, green, and blue glass, which required special recipes, makers obtained their raw material already colored.²⁹ It is also possible that the same workshops produced both vessels and inlays, although this cannot be proven. Nevertheless, it would seem that the inlays and cast vessel fragments are contemporaneous, dating from the late first century B.C. to the mid-first century A.D.

Four inlay fragments (91.1.1648, 91.1.1711, 91.1.1744, and 91.1.1963) are in a vibrant marbled orange glass that can be compared with an unusual cast bowl in the Metropolitan's collection (17.194.1481).³⁰ The color choice may have been intended to imitate semiprecious stone; others certainly were, as in the case of four other



fig. 5 Glass monochrome dish fragment. Opaque jade green, L. 3 3/4 in. (8.3 cm); estimated Diam. of rim 6 3/4 in. (17 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891 (91.1.1631)

fig. 6 Five glass inlay fragments. Clockwise from top left: Translucent deep turquoise blue and opaque white: (a) 91.1.1787, L. 2 in. (5.1 cm); (b) 91.1.1800, L. 1¾ in. (4.6 cm); (c) 91.1.1827, L. 1½ in. (2.8 cm). Deep purple and opaque white: (d) 91.1.1856, L. 1½ in. (3.7 cm); (e) 91.1.1880, L. 1¼ in. (3.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891



inlays (91.1.1787, 91.1.1800, 91.1.1827, 91.1.1838) that resemble green porphyry (*lapis lacedaemonius*) and two (91.1.1856, 91.1.1880) that mimic Egyptian porphyry (fig. 6).³¹ Others may be attempts to copy *rosso antico* and *bianco e nero* marbles (91.1.1655, 91.1.1678 respectively). By contrast, the inlays (91.1.1650–.1651) in a bright turquoise blue may have been inspired by Egyptian faience tiles, terracotta figurines, and vessels. The Gorga Collection includes a large number of colored inlays in red, green, yellow, and blue.³²

Several of the inlays are made in marbled mosaic glass with colors and patterns that, like the mono-

chrome fragments, match surviving vessels. For instance, two fragments (91.1.1684, 91.1.1705) have a deep purple ground that appears black, decorated with irregular opaque yellow lines and streaks; they resemble a fragment of a large ribbed bowl in Toledo.³³ The Moore Collection contains forty-eight fragments of mosaic cast ribbed bowls, some of which may belong to deep footed bowls; it also includes a complete base ring of one such bowl (91.1.2049).³⁴ Several of these fragments are in striking patterns of opaque white threads on a translucent blue, purple, or honey brown ground, but worthy of special attention is a rim fragment

fig. 7 Glass mosaic ribbed bowl, rim fragment. Exterior and polished interior. Translucent honey brown and opaque white, H. 1¼ in. (4.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891 (91.1.1636)





fig. 8 Six glass gold-band mosaic vessel fragments. Clockwise from top left: (a) 91.1.1848, translucent cobalt blue, deep honey brown, turquoise green, opaque white, and colorless enclosing gold leaf, L. 1½ in. (2.8 cm); (b) 91.1.1850, translucent cobalt blue, turquoise blue, green, purple, opaque white, and colorless enclosing gold leaf, L. 1½ in. (3.7 cm); (c) 91.1.1928, translucent blue, turquoise blue and yellow appearing green, opaque white, and colorless enclosing gold leaf, L. 1½ in. (2.7 cm); (d) 91.1.2023, translucent blue, turquoise blue and yellow appearing green, opaque white, and colorless enclosing gold leaf, L. ¾ in. (2.2 cm); (e) 91.1.2020, translucent cobalt blue, honey brown, opaque white, yellow, and colorless enclosing gold leaf, L. ¾ in. (2.1 cm); (f) 91.1.1995, translucent cobalt blue, turquoise green, opaque white, and colorless enclosing gold leaf, L. 1 in. (2.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891

(91.1.1636) of an especially large bowl (fig. 7). The fragment is too short to make an accurate estimate of the rim diameter, but the top of the one surviving rib measures $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (1.65 cm) in width. The bowl was, therefore, decorated with vertical ribs of enormous size.³⁵ The assemblage also includes a good number of fragments from mosaic hemispherical or shallow bowls, with representative examples of the main types of decoration found on Roman cast mosaic vessels—those with striped mosaic, short-strip, and network patterns.³⁶ Many of these fragments retain part of their applied rim (for instance, 91.1.1667, 91.1.1659–.1660), and one is in an unusual translucent turquoise blue with a purple spiral thread (91.1.1688). Another fragment (91.1.2010) clearly comes from the bottom of a striped mosaic bowl with a quadripartite pattern.

Among the mosaic glass fragments, which display a plethora of different patterns, it came as a surprise to find seven (91.1.1848, 91.1.1850, 91.1.1928, 91.1.1930, 91.1.1995, 91.1.2020, 91.1.2023) that are decorated with gold foil encased between two layers of colorless glass (see fig. 8 for six of them). The Museum has a number of luxury vessels made in this gold-band mosaic technique, including, as well as the fragmentary gold-band mosaic scyphus (91.1.2053) already mentioned, part of the lid of a box (pyxis).³⁷ The Moore Collection includes an intact glass box, complete with lid (91.1.1335), and a fragment

of another box (91.1.1845), both in a marbled mosaic pattern. But there is also a fragment (91.1.2028) of another box that has been overlooked until now (fig. 9).³⁸ The piece is of interest because it is decorated in a composite mosaic pattern of polygonal sections of different canes.³⁹ Most of the surviving examples of cast pyxides (boxes) that have been recorded are in monochrome glass or in gold-band, marbled, or network mosaic glass.⁴⁰ Only one parallel is known in composite mosaic glass, from a tomb at Amolara, near Adria in northern Italy.⁴¹

In addition to the types of mosaic bowls listed above, the Moore Collection comprises a large number of vessel fragments in composite mosaic patterns. At least ninety can be identified as belonging to this type. Despite their small size, some can be distinguished further; twenty-five retain traces of carination below the rim, indicating that they are from Roman carinated mosaic bowls or dishes (for example, 91.1.2000). Only two fragments (91.1.1972, 91.1.2008) display part of the applied base rings that are often found on such vessels.⁴² In addition, a few fragments may be attributed to late Hellenistic mosaic bowls in terms either of the cane patterns or the presence of an applied coil rim (for example, 91.1.1974, 91.1.2031).⁴³ It may also be noted that the size of the canes varies markedly; some are minute but others are unusually large (contrast 91.1.1826 and 91.1.1983).



fig. 9 Glass mosaic box (pyxis) fragment. Translucent streaky purple, turquoise blue, partially mixed with opaque yellow and appearing green, opaque white, yellow, and red, H. 1 in. (2.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891 (91.1.2028)



fig. 10 Glass mosaic handle fragment. Translucent purple and opaque white, L. 1 in. (2.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891 (91.1.1706)



fig. 11 Glass mosaic handle fragment. Translucent honey brown and opaque white, L. 1½ in. (3.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891 (91.1.1713)

Finally, I return to the two unusual fragments of blown glass (91.1.1706, .1713) (figs. 10, 11). They are both handles and only small areas of the thin-walled body of the vessels survive. However, the handles are distinctive enough to identify them as belonging to a rare type of blown, one-handed jug. Surviving vessels make the identification secure (fig. 12). Both handles are in a striped mosaic glass and have been worked into three thick ribs on their outer sides.⁴⁴ One has a tool mark across the bottom edge, where the handle was pressed onto the side of the body, and the small diameter of the body on the end of the other handle indicates that it was attached to the neck. The complete jugs clearly show that the handles were applied to the neck, drawn out (and up in the case of the second of the Moore fragments), then down, pressed on to the body, and drawn off below.⁴⁵ The process implies that the handles were added while the blown vessel was still attached to the blowpipe, since they were drawn out away from the maker as he held the blowpipe. Only a few complete jugs are known. Two examples are in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Aquileia, and are dated from their archaeological contexts and associated finds to the first half or middle of the first century A.D.⁴⁶ Both were found at Aquileia: one in purple-tinted colorless glass and a purple handle with white streaks; the other in blue with white marbling on both body and handle (fig. 12).

Another fragmentary jug, described as in translucent blue with a three-ribbed yellow handle, was found in an ancient necropolis on the outskirts of Montebelluna (Treviso) in 1912.⁴⁷ A fourth impressive example from an incineration grave at Dello, southwest of Brescia, dated to the Augustan period (27 B.C.–A.D. 14), is in a deep honey brown with white marbling on the body and many white streaks on the handle.⁴⁸

If the handle fragments do indeed come from Rome, along with all the other pieces in the Moore Collection, they would constitute a significant addition to the distribution map. However, in addition to these examples from Italy, some jugs with similar handles can be found in the East. There is a jug in purple glass with marbled white veins for both body and handle in the Musée du Louvre (fig. 13) that is recorded as having been acquired in Greece in 1889. Unfortunately, the handle is described as “drawn from the shoulder and applied against the middle of the neck,” which is obviously not the case.⁴⁹ Another example from the eastern Mediterranean comes from Cyprus; it is a translucent monochrome blue jug that the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge acquired from Luigi Palma di Cesnola in 1876.⁵⁰ Finally, there is an unusual example, also in blue, that has a flattened spherical body.⁵¹

This type of jug has been misleadingly attributed to Isings form 14 and equated with other jugs decorated



fig. 12 Glass jug (olpe), blown. Translucent blue and opaque white, H. 5 7/8 in. (15 cm). Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Aquileia (AQ 2005/4). Rings show the relative positions of the Moore Collection handle fragments in figs. 10 (bottom) and 11 (top).

fig. 13 Glass jug (olpe), blown. Translucent purple and opaque white, H. 7 1/4 in. (18.3 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (MNC 1040)

with marvered blobs, numerous examples of which have been found in northern Italy (fig. 14).⁵² However, the latter, along with two-handled bottles also decorated with marvered blobs, all have their handles attached to the body and drawn up to the neck or rim.⁵³ This technique is the norm, for the handles on most Roman blown glass vessels are applied after the vessel has been detached from the blowpipe. The vessel is then held from the bottom to finish the rim, after which the handles are applied to the vessel body and drawn up to the neck or rim away from the glassworker's body.⁵⁴ This fundamental difference in technique might suggest that the two types were made in different workshops. Certainly, it has been noted that some types of early mold-blown glass have handles that were attached to the rim and drawn down to the body; they have been attributed to the Workshop of the Floating Handles,



which has been located in the region of Sidon.⁵⁵ Yet, in the case of the mold-blown vessels signed by Ennion, it is clear that some have handles applied from rim to body but others have handles drawn up from the body; compare, for example, the Metropolitan's two-handled cup (17.194.225) and the one-handled jug (17.194.226).⁵⁶ Interestingly, there is another glass jug from the same tomb at Dello that appears to have a floating handle.⁵⁷ It is, therefore, difficult to argue that the difference necessarily indicates separate workshops or attests to a specific regional style of production. Rather, the differences would seem to indicate that glassblowers were experimenting with alternate ways to apply handles. Perhaps initially they attached the handles while the glass was still on the blowpipe and then (slightly) later adopted an easier method whereby the handles were added as the last stage in the manufacturing process.

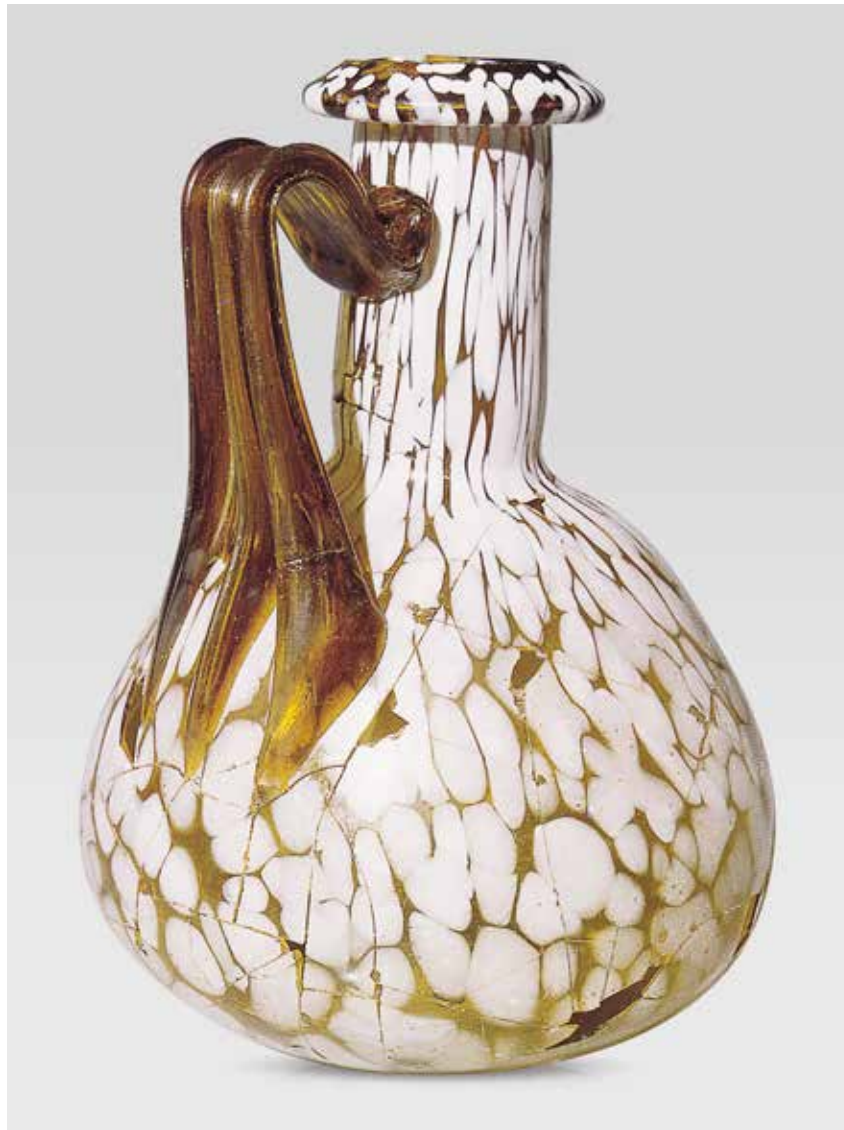


fig. 14 Glass jug (olpe), blown. Translucent amber yellow and opaque white, H. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (23.7 cm). From a tomb at Gambolò, Pavia. Museo Archeologico Lomellino (St. 59227)

The Moore Collection fragments can be seen to comprise a fascinating range of different types and reward close study. It is difficult to explain why the collection contains odd strays, such as the core-formed fragments and the blown examples, when it is otherwise very homogeneous. It may, perhaps, be that they reflect the motley nature of the ancient dump where they were found but, equally, they may represent assorted fragments from different sources. Clearly, Moore himself did not distinguish between them or indeed between vessel and inlay fragments; and fortunately, since the assemblage arrived at the Metropolitan Museum, no one has sorted through it and removed the extraneous material. Whether or not it was found in Rome itself, the collection of fragments gives a valuable insight into the glass that was available in Roman Italy during the late first century B.C. and early first century A.D. It attests to

the vibrant nature of the industry that developed there in response to Roman interest in and appetite for all things glass. These 410 glass fragments in part represent the reason behind and the success of the invention of glassblowing, which was by any standards a revolutionary technological breakthrough, setting the Roman glass industry on a path to lasting fame and influence.

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NOTES

- 1 There is a portrait of Edward C. Moore by the artist Charles Calverley in the Metropolitan Museum (94.28, Gift of C. T. Cook and friends, 1894).
- 2 I thank Medill Higgins Harvey, assistant curator of American Decorative Arts at the Metropolitan Museum, for providing background information about Edward Moore and his collection.
- 3 Picón et al. 2007, pp. 335–36, 338, 482–83, nos. 389, 390, 394.
- 4 For the core-forming technique, see Gudenrath 1991, pp. 214–15, figs. 1–15.
- 5 Page, Pilosi, and Wypyski 2001, p. 123, fig. 8.
- 6 Castellani sale 1884, p. 59, lots 399, 401–3. It may be noted that the Onassis Library copy of the 1884 sale collection is recorded as a gift of Edward C. Moore. I owe this reference to Andrew Oliver Jr.; Oliver 1967, p. 26n32.
- 7 There are four exceptions, all inlays (91.1.1725, 91.1.1896–1897, 91.1.1954).
- 8 Grose 1989, pp. 21, 22–23, 243–44, fig. 115.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 244.
- 10 Lightfoot 2007, pp. 7–8, 51–66, nos. 52–136.
- 11 Bonfante and Nagy 2016, p. 370 and fig. 9.3.4.
- 12 Sagui 2013, pp. 418–23, pls. 3–8.
- 13 Sale, Christie's, New York, June 3, 1999, pp. 91–95, lots 239–45.
- 14 The collection, which can be viewed online at <http://emuseum.williams.edu:8080/emuseum/view/objects/asitem/248/22/>, also includes at least one painted fragment. There is no information in the museum's object or donor files about where and when the glass fragments were obtained by Mrs. J. P. Baxter, the wife of James Phinney Baxter III, Williams College president (1937–1961), although it is clear that they were donated to Williams College in 1953. I am grateful to Elizabeth E. Gallerani, curator of Mellon academic programs at the Williams College Museum of Art, for providing background information about the fragments.
- 15 Facchini 2011.
- 16 Lightfoot 2007, pp. 7–8.
- 17 Grose 1989, p. 243.
- 18 Individual items can be found at www.metmuseum.org by searching the appropriate accession number.
- 19 For the techniques involved in making mosaic and cast glass, see Gudenrath 1991, pp. 219–22, figs. 36–64.
- 20 The Moore Collection includes six bowls of this type: 91.1.1247, 91.1.1268, 91.1.1279, 91.1.1284, 91.1.1320, 91.1.1346.
- 21 For other agate inlay fragments found in Rome, see Belli Pasqua 1989, p. 109, nos. 35–56. The composition of 91.1.1960 appears to be consistent with sixteenth- to seventeenth-century Venetian glass. Analysis of the piece was carried out by Mark Wypyski, research scientist, Department of Scientific Research. The fragmentary cameo medallion of a maenad (91.1.1782) may be compared with mid-nineteenth-century Italian jewelry; see, for example, a cameo brooch of carved shell in the Newark Museum (51.83).
- 22 For examples at Aquileia, see Buora and Moretti 2013, pp. 42–43, 75, figs. 25, 26, 55.
- 23 They are 91.1.1250, 91.1.1295, 91.1.1317, 91.1.1356, 91.1.1357, and 91.1.1508–1510.
- 24 For discussion of their use, see Grose 1989, pp. 356–57.
- 25 Two other similar fragments are in the Toledo Museum of Art; see *ibid.*, pp. 368–69, nos. 659 and 663.
- 26 Similar vessel fragments are 91.1.1668, 91.1.1751, 91.1.1915, 91.1.1970, and 91.1.2012. The inlay fragment, 91.1.1709, could be taken as part of the bottom of a flat dish, but the gritty encrustation on the underside resembles fine mortar. Similar encrustation is visible above the weathering on the underside of another fragment (91.1.1693).
- 27 Grose 1989, pp. 311–12, nos. 449, 450, 454.
- 28 Picón et al. 2007, pp. 337, 483, no. 392.
- 29 For discussion of raw glass colored by glass workers, see Stern 2008, p. 527.
- 30 Milleker 2000, p. 64, fig. 51.
- 31 Compare Grose 1989, p. 369, no. 665.
- 32 Sagui 1998, pp. 27–28, fig. 31a–f.
- 33 Grose 1989, p. 279, no. 289. There is a fragment of another cast vessel without ribs in the Moore collection (91.1.1683).
- 34 There are six fragments of similar base rings (91.1.1737, 91.1.1763, 91.1.1890, 91.1.1893, 91.1.1937, 91.1.1992).
- 35 For a fragment of another exceptionally large cast ribbed bowl now in the Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, see Froehner 1903, p. 161, no. 1164, pl. 211.1.
- 36 For definitions of these types, see Grose 1989, pp. 249–54.
- 37 Oliver 1967. The article includes the pyxis lid (17.194.396.24) but not the gold band fragments in the Moore Collection.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- 39 For a definition of this type of cast mosaic glass, see Grose 1989, p. 297, fig. 143.
- 40 For example, Milleker 2000, fig. 49 (monochrome); Grose 1989, p. 335, no. 587 (marbled); Platz-Horster 1976, p. 27, no. 29 (network); and Facchini 2011, p. 117.
- 41 Larese 2004, p. 35, no. 447, pls. 52, 93; Facchini 2011, pp. 96–98, no. 98.
- 42 On carinated composite mosaic vessels, see Grose 1989, pp. 257–58, figs. 143–46.
- 43 Compare *ibid.*, p. 189, fig. 102.
- 44 A handle fragment in the Corning Museum of Glass is very similar and may also belong to a jug of this type; Whitehouse 2001, p. 189, no. 735.
- 45 The method used for applying the handle, called a “top stick” handle in glassmaking, has been confirmed from photographs by David Hill and Mark Taylor; email to the author, October 9, 2015. I am grateful to both for their prompt and affirmative response.
- 46 Mandruzzato and Marcante 2005, p. 82, nos. 149, 150; Buora and Moretti 2013, p. 54, fig. 36.
- 47 Casagrande and Ceselin 2003, p. 125, no. 146.
- 48 Rossi and Chiaravalle 1998, p. 34, no. 1; Facchini 2011, pp. 96–98, no. 98; Stern 2015, pp. 80–81, fig. 7.5.
- 49 “partant de l'épaule et appliquée contre le milieu du col.” Arveiller-Dulong and Nenna 2005, p. 275, no. 820. The description of the Montebelluna jug is also incorrect in stating that the handle is “impostata sulla spalla e saldata sul collo” (applied on the shoulder and attached to the neck); Casagrande and Ceselin 2003, p. 125, no. 146.
- 50 Fitzwilliam Museum 1978, p. 35, no. 63.
- 51 Marinescu and Cox 1999, p. 64, no. 107, without provenance. The handle is correctly described as “applied roughly midway down the neck, pulled out and down to the shoulder.”
- 52 Isings 1957, pp. 31–32; Rossi and Chiaravalle 1998, pp. 64, 66, no. 3 (here fig. 14), and p. 172, no. 11; Maccabruni, Diani, and Rebajoli [2006], p. 130, no. 183, pl. VII; Facchini 2011, p. 96.
- 53 For example, Maccabruni, Diani, and Rebajoli [2006], pp. 39, 129, 133, nos. 28, 180, 187, pls. VI–VIII.
- 54 See Gudenrath 1991, p. 226, fig. 92.
- 55 Stern 1995, pp. 86–91; Lightfoot 2014, pp. 132–35, nos. 38, 39. A small trailed two-handled bottle (amphora) also appears to have similar handles; Buora and Moretti 2013, p. 62, fig. 43 (center).
- 56 Lightfoot 2014, pp. 94–95, no. 15, and pp. 70–71, no. 1 (respectively).
- 57 Rossi and Chiaravalle 1998, p. 34, no. 2. For other free blown examples, see Lightfoot 2005, p. 86, fig. 6. Very similar to the amphoriskos in the Metropolitan Museum is an unpublished example, also in translucent blue but decorated with a spiral opaque white trail, in the Museo di Antichità, Turin.

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JAMES A. DOYLE

Creation Narratives on Ancient Maya Codex-Style Ceramics in the Metropolitan Museum

Within the Classic Maya royal courts (ca. A.D. 250–900), slip-painted ceramic drinking cups did more than deliver chocolate and other savory drinks to guests at parties and feasts. They served as active agents, as storytellers. Someone holding one of these painted ceramic vessels—also referred to as pots and vases—could experience a sort of Precolumbian filmstrip. The curve of the cylindrical vessel allowed only a portion of the scene, framed by an upper and lower border, to be viewed, inviting the user to turn the vessel slowly in order to take in the entirety of the wonderfully detailed paintings. Around the rims or in the negative spaces of the compositions, painters included hieroglyphic texts that provided captions for the characters or actions portrayed. These painted vessels were not decorative art objects per se; they were a form of dynamic, illustrated literature.

fig. 1 Map showing locations of principal ancient Maya archaeological sites mentioned in the text



This article examines five Classic Maya vessels painted in what is known as the codex style in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, including an acquisition from 2014. Through analysis of the imagery on these and related vessels, the author proposes new interpretations of the foundational Maya myths about rain, agriculture, and rebirth out of death and destruction.

MAYA BOOKS

A group of Maya vessels that came to the attention of scholars in the 1960s became referred to as “codex-style” pots because of their shared painting style, which bears a close resemblance to the style employed in the four Preclassic Maya codices that are known to survive.¹ These codices are screenfold books, folded in accordion fashion to create separate but contiguous rectangular panels. Dating to the Postclassic Period (ca. 1000–1492), they are made of bark paper or hide and vary in preservation and quality. The authenticity of one, the Grolier Codex, is still disputed.² The most skillfully rendered and best preserved, known as the Dresden Codex, was probably created in the eleventh or twelfth century and is named after the Royal Library at Dresden, which acquired it in 1739 (fig. 2).

The Dresden Codex was a key document in the decipherment of Maya hieroglyphics.³ Since the original publication of facsimiles of the Dresden Codex in 1880 and 1892, studies of its pages have led to fundamental understandings of Maya numeration and calendrics. The

facsimile editions contain details subsequently lost because of slight damage to the codex during the wartime bombing of Dresden. Knowledge of both the vigesimal (base-20) numeral system and the phonetic approach to decipherment arose from research on this document. In the twentieth century, studies of the codex revealed the extent of the Maya people’s interest in recording astronomical events and documenting them in almanac-type tables that charted eclipses and the cycle of Venus. In addition, images of deities in the Dresden Codex informed the interpretation of Classic Period art.

The artistic tradition of Postclassic illuminated manuscripts developed directly from Classic Period traditions of narrative painting.⁴ We know from painted depictions on ceramic vessels that the Classic Maya themselves had screenfold books (figs. 3a,b,c), although none have been preserved. Several codex-sized containers—rectangular, lidded boxes in both wood and stone—have been found, suggesting that codices were stored and kept in royal courts and were included as offerings in burials and cave shrines. Classic Maya screenfold books are frequently depicted in scenes of courtly life. Scribes are shown actively painting the books, which are often bound in precious jaguar pelts. They are also shown referring to books while engaging in animated conversation and sometimes speak about numbers in what may be scenes of instruction (fig. 3a). On occasion, scribes are portrayed as animals such as monkeys or rabbits, have shell-shaped

fig. 2 Pages from the Dresden Codex (11th or 12th century), after facsimile editions by Ernst Förstemann, 1880, 1892 (Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dresden, Mscr.Dresd.R.310). Left: p. 18; right: p. 70

fig. 3 Drawings of scribes from scenes painted on Maya codex-style vessels. (a) Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth (AP 2004.04) (K1196); (b) Princeton University Art Museum (y1975-17) (K511) (see fig. 6); (c) unknown location (K760). In the Maya vase database (www.mayavase.com) created by Justin Kerr, each rollout photograph has a unique identifier consisting of the letter K followed by three or four digits. See note 9 for further information.



inkpots, and hold a type of stylus or brush (fig. 3b). In one scene, it appears that the book itself has come to life (fig. 3c): as a zoomorphic scribe with monkeylike features points to the volume's pages, complex mythological beings decorated with vegetation and bones sprout from the codex, perhaps giving clues to the supernatural nature of the book or its content.

THE CODEX STYLE

In the absence of illuminated codices from the Classic Maya period, the sample of narrative painting that survives intact from that era amounts to a few in situ murals and a larger corpus of painted pottery. Archaeologist Michael Coe brought the codex-style pots of the late seventh through the early ninth century to scholarly

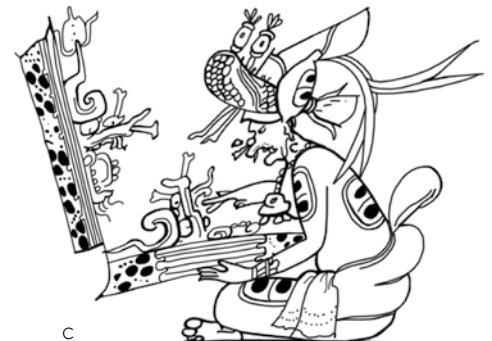




fig. 4 Codex-style vessel. Guatemala or Mexico. Maya, Late Classic, 7th–8th century. Ceramic with red, cream, and black slip, H. 5¼ in. (13.3 cm), Diam. 4¾ in. (10.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. David Heller, 1983 (1983.543.3)

fig. 5 Codex-style vessel showing the birth of the Maize God. Calakmul, Campeche, Mexico. Maya, Late Classic, 7th–8th century. Ceramic with red, cream, and black slip, H. 6½ in. (15.5 cm), Diam. 4¾ in. (11.7 cm). Museo Nacional de Antropología, México City (10-566398)

fig. 6 The Princeton Vase. Petén, Guatemala. Maya, Late Classic, A.D. 670–750. Ceramic with red, cream, and black slip, with remnants of painted stucco, H. 8½ in. (21.5 cm), Diam. 6½ in. (16.6 cm). Princeton University Art Museum, Museum purchase, gift of the Hans A. Widenmann, Class of 1918, and Dorothy Widenmann Foundation (γ1975-17)

attention with a landmark exhibition at the Grolier Club in New York in 1973. The show and its accompanying catalogue, *The Maya Scribe and His World*, presented for the first time a sufficient number of objects in museum and private collections to allow for a comparative and typological study of Maya pictorial ceramic painting. In the years that followed, Francis Robicsek and Donald Hales undertook a study of the codex-style corpus, published in 1981 as *The Maya Book of the Dead*. They identified themes or myths that were repeated in similar iterations across several vessels, and they named key characters that seemed to play important roles in various scenes.

The characteristics of the codex style are a cream or yellowish slipped background, often framed by red bands above and below, and a black calligraphic line delimiting figures and hieroglyphic texts. Sometimes the painters applied a gray or brown wash to shade figures or other features. One seventh- to eighth-century vessel in the Metropolitan's collection (fig. 4) bears the simple shading of the codex style: the artist emphasized the two seated gods in a manner very similar to those found on the pages of the much later Dresden Codex.⁵ In contrast to the richly polychromed vases and bowls from the large corpus of Maya vessels, codex-style pots stand apart in their gray scale, which is almost certainly a reflection of their development vis-à-vis calligraphic books.

Unfortunately, since few whole codex-style pots are known from archaeological contexts, the function

or historical significance of the great majority of these vessels is not fully understood. One exception is a drinking cup showing the birth of the Maize God, found in Tomb 1 of Structure XV at Calakmul, Campeche, Mexico (figs. 1, 5). In this scene, the Maize God emerges from the head of a disembodied vegetal creature in a watery landscape; the hieroglyphic text describes the drinking cup as used “for fruity chocolate.”⁶ During the Classic Period, the royal court of Calakmul anchored a massive conurbation that straddled the modern border between Campeche, Mexico, and Petén, Guatemala. The sheer quantities of codex-style potsherds recovered from the center of Calakmul and nearby sites across the northern border of Guatemala suggest strongly that the most active workshops for this style of ceramic art were located in this area. Most likely, the kings and queens of Calakmul commissioned scribes and painters, who may have been nobles themselves, to produce these vessels for the sovereigns' use and also to be presented as gifts in diplomatic exchanges with the rulers of other city-states.⁷ Evidence suggests that codex-style vessels might have been produced within just one or two generations in the mid- to late eighth century, precisely when the dynasts at Calakmul were heavily engaged in long-distance relations, both diplomatic and hostile, with their peers at Maya cities such as Tikal and Palenque.

The mystery surrounding the identity of the makers and commissioners of the codex-style pots is compounded by the fact that very few of these

fig. 7 (a) The Metropolitan Vase. Guatemala or Mexico. Maya, Late Classic, 7th–8th century. Ceramic with red, cream, and black slip, H. 5½ in. (14 cm), Diam. 4½ in. (11.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Purchase, Nelson A. Rockefeller Gift, 1968 (1978.412.206). (b) Rollout view

objects—in contrast to many of the finest Maya polychrome vessels—name their owners as royal individuals. Furthermore, little is known about the structure of ceramic workshops in Classic Maya courts, as very few artists signed their work. It is generally agreed that the potters were not also the painters; perhaps teams worked in sequence to create sets of distinct vessels for use with different foods and drinks.⁸ Barbara and Justin Kerr, building on the pioneering early work of Coe and Robicsek and Hales, and using their own groundbreaking database of rollout photographs of Maya vessels, identified at least three artists or schools of codex-style painting.⁹ The first group of eight vases by the same hand or school, or exhibiting the same technique, includes the renowned Princeton Vase (fig. 6). The Kerrs' second group revolves around the Metropolitan Vase (fig. 7) and six other vessels that were painted by



b

fig. 8 (a) Codex-style cup with stepped tripod supports. Guatemala or Mexico. Maya, Late Classic, 7th–8th century. Ceramic with red, cream, and black slip, H. 4 ½ in. (11.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller and Gifts of Nelson A. Rockefeller, Nathan Cummings, S.L.M. Barlow, Meredith Howland, and Captain Henry Erben, by exchange; and funds from various donors, 1980 (1980.213). (b) Rollout view



a



b

fig. 9 Three views of a codex-style bowl with water lily jaguar holding an enema. Guatemala or Mexico. Maya, Late Classic, 7th–8th century. Ceramic with red, cream, and black slip, H. 4 1/8 in. (10.5 cm), Diam. 7 1/8 in. (18.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Morris A. Long, 1987 (1987.450.1)



the same artist or in the same workshop. The final group, by the artist whom the Kerrs dubbed the Fantastic Painter, includes vessels in which the scribe experimented with an unusually fine line to create outside creatures that seem to rise out of or sink into the lower border.¹⁰ Scholars have concluded that the Metropolitan Master, as the painter of the Metropolitan Vase is known, was one of the most innovative artists of the Classic Period, directly responsible for, or having influenced, more than a dozen codex-style masterworks.¹¹

CODEX-STYLE VESSELS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

The identification of the Metropolitan Master was based on a cylindrical drinking cup that the Museum of Primitive Art purchased in 1968 and transferred to the Metropolitan Museum in 1978 (fig. 7).¹² In 1980, the Museum purchased another exceptional codex-style cup, one with stepped, tripod supports, that shows a

similar scene with three mythological characters (fig. 8).¹³ Gifts in 1983 (see fig. 4) and 1987 (fig. 9) of two more codex-style vessels added depth to the collection and featured new deities and characters, including the anthropomorphic jaguar wearing what seems to be a bib of white cotton, seen in figure 9a. This enigmatic image shows the jaguar holding an enema bladder with a syringe in the paw of its outstretched front leg. (The ancient Maya consumed alcoholic beverages through enemas; special enema tubes made from bone have been found in royal tombs.) A supernatural, bicephalic serpent emerges from the lower left of the enema bladder; the head of the serpent on the left of figure 9b holds an ax, as if to threaten the skeletal Death God. The Death God, to the right of the jaguar, is shown legless and with its hands raised. Anthropomorphic jaguars of this type appear on other vessels also, including the cup shown in figure 8. Unfortunately, interpretation of the scene with the enematic jaguar is impeded by a lack of comparative imagery and by the overpainting of the hieroglyphic text directly to the right of the jaguar.

With the addition of a gift in 2014 (fig. 10), the Metropolitan Museum's collection of codex-style pottery has grown to include three of the best-preserved and most elaborate mythological scenes from Maya art. The three vessels (figs. 7, 8, 10) tell three versions of a story, or perhaps three parts of a longer narrative. Although the sequence of events shown on the vessels is unclear, it is possible to reexamine the themes by considering imagery from several other codex-style pots in public and private collections. All three of the Museum's vessels seem to feature the Rain God as the main character, known by the nominal hieroglyphic logogram or syllabic spelling transcribed as Chahk. On two of the vessels, Chahk is depicted interacting with an anthropomorphic jaguar and a Death God; and on one of them (fig. 7), the protagonists are accompanied by a

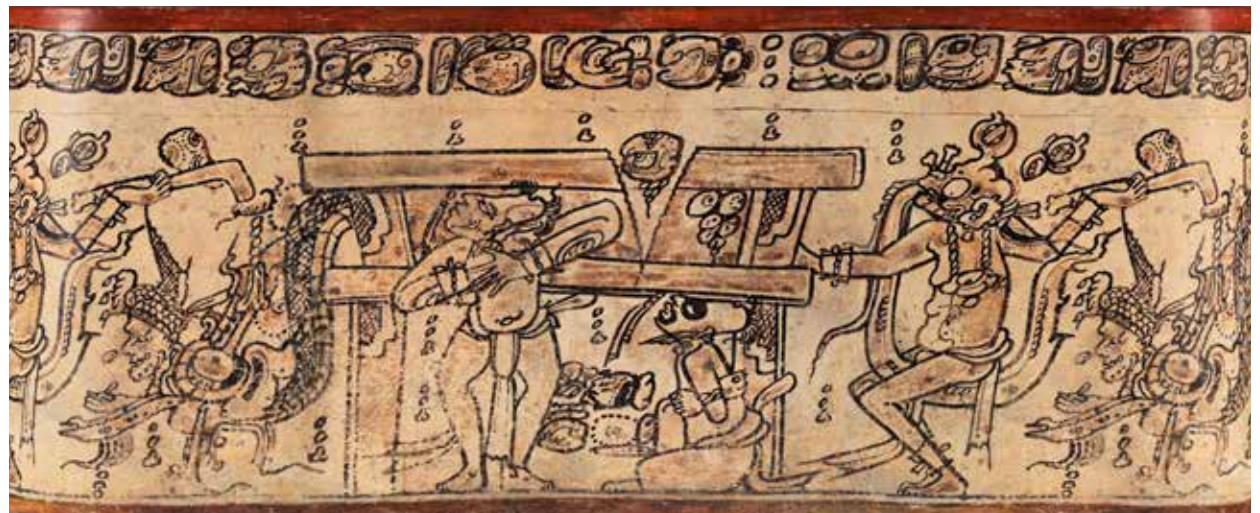


a

small sampling of what the Maya considered creatures of the night, beings that included dogs, fireflies, toads, and various deities.

Chahk is a fearsome individual in Maya art (fig. 11). He is often shown in frenetic motion, dancing and wielding weapons used in ritual combat, such as chert axes and boxing stones with handles.¹⁴ Like Chahk, rain in the tropics is unpredictable and full of motion. Sudden afternoon storms blow in as gusts, knocking dead limbs from trees. Chahk's ax, perhaps representing lightning, was heard during such tempests, and the effects of its force were seen. The Maya clearly recognized multiple versions of Chahk, ranging from human to supernatural and from young to aged. Chahk had many aspects, and Maya lords sometimes took royal names that incorporated various combinations of his traits. For example, at the site of Naranjo, Guatemala, a well-known lord of the late seventh and early eighth century acceded to the throne with the name K'ahk' Tiliw Chan Chahk—roughly, “Chahk Who Makes Fire in the Sky.”¹⁵

The most important characteristics of Chahk are his associations with water and the hydrological cycle, as expressed by his accoutrements and body markings.¹⁶ Scholars used to refer to Chahk as the Barbel God because Maya artists often depicted his body with fish scales, gill slits, or barbels similar to those found on catfish. His unruly hair is a key attribute, and he often wears a headdress resembling vegetation or aquatic flowers. He is most often adorned with ear flares made of *Spondylus* shells, signaling a deep connection with the sea and the richness of its products. Sometimes Chahk is shown as a fisherman, an allusion to the Maya



b

fig. 10 (a) Codex-style vase showing Chahk breaking open a building, the dancing Maize God, and a seated captive. Guatemala or Mexico. Maya, Late Classic, 7th–8th century. Ceramic with red, cream, and black slip, H. 7½ in. (19 cm), Diam. 4½ in. (11.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Justin Kerr in memory of Barbara Kerr, 2014 (2014.632.1). (b) Rollout view



belief that rain could bring bountiful food in the form of fish. Chahk was still considered a vital force by Yukatek Mayan speakers in southern Mexico into the colonial period, and rainmaking rituals involving Chahk are still practiced today in the Northern Yucatán.¹⁷

**THE METROPOLITAN VASE:
CHAHK AND THE BABY JAGUAR**

On this vase, the Metropolitan Master painted one of the finest extant deity portraits in the Classic Maya corpus (fig. 7). The young Chahk poses in mid-stride, lifting off his left foot and extending his right leg in front of him, gracefully pointing his toes. The underside of each leg is marked with a scale pattern, evoking a shimmering, wet, aquatic creature. He wears the complex loincloth of knotted cotton typical of his costume; the rear panel of the loincloth terminates in the shape of a fish tail. His necklace is unique, with extruded eyeballs as pendants and a pectoral in the shape of an upside-down water jar that bears the hieroglyph for darkness and has what looks like a small serpent emerging from its mouth.¹⁸ Other jewels, on his ankles and wrists, may be of jade or another precious material, and his head-dress is a sprouting tangle of watery vegetation. The shell earrings meet the barbel that extends from his nostril and projects beyond his chin. The god's human aspect is emphasized by the distinguished

profile of the face, the musculature, the ankle joints, and the finger- and toenails. In his right hand, Chahk grasps the wooden handle of a shining stone ax, and in his left hand he holds an animate boxing stone depicted with eyes, nose, and a mouth.

The Rain God actively engages with a giant, jawless creature, likely the representation of what is referred to in the hieroglyphic texts as a *witz*, the spirit of a mountain. The god's right leg crosses in front of the creature's lip, while his left arm passes behind the lip's curled tip. It is as if Chahk, the personification of rain, needs to partake in a ritual combative dance with an animate mountain to set the actions presented here in motion. The mountain monster has a feathered eyelid, present on crocodilians in Maya art; a jagged tooth; and liquid or vegetation spewing forth from a cavellike mouth and spilling on the ground line at Chahk's feet. The head of the mountain is embellished with grape-bunch markings, signifying that it is a stony place.

A supernatural baby jaguar sprawls on its back across the top of the zoomorphic mountain, flailing about fitfully as if searching for stability. The jaguar's face has otherworldly features and contrasts sharply with Chahk's more human visage. Its square eye is a marker of divinity in Maya art, and the overbite with sharklike tooth is another sign that this reclining deity is a peer of Chahk and the Sun God, both of whom are

fig. 11 Drawings of Chahk figures painted on Late Classic Maya vessels. (a) MMA 2014.632.1 (fig. 10); (b) MMA 1980.213 (fig. 8); (c) Princeton University Art Museum (y1986-98) (fig. 12); (d) Dallas Museum of Art (1991.44); (e) Private collection (K4013); (f) Private collection (K8608)

sometimes shown with a similar protruding tooth. The creature's knotted hairstyle and vegetal headdress are similar to Chahk's, and its ears, paws, and tail are masterfully painted to resemble those of a juvenile jaguar. Portrayals of this same creature occur in a hieroglyphic logogram found in some royal names.¹⁹

On the right side of the *witz* is a frightening creature of the night, its skeletal head marked with sutures and accented by two extruded eyeballs. It has an insect-like carapace, the distended belly of a corpse, spindly legs with knobby knees, and long, extended arms. This is likely a Death God, a denizen of the Maya underworld who plays a role in the myth of the birth of the baby jaguar. He, too, dances, rising off his left foot and extending the right, as if echoing Chahk's dance. His grasping hands seem to reach for the baby jaguar or the hieroglyphic caption hovering above him. He wears an elaborate dorsal backrack costume composed of textiles, bone elements, and extruded eyeballs.

The Death God has two creepy companions. Floating behind him, a firefly appears as a skeletal cyclops with a central eye in the form of *akbal*, the hieroglyph for darkness. Three extruded eyeballs crown his head, and his insectlike hind legs and abdomen are delicately rendered. He holds a cigar or torch, a Maya artistic convention signifying a creature of the night: the light of a cigar being smoked in the dark mimics the bioluminescent flickering of lightning bugs. Below the firefly is a mischievous dog with spotted tail and ears. He pants behind the dancing Death God and raises a front paw as if begging for food or playing. Most of the text that floats above the baby jaguar is opaque in meaning, but the eighth and final glyph block in the sequence refers to the presumed owner of the vase with a noble title, *k'uhul chatan winik*, which was used in certain places during the Classic Period.

The overarching theme of this vessel is the necessary interaction of life-giving rains and rotting death to produce new life, represented here by the Baby Jaguar God. The presence of the death god and his companions evokes a sense that when organic remains decay and rains fall, life begins anew at the fertilized site. This chain of events occurs on the top of a mythological mountain at the center of the Maya world. The gray wash used on the lower portion of the vessel perhaps represents water or steamy breath that emerges from caves in order to create clouds and produce rain. Chahk in all his glory emerges from and interacts with the mountain cave as he celebrates the birth of the baby jaguar while wielding his lightning ax. The Death God's pose seems to show that he has tossed out the baby

jaguar or that it has slipped from his hands, or perhaps that it was snatched from his clutches.

CHAHK OF THE "FIRST RAIN"

The Met's small drinking cup, also by the Metropolitan Master or workshop, features a related myth and a text that places the depicted events at the start of the tropical rainy season (see fig. 8). The black-on-cream painted scene, framed by vivid red bands on the flaring rim and the base, centers on a feline with dark spots. This "water lily jaguar," a character known from depictions and hieroglyphic texts on other vessels and monuments, crouches on a large *witz*. The jaguar wears a white cape, and delicate vegetation sprouts from its head and front paw.

Over the jaguar's hindquarters, Chahk brandishes a boxing stone in his right hand. In his left, he holds a large ax marked with the hieroglyphic symbol for shiny objects (an emblem composed of concentric, capsule-shaped elements). Chahk actively addresses the jaguar on the mountain, perhaps in a menacing attack or celebratory dance. He is shown in full supernatural form, with his typical knotted hair and vegetal headdress, marine shell earrings, and a pectoral seemingly made of knotted cords (fig. 11b). A single tooth projects from his fishlike mouth. The hieroglyphic text above the boxing stone specifies that this is the Chahk of the "First Rain," setting the scene at the start of the rainy season.²⁰

Rather than shrinking down the characters to show their bodies' full length, the artist chose to terminate the figures at the waist. A smudgy border at the bottom of the scene may denote that the action takes place in a smoky or watery location, possibly a low-lying area flooded by the early rains, perhaps in the seasonal swamps around Calakmul itself.

The other personage on the vessel, to the left of the water lily jaguar, is a dancing Death God who interacts with a supernatural serpent emerging from the mountain. This death deity is depicted as both skeletal, with a humanoid cranium sporting two extruded eyeballs and black face paint, and insectlike, with a segmented torso and a similarly segmented headdress. He raises his hands as if to beseech or threaten the jaguar, who faces him. A tasseled jewel representing a nose ornament or perhaps sacred breath emerges from the Death God's nostril.

The hieroglyphic caption between this character's back and the tail of his headdress (on the left in the rollout photograph) likely contains a logogram for his name in the damaged glyphic head with black face paint. The caption further states that "it is his *wahy*," or co-essence—his alter ego.²¹ The "his" in this phrase



fig. 12 Two views of a codex-style tripod vessel with a scene showing Chahk, a baby jaguar, and a Death God. Petén, Guatemala. Maya, Late Classic, 7th–8th century. Ceramic with red, cream, and black slip. H. 4 ¼ in. (12.1 cm), Diam. 5 ½ in. (13.6 cm). Princeton University Art Museum (y1986-98)

likely refers to the vessel's owner, who some have argued was a royal youth, although the cup carries no reference to a specific dynasty. *Wahy* beings are often personifications of death, disease, and other unsavory aspects of the Maya cosmos. By “owning” the *wahy* beings and depicting them, Maya nobles harnessed the power of these negative aspects of mythology. With its blackened eyes, this particular *wahy* might be related to the anthropomorphic deity Akan, associated with decapitation and drunken abandon. The glyphic caption SAJ-JA²² (to the left of Chahk's ax-head) refers to the Death God's “whitening” state, as the flesh desiccates and the bones get bleached by the sun.

The text seen at the center of the rollout photograph is difficult to interpret: it either names the owner as a child (*b'a-ku*) or refers to a head stone (ba-TUUN-[ni])—perhaps the boxing stone—depicted in another part of the image. This vessel's owner, too, is referred to as a *k'uhul chatan winik*, but the artist does not seem to have set out to portray actual events or name a real royal owner of the cup. The glyphic phrase for “child of mother” is included in what seems to be a statement of the vessel owner's parentage, but the phrasing is unconventional and difficult to discern. The date created by combining the day and month names is also fictive and does not fit into the actual cycles of time. Recent research on newly excavated texts has revealed

that 7 Muluk, the day name that appears both on this vessel and on the Metropolitan Vase, was the day of accession of an important Calakmul king. This finding might account for the presence of the same inscription on codex-style vessels reportedly from the area of Calakmul.²³ In other words, the reference to 7 Muluk may anchor this mythological scene in an actual royal event; the cup's users would have been reminded of the day their king took office.

At least a dozen vessels are known with similar iconography featuring Chahk, the Death God, and a baby jaguar interacting in the same narrative scene. Five of these works can tentatively be attributed to the Metropolitan Master or an associated workshop. A drinking cup in the Princeton University Art Museum (fig. 12) is strikingly similar to the Metropolitan's two works in this group; in fact, the dimensions of the Princeton cup and the T-shape of its tripod supports strongly suggest not only that it was painted in the workshop of the Metropolitan Master but that it was also formed by the potter who made the cup shown in figure 8.

The Princeton cup shows Chahk with supernatural features, including barbels on his cheeks and shiny markings on his legs, wielding an ax (fig. 11c). Behind him crouches the anthropomorphic water lily jaguar (seen partially in fig. 12, above left) with the white

cotton bib. The jaguar's paw is raised and pressed to its forehead in a pose of anguish. There is also a firefly above and to the right of the jaguar that holds a torch (not seen in these views of fig. 12) and displays the same features as the insectlike torchbearer on the Metropolitan Vase. On the left, the Death God reaches for the baby jaguar, which seems to be sliding off the *witz*. The baby shows more humanlike characteristics than its counterpart on the Metropolitan Vase, though it has a tail and the "crueller" under-eye ornaments associated with the Jaguar God of the Underworld, the personification of the sun as it travels around the earth at night.

The text, here to the left of the baby, records the date 7 Muluk, which appears on the Metropolitan Vase. The text also contains a phrase that could refer to a ruler acceding to the throne by grasping the scepter of K'awiil, the Lightning God. The Lightning God, usually depicted with a smoking celt lodged in his forehead and with feet terminating in serpent heads, is intimately associated with royal accession and regalia. Actual sculpted K'awiil scepters resembling those depicted have been found in archaeological contexts, suggesting that these objects were taken up by Maya kings when they assumed power. A vase in the Dallas Museum of Art shows a similar realistic, reclining baby jaguar and a comparable phrase for "grasping" that also may signify the commemoration of an accession to the throne.²⁴ The Dallas Chahk shares many physical characteristics with the Metropolitan Vase's Chahk, though the former is marked as supernatural and the motif on his pectoral is a percent sign (fig. 11d) rather than the hieroglyph for "night."²⁵

The Chahk–Death God–Baby Jaguar scene appears on about ten vases painted by hands other than those of the Metropolitan Master and his close followers.²⁶ The painters of these works were unequally skilled and generally demonstrated less control than the Metropolitan Master group in the spacing of figures and the execution of the calligraphic line. They clearly present the same event but introduce different versions of the characters or altogether new ones, along with varying hieroglyphic dates, verbs, and names.²⁷ Among these vessels, the archaeological context is known of only one securely identified fragment (fig. 13), which was found within the midden of Structure XX at Calakmul.

CHAHK THE "STRIKER"

The scenes considered thus far perhaps represent the same myths, or two different moments in the same narrative, pertaining to the Rain God and the start of the rainy season. The newest addition to the Metropolitan's

collection of codex-style vessels shows a different side of the story, one that is unique in the corpus of Maya ceramic paintings (fig. 10).²⁸ This spectacular codex-style vessel bears a mythological scene in which an aging Chahk wields a ceremonial ax in his left hand while placing his right hand on a stone temple or palace that he has presumably split open.

Several features distinguish this Chahk (fig. 11a) from the ones painted by the Metropolitan Master and his followers. Although he is shown with the familiar watery vegetation headdress, Spondylus earspools, and barbels, the tiny wisps of hair on the knob of his head are nothing like the bushy, unruly tangle of knotted hair seen in his other portrayals. The torso of the god is uncharacteristically saggy, accented with skin rolls—a convention in Maya depictions of geriatric bodies. A rather plain loincloth and trilobed pectoral contrast with the more elaborate dress and jewelry seen in other representations of Chahk. Most peculiar here is the volute of vegetal smoke that the god vomits out. The spewed matter flows between his legs and upward, so that he appears to be seated in the crook of the watery emanation. Rather than dancing, he crouches. The text, which runs beneath the entire length of the upper band, refers to the "raising" of the "drinking cup" in an act of dedication. The vessel's owner is noted as "striker" (ja-JATZ'-ma, *jatzoom*), a name perhaps relating him to the ax-wielding figure of Chahk.²⁹ The designation could also indicate the owner's earthly role in the perpetuation of agricultural cycles—that of breaking open the soil to sow maize.

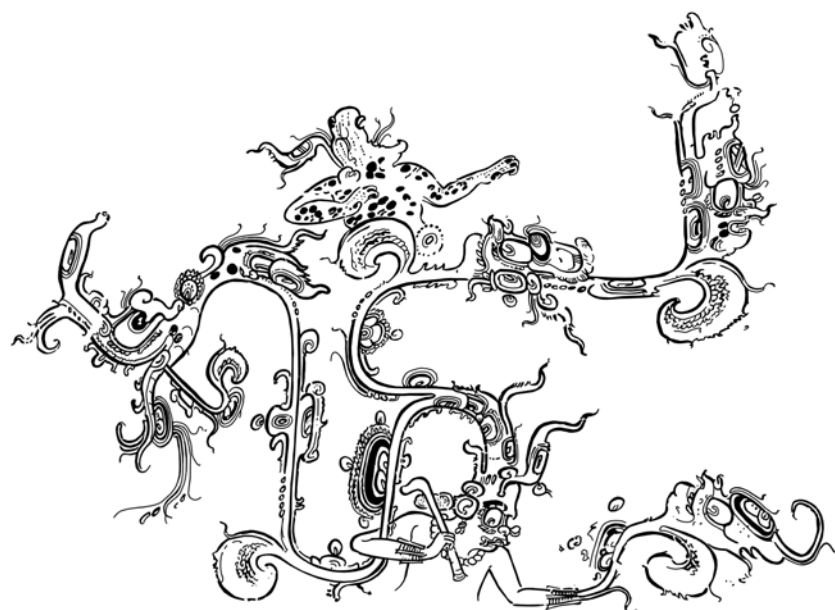
Though Chahk is the largest character in the scene, the action seems to center on the two figures seen in



fig. 13 Drawing of a codex-style bowl fragment showing Chahk holding a boxing stone. Campeche, Mexico, Calakmul Structure XX. Maya, Late Classic, 7th–8th century

fig. 14 Drawing of a scene on a codex-style vase showing Chahk seated on a jaguar pillow behind the bound Maize God





b

a

fig. 15 (a) Tripod plate showing Chahk as the great progenitor. Maya, Late Classic, 7th–8th century. Ceramic with red, cream, and black slip, Diam. approx. 16½ in. (42 cm). Private collection. (b) Drawing of a detail of the plate shown in fig. 15a

front of the cracking temple. The one on the left, a youthful Maize God, identified by his cob-shaped head with wispy tassel hair and the shining hieroglyphs on his arms, poses as if in mid-dance. To his left sits a forlorn captive with black face paint and arms bound behind his back. The text to the left of the captive may identify him as a historical or mythological character, although the phrasing is difficult to interpret. The “grape-bunch” motif located to the right of the cleft on the temple’s facade signifies that the building is made of stone, and four half-quatrefoil motifs marked with crosshatching perhaps represent windows in the walls. A dark mythological serpent emerges from one of the quatrefoil voids, and an aged god emerges from the serpent’s mouth.

The direction of the figures’ gazes reveals the sequence of events. The old god emerging from the serpent stares at the back of the aggressive Rain God, who in turn focuses intently on the building he is destroying. In contrast, both the Maize God and the captive look upward. Scattered about the scene are circles and teardrop shapes aligned vertically in twos and threes. These likely represent raindrops falling as a result of Chahk’s ritual actions. Looking skyward, the Maize God and captive are awaiting the first rains, blessed for their life-giving powers but cursed for their destructive ability.

By breaking open the building’s roof, Chahk could be bringing the Maize God back to life. The contrasts between good and evil, growth and decay, and the shine of youth versus the sag of old age converge in this mythic scene encapsulating the relationship between rain and maize.³⁰ The act of destroying in order to create may be the message encoded here, as in the scenes showing Chahk interacting with the baby jaguar and the Death God. Although Chahk is often associated with watery bounty, it is rare to see him explicitly related to maize or the Maize God himself. One example of this pairing occurs on a codex-style vase with pseudoglyphs showing a figure that appears to be Chahk seated on a jaguar pillow behind a captive Maize God (fig. 14).³¹ Another instance is found in the text inscribed on Stela 12 from the site of Piedras Negras, Guatemala, which refers to Chahk as “the corn tamale,” or “he of the tamale place.”³²

Other codex-style vessels provide hints of the diverse array of characters Chahk engaged with in the Classic Maya spiritual realm. He seems to have been associated with a wide variety of *wahy* personalities. In an unknown private collection, a vase probably by the Metropolitan Master or his workshop shows an aged Chahk (fig. 11f) dancing before a *wahy* toad while a

coterie of creatures, including a firefly and crouching feline, looks on.³³ Chahk attacks human victims with the help of *wahy* accomplices (K1653); he attacks fantastic beasts in the form of giant peccaries (K3450); and he dances with *wahy* spirits around body parts of a dismembered god.³⁴

The depictions of Chahk on seventh- and eighth-century pottery consistently show him as a central figure in regenerative mythologies pertaining to vegetation. On a large tripod plate, he appears as the great progenitor (fig. 15). Wearing his trademark Spondylus earrings and brandishing his ax, he rises waist-high from a watery realm. The rest of the scene literally grows from his head and left arm as elaborate, vegetative scrolls fill the space around him, sprouting gods' heads, a serpent's maw, and even a howling water lily jaguar. On the rim, aquatic motifs and water lilies evoke the wet environment of the baby jaguar's birth. The plate presents the world of the Rain God at the precise moment of creation and imbues the products placed in it during feasts with a mythological dimension.³⁵

LARGER NARRATIVES: CHAHK, THE MAIZE GOD, AND MAYA CREATIONS

The reiteration of the iconographic complex of Chahk and the Maize God by both the same artist and different artists suggests the existence of macro- or meta-narratives—of a larger story or myth behind these images. However, the lack of textual inscriptions on many codex-style vases makes it difficult to securely identify characters other than Chahk himself. Prior attempts to interpret this iconography have relied on

Postclassic books, post-contact texts such as the sixteenth-century *Popol Vuh* (the “Book of the People” of the K'iche Maya), and other colonial sources.

The discovery in 2001 of the Preclassic murals (ca. 300 B.C.–A.D. 250) at San Bartolo, Guatemala, has given a time depth to the relationship of Chahk and the Maize God.³⁶ In a scene on the west wall of the mural room, a piscine Chahk seated on a throne inside a giant turtle carapace gestures toward a dancing Maize God (fig. 16). The Maize God wears a turtle shell drum around his neck and beats it frenetically with deer antlers as he dances. A third character, identified as the personification of terrestrial water (as opposed to falling rain), also gestures to the dancing Maize God.³⁷ This painting testifies to the perpetuation of imagery representing personified maize and rain from ancient times to the Classic Period of the Metropolitan Museum's vases.

One of the great seventh-to-eighth-century codex-style plates, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, shows the Maize God emerging from a turtle, an image that is possibly a later interpretation of the creation scene depicted at San Bartolo.³⁸ Creation myths from as early as the first millennium B.C. thus situate the interaction of gods in special places such as turtle carapace caves and watery *witz* landscapes. In other sections of the San Bartolo mural, the Maize God interacts with a snarling *witz* monster and even appears as an infant being carried. Images of mythological infants, possibly representing new beginnings, are common at San Bartolo; in one scene, five infants with umbilical cords are shown shooting out of an exploding gourd in a gush of blood.



fig. 16 Drawing of a mural detail showing a creation scene with the Maize God dancing before Chahk, enthroned. San Bartolo, Guatemala. Maya, Preclassic, ca. 100 B.C.

Early Classic texts (ca. A.D. 250–550) provide clues to the date that the Maya assigned to the creation of the mortal realm. Accounts of creation reference a Maya calendar date (13.0.0.0 4 Ajaw 8 Kumk’u) from the mythic past that corresponds to a date in 3114 B.C. in the modern calendar. The date was so iconic in Maya thought that it was often recorded by its day name only, as in a text inscribed on the reverse of a greenstone mask-pendant in a private collection.³⁹ This fourth- or fifth-century text describes a series of actions by Sky and Earth Gods, and the mask with which it is associated portrays a version of Chahk, complete with fishy barbels and forehead marked with the hieroglyph “YAX-WAY-bi.” This phrase, which is also written into the creation text on the back of the pendant, refers to a “first” or primordial “sleeping place,” which may be a metaphor for a house of the gods. Chahk was the face of creation for this Early Classic sculptor.

Parallel texts from the Late Classic period, too, allude to the watery realms of Chahk. An inscription on Quirigua Stela C, from A.D. 775, recounts the involvement of the Paddler Gods, two deities who in various scenes pilot the Maize God’s canoe, in setting up a primordial, three-stoned hearth—a symbol of creation. On two vessels known as the Vase of the Seven Gods (K2796) and the Vase of the Eleven Gods (K7750), texts dated 4 Ajaw refer to the gods being “ordered,” and their orderly appearance in an otherworldly court scene, as depicted on the pots, reflects this creation event. The relief-carved Tablet of the Cross at Palenque, dated to A.D. 692, prominently features the local patron deity, known as G1 of the Palenque Triad, in the 4 Ajaw 8 Kumk’u creation event, in which the deity is said to have “descended from the sky.” G1, with fishy barbels and Spondylus earflares, is a local expression of aspects found elsewhere in the Rain God Chahk.⁴⁰ The codex-style vases in the Metropolitan Museum are thus examples of the culmination of a centuries-long tradition of revering Chahk and the Maize God through visual narratives. They are progenitor deities for the Maya, appearing both in the earliest mural programs and in texts that refer to past events that happened in deep time.

FUNCTION AND SOCIAL INTERPRETATIONS

If the codex-style pots were in a sense didactic, designed to teach all who handled them about the crucial mythology of maize, the staple food, they must have played a role in organizing the moral behaviors of the Classic Maya around good and right actions intended to propitiate the gods. Thus, it is possible to learn about the code of ethics in courtly Maya society

from the conventions depicted by its most celebrated painters, such as the Metropolitan Master. For example, scenes showing both Chahk and the Maize God, though rare, always include images of bound captives, allusions to violence. Drinking cups bearing such images would have conveyed the message that too much rain (or water) is harmful to maize plants (or harvested cobs); perhaps they were used in ritual celebrations of good harvests or in ceremonies appealing for temperate “first rains.”

There is ample evidence from colonial histories and twentieth-century ethnography that Chahk played a major role in rainmaking rituals.⁴¹ It stands to reason that Chahk cups mentioning the first rain could have been physical reminders of the celestial machinations that created the primordial precipitation. Such vessels would have been used during feasts or celebrations and then placed in tombs of the ancestors, where, visible to the gods, they would remind the deities that men were correctly honoring the mythic foundations of human society.⁴² Rulers probably impersonated Chahk and the Maize God on occasion, sometimes even incorporating Chahk into their royal names in order to oversee with godlike authority the all-important production of maize, thus legitimizing their power over their subjects.

Though Chahk and the Maize God appear in scenes affirming agricultural fertility and the triumph of “first, green” life over brown death, they do not appear in codex-style scenes depicting the birth of humankind. A recent reconstruction of human creation myths from Classic Maya pottery and ethnographic folklore brought to light such a narrative, in which an aged, ancestral god calls forth his courtly artisans—a monkey, a vulture, and a canine, among others—and together they shape human heads out of clay, later carving and painting them to give them individual identities.⁴³ Parallels to this story are found among the twentieth-century creation myths of the Tzotzil and Tzeltal peoples of highland Chiapas, Mexico.

Therefore, it seems plausible that two or more parallel creation myths—one for the natural world and agriculture, and one for mankind—underpinned the oral histories and ritual activities of the Classic Maya. In the Late Classic period in the area around Calakmul, artists of the royal courts were tasked less with depicting the creation of humans from clay than with showing Chahk and the Maize God in triumph over the Death Gods so that the divine baby jaguar could be brought into the world. Though a matter of speculation, it is possible that environmental problems such as prolonged drought contributed to an emphasis on representing the

fig. 17 Head of a Rain God. Chichen Itza, Mexico. Maya, Late-Terminal Classic, 10th–11th century. Fossiliferous limestone, 13¼ × 11⅞ × 9⅜ in. (34.9 × 30.2 × 23.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Gift of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1963 (1978.412.24)



fig. 18 Monumental figure. Mexico. Maya, Late Classic, 9th century. Limestone, 84½ × 24 × 20 in. (214.6 × 61 × 50.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1966 (66.181)



first rain and the renewal of the Maize God's life cycle in the visual arts.⁴⁴ Kings and queens, through the works of their court artists, sought to reassure their subjects that rain was coming, and that all was right in Chahk's world.

Together, these seventh- and eighth-century painted scenes form a poignant reminder of a story told for generations and subsequently lost. The rupture in the Classic Maya social fabric caused by the collapse of the political institution of dynastic kingship rendered the making of such images obsolete. As Maya peoples abandoned the majestic Classic Period cities, the vibrant communities of artists who produced the codex-style vessels disbanded. Portrayals of Chahk that survive from later centuries, such as the Metropolitan Museum's limestone Rain God head from Chichen Itza, Mexico, and the standing Chahk with a double-bladed ax, tend to be monumental and fearsome (figs. 17, 18). It had become imperative for Chahk to be imposing and publicly viewable rather than delicately rendered and shared at elite feasting celebrations.

CONCLUSION

Creation stories are an important source of artistic inspiration across cultures. For the Classic Maya of the Yucatán Peninsula, Chahk and his companions were an enduring subject for more than a millennium. Through the centuries, artists returned to specific mythological scenes pertaining to rain, maize, and the creation of the

Maya world. Such scenes were rendered imaginatively and in exquisite detail in the final years of the Classic Maya cities. The master painters of codex-style pottery, inspired by the elaborate imagery in screenfold books, appear to have been active over the course of only a few generations and in a restricted area of elite courts. Available epigraphic evidence shows that scribe-painters

were often members of the royal family and operated under supervision of the royal courts in workshop settings to produce pottery-based illustrated literature. A workshop model might explain the repetition of subjects and the adherence to stylistic conventions visible in the codex-style painting; indeed, multiple sculptors signed large Maya stelae, and often one among them is identified as the “head” sculptor or master artist.⁴⁵ In contrast to monumental sculpture, however, Maya ceramics circulated widely through trade and as diplomatic gifts. Codex-style works continue to pose key questions, such as why certain artists chose particular motifs or narratives, and what specific purpose their work was meant to serve.

It is possible that pots of different shapes and sizes, painted in the same workshop, were created as sets for certain people or specific grand occasions. Other types of polychrome pottery were clearly made as sets; matching vessels were often commissioned for royal youths to own or to present as gifts to their peers from neighboring city-states.⁴⁶ Codex-style pots representing the same or similar scenes may have been commissioned as diplomatic gifts to individuals in peer dynastic polities. Given the extent of looting in southern Campeche and northern Guatemala, it is possible that these matching sets were discovered in separate contexts and have been reconstituted only through the dedication of researchers such as Justin and Barbara Kerr to recording all the known examples.

A final consideration is that the experience of painting itself, the difficult process of planning out and executing a scene with a whiplash line and subtle shading, could have been the main purpose of production. It is possible to imagine a master painter instructing a class of apprentices, perhaps training them simultaneously in the art of mythic storytelling and painting. The repetitions of these scenes, then, would signify a collective session of artistic creation rather than isolated copyings of a master template. We could thus be seeing multiple visual manifestations of an oral tradition by members of a group of artists, each one of whom interpreted the essential elements of a myth in distinctive and personal ways, always within the confines of established painterly rules.

As earlier researchers have argued, the models for codex-style painted vessels were likely pages from sacred Maya books. Vases afforded limited space for narrative content, and the majority of artists depicted only a handful of figures at most; someone holding or viewing a vase potentially could see just one character or feature at a time. Turning the cup and reading the

text could have been part of a performance, the scene on the vessel serving as a mnemonic device for the recitation of mythic creation stories or reenactments of mythico-historic events. Perhaps we are given a glimpse of now-lost epic poetry through the codex-style artists’ calligraphic lines, passed down from generation to generation in the Classic Maya world. Kings, queens, and nobles used codex-style scenes to travel back to a time before humans, when the gods were set in order and the first rains helped maize to grow. In these rare vessels, we, too, gaze back to a time when the world was young.

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NOTES

- 1 The Precolumbian Maya codices are the following: Dresden Codex (Codex Dresdensis): Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (Mscr.Dresd.R.310); Madrid Codex (Códice Tro-Cortesiano): Museo de América (70300); Paris Codex (Codex Peresianus): Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Mexicain 386); Grolier Codex: Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City.
- 2 Coe et al. 2016.
- 3 See, among others: Humboldt 1810, pp. 266–70, pl. XLV; Kingsborough 1831–48, vol. 3; Förstemann 1880; Brinton 1882; Förstemann 1892; Thompson 1972; Wald 2004; Bricker and Bricker 2005; Tedlock and Tedlock 2007; Aldana y Villalobos 2014.
- 4 Lacadena 2009; Lacadena 2010; Hull and Carrasco 2012; Law et al. 2013; Rossi, Saturno, and Hurst 2015.
- 5 Sometimes on codex-style vessels the names of the days are set apart in a red cartouche, continuing a long tradition of using hieroglyphs with bloody, decapitated figures as signs for the names of days, a nod to the violence necessary to jump-start cycles of Maya time. See Houston, Stuart, and Taube 2006, pp. 93–95.
- 6 Preliminary studies of the contents of codex-style vessels have failed to identify conclusively any organic matter except, on a flask marked as a tobacco container, nicotine. See Loughmiller-Newman 2012.
- 7 Hansen, Bishop, and Fahsen 1991; Martin 1997; Carrasco Vargas et al. 1999; Martin 2002; García Barrios and Carrasco Vargas 2006; Delvendahl 2008; Reents-Budet et al. 2010; García Barrios 2011a; García Barrios 2011b.
- 8 Reents-Budet 1994; Just 2012.
- 9 Kerr and Kerr 1988. Since the 1970s, the Kerr rollout photograph database (www.mayavase.com) has played a critical role in studies of Maya art and the decipherment of Maya writing. Each rollout photograph on the database has a unique identifier consisting of the letter K followed by four digits.
- 10 See, for example, K1199, K2207, and K3450.
- 11 Schele and Miller 1986, p. 287; Cohodas 1989, p. 204.
- 12 Published references include: Foncerrada de Molina 1970, figs. 1–4; Thompson 1971, pl. 14d; Foncerrada de Molina 1972; Coe 1973, no. 45; Willey et al. 1974, pp. 238–39, fig. 192b; Coe 1978, no. 4; Robicsek 1978, pp. 159–60, fig. 172; Robicsek and Hales 1981, pp. 24, 41–42; Lounsbury 1985, fig. 6; Schele and Miller 1986, pl. 117; Cohodas 1989, fig. 14.2; Delvendahl 2008, pp. 127–28; Van Akkeren 2012, fig. 2.
- 13 Published references include: Robicsek and Hales 1981, pp. 24, 41–42; Kerr and Kerr 1988; Robicsek and Hales 1988;Looper 2003, p. 87, fig. 3.13; Lacadena and Wichmann 2004; Barrois and Tokovinine 2005; Griffith and Jack 2005; García Barrios 2008, pp. 12–13, 140 fig. 3.3g, 145 figs. 3.7, 3.156a, and 519; Keener 2009, p. 6; Van Akkeren 2012, p. 700; Brittenham and Nagao 2014, n. 36.
- 14 Taube and Zender 2009.
- 15 García Barrios 2007, pp. 20–21, fig. 3.
- 16 Taube 1996; García Barrios 2008; Pallan Goyol 2008.
- 17 See, among others, Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993, pp. 25–33.
- 18 Pillsbury et al. 2012, p. 45.
- 19 Martin 2002.
- 20 The hieroglyphic phrase for “First Rain” was first identified by David Stuart on the Copan Hieroglyphic Stairway. Stephen Houston, personal communication, 2014.
- 21 Houston and Stuart 1989; Grube and Nahm 1994.
- 22 In transliteration of Maya hieroglyphs, syllabic decipherments, such as *b’a-ku*, are written in lowercase, and logographic decipherments, such as SAJ-JA, are written in capital letters.
- 23 Stuart et al. 2015.
- 24 Dallas Museum of Art (1991.44, K1370).
- 25 The most elaborate scene in this series by the Metropolitan Master occurs on a vessel in an unknown private collection (K4013). The same cast of characters is featured: the Death God reaches for the baby jaguar, and a fishy Chahk (fig. 11e) with ax and stone in hand floats above the mist billowing from the animate *witz*. The tall (7½-inch) vessel allowed for full-length renderings of the characters and an expanded version of the wilderness symbolized by the animate mountain. A living tree with a godlike visage grows from the mountain and jaguar-paw ear. From the tree emerges an ornate serpent known from other scenes. An aged god with an elaborate pectoral and a flaming torch piercing his head issues from the maw of the serpent and gestures toward Chahk as if in conversation. A lack of substantive hieroglyphic text complicates the interpretation of this scene with the central tree, though a similar tree scene by a different artist (K1815) refers to the “First Rain” Chahk.
Another vessel from an unknown collection (K4011) has imagery parallel to the two Metropolitan scenes. In this scene the baby flails in the air rather than reclines, as if falling toward the *witz*. Again, Chahk is referred to as the “First Rain” God, and a similar smoky wash on the lower portion of the scene obscures details. A falling baby jaguar also appears on a cylinder vessel (K4056) that introduces a new character to the Rain God–Death God drama. Behind the ax-wielding Chahk, an aged individual with a long proboscis, perhaps a jester or a figure in an animal costume, holds fans or standards.
- 26 One group of codex-style vases may illustrate another myth associated with the baby jaguar and anchor the myth in the realm of human rulers. It seems that a mortal Maya traveler, portrayed with distinctive clothing and markings, presented the infant to a seated ruler. This scene appears on at least four vessels (K1200, K4384, K5855, K8655), but its meaning is difficult to discern, as only one these vessels has an accompanying text (K5855).
- 27 The Death God appears with centipede creatures (K1644), carries a tiny version of himself on his back (K1815), and engages in the atypical actions of scattering blood (K1768) and cradling the baby jaguar in his arms while dancing (K2213). An owl or other raptor flies behind Chahk in at least two scenes (K2208, K3201), replacing the firefly as a denizen of the air. Chahk in one instance is explicitly shown as destructive, vomiting lightning or bellowing sound and holding a flaming ax blade.
- 28 One other codex-style vessel shows an ax-wielding Chahk with a split-open building (K2772). The scene on this vessel is decidedly different from the one in figure 10. It presents two different versions of the Rain God wreaking havoc on the building, and two kneeling warriors and three royal females seated on a jaguar throne; see Bassie-Sweet 2008, pp. 146–47, fig. 7.9, and Pallan Goyol 2008, p. 26, fig. 5. The cleft building is marked with the Maya sign for “scent, musk” (see Houston 2010), and the old god emerges from an elaborate serpent that grows from the foot of one of the Rain Gods. The Maize God and attendant captive are absent.
- 29 Zender 2004.
- 30 Cf. Carrasco and Hull 2002, p. 27. Karl Taube (1996) has interpreted this scene as showing Chahk releasing the Maize God from the building, a trope found in varying forms throughout Mesoamerica.

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- 31 For a rollout image of this vase from an unknown collection, see K6036.
- 32 Waaj Nal Chaahk: “Chaahk es el tamal de maíz”; “Chaahk el del lugar de los tamales.” García Barrios 2008, p. 273.
- 33 See K8608 for a rollout image of the vase.
- 34 For the last-mentioned image, see Robicsek and Hales 1981, p. 25, Vessel 30.
- 35 Schele and Miller 1986, pp. 310–12, pl. 122.
- 36 Saturno et al. 2005; Taube et al. 2010.
- 37 Taube et al. 2010, p. 77: “Dancing in good company before the attentive gods of rain and terrestrial water, the central Maize God is making thunder within the cosmic turtle. The San Bartolomé turtle scene constitutes a wonderfully detailed and early version of a major episode of Classic Maya creation mythology, the emergence of the Maize God out of the earth turtle.”
- 38 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1993.565); Robicsek and Hales 1981, pp. 91, 94, 117, no. 117.
- 39 Van Stone 2010, pp. 52–54.
- 40 Classic Maya depictions on various media also hint at the nefarious, destructive precursors to creation involving the Maize God and Chahk. In scenes delicately incised on bones from the eighth-century Tikal Burial 116, chaos ensues when the Paddler Gods take the helm of the Maize God’s canoe. In at least three different scenes the canoe is sinking, much to the dismay of its passengers, who throw their hands to their foreheads in distress. The Maize God also appears on a series of codex-style vases (dubbed the Water Group by Justin Kerr) that show the deity standing waist-deep in a wash of water and receiving gifts of tribute from warriors. The Water Group vases may refer to a catastrophic flooding event in which the Maize God is submerged. In one of these vases (K4117), a human figure (known informally as Sky-Raiser, but whose name remains undeciphered) may be a mythical founding figure of the polity at Calakmul. He does not appear in the guise of the Maize God, as in the other Water Group scenes, but wears the Rain God’s trademark knotted pectoral and Spondylus earrings. In fact, he may be impersonating Chahk in this scene of watery destruction.
- 41 E.g., among the Chorti’ Maya; see Girard 1949, pp. 813–63.
- 42 Jackson 2013, pp. 118–35.
- 43 Beliaev and Davletshin 2014.
- 44 Gill et al. 2007; Kennett et al. 2012.
- 45 Houston 2016.
- 46 Houston 2009.
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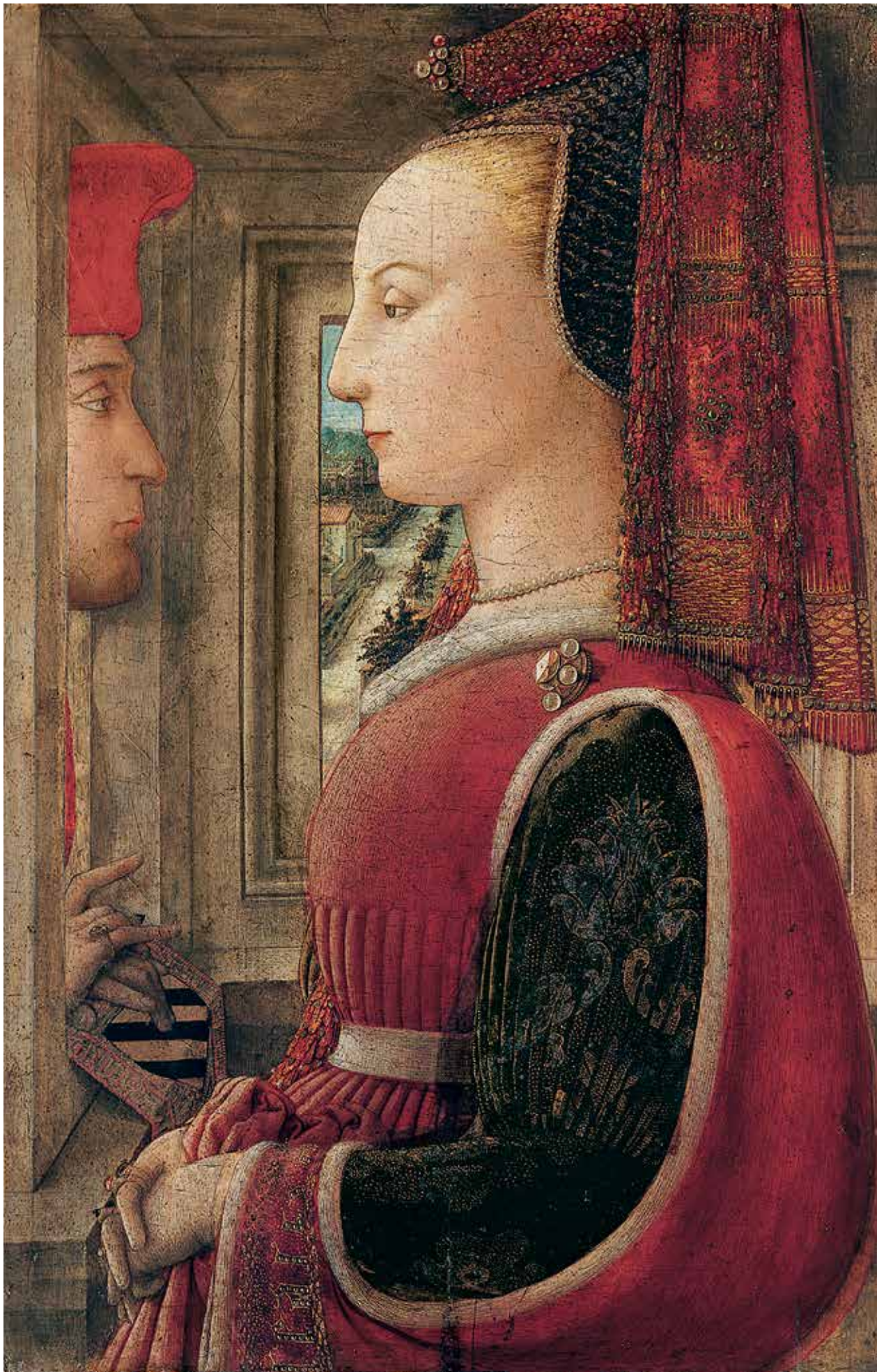


fig. 1 Fra Filippo Lippi (Italian, ca. 1406–1469). *Portrait of a Woman with a Man at a Casement*, ca. 1440–44. Tempera on wood, 25¼ × 16½ in. (64.1 × 41.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Marquand Collection, Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1889 (89.15.19)

J. RUSSELL SALE

Protecting Fertility in Fra Filippo Lippi's *Portrait of a Woman with a Man at a Casement*

Fra Filippo Lippi (ca. 1406–1469) painted *Portrait of a Woman with a Man at a Casement* about 1440–44 (fig. 1). A highly prized work in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the panel is one of the oldest surviving independent portraits in Florentine art, and its innovations are as numerous as its interpretation is complex.¹ By the time Lippi took on the commission, he was a worldly Carmelite friar and priest in his mid-thirties, living outside his monastery of Santa Maria del Carmine and competing in Florence as a professional painter.² In this earliest-known Italian double portrait, he apposed conventional profile views of a male and a female sitter and located them in an interior provided with a window overlooking an inviting street scene featuring dwellings flanked by enclosed gardens.³ The illumination from the left underscores Lippi's self-conscious artistry. By casting a shadow of the man's profile on the back casement, he makes conspicuous



fig. 2 Fra Filippo Lippi. *The Annunciation with Two Kneeling Donors*, ca. 1440. Oil on wood, 61 × 56¾ in. (155 × 144 cm). Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome (1662 [F.N. 19220])

reference to Pliny the Elder's account of the origin of painting, which the Roman writer situated in the tracing of a lover's shadow on a wall.⁴ Although extensive commentary abounds on these and many other aspects of Lippi's composition, there is one element that has been largely overlooked: the distinctive gesture of the man's hands. This article proposes that the gesture is crucial to a full understanding of the work.

Lippi's romantic allusion to Pliny is one among several cues to the nuptial theme of the painting, which has been interpreted variously as presenting a courting couple, a young bride and her spouse or other relative, or as celebrating the birth of a child.⁵ The woman's sumptuous dress in the French fashion and her luxurious jewelry and finger rings conform to characteristic bridal gifts of the period.⁶ Pride in patrician lineage and its perpetuation through marriage are indicated by the coat of arms under the man's hands. The insignia has been identified tentatively with the Scolari family of Florence and indicates that the painting possibly refers to the marriage of Lorenzo di Ranieri Scolari and Angiola di Bernardo Sapiti, or, as proposed more

recently, to the wedding of Francesca di Matteo Scolari and Bonaccorso di Luca Pitti, which took place by October 1444.⁷ The chivalric motto *Lealtà* (loyalty), embroidered in gold and pearls on the woman's sleeve, fits the amatory and genealogical themes, as does a verse in the *Song of Songs* (2:9) that has been proposed as the model for the man's gaze through the casement.⁸ (The verse describes the male lover as "looking through the windows, looking through the lattices.") The long Christian tradition of interpreting the erotic sacred poem as a celebration of the mystical marriage of Christ to either the Church, the human soul, or Mary establishes its nuptial associations.⁹

Lippi's double portrait has been viewed as depicting the literary motif of a lover gazing upon his beloved at a window, but since neither figure appears to look directly at the other, this interpretation is problematic.¹⁰ Recognizing that the woman and the man occupy different planes in the picture's depth and that their gazes are on different horizontal levels and do not appear to meet, scholars have tried to explain the sitters' spatial and psychological independence.¹¹ Jeffrey Ruda suggested the painting might be a posthumous commemoration of the woman; Sixten Ringbom saw the influence of manuscript dedication pages, in which highborn subjects were traditionally portrayed enframed in windows; and Christina Neilson proposed that the figures' nonmeeting eyes allude to the courtly concept of unrequited desire.¹² Lippi was not always precise when directing his figures' gazes, however—the object of their focus is sometimes hard to tell. Therefore it is uncertain whether the couple's glances result from the innovative pairing of conventional profile portraits, the subjects of which typically stare straight ahead, or if the glances are meant to be perceived as somehow meeting in a modest and courtly way, perhaps with the aim of putting the bride on a chivalric pedestal.¹³ It is also possible that the figures' gazes were intended not to meet.

The figural placement and ambiguity of the spatial construction, which provides no clear explanation for where the man stands and appears too cramped for either figure, must be intentional.¹⁴ Rather than providing a factual depiction of a constructable locale, Lippi merely suggests a domestic interior—the *camera* of the lady—for his setting. As Keith Christiansen has noted, the artist "subverts the geometry of perspectival space in favor of a subjective realm."¹⁵ Moreover, by omitting physiognomic detail, Lippi generalized the sitters to a degree that diminishes their individuality and transforms them into idealized subjects who seem to participate in a symbolic drama approaching allegory. In

Megan Holmes's words, "They present a visual discourse on female virtues valued by Florentine patrician society—beauty, piety, chastity, fidelity, fertility, and lofty social status."¹⁶

Christiansen proposed that Lippi adopted the boxlike space and sharply foreshortened perspective of his composition from representations of the Madonna and Child.¹⁷ More compelling is Luke Syson's observation that the artist incorporated formal conventions of contemporary Annunciation scenes into the work.¹⁸ Indeed, although its secular nature is clear, the painting shares a number of iconographic features with depictions of the Annunciation. While the religious scenes typically present the moment of divine impregnation, it seems reasonable to assume, based on the social expectations of the time, that Lippi's young bride may aspire to become or may already be pregnant.¹⁹ In the manner of Lippi's own closely contemporary Annunciation altarpieces in the Basilica di San Lorenzo, Florence, and the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Rome (fig. 2), the Metropolitan Museum's picture includes the inside-outside compositional structure of Mary's private chamber, the bridal *thalamus virginis*.²⁰ Like the Annunciation painting in Rome, it features a prominent female protagonist seen against an exterior setting. The Annunciation's outdoor space is the frequently represented enclosed garden, symbolic of Mary's chaste fertility, while the portrait presents an elevated view of a verdant street scene with walls and vegetation that suggest urban domestic gardens. In both, a subordinate male figure (the Latin word *angelus* is masculine) intrudes into the woman's private space from the left but remains visually separated from her—by architectural or furnishing motifs.

Syson aptly recognized the male figure in the Metropolitan's portrait as a "quasi-Gabriel": like the announcing angel, he is secondary to the elaborately dressed young woman, but he is instrumental in the narrative.²¹ Examination of the painting with infrared reflectography shows that this figure was planned from the beginning to have an interlocutory role.²² His function, like the winged messenger's, was to be signaled by a dynamic gesture that, in the man's case, Lippi moved from its initial placement just below the chin to its final location on the coat of arms. That the painter carefully rethought and adjusted each figure's hands in the double portrait underscores the importance they had for him.²³ The woman's hands have been described as fitting to her air of "demure self-possession,"²⁴ while the male's more active and distinctive gesture, located so prominently on the coat of arms, has been characterized

variously as "authoritative," "resting," and "gesticulating."²⁵ Ringbom asserted that within the tradition of manuscript dedication pages, the architectural framing around the man would indicate that he is of higher social standing than the woman, and thus that his gesture signifies command rather than love.²⁶ Two years later, Dieter Jansen took the opposite view. He identified the young woman as a duchess and suggested that, with the gift of this painting, the lower-status male was conferring upon her a pictorial homage or secular votive offering.²⁷

Although Jansen failed to win support for his identification of the sitters, he did recognize the visual importance of the man's hands and correctly characterized them as *Hörnern* (horned hands).²⁸ However, since he understood horned hands solely as a derisive symbol of marital infidelity, or cuckoldry, he felt it necessary to dismiss his initial identification of the gesture as wholly inappropriate for a marriage picture and instead pursued a complicated, unpersuasive interpretation.²⁹

The male subject's right hand does present a discreet version of the ancient *mano cornuta*, or horned-hand gesture, with the index and little fingers extended and the middle and ring fingers bent down (fig. 3).³⁰ The fingers of the left hand are posed in similar fashion, but with the thumb showing and the tips of the middle and ring fingers resting on the heraldic shield. Still widely used today as a symbol with multiple meanings, the *mano cornuta* dates from ancient times, as attested by its appearance in Greek, Etruscan, and Roman art.³¹

Quintilian, in his *Institutio Oratoria* (11.3.93) of the late first century A.D., described a rhetorical gesture with the same finger configuration. He wrote that, when used by speakers pleading a case, it produced a more vehement effect than the more common gesture made by pressing the ring finger under the thumb and extending the other three fingers. While the orator asserted that every gesture "obeys the impulse of the mind" and "that there are many things which [a gesture] can express without the assistance of words," he did not explain why the two-finger gesture was more assertive than the three-finger one, or why he considered the two-finger version inappropriate for use in the introductions of speeches and in statements of fact.³² Presumably, Quintilian's audience was familiar with the *mano cornuta* and the connotations that would have made it appropriate in one context and not in another—meanings most likely drawn from the gesture's use in everyday life. Thomas Richter suggested in his study of the two-finger gesture in Roman art that it was precisely the rhetorical gesture's close resemblance to the apotropaic *cornu* (horns) that made it both more emphatic and less

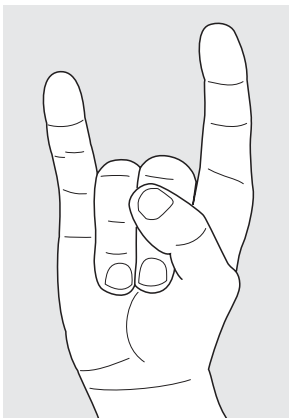


fig. 3 The *mano cornuta*, or horned-hand gesture



fig. 4 Cover of a funerary urn with figures of a married couple. Etruscan, early 1st century B.C. Terracotta, 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 32 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (41 × 83 cm). Museo Etrusco Guarnacci, Volterra

fig. 5 Fragment of an oil lamp with image of a satyr. Roman, ca. A.D. 40–80. Terracotta, L. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (9.5 cm), Diam. 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (8.5 cm). Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford (AN1893.278)



useful, since the horned hand's function of warding off evil made it more appropriate for use in sepulchral art, where it appeared most frequently.³³

Like horns in general, what is now called the *mano cornuta*, or *le corna*, had erotic associations and may have developed from images of phallic horns in Greek and Roman art.³⁴ As an emblem of fertility, the male member was one of the most powerful apotropaic motifs in antiquity for warding off the danger of the evil eye—the envious gaze that was believed to cause harm. Representations of the phallus and other defensive symbols, such as the Medusa head, were commonly employed in Roman times on rings and amulet pendants, as tintinnabula in houses, and on doorjamb carvings.³⁵ Indeed, the evil eye, or *oculus fascinus*, refers to an eye “that has the power of bewitching or enchanting persons glanced at.”³⁶ But the Latin word *fascinus* had a double meaning: it could signify a malicious fascination or the penis itself. The proper name *Fascinus* was given to the spirit of the phallus, while a *fascinum* could be a spell, the male member, or a phallic-shaped protective amulet.³⁷

By the sixth century B.C., the related *mano cornuta* was employed by the Etruscans as a prophylactic in tomb art and on cinerary urns (fig. 4).³⁸ It was possibly used for a similar purpose in theatrical performances in ancient Rome.³⁹ A first-century design of a satyr waving his horned hand inspired a similar motif on the Martelli Mirror, attributed to the goldsmith Caradosso and probably produced in Mantua or Milan about 1500

(see fig. 13).⁴⁰ The satyr design must have enjoyed popularity in antiquity, since it survived into the Renaissance and beyond in various media, as exemplified by a carved gem formerly in Florence, a metal relief, and a terracotta lamp now in the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford (fig. 5).⁴¹

The rhetorical lineage of the horned-hand gesture and its reputed magical potency for repelling evil and promoting well-being apparently led to its adoption as a gesture of blessing, divine protection, and approbation in Byzantine religious liturgy and Byzantine-influenced art.⁴² In these contexts, it has sometimes been called the Syrian blessing.⁴³ The *mano cornuta* appeared in religious settings from the sixth century at the latest, as seen in *The Hand of God Blessing the Offerings of Abel and Melchisedec* (fig. 6) and *The Evangelist Luke*, mosaics at San Vitale in Ravenna.⁴⁴ In numerous works, the gesture is used by Saint John the Baptist as he points to Christ, echoing the emphatic effect of the *mano cornuta* in Roman oratory (fig. 7). The gesture in the Saint John images suggests approbation and blessing and, in the example illustrated here (John originally pointed to a Madonna and Child, now missing), also draws attention to the words *Ecce Agnus Dei* (Behold the Lamb of God) written on the Baptist's scroll.

The *mano cornuta* was employed in secular productions also. On the nine silver David Plates from Cyprus that were presumably produced at the court of the emperor Heraclius in Constantinople in the early seventh century, the gesture carries a variety

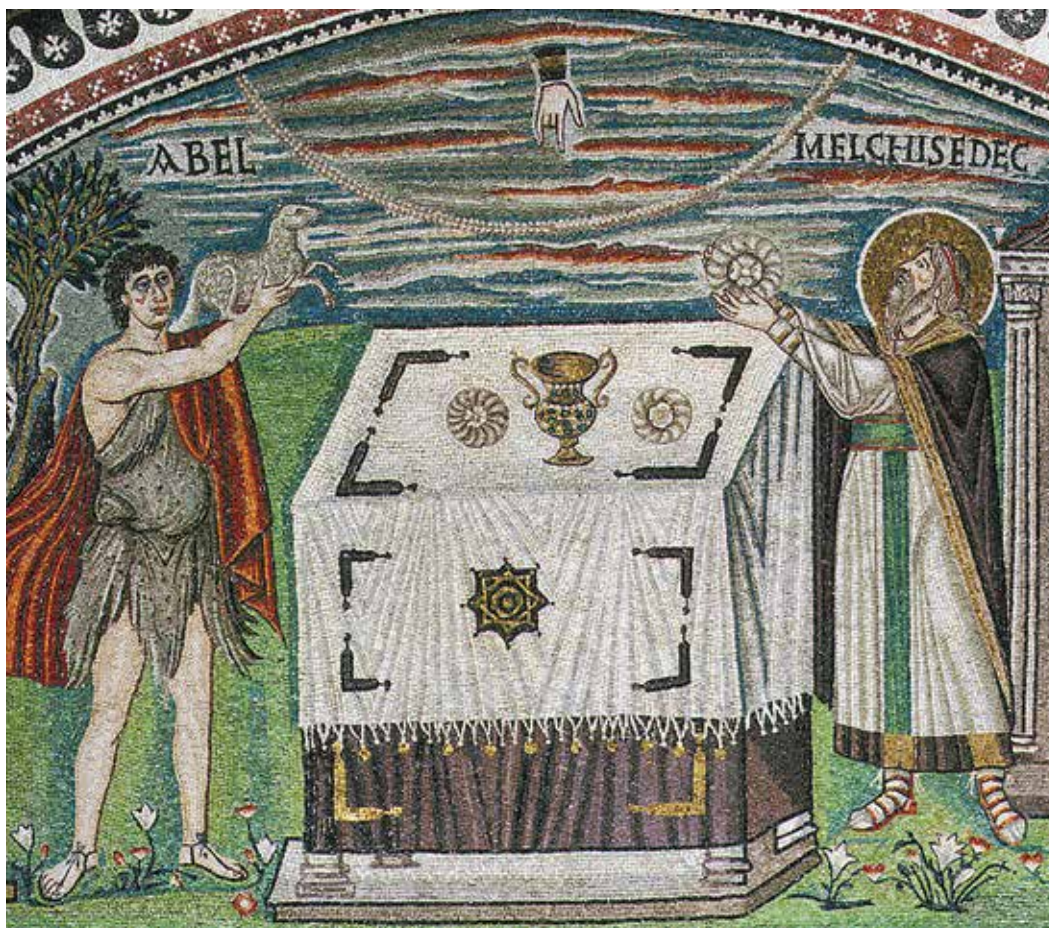


fig. 6 *The Hand of God Blessing the Offerings of Abel and Melchisedec*. Byzantine, ca. 540–46. Mosaic. Basilica of San Vitale, Ravenna

fig. 7 Lippo Memmi (Italian, active 1317–47). *Saint John the Baptist*, ca. 1325. Tempera on panel, framed, 39 × 19 in. (99.1 × 48.3 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection (1939.1.291)



of nuanced meanings.⁴⁵ The plate depicting the Marriage of David and Michal (fig. 8), which Lippi could not have known, anticipates the Renaissance painter's use of the horned hand in a nuptial context. There, in a joyful setting with musicians, the figure of King Saul directs the gesture toward his daughter Michal, who joins her right hand with David's in the ceremonial *dextrarum iunctio* (claspings of right hands) modeled on Roman imperial weddings depicted on coins and medallions.⁴⁶ The use of the gesture by the bride's father in a marriage ritual bespeaks blessing and protection directed her way, yet the phallic symbolism of the *mano cornuta* is in play, too.⁴⁷ After defeating Goliath, David was ordered to bring King Saul the fore-skins of one hundred dead Philistines in order to win the hand of Michal; the young warrior brought two hundred instead.⁴⁸ The plate's amatory iconography includes the musicians' flutes—wind instruments with ancient associations of passion, sexuality, and inebriation.⁴⁹

By the later Middle Ages, the phallic symbolism of the *mano cornuta* was apparent even in artworks made for Christian religious contexts. The biblical Ham, for

instance, was occasionally portrayed using the emphatic gesture to mock his father's nudity in scenes of the *Drunkenness of Noah*, such as those in the twelfth-century mosaics of the Palatine Chapel in Palermo (fig. 9) and the frescoes of Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe.⁵⁰ In Palermo, Ham's actions are accompanied by the nonbiblical inscription *HIC OSTENDIT CHAM VERENDA PATRIS EBRII FRATRIBUS* (Here Cham shows off to his brothers the private parts of his drunken father), anticipating the taunting tone of sixteenth-century cuckoldry scenes.

The horned-hand gesture depicted in the Metropolitan Museum picture is the first-known early-modern pictorial presentation of the *mano cornuta* in a secular setting. The bridal-chamber context suggests that Lippi was aware of the gesture's dual prophylactic and erotic associations. Horn-related metaphors were part of ancient sexual vocabulary passed down through the ages and current in Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁵¹ Verbal metaphors and humor involving horns, particularly in connection with cuckoldry, were common from Boccaccio onward.⁵² Vespasiano da Bisticci recounted in his life of Cosimo de' Medici that

fig. 8 *The Marriage of David and Michal*. Byzantine, Constantinopolitan workshop, ca. 628–30. Silver, Diam. 10½ in. (26.7 cm). Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (J452)



the patriarch's advice to a man suspecting his wife of infidelity was to swallow the horn growing on his head and then bury it in a ditch so that no one could see it.⁵³ The presumably ready audience for ribald horn humor associated with fools and cuckolds would have appreciated the late fifteenth-century Florentine engraving *The King of the Goats: A Satire on Cuckolds* (fig. 10).⁵⁴ Witty mockeries such as this were so popular that the plight of the cuckolded male became a staple of the ill-matched-couple theme in sixteenth-century Northern art and in Elizabethan drama.⁵⁵ By the 1520s the *mano cornuta* gesture wielded by a fool deriding the betrayed husband or emasculated lover appeared in German and Netherlandish prints.⁵⁶ The visual narratives in such images leave no doubt about the gesture's phallic connotations.

While verbal and visual references to horns and the horned hand were often featured in popular and humorous treatments of the relations between the sexes and marital infidelity, the appearance of the *mano cornuta* in Lippi's painting demonstrates the survival of the gesture's earlier, more positive associations with protection against the evil eye. Throughout the Mediterranean world, the power of the jealous gaze to bewitch and cause harm was as much feared in the early modern era as it was in antiquity.⁵⁷ The evil eye is present in both the Old and New Testaments, was discussed by the early Church Fathers, and was dreaded throughout the Middle Ages, inspiring remedies to counteract its baleful effects.⁵⁸ By some accounts, belief in the evil eye was universal in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy.⁵⁹



fig. 9 *The Drunkenness of Noah.* Byzantine, mid-12th century. Mosaic. Palatine Chapel, Palermo

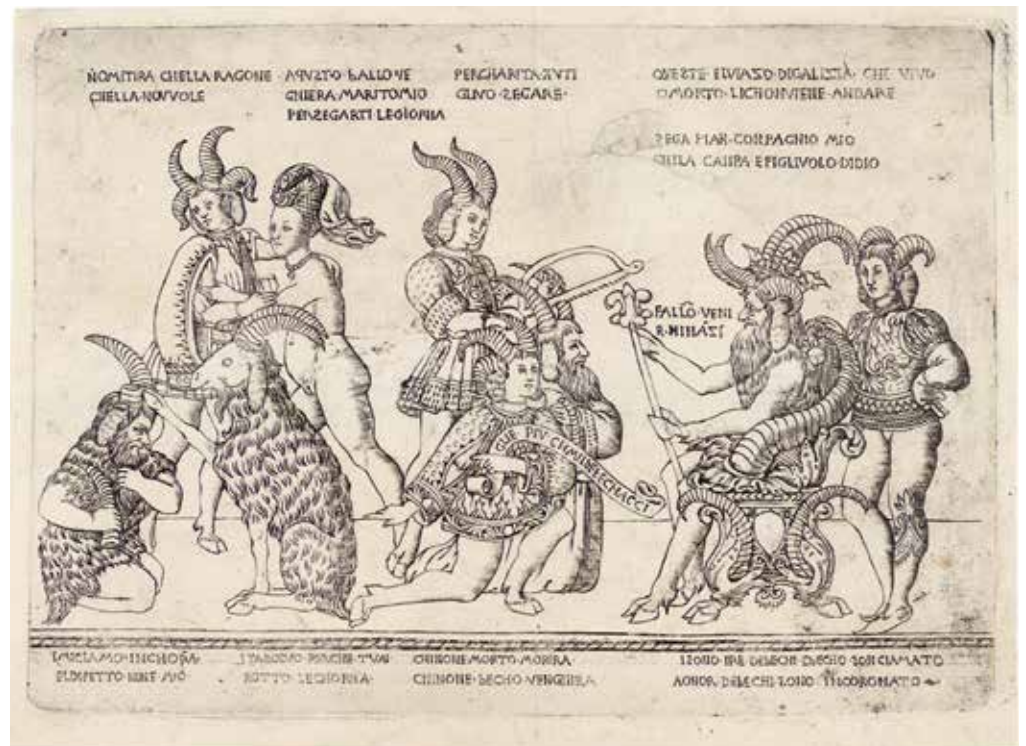


fig. 10 *The King of the Goats: A Satire on Cuckolds.* Florentine, ca. 1470–90. Engraving, 7 × 9½ in. (17.8 × 25 cm). Albertina, Vienna (DG1935/495)



fig. 11 Fra Filippo Lippi. *The Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin* (detail), ca. 1467–69. Fresco. Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta, Spoleto. The fresco shows a self-portrait with the *mano cornuta* gesture.

Lippi's familiarity with the *mano cornuta* and the contemporary faith in its power to avert malign forces is attested by his use of it in a second, more conspicuous, and personal portrait. In the frescoes he painted in the cathedral of Spoleto—his last work, nearly completed before he died—Lippi portrayed himself standing at the foot of the Virgin's bier in the scene of the Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin (fig. 11).⁶⁰ Ruda rightly pointed out that the artist's image there functions as both a visible signature and a kind of a donor portrait, indicating his pride of authorship.⁶¹ Yet even though Lippi's self-portrait is fully frontal and his figure nearly as prominent as that of the recumbent Virgin, his gaze, far from exhibiting confident artistic pride, is emphatically averted to his right, precluding eye contact with spectators in the nave before him. He grasps his Carmelite habit with his right hand, using a *mano cornuta* gesture aimed downward, like a suspended amulet, and points to it with his left index finger so that no viewer should miss it.⁶² It is not known from whose gaze Lippi sought protection, but it can be assumed that there were artists who envied his success. Documentation exists of one such painter, Domenico Veneziano, who decades earlier, in 1438, had asked Lippi's patron Piero di Cosimo

de' Medici for a portion of one of Lippi's commissions.⁶³ From the wary look on Lippi's face in his self-portrait, there may have been others, too, who wished him harm. He was a difficult personality and transgressive in both his business and amorous affairs.⁶⁴ Stories about Lippi's enemies must have come down to Giorgio Vasari, who suggested in both the 1550 and 1568 editions of his biography of the artist that Lippi was fatally poisoned by angry relatives of a woman he had seduced.⁶⁵

The horned-hand gesture in the Museum's panel is more discreet than the one in Lippi's self-portrait, yet its placement on the coat of arms draws attention to it. Although no known Renaissance text describes the *mano cornuta* and its meanings, Andrea de Jorio's early nineteenth-century analysis of contemporary usage of horn gestures and the persistence of their ancient connotations—in particular, their protective function—is a useful interpretive guide.⁶⁶ According to de Jorio, waving with the horned-hand gesture, perhaps in the manner of the satyr on the ancient oil lamp (fig. 5), was considered a defense against a generalized threat of "fascination" from an unknown source.⁶⁷ The gesture could also be directed toward a threatened individual and even point to specific parts of the body of a person in danger of bewitchment.

The male figure in Lippi's painting enters the woman's private space and faces in her general direction without meeting her gaze, perhaps, as in Lippi's self-portrait in Spoleto, to avoid the harm that eye contact might cause. He gesticulates, pointing at the level of the woman's chest and waist in the manner of King Saul on the David Plate (fig. 8). Displayed conspicuously to ward off danger, the gesture blesses and protects the family lineage, symbolized by the heraldic arms, and the continuity of that lineage, as embodied by the beautiful young woman who is the focus of the man's action. Simultaneously, the sexual associations of the horned hand invoke the masculine generative force necessary for a fertile union and energize the space itself as a site of procreation within the honorable and chaste context of marriage.⁶⁸

Young women, pregnant mothers, children, male potency, engaged couples, and newlyweds were from ancient times considered to be most vulnerable to attacks of fascination by envious and malicious glances and to require defensive words, rituals, amulets, or gestures to avoid injury.⁶⁹ The poet Angelo Poliziano conveyed his contemporaries' anxiety over Envy's demonic power when in 1473 he wrote that Invidia/Nemesis cast a "fierce look" on the beautiful, soon-to-be-married Florentine maiden Albiera degli Albizi before calling

upon Fever to infect her with the illness that carried her away at the age of fifteen.⁷⁰ Lippi depicted a similarly youthful figure with beautiful features and sumptuous attire—attributes likely to attract admiration but also capable of arousing envy. Together, the woman’s traits make her an ideal bride of the time and worthy of such a splendid portrayal. As the verdant streetscape suggests, the young woman’s fertility and the fecundity promised by the meeting of the female and male life forces invoked in the painting are at the heart of the work’s message.⁷¹

Great importance was placed on marriage and fertility in the generations following the Black Death, when the population of Florence declined from about 120,000 in the 1330s to an estimated 37,000 by the late 1420s.⁷² It is not surprising that a nuptial portrait of a young woman from this time should feature a discreetly phallic gesture intended as a defense against evil. Ancient popular beliefs in the power of phallic images to ward off “fascination” by the evil eye and to ensure fertility had been passed down to the Renaissance by multiple sources, including Saint Augustine’s *City of God* (7.21), in which the author, aiming to deride the nature mysteries of Liber Pater, the Roman Bacchus, quoted the Roman scholar Marcus Terentius Varro:

It was obligatory for the most respected mother of a family to place a crown on this disreputable organ in full view of the public. This was how Liber had to be placated to ensure successful germination of seed; this was how the Evil Eye (*fascinatio*) had to be repelled from the fields.⁷³

Pagan fertility practices such as the one described above persisted in the Christian Middle Ages. During this period, high infant and maternal mortality was combated with relief carvings of male and female genitalia on civic fountains, such as those from the thirteenth-

century in Siena and Massa Marittima.⁷⁴ Still visible on the walls of Massa Marittima’s Fonte dell’ Abbondanza is a painting from that time showing young maidens gathering phallus-shaped fruits from the branches of a fertility tree.⁷⁵ The encouragement of procreation implicit in these works also lies behind diverse fertility-related motifs in early fifteenth-century Florentine domestic art, among them, male infants urinating on poppy-seed pods and idealized, nearly nude figures of young men and women painted on the undersides of the lids of *cassoni* (marriage chests) (fig. 12).⁷⁶ Throughout fifteenth-century Italy, infants and even images of the Christ Child were provided with sacred and profane magical objects, including branches of red coral, much as, according to Pliny, infants and young children in ancient Rome had been adorned with necklaces bearing phallic-shaped amulets or branches of coral to protect them from the evil eye.⁷⁷

The content of *Portrait of a Woman with a Man at a Casement* is essentially the same as that of the late fifteenth-century Martelli Mirror case, mentioned above, the rich iconographic program of which is relevant to this discussion (fig. 13).⁷⁸ Themes of love and courtship have dominated mirror decoration throughout history, and the imagery of the Martelli Mirror case, long recognized as symbolizing fecundity and procreation, is consistent with this tradition.⁷⁹ The iconography, inspired by classical art and mythology, has been most comprehensively explicated by John Pope-Hennessy and Dieter Blume.⁸⁰ The relief features an elderly satyr facing a younger nymph before a setting suggestive of Bacchic nature mysteries. (Its elements include arching branches heavily laden with grapevines and a walled garden protected by an ithyphallic Priapus herm.) As full participants in the rites of Bacchus, the ancient sylvan divinity, both figures

fig. 12 Giovanni di Ser Giovanni Guidi, called Lo Scheggia (Italian, 1406–1486). *Reclining Youth*, ca. 1435–50. Tempera on wood (lid of a marriage chest), 22 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 74 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (58 × 190 cm). Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon (MNR 320)



wear ivy crowns and goatskin garments, and each is accompanied by a thyrus staff.⁸¹ The nymph expresses milk from her exposed breast into a rhyton-shaped vessel while the satyr looks upward, extending a cup toward the nymph with his right hand and waving his left hand, with its conspicuous *mano cornuta* gesture.⁸² The iconography is succinctly summed up in the Latin inscription *NATURA FOVET QUAE NECESSITAS URGET* (Nature supports what necessity demands) on the *tabula ansata* (tablet) at the bottom of the composition. According to both Pope-Hennessy and Blume, the female and male figures personify Nature

fig. 13 Cristoforo Foppa(?), known as Caradosso (Italian, 1447–1527). Martelli Mirror case, ca. 1470–1510. Bronze, inlaid with gold and silver, H. 11¼ in. (29.7 cm), W. 7¾ in. (19.5 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (8717:1, 2-1863)



and Necessity, respectively.⁸³ The lactating nymph is a visual metaphor for the nurturing role of *Natura* as a cosmic power.⁸⁴ The satyr, whose advanced age reveals him to be Silenus, tutor of Bacchus, symbolizes instinctual lust and male sexuality as well as knowledge of the hidden secrets of nature. Together, the figures personify the necessary compulsion for reproduction embodied in the workings of natural law.⁸⁵

While the *mano cornuta* in the Martelli Mirror is part of a more stylistically and thematically evolved iconographic program than the one in Lippi's painting, the gesture serves the same purpose in both works: to celebrate and protect from the evil eye the reproductive powers of the figures represented. But whereas the danger is only implied by the male subject's hands in Lippi's work, it is palpable on the mirror case. Unrecognized until now, Invidia is personified by the hideous, raging figure located just above the inscribed tablet, where she appears emaciated, glaring with angry eyes, and crowned with snakelike, disheveled hair.⁸⁶ Her features conform closely to those assigned to Envy and her Greek male counterpart Phthonos in ancient literary narratives, notably Ovid's vivid account of the hag and her foul lair in the *Metamorphoses* (2.760–805).⁸⁷ Of all the vices, Invidia was the one most closely identified with witches.⁸⁸

Caradosso's menacing creature was more immediately inspired by visual sources, such as two glowering portrayals of Invidia by Andrea Mantegna. In the artist's engraving *Battle of the Sea Gods*, from the 1480s (fig. 14), the screaming crone with withered breasts stands at the left and directs her fierce gaze to the right, her wild hair bound by a fillet, as on Caradosso's mirror case.⁸⁹ About a quarter century later, Mantegna imagined a more frontal and fully clothed version of the figure in his drawing *The Calumny of Apelles* (fig. 15), a design that was soon disseminated in an engraving by Girolamo Mocetto.⁹⁰

Inspired by such renderings, Caradosso distilled his Invidia on the mirror case into an iconic figure embodying a terrifying presence.⁹¹ Moreover, his image functions in two seemingly contradictory ways, for it not only embodies the self-destructive nature of Envy and the danger of the evil eye but also serves as an amulet that neutralizes their threats.⁹² Invidia's presence and role closely parallel those of the Gorgon head mounted at the top of the mirror case. There, as a well-established model for the staring Invidia, Medusa's decapitated visage rages with open mouth, furrowed brow, and streaming hair. In classical antiquity the Gorgoneion, or Gorgon image, was thought to be the



fig. 14 Andrea Mantegna (Italian, 1430/31–1506). *Battle of the Sea Gods* (left portion of a frieze), ca. 1485–88. Engraving, 10 7/8 × 16 1/8 in. (27.6 × 42.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1918 (18.12)



fig. 15 Andrea Mantegna. *The Calumny of Apelles*, ca. 1504–6. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash, 8 1/8 × 14 1/8 in. (20.6 × 37.9 cm). Inscribed above and below the figures: *Sospicione, Ignorantia, invidia, Calumnia / di Apelle, Inocentia, deceptio, Insidio, Verita*. British Museum, London (1860,0616.85)

most effective amulet against fascination. While a direct glimpse of Medusa's face was believed to petrify beholders and spread contagion, her mask or other likeness was considered a defense against her destructive powers, epitomizing the principle of fighting fire with fire.⁹³ In the Martelli Mirror, the satyr's *mano cornuta* and the heads of Invidia and the Gorgon are apotropaic images intended to oppose the power of the *malocchio* (evil eye).⁹⁴ Together, they provided a powerful magical defense against the demonic forces of envy whenever the mirror's owner chose to observe her own beauty in its reflective surface.

As argued in this article, the symbolic content of Fra Filippo Lippi's *Portrait of a Woman with a Man at a Casement* is remarkably similar to, if iconographically less explicit than, that of the Martelli Mirror. Both works celebrate human fertility and reproduction and register the need to protect this fecundity from dangers believed to threaten it. The two compositions' parallel content and the precedent in the David Plate support the interpretation of the Metropolitan Museum's panel presented here. Lippi, rather than employing an overt allegory of natural philosophy featuring classically inspired mythological characters, merged the particular and the allegorical by idealizing his young Florentine sitters. Instead of an elaborate, humanist-inspired Latin inscription suited to a learned iconographic program, Lippi incorporated the single, vernacular word *Lealtà* and subtly exploited conventions of marriage portraiture to reinforce his theme of love and lineage.

To embody human fertility and natural fecundity, he depicted not a lusty satyr and bare-breasted wood nymph, but a beautiful young woman dressed in her wedding finery, perhaps already married and possibly pregnant yet modest, framed against a view of a verdant, everyday street scene. To ward off the risk posed by a demonic gaze, Lippi inserted a discreet form of the protective and generative *mano cornuta*. He placed it at a critical juncture between the two protagonists so that it would not be missed as the animating fulcrum on which the full range of the painting's meanings pivot. As another of Lippi's innovations in this remarkable picture, the central importance of the gesture is finally evident.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

- 1 For discussions of the painting, see Ruda 1993, p. 385; Holmes 1999, pp. 115, 128–29; Brown 2001, p. 106; Christiansen 2005, p. 150; Edwards 2008, p. 255, no. 118; and Christiansen 2011.
- 2 Holmes 1999, pp. 9–15.
- 3 Brown 2001, p. 106; Christiansen 2005, p. 150; Christiansen 2011, p. 96.
- 4 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 35.5; see Rubin 2011, p. 17.
- 5 Interpretive proposals by Ruda 1993, p. 385; Brown 2001, p. 106; Christiansen 2005, p. 150; and Matthew-Grieco 2006, p. 109.
- 6 For a description of the costume, see Brown 2001, p. 106; Matthew-Grieco 2006, p. 109; Edwards 2008, p. 255; and Christiansen 2011, p. 96. Joanna Woods-Marsden (2001, pp. 65–66) describes the painting as a “dowry” portrait, and the young woman as a bride.
- 7 Holmes 1999, p. 129; Brown 2001, p. 106; Christiansen 2005, p. 150; Edwards 2008, p. 255; and, most recently, Katalin Prajda (2013, pp. 76, 78), who states: “Although the male sitter rests his hands on the coat of arms, his gesture may well symbolize that a Pitti has gained access to the Scolari family’s noble lineage.” Since there is no indication of Pitti heraldry in the painting, Prajda’s proposal that the extremely rich and powerful Medici supporter Luca di Bonaccorso Pitti may have commissioned the painting to celebrate the wedding of his son Bonaccorso to Francesca Scolari is doubtful. Keith Christiansen (2011, p. 96) argues persuasively against the alternative proposed by Dieter Jansen (1987–88, p. 97).
- 8 For the motto *Lealtà*, see Christiansen 2011, p. 96. For the male figure’s association with the *Song of Songs*, see Baldwin 1986b, pp. 7–12.
- 9 For *Song of Songs* interpretations, see Astell 1990, pp. 1–27.
- 10 Baldwin 1986a, pp. 30–34; Matthew-Grieco 2006, p. 109.
- 11 Holmes 1999, p. 115; Christiansen 2005, p. 150; Christiansen 2011, p. 98.
- 12 Ruda 1993, p. 385; Ringbom 1985, pp. 134–37; Neilson 2008, pp. 43–49.
- 13 Observed by Alison Luchs, email to the author, August 30, 2014. See also Baldwin 1986b, pp. 8–11. For nuances of meaning of gazing couples in portrait sculpture, see Luchs 1995, pp. 82–87.
- 14 For discussions of the constructed space and its problems, see Christiansen 2011, p. 96.
- 15 Christiansen 2005, p. 152.
- 16 Holmes 1999, p. 129. See also Ruda 1993, p. 88, and Christiansen 2011, p. 96.
- 17 Christiansen 2011, p. 96.
- 18 Syson 2006, pp. 97–99. Jansen (1987–88, pp. 108–11) had earlier drawn parallels between the structure and content of Lippi’s painting with scenes of the Annunciation.
- 19 Woods-Marsden (2001, pp. 65–66) describes the young woman as a newlywed, “no longer a virgin, she has not yet been categorized as a matron.”
- 20 Syson 2006, p. 98.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Brown 2001, p. 106; Christiansen 2011, p. 98.
- 23 Christiansen 2011, p. 98.
- 24 Ibid.: “the artist carefully rethought the placement of the woman’s hands, one over the other, to achieve an effect of demure self-possession, as was thought befitting a woman.”
- 25 The pose of the man’s hands is characterized as “authoritative” in Ruda 1993, p. 385, no. 16; as “resting” in Brown 2001, p. 106; and as “gesticulating” in Edwards 2008, p. 255.
- 26 Ringbom 1985, pp. 134–37.
- 27 Jansen 1987–88, p. 97.
- 28 For arguments against Jansen’s identification of the sitters, see Christiansen 2011, p. 96. For his identification of the horned-hands gesture, see Jansen 1987–88, pp. 107–9.
- 29 Jansen 1987–88, pp. 107–9.
- 30 Given the marital context of the Metropolitan’s painting, similar gestures employed earlier for numerical and alphabetic systems do not appear relevant here. See Kusakawa 2000, pp. 28–33, and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1971.
- 31 According to Gerald Wainwright (1961), the gesture first appeared in ancient Egypt. See also Gravel 1995, p. 109; de Grummond 1996, p. 358, fig. 26; and especially Elliott 2015 and Elliott 2016, pp. 183–88. The gesture appeared as early as 520 B.C. in the Tomb of the Lionesses in Tarquinia, where its ritual function is not fully understood; see Pallottino 1955, p. 134 and fig. 14. The gesture occurs on approximately ten percent of the nearly six hundred Etruscan recumbent effigy urns catalogued by Mauro Cristofani and Gabriele Cateni (1975–86), much more commonly with depictions of males than females. The entry for every urn with the gesture includes a description of the recumbent figure’s horned hand as some variation on “le dite piegate nel gesto apotropaico” (the fingers bent in the apotropaic gesture).
- 32 Quintilian 1968, vol. 4, pp. 279, 293.
- 33 Richter 2003, pp. 24–25.
- 34 Callisen 1937, p. 454; Lykiardopoulos 1981, p. 227; Blume 1985, pp. 182, 447; and especially Elliott 2015 and Elliott 2016, pp. 183–88.
- 35 Johns 1982, pp. 61–63; Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, p. 31; M. Smith 2002, p. 98. See also Hammond and Scullard 1970, p. 466: “The most common magical gesture [to avert the evil eye] was to hold the hand so as to imitate the pudenda of one or the other sex.” For the Medusa head, see Siebers 1983, p. 11, and Elliott 2016, pp. 244–48. For a horn-shaped phallic amulet, see Engemann 1980, pl. 4, c, d.
- 36 Gordon 1937, p. 290.
- 37 Callisen 1937, p. 453; Siebers 1983, p. 99; Gravel 1995, p. 129. Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 28.39) records that phallic amulets were placed on babies and hung underneath the chariots of triumphant generals to protect them from envy [*invidia*]. Ogden 2002, p. 225.
- 38 See discussion of Cristofani and Cateni in note 31 above. For the Etruscan urn in Volterra, see de Grummond 1996, p. 358, fig. 26. Leonard Moss and Stephen Cappannari (1976, p. 5) assert: “Forces of evil continued to plague one after death, and counter-magic against the evil eye was invoked by horning the fingers of the figurines sculpted on the sarcophagi and cinerary urns.”
- 39 For a fresco from Herculaneum showing an actor displaying the gesture, see Webster 1995, vol. 2, p. 410, no. 5NP 5b; Savarese 2007, p. 86; and Pisani Sartorio 2010, p. 230, fig. 17. Eric Csapo (1993, pp. 51–54) raises questions about the conservation and interpretation of the fresco, including the presence of the *mano cornuta* gesture.
- 40 Pope-Hennessy 1964, p. 327. For further information on the Martelli Mirror, see <https://renbronze.com/2015/01/06/martelli-mirror/>.
- 41 For the cornelian formerly in Florence, see Furtwängler 1900, vol. 2, p. 196, no. 34, and pl. xli, no. 34. For an ancient metal relief with similar design, see Bayardi 1767, p. 416, pl. V. For the Roman terracotta lamp in the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford (AN1893.278) (fig. 5), see Fortnum 1894, p. 99, and Leino 2013, pp. 156–57.

- 42 For the gesture's use in ancient and medieval art as a sign for speech and for pointing to something, see Engemann 1980, pp. 490–98. Quintilian's two major gestures for emphasizing points in a speech (11.3.92 and .93) became Christian gestures of blessing: the three-finger gesture remains the blessing gesture of the Greek Orthodox Church. See Pasquinelli 2005, p. 226. For a discussion of when the two-finger gesture used in oratory became a sign of blessing, see Richter 2003, pp. 10, 25, and 151–52.
- 43 Dodd 2001.
- 44 For *The Evangelist Luke*, see Elworthy 1895, p. 156, figs. 113, 114, and Deichmann 1958, pl. 333.
- 45 Spier 2007, p. 285, nos. 84A, 84B. For various meanings of the gesture on the plates, see Markow 1988, pp. 2–7.
- 46 Wander 1973, p. 102, and fig. 18; Markow 1988, p. 5; Spier 2007, p. 285.
- 47 Deborah Markow (1988, p. 5) interprets the scene as part of Saul's scheming against David; Ruth Leader (2000, p. 424) argues against such a political interpretation. Josef Engemann (1980, p. 496) interprets the gesture as indicating speech exclusively.
- 48 1 Kings 18:27: "And after a few days David rose up, and went with the men that were under him, and he slew of the Philistines two hundred men, and brought their foreskins and numbered them out to the king that he might be his son-in-law. Saul therefore gave him Michal his daughter to wife." Perhaps the two bags in the foreground refer to David's achievement. For other interpretations, see Leader 2000, p. 415.
- 49 Winternitz 1967.
- 50 For the Palatine Chapel mosaic, see Brenk 2010, plates vol. 1, p. 342, pl. 416. For the frescoes of Saint-Savin, see Gaillard 1944, pl. VI. For the works' derisory content, see also Kötting 1978, col. 900.
- 51 Adams 1982, pp. 22–25. See also Battaglia 1961–, vol. 3, p. 789, s.v. "corne."
- 52 For medieval humor related to cuckoldry, see Millington and Sinclair 1992. Boccaccio's first use of sexual metaphor in the *Decameron* involves horns: the beautiful protagonist Alatiel discovers "con che corno gli uomini cozzano" (the kind of horn that men do their butting with), cited in Barolini 2006, p. 446n18.
- 53 Cited in Hind 1938–48, vol. 1, p. 73.
- 54 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 73, and vol. 2, pl. 108.
- 55 Stewart 1978, pp. 19, 71–73. For the theme of cuckoldry in Elizabethan literature, see Williams 1994, vol. 2, p. 678, s.v. "horns," and McEachern 2008.
- 56 Stewart 1978, pp. 71–75, figs. 43–45, and p. 176, nos. 92, 93, 95.
- 57 Many accounts of the evil eye are known from Greek and Roman literature. See Seligmann 1910, vol. 1, p. 30; Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, pp. 10–13; Elliott 2015; and Elliott 2016. For visual evidence of fear of the evil eye in both pagan and Christian late antiquity, see Engemann 1975.
- 58 Gordon 1937; Dickie 1995; Aquaro 2004, *passim*; Foskolou 2005, p. 254.
- 59 Callisen 1937, pp. 450–53. A number of treatises on "fascination" by the evil eye were written in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See Dundes 1992, p. 260. See also Walker 1958, pp. 149–51, 160–61.
- 60 Ruda 1993, p. 295, pls. 172, 173; Holmes 1999, p. 157.
- 61 Ruda 1993, p. 295.
- 62 I thank Jerry de Jaeger for calling to my attention Lippi's gesture in the fresco. Holmes (1999, p. 273n185) had noticed that "this gesture can also be read as an inverted two-finger sign of the 'cornu.'" In addition, Megan Holmes suggests that Lippi points to his right hand as a proud sign of artistic authorship. Eckart Marchand (2004, p. 221) interpreted the horned-hand gesture as protective toward the Virgin Mary.
- 63 Ruda 1993, p. 29.
- 64 Holmes 1999, pp. 106–11; Nygren 2010.
- 65 Vasari 1906, vol. 2, p. 628: "Perciocchè dicono che alcuni parenti della donna da lui amata lo fecero avvelenare."
- 66 De Jorio's *La mimica degli antichi investigata nel gestire napoletano*, first published in 1832, was translated with introduction and notes by Adam Kendon in 2000. De Jorio (2000, pp. 142–48) also discusses the use of the *mano cornuta* in relation to conjugal infidelity, pride, phallic associations, and protection against evil spells in general. In the absence of evidence showing that the *mano cornuta* was *not* intended to avert the evil eye in the Renaissance, there is little reason to discount de Jorio's interpretation. For recent support of de Jorio's understanding of ancient horn-related gestures as apotropaic and of the persistence of such meanings over time, see Corbeill 2004, pp. 42, 49n32; and Röhrich 1967, pp. 20–24. Relying exclusively on Quintilian's rhetorical context for the gesture, Josef Engemann (1975) denied for antiquity and the Early Christian period the apotropaic or derisive significance of the horned-hand gesture, asserting that essentially every ancient and early-medieval use of the horned hand could be interpreted as indicating either speech or a pointing to something ("Rede" or "Hinweis"). Engemann rejected the possibility that the gesture's meaning is altered by context and suggested that the prophylactic interpretation is a projection onto antiquity and the Middle Ages by de Jorio and all later scholars who accept his interpretations. Markow (1988) questioned Engemann's conclusions and, using some of the examples he included, suggested that the gesture could convey specific meanings beyond speech and directional indication. John Elliott (2016, pp. 187–88) also contests Engemann.
- 67 De Jorio 2000, pp. 147–51. The existence in Roman images of a satyr "waving" the horned hand lends visual evidence supporting de Jorio's arguments for the continuity of the ancient gesture and its meanings. See note 41 above.
- 68 Suggested by Alison Luchs, email to the author, August 30, 2014.
- 69 Seligmann 1910, pp. 191–99; Callisen 1937, p. 453; Siebers 1983, p. 16; Ogden 2002, p. 224; Foskolou 2005, p. 255.
- 70 The allegory of Albiera's death was the focus of the elegy Poliziano wrote for her betrothed, Sigismondo della Stufa. See the poet's "Epicedio di Albiera degli Albizi, Promessa Sposa di Sigismondo della Stufa, Rapita da Morte Prematura," in Bausi 2006, pp. 474–505; see also Luchs 2012. For the "fierce look," see Bausi 2006, p. 482, lines 89–90: "Vertit in hanc torvos Rhamnusia luminis orbes." For the identification of Nemesis with Invidia, see Perosa 1946, pp. 81–83.
- 71 Holmes (1999, p. 129) suggested that the vegetation visible through the window behind the woman symbolizes fertility.
- 72 Musacchio 1999, p. 32.
- 73 "Cui membro inhonesto matrem familias honestissimam palam coronam necesse erat inponere. Sic videlicet Liber deus placandus fuerat pro eventibus seminum, sic ab agris fascinatō repellenda." Translation from Elliott 2016, pp. 193–94.
- 74 Hoch 2006, p. 477. For the prevalence of protective sexual and scatological motifs in the Middle Ages, see Mellinkoff 2004, *passim*.

- 75 Hoch 2006, p. 477.
- 76 Pope-Hennessy and Christiansen 1980, p. 9; Baskins et al. 2008, p. 25, and fig. 14; Bayer 2008, pp. 157–59, nos. 71, 72; Musacchio 2008, pp. 38, 44. For the continued use in the Renaissance of phallic imagery to avert the power of the evil eye, see Tal 2006, pp. 139–44.
- 77 Pliny, *Natural History* 28.39 and 32.11, describes the ancient Roman custom. For protecting children, see Lykiardopoulos 1981, p. 226. For devotional and apotropaic objects including coral, see Aronberg Lavin and Redleaf 1995, p. 13n7; Musacchio 1999, pp. 131–33; and Musacchio 2006, pp. 139–51.
- 78 Pope-Hennessy 1964, p. 325, no. 359; Blume 1985, pp. 182–84, and p. 446, no. 146; Bober 2000, p. 235; Leino 2013, p. 156.
- 79 For the tradition of amatory themes on mirror cases, see Randall 1997, pp. 70–74. For an early fertility interpretation of the Martelli relief, see Fortnum 1894, p. 99.
- 80 Pope-Hennessy 1964, p. 325, no. 359; Blume 1985, pp. 182–84, and p. 446, no. 146.
- 81 For the role of Bacchus in ancient fertility belief, see Augustine, *City of God* 7.16: “Liber and Ceres are responsible for seeds, the former in charge of the male, the latter of the female seeds; or else Liber is in command of the liquid part, Ceres of the dry element, in the seeds. . . .”; 7.21: “Liber is the god whom they have put in command of liquid seeds—not only the liquors derived from fruits, among which wine holds, one may say, the primacy, but also the seeds of animals.”
- 82 Pope-Hennessy (1964, pp. 325–27) describes the satyr’s gesture without naming it the *mano cornuta*, but suggests that the gesture and the satyr’s gaze toward Priapus together indicate that the satyr represents *Necessitas*. Blume 1985, pp. 182 and 447, no. 146, and Blume 1987, p. 260, name the gesture *le corna* and state that it has a phallic and sexual meaning. Blume (1985, p. 194n50) says that the gesture is used to ward off evil in southern Italy to this day, but appears to dismiss its protective function in the *Martelli Mirror* case because, according to Ernesto de Martino, the modern concept of *Jettatura* is a post-Renaissance phenomenon. The discussion of the evil eye in de Martino (1959) 2013, pp. 130–80, seems more concerned with post-Enlightenment attitudes about the individual responsible for the evil eye (the *Jettatore*) than with any real differences in the casting of the evil eye itself (the *Jettatura*) and the effects on its victims.
- 83 Pope-Hennessy 1964, pp. 327–28; Blume 1985, pp. 182 and 447.
- 84 For the association of breasts and nursing with personifications of Nature, see Dronke 1980, pp. 25–29.
- 85 Pope-Hennessy 1964, pp. 327–28; Blume 1985, pp. 182 and 447. In his *Saturnalia* (1.19.16–18), Macrobius had already included *Necessitas* as one of four forces involved with cosmic and human generation. See Nietzsche 1975, pp. 28, 157n23. Bernard Silvestris called Natura the *mater generationis* in his *Cosmographia* of about 1150; for Jean de Meun, in his part of the *Roman de la Rose*, “Nature, deputy and minister of god, acts then as an intermediary between the eternal and the mutable: she translates the commands of the stars into actions and brings all things to birth.” Nietzsche 1975, pp. 83, 118.
- 86 Pope-Hennessy (1964, p. 327) described the figure as the mask of an old woman; Blume (1985, p. 447) raised the possibility that she might exemplify the medieval tradition of personifying *Natura* as an older woman. Phyllis Bober (2000, p. 235) described her as a female head rather than a mask.
- 87 Shiae 2010, p. 129. See also Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, pp. 16–18.
- 88 Tal 2006, p. 169.
- 89 Levenson, Oberhuber, and Sheehan 1973, p. 188, no. 75; David Landau in Martineau 1992, p. 285, no. 79; Christiansen 2009, p. 58. See also Vickers 1977 and Jacobsen 1982.
- 90 For the Mantegna and Mocetto interpretations of Lucian’s story, see Cast 1981, pp. 55–67, pls. 3, 6. Mantegna transformed the male figure of Phthonos in Lucian’s Greek account, as portrayed by Botticelli, into the Latin female Invidia. See *ibid.*, p. 66n13 and fig. 6. For Invidia wearing a tunic more closed at the neck, Mantegna could have been inspired by Giotto’s depiction of Invidia in the Arena Chapel (Derbes and Sandona 2004, pl. 23).
- 91 While not as iconic as the image of Envy on the Martelli Mirror case, the engraved *Allegories of Envy* from Venice(?) of about 1470 and by Cristofano Robetta from about 1500–1510 show personifications that are more directly frontal. See Hind 1938–48, vol. 1, p. 250, no. 3, and p. 206, no. 31. For more on Invidia and depictions in sixteenth-century Italy, see G. Smith 1981, pp. 251–59.
- 92 Siebers 1983, pp. 7–11.
- 93 *Ibid.*
- 94 The herm of Priapus, the guardian of gardens (*custos hortorum*), could also be considered an apotropaic image.

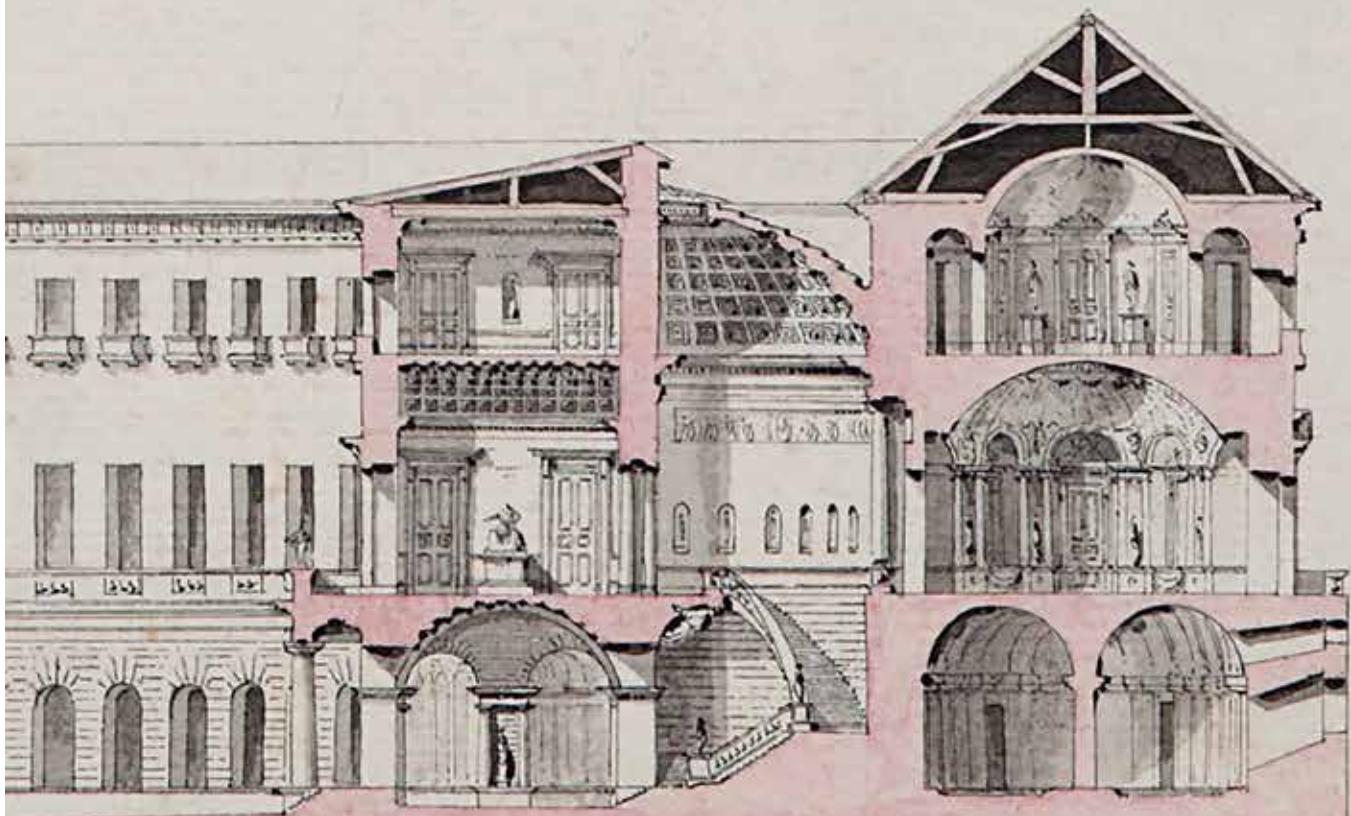
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A Palace for Louis XVI: Jean Augustin Renard at Rambouillet

A floor plan for a royal palace that has until now been attributed to the French architect Jacques Charles Bonnard (1765–1818) was given to The Metropolitan Museum of Art by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman in 1970 (see fig. 9). The uniqueness of its layout and the inscription *côté du canal* along one of the facades contradict the suggestion written in pencil in the lower right corner of the sheet that the plan represents an unrealized project for Versailles. Close study of this sheet, particularly in its relationship to two groups of drawings that have recently come to light, permits a firm attribution of the drawing to the French architect Jean Augustin Renard (1744–1807) and identification of its subject as the third and final proposal presented in 1783 to Louis XVI for a reconstruction of the Château de Rambouillet, a project that ultimately was never carried out.

LOUIS XVI AND RAMBOUILLET

On December 29, 1783, Louis XVI, having held off during the financially uncertain years of the American War of Independence, finalized the purchase of the domain of Rambouillet from his cousin the duc de Penthièvre for the enormous sum of 16 million livres.¹ The property was situated about 33 kilometers, or less than three hours by carriage, southwest of Versailles and consisted of more than 11,000 hectares (approximately 27,000 acres) of one of the country's most beautiful hunting grounds, for which Louis XVI went to Rambouillet about thirty days each year from 1784 to 1789.

Rambouillet was built between 1368 and 1384 for Jean Bernier, provost of Paris and royal counselor, and remained until the end of the eighteenth century a fortified castle with a decidedly Gothic flavor reinforced by one of its main attractions, the tower in which François I died in 1547.² Various attempts at refurbishing had been undertaken prior to 1783. Following Louis XIV's purchase of the château in 1705 for his legitimized son, the comte de Toulouse, the architect Jean Sarda reshaped the courtyard into a roughly symmetrical horseshoe with its main entrance facing north, refaced the facades, and doubled the width of the lateral wings.³ The surrounding moat was filled in, exterior fortifications were torn down, and a semicircular forecourt enclosed by an iron fence was added.⁴ Sculptors François Antoine Vassé and Jacques Verberckt were responsible for refined boiserie in a lavish new apartment in the west wing that contrasted with the still relatively forbidding exterior. Though it was never Louis XV's property, he too contributed to alterations at Rambouillet, which he visited for the hunt while awaiting the completion of his neighboring residence, the Château de Saint-Hubert, in 1758. He had the apartments overlooking the garden in the east wing rebuilt for his personal use by his architect Ange Jacques Gabriel. A dozen years later, when Rambouillet passed to the duc de Penthièvre, son of the comte de Toulouse, its new owner had an English-style garden designed by Claude Martin Goupy on the other side of the canal, west of the château.

Despite these efforts, which had, in fact, made the château perfectly habitable, Louis Petit de Bachaumont's *Mémoires secrets* reported in November 1783, just a month before Louis XVI's purchase of Rambouillet, that "The queen [Marie Antoinette] went to see the château, which is gothic, and it greatly displeased her."⁵ It was perhaps for this reason—and encouraged by the more stable financial prospects promised by the Treaty of Paris, which ended the American War of Independence—that the comte d'Angiviller, director

of the Bâtiments du Roi and newly named governor of the domain of Rambouillet, proposed a complete reconstruction of the château to Louis XVI.

JEAN AUGUSTIN RENARD

Renard has never before been the subject of an extended study. Born in Paris on August 27, 1744, he was the son of an administrator in the royal mirror manufactory.⁶ He began his career as a painter in the workshop of Noël Hallé,⁷ then turned to architecture, studying first with Louis François Thourou de Moranzel, grandson of Robert de Cotte, and next with Antoine Mathieu Le Carpentier, one of the most prolific architects in France in the mid-eighteenth century. Renard was trained at the Académie Royale d'Architecture. He began to participate in its competitions beginning in 1764 and, after several unsuccessful attempts, finally won the *premier Grand Prix* in 1773 with "A pavilion . . . built beside a large water course . . . [that] will be used for special festivities held by the sovereign."⁸

Like most of his contemporaries, Renard learned the mechanical aspects of his profession through practical experience, notably through his remodeling of the *hôtel* of the marquis de Seignelay in the Faubourg Saint-Germain in Paris.⁹ He began his career as a protégé of the *contrôleur général des finances* Anne Robert Turgot, who recommended him to his friend the comte d'Angiviller in 1774.¹⁰ On August 14, 1774, Renard obtained his diploma from the crown as a fellow at the Académie de France in Rome.¹¹ While in Italy between 1774 and 1779, Renard produced a large number of drawings, many of which were later published under the title *Etudes de fragments d'architecture gravés dans la manière du crayon* (1783).¹² From the moment of his arrival in Rome, Renard was preparing for his return to Paris, however, and his election to the Académie d'Architecture: in 1775 he sent back to Paris a project for a basilica,¹³ followed in 1778 by a project for a courthouse, and in 1779 one for a conclave palace. The king's architects looked favorably on Renard's early drawings but faulted his skill in laying out the plans and his recycling of elements, including a rotunda based on the Pantheon.¹⁴ At the end of October 1777, thanks to funds secured through Turgot's intercession, Renard traveled to the Veneto to study the work of Andrea Palladio,¹⁵ then to Naples, where he joined Dominique Vivant Denon, Claude Louis Châtelet, and Louis Jean Desprez, who were traveling in the Campania and Sicily preparing the *Voyage pittoresque* published by the abbé de Saint-Non in 1781–86. Evidently Renard established a sympathetic relationship with his illustrious

fig. 1 General Plan of the Château de Rambouillet, First Project, ca. 1783. Pen and black ink; brush and pink, black, and gray wash, 15 7/8 × 19 in. (39.7 × 48.2 cm). Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris (OA 771 [1])



countrymen and eventually contributed twenty-four illustrations to the publication.¹⁶

On his return to Paris at the end of 1779, Renard started to build for private patrons, such as the comte d'Orsay, whom he had befriended in Rome, and for the royal government, after he married Marie Françoise Guillaumot, daughter of Charles Axel Guillaumot, architect to the king and *inspecteur des carrières* in Paris. Renard soon became architect to the duc de Penthièvre, for whom he built several follies in the park of his château at Armainvilliers.¹⁷ It was probably through Renard's familiarity with Penthièvre's properties and his protection by the comte d'Angiviller that he was in a position to propose renovations for Rambouillet when it was purchased by the king.

RENARD'S DRAWINGS FOR RAMBOUILLET

On March 8, 1813, Jean-Baptiste Boutard, art critic for the *Journal de l'Empire*, devoted an article to the history of Rambouillet and reported, "I have before me three projects that were presented to the king by the late M. Renard, one of the king's official architects."¹⁸ Through the drawings that have recently come to light it has been possible to identify this series of three projects: a general plan, an elevation of the main entrance, and a cross section for the first project (figs. 1–3); a general plan, a plan of the ground floor, and elevations of the main entrance and the canal facade for the

second project (figs. 4–7); a general plan and a plan of the ground floor for the third project (figs. 8, 9). The Metropolitan Museum's drawing, figure 9, was presumably the final iteration of an extended creative process and development as Renard attempted to rework the complex existing fourteenth-century structure with its diverse eighteenth-century modifications. The other plans are two drawings still held by Renard's descendants (figs. 2, 3) and a group of seven recently purchased by the Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris (see figs. 1, 4–8).¹⁹ All of Renard's drawings for Rambouillet except the ones still with Renard's descendants were clearly intended as presentation drawings as can be seen from their blue mats. Only the Metropolitan's drawing bears inscriptions identifying for whom the principal apartments were destined—the king, the queen, and their two sisters-in-law, the comtesse de Provence and the comtesse d'Artois—and alphabetical designations of individual rooms (presumably corresponding to a now-lost text).

Differences in technique and level of detail suggest that originally two sets of drawings existed for all three projects, one of presentation drawings for the king and the other for Renard's own reference (the latter descended in his family; see figs. 2, 3). Renard's presentation drawings are representative of those produced by Parisian architects beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century to appeal to clients through the use

fig. 2 Elevation of the Main Entrance of the Château de Rambouillet, First Project, ca. 1783. Pen and black ink, brush and pink, black, and gray wash, 10¾ × 15¼ in. (27.3 × 38.7 cm). Private collection

fig. 3 Cross Section of the Château de Rambouillet, First Project, ca. 1783. Pen and black ink, brush and pink, black, and gray wash, 10¾ × 15¼ in. (27.3 × 38.7 cm). Private collection

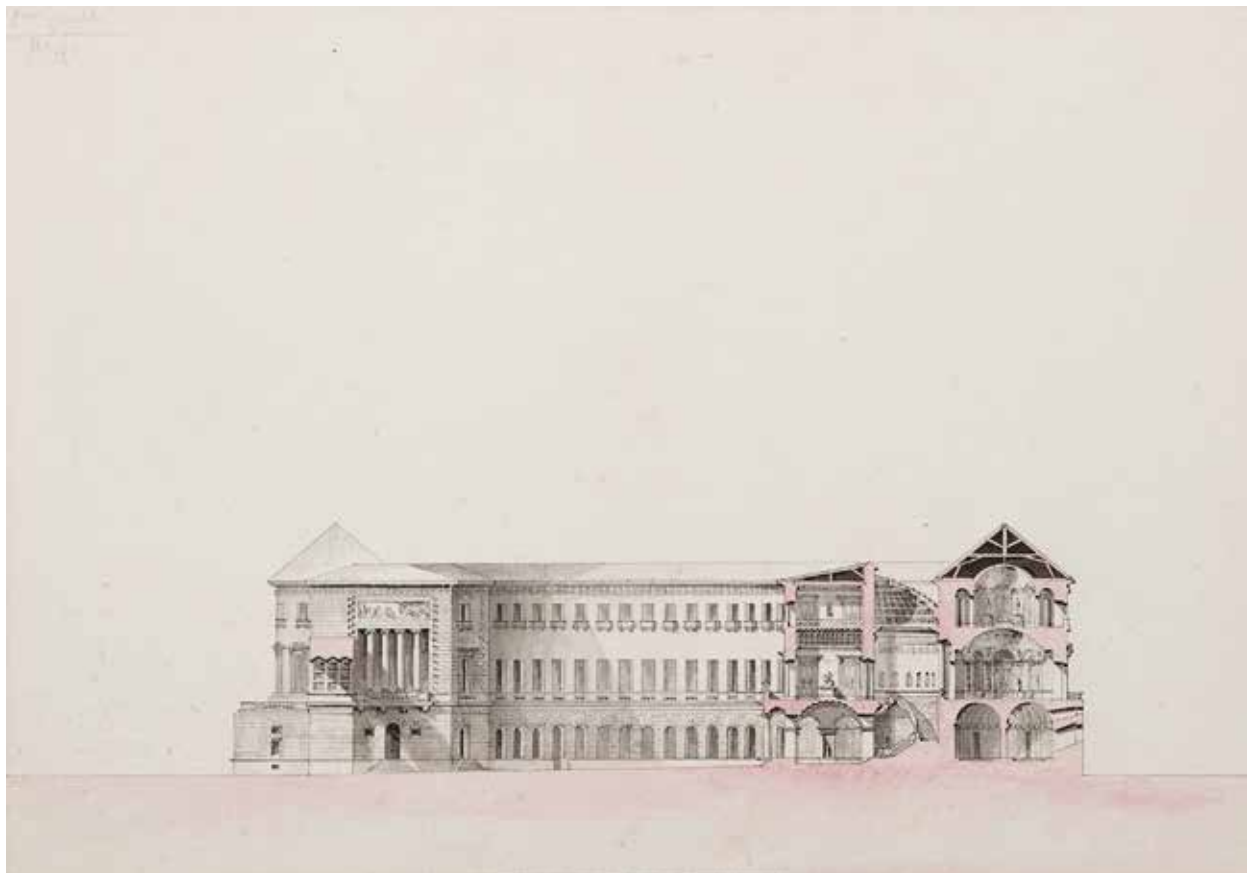
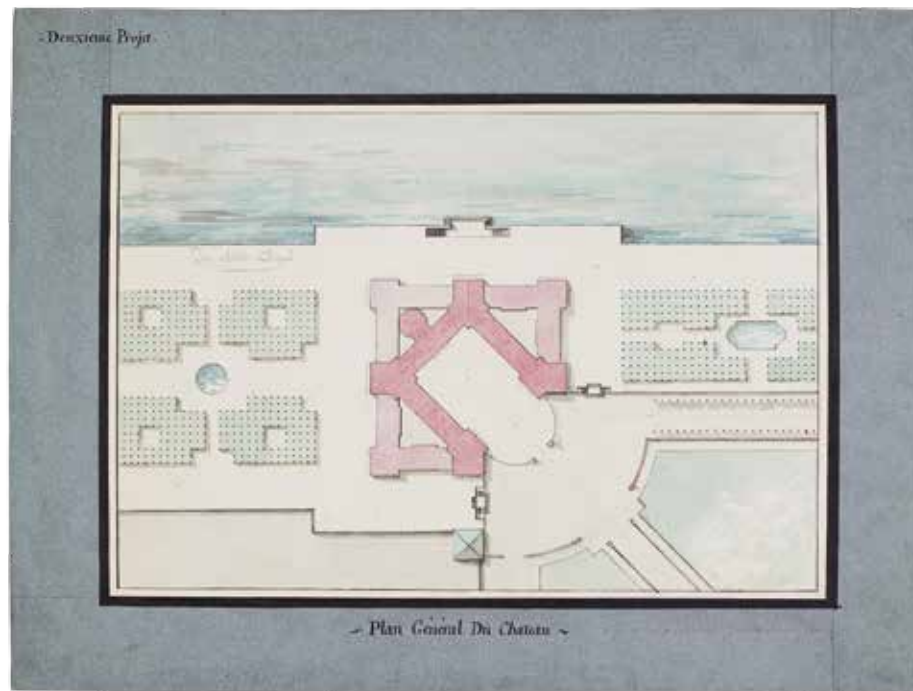


fig. 4 General Plan of the Château de Rambouillet, Second Project, ca. 1783. Pen and black ink, brush and pink, black, and gray wash. 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (33.9 × 45.1 cm). Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris (OA 771 [2])



of pictorial devices that were not inherent to conventional forms of architectural representation. This is particularly evident in Renard's use of color, atmospheric rendering of shadows and clouds, and playfully modeled water and vegetation, all of which exceed and even confuse information that would be strictly architectural in its aim. One of Renard's most successful pictorial techniques entailed turning the paper vertically before the wash had dried so that it would drip down the sheet and give the walls of his buildings a weathered, striated effect (figs. 2, 3, 6, 7). This technique was a recent development in Parisian architectural drawing, having appeared in 1768 in Pierre Adrien Pâris's *Grand Prix* drawings for the Académie d'Architecture and used successfully by Renard in his *premier Grand Prix* drawings of 1773.

THE QUESTION OF CONVENANCE

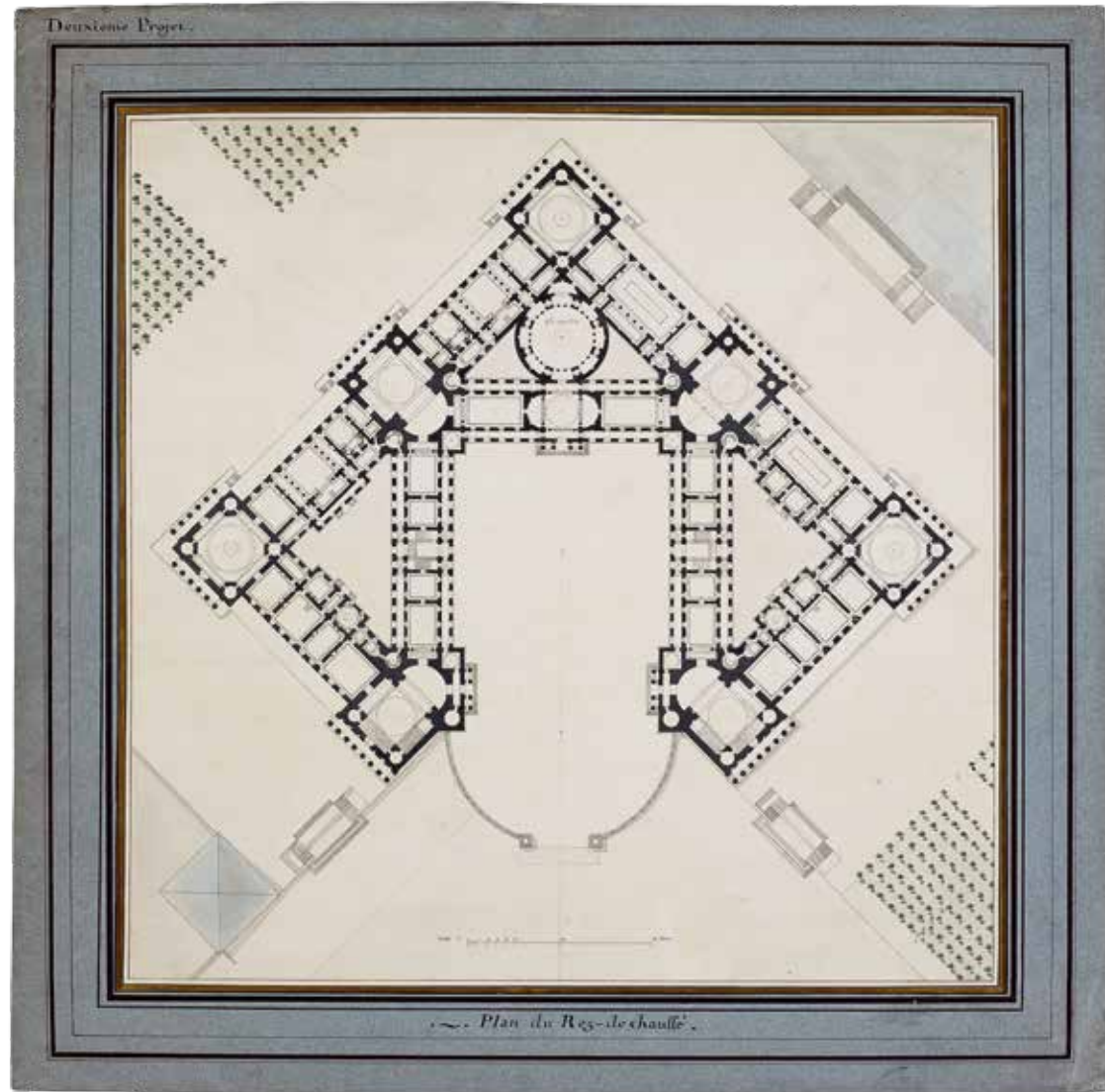
In establishing the château's layout, Renard responded to features of the existing building even though he did not intend to use its original foundations. He preserved four buildings in order to form a pentagon with one open side. In his first proposal he inserted a circular courtyard at the center of the pentagon (fig. 1), based on the Villa Farnese at Caprarola that he had drawn during his Italian journey.²⁰ The round towers at the pentagon's corners referred to the earlier château, which he proposed otherwise to demolish, and permitted him to use round spaces as hubs between wings of the build-

ings, following a tradition of French layout popularized by Louis Le Vau.²¹ But these round towers were no doubt judged too Gothic, for in the second project they were replaced by large square pavilions (figs. 6, 7). This second proposal is far less daring and abandons the neo-Gothic, picturesque proposal that had spoken so clearly to the château's origins but was perhaps considered too close to garden follies, such as those Renard had recently designed for the duc de Penthièvre and which were inappropriate at this larger scale. While Renard's first proposal included a heavily rusticated arch (borrowed from Claude Nicolas Ledoux's *Hôtel des Fermes* in Bordeaux), which evoked Roman ruins and framed radically severe, baseless Doric columns, he replaced this facade in his second proposal with a semicircular courtyard delimited by a modest iron fence and colossal, paired columns that referred to Claude Perrault's colonnade on the eastern facade of the Louvre, considered the epitome of classical French architecture. Renard's earlier choice of Paestum Doric columns for the entry to a royal château seemed to defy all the rules of *convenance*—the appropriateness of architectural vocabulary to the patron's rank—that he would have learned at the Académie d'Architecture. According to contemporary practice, the Paestum Doric was reserved for crypts, such as the one designed by Jacques Germain Soufflot for the new basilica of Sainte-Geneviève, the future Panthéon, or even for prisons. In 1785 Pâris was furious to discover that the contractor

fig. 5 Floor Plan of the Château de Rambouillet, Second Project, ca. 1783. Pen and black ink, brush and pink, black, and gray wash, 22½ × 22½ in. (57.2 × 57.3 cm). Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris (OA 771 [3])

fig. 6 Elevation of the Main Entrance of the Château de Rambouillet, Second Project, ca. 1783. Pen and black ink, brush and pink, black, and gray wash, 8¾ × 21¾ in. (22.3 × 55.5 cm). Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris (OA 771 [4])

fig. 7 Elevation of the Canal Facade of the Château de Rambouillet, Second Project, ca. 1783. Pen and black ink, brush and pink, black, and gray wash, 8¾ × 21¾ in. (22.3 × 55.2 cm). Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris (OA 771 [5])



charged with executing his plans for the Hôtel de Ville in Neuchâtel had changed the soaring proportions of the Doric vestibule columns into a squatter Paestum Doric.²²

In the second proposal for Rambouillet, Renard reused a number of elements from his submission to the Académie d'Architecture's competition of 1773, including the shallow dome (a recurrent motif in his designs, as the Académie would complain in 1779; see note 14) and a taste for horizontal bas-reliefs that became fashionable in Parisian architecture in the 1760s and were epitomized the following decade in Ledoux's pavilion for the comtesse du Barry at Louveciennes.²³ The canal facade of Rambouillet (fig. 7) comes close, albeit in a less spectacular mode, to a proposal for Versailles by Etienne Louis Boullée, probably devised in 1785, about the same time as Renard's

Rambouillet projects.²⁴ But when compared with Boullée's design, Renard's is strikingly restrained in the number of columns. Vast colonnades, which had become nearly obligatory in royal projects in the 1780s, are absent. While categorically a royal palace, Rambouillet was above all else a grand hunting lodge rather than the seat of the monarch. The challenge of inventing an architecture fit for a king but not competing with Versailles was equally in evidence in Renard's proposed solutions for the layout at Rambouillet.

AMBIGUOUS PLANS

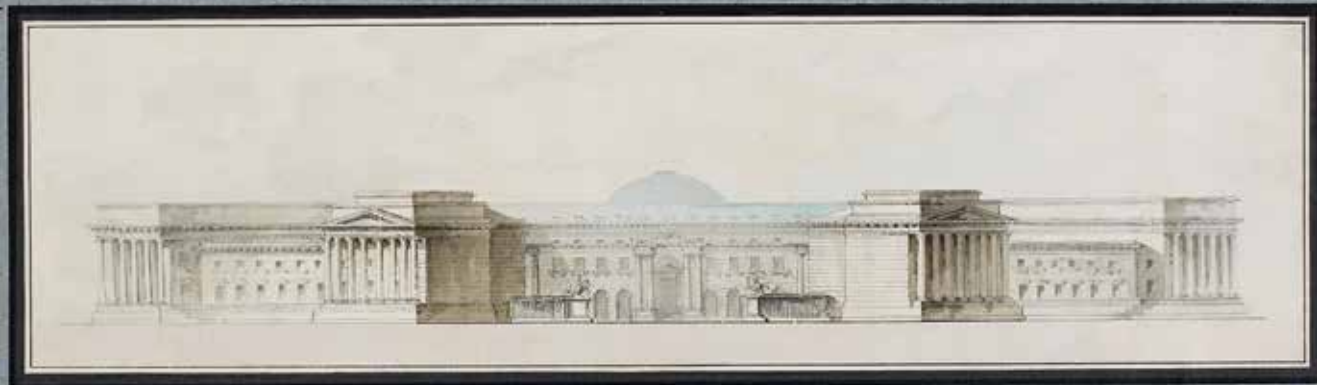
The first planning difficulty Renard faced was the distinction between the axis of the canal-facing facade and the one created by the avenue extending from the château to Versailles. The two axes, which appear in red ink in all presentation plans, meet at a 142-degree angle.

In the first proposal, Renard treated only the avenue axis, neglecting the tree-lined allée running parallel to the canal on the right side (northwest) of the drawing (fig. 1). In the two succeeding proposals he took this allée into account (figs. 4, 8), designing a semicircular forecourt and creating a route to the village in order to produce a three-pronged arrangement, a clear allusion to the Versailles Place d'Armes.²⁵ In the first proposal, the château's circular courtyard is mirrored by an esplanade planted in the same form around the entire château. Subsequent proposals abandon the circle and

instead use the square: esplanade, château, courtyard, and plantings all conform to this basic geometric form. This device of replicating simple, geometric forms was a defining feature in plans by Boullée and Ledoux.

A floor plan for the first proposal has not been located, but the surviving cross section indicates that the architect envisioned placing a vast two-flight staircase on the entrance axis (fig. 3). In the second proposal, the surviving plan indicates that the entrance axis was to be filled by a round chapel (or, in the third proposal, a central stair) ingeniously situated at the center of one of

Deuxieme Projet



— Entrée Principalle du Chateau —

Deuxieme Projet



— façade sur le grand Canal —

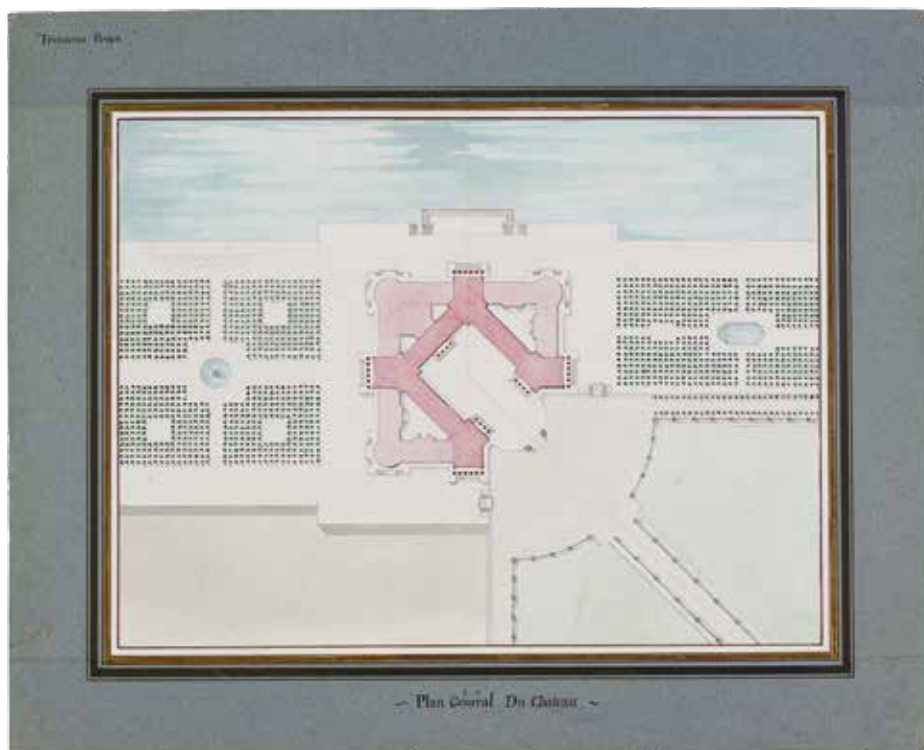


fig. 8 General Plan of the Château de Rambouillet, Third Project, ca. 1783. Pen and black ink, brush and pink, black, and gray wash, 14 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (37.9 × 47 cm). Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris (OA 771 [7])

the three triangular courtyards delimited by the meeting of two squares (figs. 5, 9). The difficulty of reading these plans derives from the fact that Renard chose to include two levels—a ground floor (indicated in light pink wash) and an elevated ground floor (indicated in darker pink wash)—in the same drawing (figs. 4, 8). However, it must be stated that Renard's plans remain extremely difficult to read and some features remain ambiguous, indicative of his own inability to envision a château that effectively combined a royal palace and a hunting lodge.

As was common in plans for royal buildings, Renard distinguished between two types of apartments for the king: a formal apartment in the canal-facing wing and a private apartment in the garden-facing wing. In the second proposal the king and queen are each given similar apartments consisting of one antechamber, one chamber with an alcove, and one room for bathing followed by a wardrobe. It is unclear, however, how the queen's apartment, the farthest from the king's formal apartment, in the southeastern wing, would be accessed without going through her bathroom (indicated by a recessed bathtub and *lit de repos* in the drawing, fig. 5). In the Metropolitan's drawing (fig. 9) Renard tried to resolve problems that arose from using absolute symmetry in the layout, notably in the arrangement of the private apartments: the queen gained two small *arrière cabinets* (marked *G* and *F* on the plan), while the king's bedchamber (*I*) is preceded by two antechambers

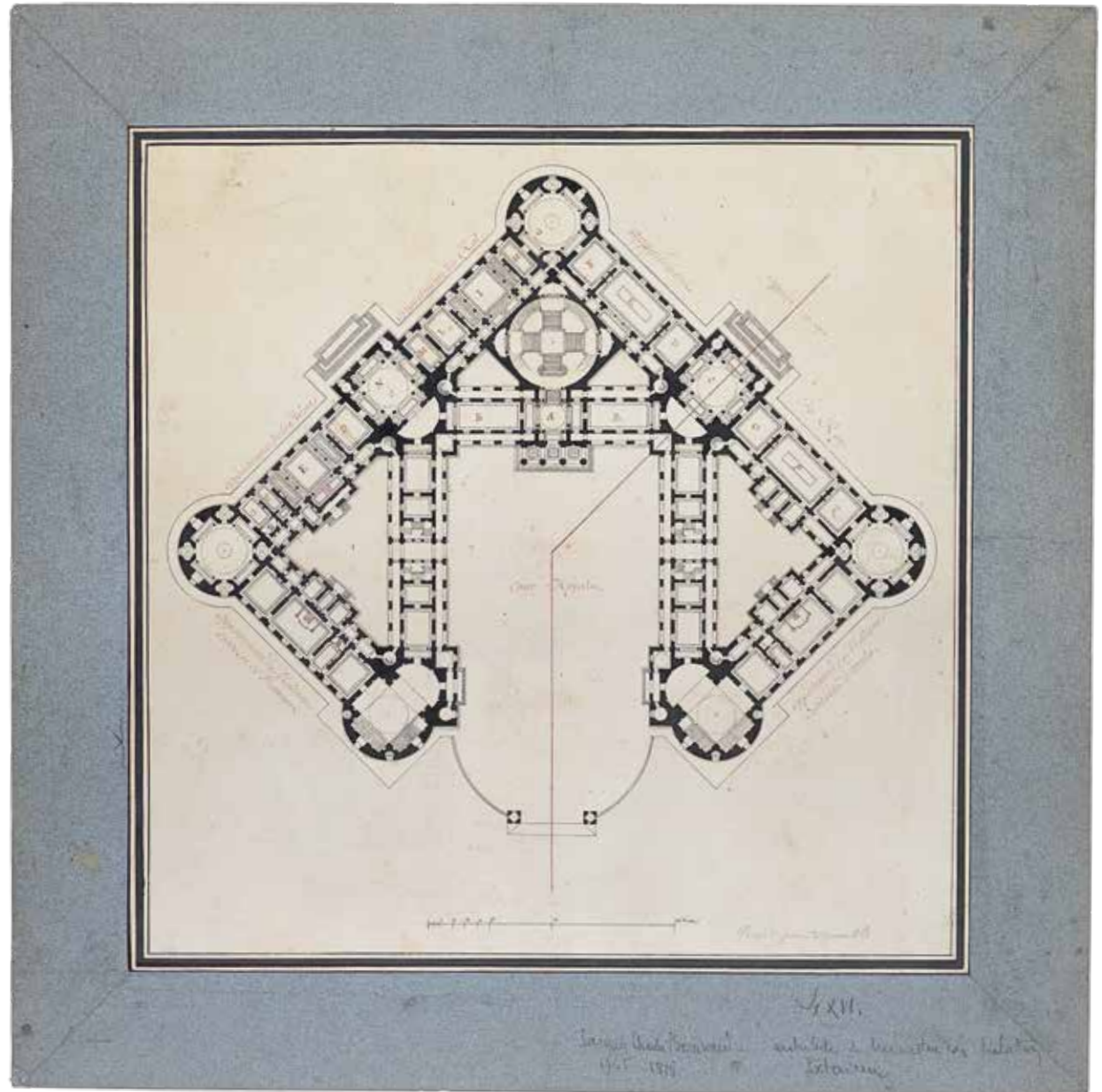
(*M* and *L*). Oddly for a royal residence, a chapel is not found on the same floor as the royal apartments and no theater is included. The latter is a particularly glaring omission given the evident desire to attract Marie Antoinette to Rambouillet. A plan for the second floor is not known, but it is likely that each of the king's brothers was given an apartment above that of his wife, and that the royal children were given one above their parents, an arrangement typical of a country house rather than a royal palace.

RENARD AND RAMBOUILLET AFTER 1783

Just thirty years after Renard's creation of the drawings, Boutard wrote in the *Journal de l'Empire*: "If this proposal had been decided upon and time had permitted its execution, the French court would never have known a residence that was at once so pleasing and so regular."²⁶ The entry in Bachaumont's *Mémoires secrets* for November 1783 reported, however, that Louis XVI found Renard's projects too expensive, and the project was not realized.²⁷ Only days after the signing of the sale of Rambouillet to Louis XVI, the comte d'Angiviller named Jean Jacques Thévenin the official architect of the domain.²⁸ Thévenin had already proven himself in the royal building sites, even bearing the late payments typical of the king's projects through his extensive work for private clients. As for Renard, he received in compensation the position of controller of the king's works in Paris and oversight of the future Musée du Louvre.²⁹ He was also commissioned to modernize the Paris Observatory and build the royal stables at Saint-Germain-en-Laye and Sèvres, and he was finally elected a member of the Académie d'Architecture in February 1791.³⁰ Renard was imprisoned during the Terror, but with the fall of Robespierre he survived and under the Directoire found himself favored by the prince de Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs.³¹ Renard would die in his official apartment in Talleyrand's Paris *hôtel* in January 1807. That the Metropolitan's plan for Rambouillet was attributed to the architect Bonnard can probably be explained by the fact that Bonnard succeeded Renard as architect to Talleyrand and thus likely inherited a number of Renard's drawings.

The Château de Rambouillet was ultimately not touched during the considerable work carried out at the domain under the comte d'Angiviller's direction. Beginning in 1784 nearly nine hundred workers were employed to build sumptuous stables for five hundred horses, a large kennel, an experimental farm, a chicken coop and pheasantry, a menagerie, and for Marie Antoinette the most celebrated project, a pleasure dairy

fig. 9 Floor Plan of the Château de Rambouillet, Third Project, ca. 1783. Pen and black ink, brush and pink, black, and gray wash. 14 3/8 x 14 1/4 in. (36.4 x 36.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 1970 (1970.736.28)



designed by Hubert Robert and Thévenin. The Sèvres Manufactory produced a porcelain service in the Etruscan style specifically for use in this lavish setting.³² Miraculously preserved through the Revolution, the château was transformed under Napoleon, who tore down the east wing and commissioned Guillaume Trepsat to renovate part of the interior in 1805.³³ By the end of the nineteenth century the entire domain was incorporated into residences of the president of France.

This outstanding group of newly uncovered drawings by Jean Augustin Renard provides an exceptional degree of information about one of the most important yet poorly documented French royal domains as well as insight into a key moment in the broader history of French architecture. Through these drawings, Renard

emerges as a member of a generation of architects formed by the Académie Royale d'Architecture and strongly influenced by their Roman training. The careers of many of them were cut short by the French Revolution just at the moment they reached artistic maturity.

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NOTES

- 1 Archives Nationales, Paris, MC/ET/XVI/848; “Vente au roi, à titre privé, par le duc de Penthièvre du domaine de Rambouillet,” December 29, 1783.
- 2 Cueille 2005, pp. 2–3.
- 3 A plan for the main floor, left wing, dated 1708, is in the Fonds Robert de Cotte, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Va 78b t. 1, R. de C. 1339, 1340; Fossier 1997, no. 265.
- 4 For a view of this aspect of the château, see Jacques Rigaud (1681–1754), *Vue du château de Rambouillet prise de l'avant-cour appartenant à S.A.S Mgr le Duc de Penthièvre*, ca. 1740, pl. 96, in *Vues du château de Rambouillet*, Recueil de gravures de la collection de Grossœuvre 150, Musée des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon (www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/01-001258-2C6NUOVZDZDZ.html). Rigaud's *Vue du parterre de Rambouillet* from the same series of etchings is in the Metropolitan Museum (53.600.1248).
- 5 “La reine est allé voir le château qui est gothique, & lui a fort déplu.” Bachaumont 1784, p. 52.
- 6 Willk-Brocard 1998, p. 181.
- 7 Willk-Brocard 1995, p. 139.
- 8 “Un pavillon . . . construit sur une grande pièce d'eau . . . [lequel] sera simplement destiné à des fêtes particulières que le souverain donneroit”; Pérouse de Montclos 1984, p. 125. The drawings are in the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts de Paris, PRA 79.
- 9 Borjon 1984, p. 106; Nicole Willk-Brocard, Introduction, in Willk-Brocard and Gady 2015, p. 4.
- 10 Turgot recommended Renard to Angiviller while Renard was a fellow at the Académie de France in Rome. Letter from Angiviller to Turgot, October 13, 1774; Montaignon and Guiffrey 1904, p. 45; Baudez 2012, p. 118.
- 11 Archives Nationales, Paris, O¹ 1095, fol. 407.
- 12 He gave these in gratitude to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture and the Académie Royale d'Architecture. Letter from Renard read at a meeting of the Académie de Peinture, November 29, 1783; Montaignon 1889, p. 175, and Montaignon and Guiffrey 1905, p. 389.
- 13 *Projet de Basilique—Plan, Coupe longitudinale, Elévation de la façade d'entrée*, private collection, exhibited at the Galerie De Bayser, Paris, November 12–27, 2015; Willk-Brocard and Gady 2015, pp. 70–71, nos. 46–48.
- 14 Observations of commissioners of the Académie Royale d'Architecture, April 27, 1779; Montaignon and Guiffrey 1904, pp. 431–32.
- 15 Angiviller, letter to Joseph Marie Vien, director of the Académie de France in Rome, July 28, 1777; Montaignon and Guiffrey 1904, p. 306.
- 16 Lamers 1995, pp. 28–51, 84–85.
- 17 The follies, including a pavilion à la turque, baths, a Gothic tomb, and a chinoiserie pavilion, have disappeared but are reproduced in Krafft 1829, pls. 93–95.
- 18 “J'ai sous les yeux trois projets qui furent présentés au roi par feu M. Renard, l'un des architectes contrôleurs de ses bâtimens.” Boutard 1813, p. 3.
- 19 Figures 2 and 3, belonging to Renard's descendants, were exhibited at the Galerie De Bayser, Paris, November 12–27, 2015; Willk-Brocard and Gady 2015, pp. 30, 74, nos. 55, 56. The Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art acquired its seven drawings at the Piasa sale, *Dessins anciens; Tableaux et sculptures des XIX^e et XX^e siècles*, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 12, 2013, lots 82, 85, from Renard's descendants. Bibliothèque de l'INHA drawing OA 771 (6), not illustrated in this article, shows together on one sheet the elevations that are depicted here in figures 6 and 7.
- 20 Renard's drawing of the Villa Farnese at Caprarola still belongs to Renard's descendants.
- 21 Cojannot 2012, p. 90.
- 22 Pinon 2007, p. 34.
- 23 Pons 1995, pp. 377–99.
- 24 See Baudez and Passavy 2012, pp. 208–9.
- 25 Blécon 2004, p. 31.
- 26 “Si l'on avoit su s'arrêter à ce projet, et que les temp eussent permis de l'exécuter, jamais la cour de France n'auroit eu de demeure à la fois si agréable et si régulière.” Boutard 1813, p. 4.
- 27 “Le roi a trouvé le devis des bâtimens trop considérable, & a dit qu'il falloit attendre.” Bachaumont 1784, p. 52.
- 28 Gallet 1995, pp. 462–63; Blécon 2004, pp. 39–40; Baudez 2013.
- 29 Renard designed the glass lantern for the ceiling of the Salon Carré, which was built in 1789; Sahut 1979, pp. 18–19; McClellan 1999, pp. 58–60.
- 30 Lemonnier 1926, pp. 316–17.
- 31 A spectacular portrait of Talleyrand by Pierre Paul Prud'hon entered the Metropolitan Museum's collection through the generosity of Mrs. Wrightsman (1994.190); Tinterow 2005.
- 32 The Metropolitan Museum has a *jatte écuelle* from the Sèvres service (1997.518); Schwartz 2002.
- 33 Poisson 2004, pp. 9–10.

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KATHARINE BAETJER

Jean Pillement: Shipwrecks and the Sublime

Motifs in the Chinese style taken from the engraved work of Jean Pillement were popular in the second half of the eighteenth century and may be found not only on printed textiles but also on elegant furnishings, silver, ceramics, and chair seat covers. These decorative designs, sprightly and lighthearted, are typical of the sensibility of the Rococo. A rather less familiar aspect of Pillement's work is the small-scale pastoral landscape. The scenes are delicately painted, often in pairs, in watercolor, gouache, or a combination of the two. The artist's fields, hills, and streams are inhabited by peasants and their beasts silhouetted against a cool morning light or, more often, the warmer palette of the setting sun. Why then, in the 1780s, well past the middle of his life, did Pillement suddenly turn to violent maritime subjects associated with the sublime: storms at sea, ships wrecked, passengers and goods cast violently by the motion of the waves upon

rocky shores? The answer is not immediately apparent from the circumstances of an ill-documented life of constant travel and change.

Baptized Jean-Baptiste and sometimes known as Jean II, Pillement was born in Lyon on May 24, 1728, and died there on April 25, 1808, shortly before his eightieth birthday.¹ Among five generations of artists and artisans of the Lyonnais Pillement family, he was the most significant figure and by far the least settled. In the eighteenth century, the silk manufactories of Lyon, which were collectively associated as a trade organization under the appellation *Grande Fabrique*, had become the most important makers of luxury fabrics in Western Europe. Jean's father, Paul Pillement, born in 1694,² was a successful merchant and designer to the silk trade who placed his oldest son with a respected local history painter, Daniel Sarrabat (1666–1748), to begin training. Thereafter, as he expected Jean to follow him into business, he sent the boy to Paris to apprentice at the Gobelins manufactory, which was then under the direction of the gifted animalier and landscapist Jean Baptiste Oudry (1686–1755).

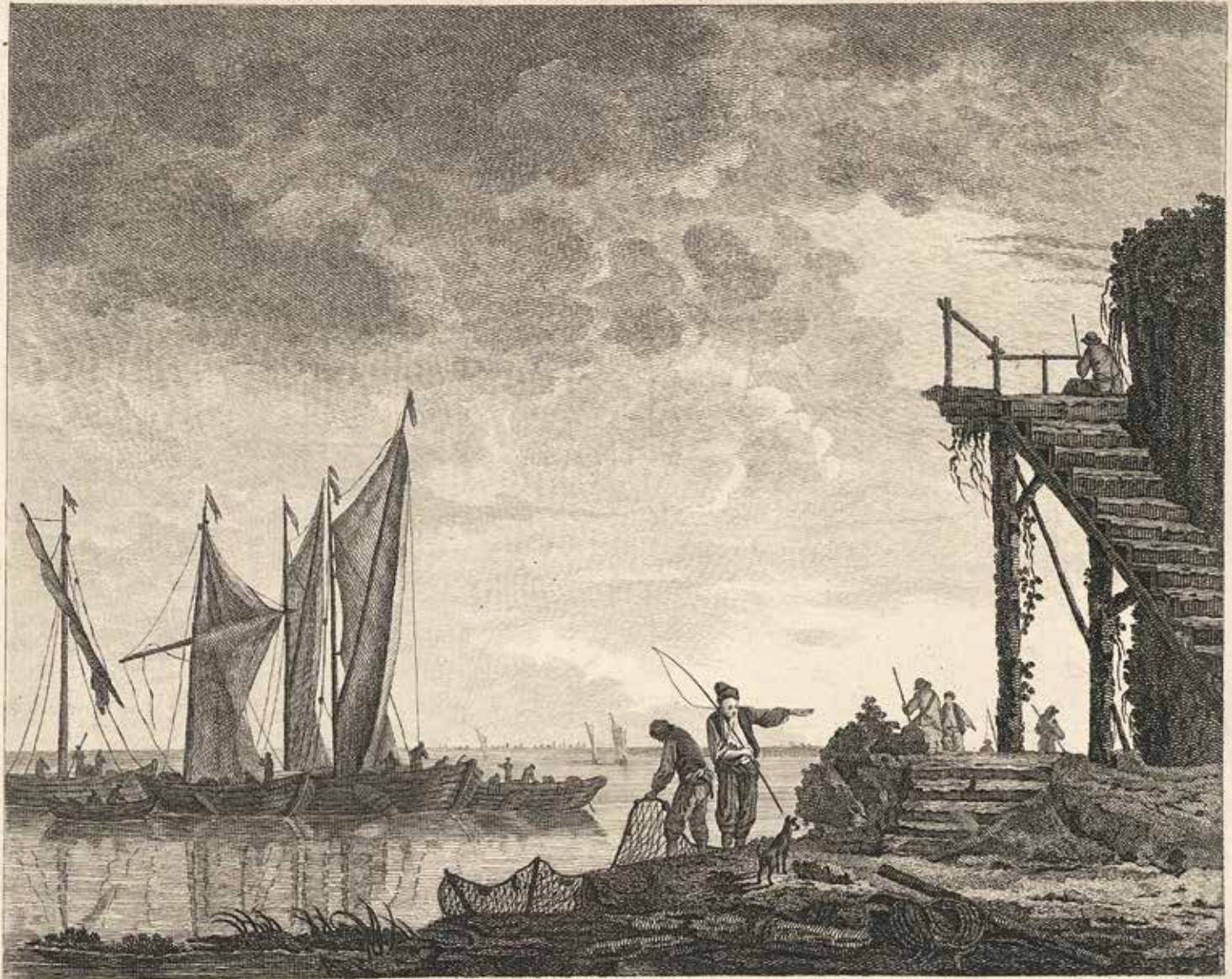
An account written by Jean Pillement himself dates to about 1763 and is critical to our understanding of his early years: he explains that he left France for Spain at seventeen to seek wider exposure and a more ambitious career than that of an ornamentalist.³ Rather than return to his birthplace, Jean became a tireless itinerant, traveling the length and breadth of Western Europe and practicing as a painter, draftsman, printmaker, designer, and decorator in a wide variety of media. He was so prolific that the extent of his work is difficult to grasp. He states that his first stay was in Madrid and that after several years he moved to Lisbon, where he declined the position of painter to the king of Portugal, José I, offered to him by “M. l'abbé de Mendaco, alors secrétaire d'État.”⁴ This can have been no earlier than autumn 1750, and in view of his limited training and experience, the offer can only have been for employment as a draftsman at the local silk factories. From the Iberian Peninsula he traveled to London, where he published his first independent engraved ornamental work in 1755.⁵ He wrote that he moved there to further his education and that he stayed for ten years.⁶

What limited biographical detail we have suggests that he arrived in London in the second half of 1754⁷ and was there most of the balance of the 1750s. In 1757, he contributed to the decoration of the Thames villa of the actor David Garrick and his wife, providing paintings in the Chinese taste that were framed in papier-mâché for the drawing room.⁸ He was already

a recognized specialist in chinoiserie with designs published in London from 1754 through the rest of the decade.⁹ Toward the end of this period, his work was also published in Paris, where he stated that he spent some months in 1761 before departing in 1762 for Turin, Rome, Milan, and Vienna. He settled there in 1763, having, again by his account, secured the patronage of the imperial family.¹⁰ Meanwhile he seems to have been looking for an opportunity to return to France and, seeking court patronage, claimed to have invented a new system for printing flowers and other designs in colors on fabric. His overtures were rejected by the influential engraver and critic Charles Nicolas Cochin the Younger, who had a narrow view of his abilities.¹¹

In summarizing his activities in London, Pillement explained that he perceived a preference there for landscapes as opposed to historical subjects (“on préféroit le genre de paysage à celui de l'histoire”).¹² He began to develop this additional specialty. At Garrick's villa, in addition to the Chinese drawing room, there was a “Petite Chambre a Paysage,” to the decoration of which Pillement contributed in 1757, and there are several landscape engravings after Pillement's designs dating to the same year.¹³ In London, the artist was associated with Charles LeVieze, who introduced his work to the Paris print market and in 1767 published an overview of his production titled *Oeuvre de Jean Pillement, peintre et dessinateur célèbre, composé de deux cens pieces*. The last seventy prints were “Marine Landscapes, ornamented with Figures and with Animals, with the Elements, the Seasons, the Hours of the Day, and other very pleasing Subjects.”¹⁴ There are in fact more than seventy of these, and the titles suggest the artist's decorative preferences: the subjects are almost all generic and the groupings are pairs (good and bad fishing, sunrise and sunset) or sets of four and eight.¹⁵ Several are river and port scenes (fig. 1). Pillement's designs indicate that he was familiar with seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Continental drawings and prints by or after, among others, Jacob van Ruisdael, David Teniers the Younger, Claude Lorrain, Antoine Watteau, and Jean-Baptiste Pater. He was sensitive to public taste and knew that works of the kind were popular with English patrons.

Pillement signed a portion of his landscapes, and some also have dates, written in a legible hand. The earliest-known example is a small oil painting—he did relatively few oils—dated as early as 1748.¹⁶ The same motifs are found in much of his work from the 1760s onward: a mountain view with rocks in the foreground embellished with old buildings, a bridge, a waterwheel, a stream, and peasants with their sheep, peaceful



Petite Marine Angloise
Dessiné par Jean Pillement et gravé par P. C. Canot.

London published according to the Act of Parliament April 20. 1761.

De la Collection de C. Leviz.

fig. 1 Pierre Charles Canot (French, 1710–1777), after Jean Pillement. *Petite Marine Angloise*, 1761. Etching, 11½ × 11½ in. (28.3 × 30.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.91.345)



fig. 2 Claude Lorraine (Claude Gellée) (French, 1604/5?–1682). *The Shipwreck*, ca. 1638–41. Etching, fifth state of five (Mannocci); sheet 5 1/4 × 7 1/4 in. (13 × 18.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Grace M. Pugh, 1985 (1986.1180.519)

and bucolic. The subject matter is typical of his work in later periods when he traveled widely across continental Europe.

In Vienna in 1763–64, Pillement received from Empress Maria Theresa several commissions for interiors for the royal palaces, including an order to decorate the Blue Pastel Room of the Blauer Hof (Neues Schloss), a palace not far from the city in Laxenburg Park. He painted eighteen very large, irregularly shaped pastels on prepared supports with blue grounds that may have been installed in related pairs.¹⁷ Most are exactly rendered views with bridges, streams, and rock formations, and two or three include ruined arches that may have been inspired by prints after Italian artists, if not by observation of the landscape of Italy. The set includes a snow scene and two maritime subjects. One horizontal scene shows a distant port city, a cliff, and an outcropping with small boats, nets, and fishermen against a calm sea. In the accompanying upright, Pillement presents—for what may have been the

first time—two desperate figures with arms outstretched standing in a small crowded boat in rough water, in fear for their lives, having escaped from a ship that may founder on the rocks.¹⁸ The ship, formulaically drawn, is still clearly at risk. There are spars, an anchor, and ropes in the foreground, and the figures are engaged not only in rescue but also in salvage. These generic images offer a typical contrast in imaginary subject matter and mark the beginning of the artist's interest in the sea as a theme.

Ever in motion, Jean Pillement continued his travels. He left Vienna to enter the service of Stanisław August Poniatowski, the recently elected king of Poland, and reached Warsaw by February 1765, as he received the first payment of an annual stipend from the king on March 1. In the summer of 1767, he announced his intention to depart, even though he had been named first painter to the king in June.¹⁹ Pillement now entered his most peripatetic phase, visiting or living for intervals in his native Lyon; in Avignon, where he purchased



fig. 3 Jean Pillement. *A Storm, a Shipwreck* (*Tempête, naufrage d'un bateau, vagues, des hommes*), n.d. Black chalk on paper, 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (8.5 × 14 cm). Musée des Tissus et des Arts Décoratifs, Lyon, Purchased at the Thierriat sale, 1872 (MT 21717.15)

a property in 1768; in London, where he exhibited during the 1770s and in 1774 sold sixty-five landscapes at Christie's; and in Paris, where he showed his work in 1776 and finally received a commission from Marie Antoinette. He completed three (expensive and unidentified) paintings for the Petit Trianon at Versailles that she described as "charming," and in May 1778 was paid for them and appointed painter to the queen.²⁰ Through the first half of the seventies he continued to prepare enormous numbers of chinoiserie designs for publication. Later he worked more in oils, occasionally on metal, and specialized in pastoral subjects of great refinement, a very fine example of which is a *Kermesse* in pastel and gouache painted in Paris and signed and dated 1777.²¹

Having announced his intention to retire to Avignon in 1779, Pillement instead returned to Lisbon in 1780²² and embarked on one of the most fruitful periods of his long career. In 1782 he visited Porto. He worked at the court of Marie, queen of Portugal, between 1783 and 1785, when he also painted five oils of the elaborate formal gardens of a country house at nearby Benfica that belonged to the wealthy English-born entrepreneur Gerard de Visme.²³ The garden views, now in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, are punctiliously descriptive of a moment in time and are among the artist's best-known works.

Tranquil, lambent marines inspired by the estuary of the Tagus River in Lisbon were a popular aspect of Jean Pillement's production in the eighties, and were occasionally paired with views of ships wrecked off the coast in violent storms. In 1785, he painted two signed and dated landscapes for the Spanish ambassador to

Portugal, Carlos José Gutiérrez de los Rios, conde de Fernán Núñez.²⁴ One of them (unlocated) showed the estuary of the Tagus. Fernán Núñez, soldier and diplomat, was still serving as ambassador in Lisbon when, on the night of February 2, 1786, the Spanish ship of war *San Pedro de Alcántara* sank in calm seas, having struck rock off the coast of Portugal at Peniche, sixty miles to the north. The ship had sailed from Lima overloaded with a cargo of precious metals from the mines of Peru. One hundred seventy of roughly four hundred passengers drowned. Owing to the immense value of the freight, Charles III of Spain sent Fernán Núñez to Peniche to oversee the salvage operations. Pillement visited the site before preparing paintings and pastels showing debris in an inlet and freight coming ashore. In August 1785, he had written a friend at court to say that he would leave Portugal in the spring,²⁵ but he was still in Lisbon on August 19, 1786, when he held a successful lottery of his works. On November 28, he was preparing to leave for Spain in connection with a commission he had received from the Consulado y Comercio in Cádiz²⁶ to paint two views of the wreck and salvage of the *San Pedro* to be presented by the Consulado to Fernán Núñez.²⁷ The paintings, signed and dated 1786, were last recorded in a private collection in Madrid. Thereafter the artist visited the Spanish capital.

By August 1789 Pillement had moved to a farm near Pézenas, the town where his sister Louise lived with her husband, Jean François Severac.²⁸ Pézenas, between Béziers and Montpellier in southern France, was a suitably remote place to live out the French Revolution. The artist found a few patrons in the region, where the history painter Jacques Gamelin sometimes acted as his agent, but his financial circumstances were compromised.²⁹ In 1799 Jean Pillement married Anne Allen in Pézenas. The couple settled in Lyon, where, deeply impoverished, he died in 1808.³⁰

Pillement's violent storms and shipwrecks at sea date to the last third of his career, from 1782 to 1798, when he was living in Portugal and the South of France, with an interval in Spain. His production was perhaps given further impetus in 1786 by the sinking of the *San Pedro de Alcántara*, but the loss of the ship (which occurred in any event in calm seas) did not inspire the artist in the first place. His sources were principally if not exclusively French artists who had worked in Italy. He cannot have been unaware of Claude Lorrain and, as he was very well informed about prints, would probably have seen Claude's etching *The Shipwreck* (fig. 2), which conveys on a small scale the same urgency as his own tiny undated drawing (fig. 3).³¹ It is likely that he was

also familiar with the work of Adriaen Manglard,³² who was born in Lyon in 1695 and specialized in seascapes throughout his career in Rome, where he died in 1760. Manglard, now largely forgotten, was in the past referred to as a follower of Joseph Vernet but instead may well have been his teacher, as he was a generation older and would have been established as a landscapist before the young Vernet arrived in Italy. His work was diffused through his own prints. Seascapes by French artists working in Rome were widely exported.

Jean Pillement could not have launched a new career in Lisbon as a painter of seascapes without the inspiration of Joseph Vernet. His work from the 1780s demonstrates that he was aware of Vernet's style and tremendous success as a painter of maritime subjects. Vernet, born in Avignon in 1714, first pictured the sea after sailing from Marseilles to Italy in 1734.³³ From Rome, he sent marine views to the Paris Salon of 1746 that were very well received, and he contributed similar

subjects to the Salons of 1750 and 1753.³⁴ Vernet's 1746 submissions were exhibited under one number as "Marines," four different views of Naples and Italy. In 1750, he showed a shipwreck; in 1753, a pair of "Marines," one a tempest and the other the sun rising through fog. Pillement was not in Paris at the time, though later he was a frequent visitor there, while Vernet continued to paint seascapes (fig. 4) individually and in pairs for public exhibitions as well as for private collectors after he was called home in 1753 to prepare his topographical views of the ports of France for Louis XV.

For Pillement, Lisbon was a good place to begin with his seascapes, because he had visited Spain and Portugal years before. Assuming that he had limited direct knowledge of the sea and its ports—his work and the places he visited indicate that, except for the English Channel, he traveled overland—he gained familiarity by making drawings of shipping, in accordance with

fig. 4 Joseph Vernet (French, 1714–1789). *The Shipwreck*, 1772. Oil on canvas, 44¾ × 64¾ in. (113.5 × 162.9 cm); signed and dated (lower left): J. Vernet / F. 1772. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Patrons' Permanent Fund and Chester Dale Fund (2000.22.1)





fig. 5 Jean Pillement.
A Shipwreck in a Storm, 1782.
 Pastel on gessoed canvas,
 24¾ × 36 in. (62.9 × 91.4 cm);
 signed and dated (lower right):
J. Pille[ment] / 17[8]2. The
 Metropolitan Museum of Art,
 New York, Gift of Martin
 Birnbaum, 1956 (56.7)

established habit. Lisbon's Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga holds several sheets in various combinations of pencil, ink, wash, and gouache that depict sailing ships at anchor or under construction or repair.³⁵ The mechanics of ship building and rigging are thoughtfully detailed (a degree of accuracy may have been required by Portuguese clients). Several studies are inscribed in ink *Pillement f.* and, although not dated, cannot be earlier than the artist's return to Portugal in 1780. Doubtless he made them in the boatyards and elsewhere in the Tagus estuary to support his paintings and pastels of related subjects.

In 1956 the art dealer and agent Martin Birnbaum gave to The Metropolitan Museum of Art a large pastel on gessoed canvas by Jean Pillement that is signed and indistinctly dated and shows a ship in a storm near a rocky coast with, in the near middle ground, various desperate survivors clinging to a spar and a boulder, and local folk coming to their aid (fig. 5, App. 1). At center is a tall slight woman, frontal, with both arms fully extended in fear and alarm. She wears a bodice with short white sleeves over a petticoat and a blue skirt

blowing around her calves and waist. The work was housed in an ill-fitting frame with dirty glass when, in 2012, we examined it for possible inclusion in a display of pastels from the Museum's permanent collection that was installed in the summer of 2013.³⁶ It had never been exhibited, and was meanwhile treated by Marjorie Shelley because there was very old damage, principally around the edges.³⁷ We were uncertain of the date, which is most accurately transcribed 17[?]2. The pastel had been published only among the records of the Department of European Paintings on the Museum's website. In 2013, for the same display, we were able to borrow from a New York private collector a well-preserved pair of smaller pastels with similar subjects dating to the 1790s (figs. 8, 9, App. 34, 35). There were clear discrepancies in style and color among the three. As the limited literature on the artist contains little information on his seascapes and shipwrecks, this article presents a partial catalogue as an appendix.

As far as we know, our pastel does not have a pendant, but a comparable image, with an equally somber palette, is in the Philadelphia Museum of Art



fig. 6 Jean Pillement.
A Shipwreck in a Storm, 1782.
 Pastel on paper, 22¾ × 31⅝ in.
 (57.8 × 80.3 cm); signed and
 dated 1782. Philadelphia
 Museum of Art, Purchased with
 the Alice Newton Osborn Fund,
 1986 (1986-11-1)

(*fig. 6*, App. 2). The rock formations at the right, the spar left of center, and the principal figures are similar. Beside the woman with outstretched arms is a man with his back turned and his arms extended to the right; this figure appears in the Metropolitan Museum pastel, but facing to left. In place of a ship in the distance, the Philadelphia pastel shows a rowing boat with small crouching passengers, its bow rising sharply on the crest of a wave. The work is signed and dated 1782, a date we can assign to our pastel as well. A similar boat is found in several paintings by Manglard, and in an example of Pillement's work in the museum of Besançon (*fig. 7*, App. 3). A pastel in the Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis, Oporto, may also be of this moment (App. 5).

There are four 1782 pastel pairs, each work signed and dated, in which a wreck is contrasted with sailing ships in calm waters (App. 3, 4, 6–11). The largest of these—just over a meter wide—belonged in 1997 to the conde de Alferrarede (App. 6, 7).³⁸ The seascape is elab-

orate: two ocean-going ships sink in the left middle distance and left background, while a small boat in very rough water ferries frightened passengers and crew ashore amid floating debris. Low rocks projecting into the water from the right shelter more than a dozen highly individualized gesturing figures. The companion view shows a spit of land widening and rising from left to right, with a flock of beasts, a cowherd, ruined arches, and Lisbon's Tower of Belém in the right middle distance. Fishermen with nets and small boats occupy the foreground, with large ships in harbor behind and to the left. The other pairs are just slightly smaller. The staffage, especially in the calm-sea pictures, is less individualized, and the towers are round. No further dated examples of the genre from the early 1780s have been found; the next pair, very large ovals on canvas, are signed and dated 1786 (App. 15, 16).

Toward the end of the year, according to documentation previously mentioned, Pillement visited Cádiz,



fig. 7 Jean Pillement.
A Shipwreck in a Storm
 (Naufrage), 1782. Gouache on
 paper, 22 × 29½ in. (56 × 74 cm);
 signed and dated (lower left):
 J. Pillement 1782. Musée des
 Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie,
 Besançon, Bequest of Alfred
 Pochet, 1866

where he completed the pair of views *The Wreck of the San Pedro de Alcántara* and *The Salvage of the San Pedro de Alcántara* commissioned by the Consulado for the Spanish diplomat Fernán Núñez (App. 17, 18).³⁹ The pictures differ considerably from all the artist's previous work in the genre because they show the coastal landscape of Peniche as he observed it, with cliffs and rocks on a vast scale by comparison with very small agitated figures. To this extent they are accurate, and although he was not present for the rescue of the passengers, he may have arrived in time to see the debris and baggage washed in and boats and divers returning to shore. One includes the mast and flapping sails of a ship against the rocks, a motif he favored and which could only have been imagined. A similar, marginally smaller pair dating to 1788 and showing the same events was sold in 1987 at Sotheby's, Monaco (App. 19, 20). In 1985, the Museo del Prado acquired a variant of the first of the two compositions, titled

A Shipwreck on the Coast, in which all of the elements are simplified and the number of figures greatly reduced (App. 29).⁴⁰ The pendant may possibly be a canvas dating to 1794 and incorrectly titled *Fishermen*, which describes divers and salvage vessels and was on the art market in 1986 (App. 30). Conceivably the artist was in Spain when he painted the second pair of views, while by 1794 he was settled in the South of France. If there were any drawings he made associated with the wreck of the *San Pedro*, they have not come to light.

In 1788 and 1789, Pillement painted generic pairs of oils similar to his various pastel compositions from 1782, and in 1790, a single oil on canvas with a new composition featuring a smaller wrecked boat coming to shore at lower left (App. 21–25). A somber canvas intended for Narbonne and dating not earlier than 1792 shows a round tower, a very rough sea, and desperate figures among rocks (App. 28). Equally lugubrious is a

figs. 8, 9 Jean Pillement.
Shipwrecks, 1796–97. Each pas-
tel on gessoed canvas, 18 3/4 ×
25 1/4 in. (48 × 64 cm); signed and
dated (lower left): *Jean
Pillement l'An 5. R.* [1796–97].
Private collection, New York



fig. 10 Jean Pillement.
A Shipwreck (Naufrage), 1797–
98. Oil on canvas, 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 30 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
(55 × 78 cm); signed and dated
(lower left): *Jean Pillement / an*
VI [1797–98]. Musée des Beaux-
Arts, Béziers, Purchase, 1980
(80.9.1)



large, dark pastel on paper showing survivors; with its pendant, it had reached Florence by 1791 (App. 26, 27). Of a half-dozen pastels that concern us here, the most vivid are two wrecks painted in year five of the Revolution, 1796–97 (figs. 8, 9; App. 34, 35). The dark palette, especially so for the pastel medium, is relieved by transparent patches of light, sprays of foam, and touches of bright blue and white for the costumes. An equally lucid oil painting in Béziers with the ever-present figure of a frantic woman dates to the year six (fig. 10, App. 36). His late work as a marine painter in oil on canvas is largely consumed by darkness.

Jean Pillement's professional and personal life were profoundly unsettled. Seeking new venues was a lifelong practice. When he returned to the Iberian Peninsula in 1780, he was evidently separating himself from his past as a printmaker. He may have been driven in part by commercial instincts, as he would have known that there was no local tradition of painting either the landscape or the seas surrounding the two great maritime nations.⁴¹ Perhaps he intended to model his late career on that of Joseph Vernet. Like Vernet, he was from the provinces and began his career abroad. Perhaps he hoped to gain ground in Iberia so as to be

able to return to Paris, as Vernet had done. Instead, he had moved to a remote village in the South of France no later than the summer of 1789. And his work in the 1790s exhibits an atmosphere of fear that, while innately suitable to violent marine subjects, must also reflect the depth of anxiety and uncertainty felt throughout Western Europe during the early stages of the French Revolution and the Terror.⁴²

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APPENDIX

Partial Catalogue of Jean Pillement's Seascapes and Shipwrecks

The titles here are consistent, to suggest relationships among the works. For the most part, the titles in the literature are also general, except that river views may be identified as the Tagus.

1. *A Shipwreck in a Storm* (fig. 5)

Pastel on gessoed canvas, 24³/₄ × 36 in. (62.9 × 91.4 cm); signed and dated (lower right): *J. Pille[ment] / 17[8]2*.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Martin Birnbaum, 1956 (56.7)

2. *A Shipwreck in a Storm* (fig. 6)

Pastel on paper, 22³/₄ × 31⁵/₈ in. (57.8 × 80.3 cm); signed and dated 1782. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Purchased with the Alice Newton Osborn Fund, 1986 (1986-11-1)

3, 4. *A Shipwreck in a Storm (Naufrage)* (fig. 7) and *Fisherfolk, Calm Sea*

Each gouache, 22 × 29¹/₈ in. (56 × 74 cm); *Shipwreck* signed and dated (lower left): *J. Pillement 1782*. Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon

5. *A Shipwreck in a Storm*

Pastel on paper, 26 × 37³/₈ in. (66 × 95 cm), ca. 1782. Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis, Oporto. Silva Lopes 1973, p. 368, fig. 1

6, 7. *A Shipwreck in a Storm* (mistitled *The San Pedro de Alcántara*) and *Fisherfolk, Calm Sea* (mistitled *A View of the Tagus*)

Each pastel, 28³/₄ × 41³/₄ in. (73 × 106 cm); signed and dated: *J. Pillement 1782*. Conde de Alferrarede. Saldanha and Araújo 1997, nos. 36, 23, both ill.

8, 9. *A Shipwreck in a Storm* and *Fisherfolk, Calm Sea*

Each pastel on gessoed canvas, 22⁵/₈ × 36 in. (57.5 × 91.5 cm); signed and dated (lower left): *J. Pillement / 1782*. Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 11, 2001, lot 207, both ill.

10, 11. *A Shipwreck in a Storm* and *Fisherfolk, Calm Sea*

Each pastel on gessoed canvas, 22 × 35 in. (55.8 × 89.8 cm); signed and dated (lower left): *J. Pillement / 1782*. Gordon-Smith 2006, figs. 222, 223

12, 13. *A Shipwreck in a Storm* and *Calm Sea with Boulders*
Each oil on canvas, 21¹/₂ × 30 in. (53.3 × 76.2 cm). Frick Art Reference Library, New York, photograph mounts

14. *Survivors of a Shipwreck*

Oil on canvas, 20⁵/₈ × 30⁵/₈ in. (52.5 × 77 cm); signed (lower left). Sale, Palais Galliera, Paris, May 26, 1972, lot 21, ill.

15, 16. *Survivors of a Shipwreck* and *Fisherfolk, Calm Sea*
Each oil on canvas, oval, 58³/₄ × 78 in. (149.2 × 198.1 cm); signed and dated (lower left): *J. Pillement / 1786*. *Survivors*, sale, Christie's, London, April 24, 1998, lot 108, ill.; *Fisherfolk*, sale, Christie's, London, December 13, 1996, lot 68, ill.

17, 18. *The Wreck of the San Pedro de Alcántara* and *The Salvage of the San Pedro de Alcántara*

Each oil on canvas, 26 × 37¹/₂ in. (66 × 95.3 cm); signed and dated (lower left): *J. Pillement, 1786*. Private collection, Madrid. Luna 1973, figs. 5, 6

19, 20. *The Wreck of the San Pedro de Alcántara* and *The Salvage of the San Pedro de Alcántara*

Each oil on canvas, 25¹/₄ × 35¹/₄ in. (64 × 87.5 cm); signed and dated (lower left): *J. Pillement / 1788*. Sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, December 6, 1987, lot 92, both ill.

21, 22. *A Shipwreck in a Storm* and *Fisherfolk, Calm Sea*

Each oil on canvas, 9 × 13¹/₂ in. (22.9 × 34.3 cm); signed and dated (lower left): *J. Pillement / 1788*. Sale, Sotheby's, London, December 11, 1985, lot 117, both ill.

23, 24. *A Shipwreck in a Storm* and *Fisherfolk, Calm Sea*

Each oil on canvas, 9¹/₄ × 13³/₈ in. (23.5 × 34 cm); signed and dated (lower left): *J. Pillement / 1789*, and *Pillement / 1789*. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Quimper (873.1.390, 873.1.389)

25. *A Shipwreck in a Storm*

Oil on canvas, 17¹/₂ × 25³/₄ in. (44.5 × 65.5 cm); signed and dated (lower left): *Jean Pillement / 1790*. Gordon-Smith 2006, fig. 238

26, 27. *A Shipwreck in a Storm (Marina)* and *Fisherfolk, Calm Sea (Porto)*

Each pastel on paper, 22¹/₂ × 35 in. (57 × 89 cm); *Porto* exhibited in 1791. Both Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (1007, 1001). Uffizi 1979, p. 415, nos. P1194, P1195

28. *A Shipwreck*
Oil on canvas, 14⁵/₈ × 24³/₈ in. (37 × 62 cm); signed (lower left): *Jean Pillement l'an [. . .] de [la] R* [not earlier than 1792]; inscribed (on the reverse): *Pour Narbonne à l'huile*. Musée Vulliod Saint-Germain, Pézenas (57.1.231)
- 29, 30. *The Wreck of the San Pedro de Alcántara* (titled *A Shipwreck on the Coast*) and *The Salvage of the San Pedro de Alcántara* (titled *Fishermen*)
Oil on canvas, 22 × 31¹/₂ in. (56 × 80 cm). Museo del Prado, Madrid (P07021)
Oil on canvas, 22³/₈ × 31³/₄ in. (56.5 × 80.5 cm); signed and dated (lower left): *Pillement / 1794*. Didier Aaron 1986, no. 32, fig. 16
- 31, 32. *A Shipwreck in a Storm and Fisherfolk, Calm Sea*
Each pastel, 22⁵/₈ × 35⁷/₈ in. (57.5 × 91.2 cm); *Shipwreck* signed and dated: *J. Pillement L'an III de la R* [1794–95]. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Lyon (1593, 1592)
33. *A Shipwreck*
Oil on canvas, 10⁵/₈ × 19⁵/₈ in. (27 × 50 cm); signed and dated (lower left): *Jean Pillement / 17[9]6*. Château-Musée, Dieppe (4618)
- 34, 35. *Shipwrecks* (figs. 8, 9)
Each pastel on gessoed canvas, 18⁷/₈ × 25¹/₄ in. (48 × 64 cm); signed and dated (lower left): *Jean Pillement l'An 5. R.* [1796–97]. Private collection, New York
36. *A Shipwreck (Naufrage)* (fig. 10)
Oil on canvas, 21⁵/₈ × 30³/₄ in. (55 × 78 cm); signed and dated (lower left): *Jean Pillement / an VI* [1797–98]. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Béziers (80.9.1)
- 37, 38. *A Shipwreck in a Storm and A Landscape with a Man and a Woman Dancing*
Each oil on canvas, 24¹/₂ × 35¹/₄ in. (62.3 × 89.7 cm) and 24³/₈ × 35¹/₈ in. (61.8 × 89.2 cm); *Landscape* signed and dated (lower right): *J. Pillement / 1799*. Hatzaki 2013, ill. p. 123, and ill. p. 121
- 39, 40. *Survivors of a Shipwreck and Boats Caught in a Storm*
Each pastel, 18¹/₂ × 23³/₄ (47 × 59 cm); signed and dated: *Jean Pillement / l'an 1803*, and *Jean Pillement / 1804*. Sale, Christie's, New York, January 30, 1997, lot 180, *Survivors*, ill.
- 41, 42. *A Shipwreck in a Storm and Landscape with Herdsmen*
Each pastel on gessoed canvas, 12¹/₄ × 15¹/₄ in. (31 × 39 cm); signed and dated: *Jean Pillement 1804*, and *Pillement 1804*. Ana Maria Espirito Santo Bustorff Silva; her sale, Christie's, London, April 29, 2015, lot 67, both ill.
43. *A Shipwreck in a Storm*
Oil on canvas, 21⁵/₈ × 31¹/₂ in. (55 × 80 cm). Ana Maria Espirito Santo Bustorff Silva; her sale, Christie's, London, April 29, 2015, lot 76, ill.
- 44, 45. *A Shipwreck in a Storm and A Boat in a Storm*
Each oil on canvas, 21⁵/₈ × 31¹/₄ in. (55 × 79.5 cm). Sale, Sotheby's, London, December 6, 2012, lot 223, both ill.

NOTES

- 1 Early sources are Rondot 1888, p. 192, no. 927, and Audin and Vial 1919, pp. 121–25; monographs are G. Pillement 1945 and Gordon-Smith 2006. Riche, Félix, and Gordon-Smith 2003 addresses the artist's work in landscape. Jean Pillement had an irregular family life. He married, on April 5, 1768, Marie Julien, mother of his son Victor, who worked with him and was later an independent printmaker. The year of the couple's marriage, Marie gave birth to a second son, whom his father abandoned, and in 1778 she in turn abandoned their third child.
- 2 Natalis Rondot (1888, p. 191, no. 921) called Paul Pillement "un très habile ornemaniste."
- 3 J. Pillement (ca. 1763) 1888, p. 136, writing in the third person: "Ses parens le destinoient aux fabriques; ce genre bornant trop le goût qu'il avoit reçu de la nature, il s'attacha à un genre plus estimé, et réussit dans la figure et l'histoire."
- 4 J. Pillement (ca. 1763) 1888, p. 136; Araújo 1997, pp. 45–47. Diogo de Mendonça Corte-Real (d. 1736) was secretary of state to João V of Portugal, so this must have been his illegitimate son of the same name, who was designated secretary of state for naval affairs under José I on August 2, 1750. Pillement assiduously sought appointments to the courts of Europe; it is of interest that he was offered a first position at so early a date.
- 5 Audin and Vial 1919, p. 122. Maria Gordon-Smith (2006, p. 35, figs. 3, 4) illustrates two of the six engravings in *A New Book of Chinese Ornaments, Invented & Engraved by J. Pillement* (J. Pillement 1755).
- 6 J. Pillement (ca. 1763) 1888, p. 137.
- 7 According to Riche, Félix, and Gordon-Smith 2003, p. 55, Pillement was engaged at the royal silk manufactory of Lisbon early in 1754.
- 8 Galbraith 1972, pp. 48, 54n19.
- 9 Gordon-Smith 2006, pp. 35–46.
- 10 J. Pillement (ca. 1763) 1888, pp. 137–38; Riche, Félix, and Gordon-Smith 2003, p. 56.
- 11 J. Pillement (ca. 1763) 1888, pp. 138–39; Cochin in *ibid.*, p. 140.
- 12 J. Pillement (ca. 1763) 1888, p. 137.
- 13 Galbraith 1972, pp. 48, 52, 55n53; Araújo 1997, p. 50.
- 14 "Paysages de Marines, ornés de Figures et d'Animaux, dont les Elémens, les Saisons, les Heures du Jour, et autres Sujets très-agreables"; Audin and Vial 1919, pp. 122–23; Araújo 1997, pp. 51–52. See, for example, Gordon-Smith 2006, pp. 63, 65, 67, figs. 44, 46–48; more broadly pp. 71–89, figs. 55–82. The majority of these prints were published between 1757 and 1761.
- 15 Audin and Vial 1919, p. 123. There are a few exceptions, such as four views of Flessingen, a village in southern Denmark, engraved in 1761, and prints titled *Chaumière Hollandaise* and *Petite Marine Angloise* (fig. 1).
- 16 See Gordon-Smith 2006, p. 31, fig. 2, for the painting (location unknown), measuring $7\frac{3}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ in. (19.7 × 29.2 cm). The date, cut off in the illustration, is also reported on a photo mount at the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
- 17 Gordon-Smith 2006, pp. 105, 108–17, figs. 92–104, reproduces a view of the room as it appeared before World War II and many of the pastels. More than half of the pastels in the set survive in Vienna in the Museen der Stadt Wien.
- 18 *Ibid.*, figs. 93, 94.
- 19 *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 168, 379n50.
- 20 Audin and Vial 1919, p. 121; Gordon-Smith 2006, pp. 177–78, 380n5.
- 21 Jeffares 2006, p. 420, ill.
- 22 Dussieux 1876, p. 538; Araújo 1997, pp. 57, 69–70nn82–84. Unconfirmed but widely accepted, 1780 is used because many works by Pillement in Portuguese private collections are said to be thus dated. The artist was accompanied to Lisbon by his companion, Anne Allen, an engraver; his son Victor; and his niece, called Mademoiselle Louvette (the daughter of his sister Louise Severac). It is not known to what extent they operated as a family firm.
- 23 Laurent Félix in Riche, Félix, and Gordon-Smith 2003, pp. 60, 61n9; Gordon-Smith 2006, pp. 209–10, 223–25, figs. 224, 225.
- 24 Luna 1973, pp. 432–33, figs. 7, 8; Riche, Félix, and Gordon-Smith 2003, pp. 57, 62n17, where one, the view of the Juan V aqueduct, is located in a Paris private collection in 1990.
- 25 Araújo 1997, pp. 58, 70n99.
- 26 The Consulado y Comercio controlled the Atlantic trade routes, and Cádiz had been the destination of the *San Pedro*.
- 27 See Luna 1973, pp. 429–32, figs. 5, 6, which also lists two landscapes by Pillement that probably belonged to Charles IV of Spain. The San Pedro paintings are labeled on the reverse with the ambassador's name. They may have descended in the Villatorcas family. See also Luna 1982 and Luna 1986, pp. 100–102, ill.
- 28 Pillement wrote letters to a potential patron, the Chevalier de Fornier, on July 9 and 17, 1789, from Pézenas. See Araújo 1997, pp. 60, 72nn122–23.
- 29 Jacques Gamelin (1738–1803), born in Carcassonne, was trained as a history painter in Paris and Rome and had taught at the Académie in Toulouse, where Pillement exhibited in May 1789. See Riche, Félix, and Gordon-Smith 2003, pp. 57–58.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- 31 This seascape is among thirty-six small landscape drawings of various sizes bought in the last third of the nineteenth century by the Musée des Tissus de Lyon. See Florenne 1967, pp. 17, 24–25, 30–31. Pillement sketched habitually, and there are many such drawings in the museums of Western Europe, but no other seascapes have been identified.
- 32 Dussieux 1876, pp. 160, 488–89, 519, 541. Manglard was represented in collections in Vienna and Turin as well as in Rome and was active as an engraver of his own work in 1753–54.
- 33 For a brief introduction to Vernet and his followers, see Pétry et al. 1999. A typical pair of seascapes is in the J. Paul Getty Museum, *A Storm on a Mediterranean Coast* (2002.9.1) and *A Calm at a Mediterranean Port* (2002.9.2), see www.getty.edu/art/collection/artists/3576/claude-joseph-vernet-french-1714-1789, accessed February 25, 2016.
- 34 Shipwrecks alone or as one of a pair were exhibited by Vernet in a dozen Paris Salons between 1750 and 1789. Pillement may conceivably have seen the Salons of 1755, 1757, 1669, 1771, 1775, or 1777. He does not say so, but none of the visits can be ruled out. Of all the possible dates, 1771 is the most likely. See Ingersoll-Smoue 1926, vol. 2, p. 128, for Vernet's exhibits.
- 35 The sheets, with the numbers 776 through 780, measure roughly 10 to 15 by 21 to 26 cm (for photographs, see the Gernsheim Corpus Photographicum of Drawings, www.artstor.org). Bought for Lisbon's Academia Real de Belas-Artes in 1863, they were transferred to the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in 1884. This information was kindly supplied by Alexandra Markl, curator of the drawing collection at the Museu Nacional.
- 36 The exhibition "Eighteenth-Century Pastels" was on view at the Metropolitan Museum from August 2 to December 29, 2013.
- 37 Earlier, Marjorie Shelley, Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge of Paper Conservation at the Metropolitan, had noted

- that soft, stumped pastel was used for the monochrome background, with harder pastel for the figures and details; email of June 24, 2010, to the author and further conversation the same day. The work had suffered extensive scuffing and abrasion.
- 38 Saldanha and Araújo 1997, nos. 36 and 23. The seascape is misidentified as the sinking of the *San Pedro de Alcántara*, an event that occurred four years later.
- 39 Luna 1973, pp. 429–30, figs. 5, 6.
- 40 Luna 1986, pp. 100–102, ill.
- 41 To the best of our knowledge, Pillement left Lisbon for the first time in mid- to late 1754. On November 1, 1755, an earthquake followed by tidal waves and fire destroyed three-quarters of the Portuguese capital, its harbor, and shipping. News of the cataclysmic event circulated throughout Europe and would have been impressed upon the young artist's memory. He must have seen, if he did not own, one or more of the famous anonymous prints that depicted the disaster in violent graphic terms.
- 42 Another article in the present volume describes artists' work that was affected by the anxiety of the French Revolution and the Terror; see Iris Moon, "Stormy Weather in Revolutionary Paris: A Pair of Dihl et Guérhard Vases."

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Stormy Weather in Revolutionary Paris: A Pair of Dihl et Guérhard Vases

Scenes of weather-borne turbulence unfurl around a pair of hard-paste porcelain vases acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2014 (fig. 1). Produced by the Parisian manufacturer Dihl et Guérhard during the 1790s, the restrained amphora shapes evoke Classical antique forms rediscovered and adopted by French designers in the second half of the eighteenth century. Any sense of Neoclassical stability is undone, however, by the grisaille vistas painted in bands around the circumference of both vases. On the vase at left in figure 1 (2014.68.1), a panoramic coastal scene conjures the tempestuous ports depicted by the marine painter Joseph Vernet and imitated by countless artists on canvas and in prints. Seen from a vantage point on shore, three large ships heel in the wind-whipped water, the surface of finely rendered waves fading into the distant horizon. In the foreground, a man and a woman brace themselves





against the gale. The muzzles of two cannons have been set into the shore as bollards for mooring boats. Rotating the vase to the left, one can see, beyond a castle ruin atop a rocky precipice, a lighthouse marking the entry into what appears to be a prosperous coastal town.

On the other vase, one would expect to find visions of calm after a storm, as Vernet often did in his pairs of port scenes.¹ Instead, the effects of similarly stormy weather are shown on land (fig. 1; 2014.68.2). Leafless trees loom in the foreground of both vases, operating as visual obstructions rather than as *repoussoir* elements that would typically draw the gaze into the composition of a painting on canvas. The trees also seem to be bracing themselves against the wind and gripping large rocks. They look so lifelike that the eye combs the barren branches in search of profiles or spectral presences, recalling the silhouettes of royals and revolutionaries hidden in propaganda prints that circulated after the Terror (fig. 3). This effect is not incidental for, much like political silhouette prints, the Dihl et Guérhard vases were produced during the French Revolution, a period of large-scale political, cultural, and social upheaval that overturned, among other things, the ancien régime patronage system, which had supported much of the production of French porcelain.

A date of about 1790–95 that has heretofore been assigned to the vases makes it seem fairly obvious that the rugged landscapes point to the political turbulence of the period. This raises a number of interesting questions: What are these exquisitely painted yet obscure land- and seascapes doing on a pair of fragile luxury objects virtually emblematic of ancien régime elite taste? Who might have painted such ambiguous images and, furthermore, who would risk buying them? Finally, what did it mean to paint and produce porcelain in revolutionary Paris inside a combined factory and showroom located just steps from the Temple, where Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette (both d. 1793) were imprisoned?

The vases are evidence of Dihl et Guérhard's remarkable artistic output during the final decade of the eighteenth century in France, and they shed light on the ways in which the end of the Terror in 1794 signaled the return of the luxury market as well as a number of widespread innovations in the decorative arts. I would

amend the attributed production date of about 1790–95 to Dihl et Guérhard's more vibrant period of 1795–1800 (possibly even 1797–98), when the factory was at the height of its powers and was believed to have eclipsed the National Porcelain Manufactory at Sèvres (formerly known as the Royal Porcelain Manufactory) in the scale, quality, and affordability of its productions.

With the exception of Régine de Plinval de Guillebon's pioneering work in 1972, the literature on both Dihl et Guérhard and the Paris-based porcelain firms known collectively as *porcelaine de Paris* that emerged at the end of the eighteenth century remains limited. This can be attributed at least partially to the privileged place of Sèvres as a porcelain manufactory that enjoyed royal patronage and prestige and that maintained a virtual monopoly over porcelain production in France from its establishment in 1740. The scarcity of archival records pertaining to the Paris-based firms also poses considerable difficulties. Nevertheless, private firms such as Dihl et Guérhard are vital to understanding the transformations that took place in the design culture of French porcelain production during the Revolution, especially since it was considered one of the finest producers of hard-paste porcelain in Europe.²

Dihl et Guérhard's rapid response to changing tastes and clientele and its move to a prime location near the Temple prison enabled it to survive and thrive during a turbulent period, particularly after Paris eclipsed Versailles as the epicenter of political and

fig. 1 Dihl et Guérhard (French, 1781–ca. 1824; Manufacture de Monsieur le duc d'Angoulême, until 1789). *Vase with Scenes of Storm at Sea* and *Vase with Scenes of Storm on Land*, ca. 1797–98. Hard-paste porcelain decorated with enamel and gilding; left: H. 18½ in. (46.2 cm), right: H. 18½ in. (46.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Wrightsman Fund, 2014 (2014.68.1, 2)

fig. 2 Composite image of the landscape around *Vase with Scenes of Storm on Land* in fig. 1

fig. 3 Egid Verhelst (German, 1733–1818). *Zehn geheim verborgene Silhouetten Dumourier, la Fūyet, Marat, Kellerman, Custine, Petion, Barnave, Thouret, Danton, Robespierre*, 1794. Etching, plate 5¼ × 6¼ in. (13 × 16 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (FOL-QB-201[136])



cultural authority. Moreover, unlike the more conservative Sèvres manufactory, Dihl et Guérhard marketed itself as an innovator of newly developed production techniques couched in a language of science, industry, and the arts encouraged by the revolutionary government through public exhibitions such as the “Exposition publique des produits de l’industrie française” in Paris in 1798.

In spite of porcelain’s associations with the patronage of such elite individuals as Madame de Pompadour and Marie Antoinette, the medium was not always the stuff of delicate and superfluous decoration. As Glenn Adamson has recently underscored, porcelain production techniques “emerged from a complex web of political ambition, commercial opportunity, artisanal experimentation, and scientific knowledge.”³ Even during an age of enlightened progress and scientific reason, a language of alchemy and arcane knowledge suffused discourses on the difficulties of producing porcelain with the same level of precision and consistency as China. China had at a much earlier date incorporated the kaolin and high-firing kilns necessary to making the translucent white ceramic bodies so prized throughout Europe.⁴ Despite the technical virtuosity displayed in the Metropolitan’s vases, the disconcertingly stormy landscapes decorating them break with the conventions of landscape painting. In other words, the pictures on the vases transform what ought to be objects of pleasure and delectation into polemical vessels that would introduce a sense of tumult into any private collector’s home. This effect was not incidental but was tied to the forms of visibility that emerged within the charged atmosphere of revolutionary France.

The Dihl et Guérhard vases at the Metropolitan, which lack factory marks,⁵ were in the collection of the

Paris antiques dealer Bernard Baruch Steinitz until 2001, when they were sold to the collector Philippe Sacerdot, from whom the Museum acquired them in 2014.

Conceived as items for display rather than as part of a more functional service, they are made of hard-paste porcelain molded into the shape of amphorae and decorated with enamel and gilding; both are approximately 18¼ inches (46.4 cm) in height. Each piece terminates at the top in an outturned rim and at the bottom in a black-painted square porcelain base. The vases are composed of three distinct parts (fig. 4), each pierced in the center to allow them to be fastened together with an iron rod secured by a screw beneath the base.

Another, much larger Dihl et Guérhard piece (39⅝ in. [100.5 cm] high) at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, is also made in a multiple-component format (fig. 5).⁶ Its decoration, much like the Metropolitan’s vases, is composed of a principal band of grisaille painting surrounded above and below by grotesque ornament. On the London vase this ornament is painted in grisaille on a gold ground, whereas on the New York pieces the grotesque ornament is painted in black on a vibrant yellow ground. The necks of the Museum’s vases feature a vertically ordered motif of Greek palmettes and peacock feathers, which give way to acanthus-themed grotesques and floral swags and terminate in peacocks perched on flowers above the gold band bordering the stormy landscape and seascape scenes. Below those scenes are avian, architectural, and floral motifs, and pairs of birds on floral arrangements in baskets hanging from ribbons that are set between winged female herms draped in Greek chitons. The foot of each vase is decorated with foliage and ivy and terminates on a rounded cushion covered with a pattern of gilded oak leaves bundled with ribbon.



fig. 4 Vase with Scenes of Storm at Sea in fig. 1 shown disassembled

fig. 5 Etienne Charles Le Guay (French, 1762–1846), painter; Dihl et Guérhard. Vase, ca. 1790–95(?). Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamels and gilded. H. 39 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (100.5 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (309:1, 2-1876)



Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the control over French porcelain production held by the Sèvres manufactory was affected by a gradual loosening of regulations, which led to the proliferation of small, private porcelain factories centered in Paris.⁷ While a royal decree in 1766 prohibited such independent firms from producing works with gilding and three-dimensional ornaments, private workshops in Paris found ways of circumventing the rules.⁸ Thus, when the Conseil du Roi issued a decree in 1784 banning Parisian porcelain factories from operating within 15 leagues (more than 80 km) of Paris because they were consuming too much wood during a particularly difficult winter, the private firms complained to the comte d'Angiviller, director general of the Bâtiments du Roi. Among the most vociferous complainants was Dihl et Guérhard, which succeeded in maintaining its factory inside city limits and continued to use wood to fire its kilns.⁹

The company was established on February 25, 1781, through an *acte de société* signed by the porcelain modeler Christophe Erasmus Dihl, the Parisian bourgeois Antoine Guérhard, and Guérhard's wife, Louise Françoise Madeleine Croizé, in order "to handle the manufacture and marketing of any porcelain that may come from the factory which Sieur Dihl proposes to establish."¹⁰ An emigrant from Neustadt in the Palatinate who arrived in France in 1778, Dihl, a

modeler, had a specialist's knowledge of the chemical processes needed to run a porcelain factory. However, his foreign status and lack of capital made it impossible for him to set up his own factory inside Paris. As part of the agreement with the Guérhards, Dihl would be in charge of production while they would act as the entrepreneurs, supplying the 8,000 livres needed to establish and operate the new factory. Antoine Guérhard's social status as an official bourgeois of Paris enabled the company to be established inside the city; Madame Guérhard was manager of the firm, overseeing the company's books and the day-to-day running of the factory as well as the sale of its products. In 1782 the factory obtained the protection of the duc d'Angoulême, nephew of Louis XVI, enabling it to stamp its wares "Manufacture de Monsieur le duc d'Angoulême," a mark that can be found on its early productions. Angoulême's name was bestowed more as a kind of brand franchise licensed to the firm than as an expression of his patronage (he was six years old at the time), but its royal imprimatur gave the company greater financial security and publicity than that enjoyed by the countless smaller manufacturers in Paris that did not have the privilege. Dihl et Guérhard achieved rapid success, employing twelve sculptors and thirty painters by 1785.¹¹

Following a new deed of partnership in 1787, the decision was made to move the cramped factory on rue de Bondy to a larger space, which led Dihl et Guérhard to purchase the Hôtel Bergeret, a property located at the junction of the rue du Temple and the rue Meslay, around the corner from the Temple prison and the present-day Place de la République. Now destroyed, the *hôtel* had been inhabited by the amateur and collector Pierre Jacques Onésyme Bergeret de Grandcourt. The large residential space included several formal rooms intended for the display of artwork, including a gallery illuminated by seven windows.¹² The *hôtel* included a garden and a courtyard as well as several boutique spaces fronting the street; it was converted into a multi-functional space with a formal site for displaying the company's wares, residential areas for the Guérhards and for Dihl, and a factory for production. The shop was clearly impressive, for a stream of elite patrons visited the firm, from the baronne d'Oberkirch and the duchesse de Bourbon in 1786 to Gouverneur Morris of New York, who purchased, beginning in 1789, a number of pieces for the table on behalf of George Washington.¹³

The factory produced three principal types of objects: pieces for the table, pieces for the toilette, and display objects.¹⁴ Although Dihl et Guérhard productions were seen as highly refined in terms of shape and

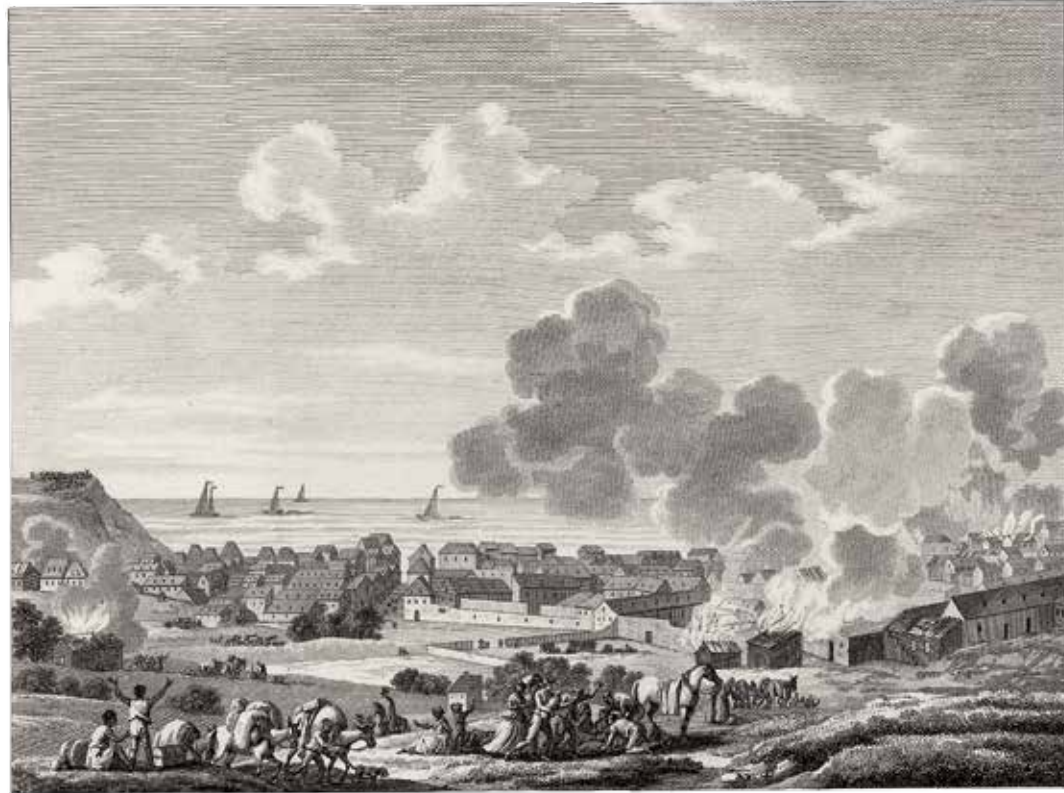


fig. 6 Jacques François Joseph Swebach-Desfontaines (French, 1769–1823), artist; Pierre Gabriel Bertaux (French, 1737–1831), engraver; Jean Duplessi-Bertaux (French, 1750–1819), printer. *Incendie du Cap Français, le 20, 21, 22 et 23 Juin 1793, ou 2, 3, 4 et 5 Messidor An 1^{er} de la République*, 1802. Etching and engraving, 9½ × 11¾ in. (24 × 29 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (QB-370[44]-FT4)

color, the early pieces typically reflected the prevailing taste at Versailles, which tended toward delicate Rococo vessel shapes updated with Neoclassical motifs. They incorporated floral designs, particularly patterns with delicate cornflowers, roses, and pansies; richly decorated border ornaments; grisaille paintings; and an ample use of gilding.

The political changes that swept through Paris beginning in 1789 did not signal Dihl et Guérhard's demise, as they did the Sèvres manufactory's, but instead fueled the firm's success. The year 1793 in particular marked a turning point for Dihl et Guérhard: on April 28—roughly four months before the start of the Reign of Terror—Antoine Guérhard died, leaving his widow and Dihl in charge of the factory, which retained the company name. At the end of that summer, the factory saw the sudden influx of ceramic workers from Niderviller, in Lorraine, after the faïence and porcelain manufactory there was confiscated as French national property when its owner, the comte de Custine, was guillotined on August 28, 1793¹⁵ (on the etching in *fig. 4*, Custine is listed as one of the ten silhouetted portraits). Niderviller specialized in a playful, hybrid style of plate influenced by both German and French manufacturers. On December 26, 1797 (6 Nivôse An VI), Dihl and Madame Guérhard married and renewed the deed to

the company, extending the partnership to April 1, 1829, a date that would ultimately mark the decline of the factory.¹⁶

While the nominal protection of the duc d'Angoulême ensured Dihl et Guérhard's success during the ancien régime, the firm's ability to survive and thrive during the French Revolution can be attributed to other factors. The world of Parisian porcelain in the last decade of the eighteenth century was fiercely competitive, and Dihl et Guérhard had to compete not only with rival producers such as Locré, Schoelcher, and Nast, but also with independent painter-decorators known as "chambrelans," who would buy blank ceramic wares from larger producers, decorate the objects in their homes, and sell them to private clients.¹⁷

Unlike other small Paris firms and home-based decorators, Dihl et Guérhard established an export market for key consumer bases in Russia and England.¹⁸ In 1789 the company signed a six-year agreement with John and Joseph Flight, British entrepreneurs and owners of the Worcester Porcelain Factory, who agreed to purchase 50,000 livres worth of merchandise per year to sell at their newly acquired warehouse in Coventry Street.¹⁹ Dihl et Guérhard's income from foreign trade provided a financial cushion at a time when the flight of *émigrés* decimated their local clientele and a



fig. 7 Jean Louis Demarne (French, 1752–1829); Dihl et Guérhard. *The Park at Saint-Cloud by the Seine*, 1809. Painted glass. Cité de la Céramique, Sèvres (MNC27065)

currency crisis, precipitated by the devaluation and consequent inflation of the new national paper currency known as the *assignat*, destabilized the Parisian luxury market. Ultimately, however, the firm's reliance on foreign markets would lead to its insolvency following the Continental Blockade of 1806, by which Napoleon sought to embargo British goods to bolster French producers.²⁰

Another reason for the company's success in the 1790s was the rise in the scale and quality of production, largely caused by the arrival of skilled ceramic workers from Niderviller. Plinval de Guillebon has suggested that Dihl et Guérhard could have employed as many as three hundred workers as a result of this inflow,²¹ but the extent to which the newcomers' presence changed the work culture of the factory and likely also affected its stylistic output has not been considered. Among the most prominent artists from Niderviller to work at Dihl et Guérhard was Charles Gabriel Sauvage *dit* Lemire (1741–1827), a modeler and sculptor of biscuit porcelain who took a number of molds from Niderviller when he moved to Paris about 1792.²² One suspects that it was largely owing to Lemire that other Niderviller workers found employment at Dihl et Guérhard. At a time when

Paris was hostile to royalty and aristocrats, domestic and foreign alike, the arrival of Lemire and others from Niderviller indicated that the city may have been regarded as a place for foreign workers to find employment, especially after the dismantling of the guilds in 1791 loosened regulations on the luxury trades in Paris. In addition, Dihl asked the French government in 1796 to allow members of his family to come to Paris from Lammsheim, a region then occupied by the Austrians:²³ the international influence within the factory must have been considerable.

Dihl et Guérhard sought to establish its own style in the context of the Revolution rather than imitate productions of the royal manufactory at Sèvres. Its pieces began to feature vibrant-colored grounds, as well as panoramic scenes painted in grisaille—quite different from the formats of Sèvres porcelain vases, which typically showed a more prominent front separated by handles from a less important back side of the vessel.²⁴ Dihl et Guérhard's distinctive look became more pronounced during the Directory (1795–99), when the company began experimenting with shapes of vessels, glazes, style and content of decoration, and the ways in which the decoration was arranged on the vessels. The results were clearly successful, for in a letter of May 10, 1800, Charles Jean Marie Alquier, newly appointed French ambassador to Spain, wrote to Foreign Minister Talleyrand, requesting that alternative diplomatic gifts be sent to Spain since “The queen already has in her cabinets a lot of Sèvres porcelain, the forms are old and they displease her; don't you think it would be possible to get her something from the Temple manufactory that would be of a more modern and purer taste?”²⁵

The talented artists working at Dihl et Guérhard included a number from Sèvres, such as Etienne Charles Le Guay and Piat Joseph Sauvage. Artists active in other fields were also associated with the firm, including Martin Drölling, known for his paintings of domestic interiors; Jacques François Joseph Swebach-Desfontaines, a skilled draftsman (fig. 6); and Jean Louis Demarne, a landscape painter who combined rustic genre scenes with scenes of nature evocative of Dutch painting (fig. 7).²⁶ These *petit maîtres* rose to prominence working in minor genres in the context of the Directory, which saw the emergence of a private art market, newly independent and wealthy artists, and experimental themes and media not previously featured in the rarefied world of the French Salon.

A portrait of Dihl painted by Le Guay visualizes the ways in which the sitter conceived of the factory not

only as a commercial space but also as a site of scientific experimentation and technological innovation (fig. 8). Dihl, fashionably dressed, sits at a secretary desk with compartments filled with jars and canisters that contain materials used to create the company's distinctive colors, which are dabbed on a small plaque before him. The uppermost surface of the desk displays factory showpieces, including a biscuit-ware statue of a child reading that was modeled at the factory by Lemire;²⁷ an elegant vase with a glaze imitating tortoiseshell encircled with a band of grisaille decoration painted by Sauvage; and a two-handled cup painted with the same distinctive yellow ground—a trademark color of the factory—that can be seen on the Metropolitan's vases. The use of yellow ground on porcelain probably began in Europe in imitation of Chinese and Japanese porcelain designs, but Dihl's version of the hue has a saturated intensity that distinguishes it from earlier examples produced at Meissen.²⁸ Moreover, achieving stable color grounds for hard-paste porcelain was a relatively new achievement; Sèvres, which initially specialized in soft-paste porcelain, was not able to perfect the technique for applying them to hard-paste porcelain until about 1790.²⁹

Le Guay's portrait of Dihl was painted on a slab of hard-paste porcelain using Dihl's newly formulated colored enamels. The hybrid nature of the porcelain plaque as a singular work of art and a manufactured product is indicated by the signatures of both Dihl et Guérhard and the artist, Etienne Le Guay, on the side of the secretary. Dihl's formula was for paint to be used on hard-paste porcelain that was sufficiently stable to withstand the high temperatures of the kiln without changing color and that would "furnish painters with the means to immortalize their works and to transmit to posterity, without alteration, the most interesting things that history and nature could offer."³⁰ He presented his findings on November 16, 1797, to members of the Institut National des Sciences et des Arts (later the Institut de France), the scholarly body that replaced the royal academies in 1795. The results were published in the January 1798 issue of the *Journal de physique, de chimie, d'histoire naturelle et des arts*, in which Jean Darcet, Antoine François Fourcroy, and Louis Bernard Guyton de Morveau, the three institute members under the chemistry section in charge of filing the report on Dihl, noted that the difficulty of painting in colors on porcelain, similar to enamel painting on other support surfaces such as copper, rested on the fact that the painter could not know what the colors, composed of crushed and pigmented bits of minerals and glass, would look like once they had undergone the heat of the kiln.³¹

There had been attempts to find a type of paint that would achieve "a completely nuanced palette, composed of colors that would not be changed at all by vitrification." It was particularly difficult to render halftones on porcelain, delicate hues susceptible "of being destroyed or of becoming dry and dull in the fire."³² The author of the report was surprised to find that even Sèvres, despite the efforts of countless scientists, artists, and inventors, had not managed to come up with colors that would remain the same after passing through the fire. When the members of the Institut National went to the factory on the rue Meslay to observe Dihl's experiment, they were impressed by the results, whereby the colors that had been painted on the ceramic tablet remained the same before and after firing. This was all the more remarkable, noted the article, because in general porcelain painters were obliged to use two palettes, one for "couleurs dures" and the other for "couleurs tendres." The former colors could withstand high heat, but the latter palette could be subjected only to moderate temperatures because of its fragile tones. Dihl's invention provided a range of stable colors that could survive high firing temperatures, thus providing colors that "promise, for painting in oil, on canvas and on other things, an imperishability and a durability that will be of infinite value for the preservation of the pictures."³³

This was not the first convergence of artistic and commercial interests in a ceramic enterprise. In England in 1777, Josiah Wedgwood began experimenting with methods for firing large but thin earthenware slabs at the request of the painter George Stubbs, who was searching for larger support surfaces for painting with enamel than the small copper tablets he had been using.³⁴ Wedgwood found the process particularly difficult because the larger the ceramic surface, the more possibilities there were for buckling, warping, and other unevenness. Dihl et Guérhard's familiarity with the Flight brothers and reliance on the English market make it easy to imagine that Dihl knew of Stubbs's portrait of Wedgwood in enamel on ceramic³⁵ and sought to emulate this portrait by commissioning Le Guay to do one of him (fig. 8).

Yet whether or not Dihl sought to surpass Wedgwood's earlier experiments for Stubbs in collaborating with Le Guay on his portrait is of less importance than the language of national industry and permanence in which his invention of colored enamels was couched. Moreover, whereas Stubbs's attempts to display his enamel-on-earthenware paintings at the Royal Academy in London generated controversy,³⁶ Dihl's porcelain output was actively



fig. 8 Etienne Charles Le Guay, painter; Dihl et Guérhard. *Portrait of Christophe Erasmus Dihl*, 1797. Enamel on hard-paste porcelain, H. 18 7/8 in. (48 cm). Cité de la Céramique, Sèvres (MNC2931)

accepted and encouraged as a useful scientific production that melded artistry and industry in the name of national progress. For the French government, manufactured products became equally as important as large history paintings and sculptures, since these cultural objects could be exported to the republic's new territories and could expand its commercial interests against those already enjoyed by England, its principal rival in all artistic, economic, and political matters.

In 1798, Dihl et Guérhard was invited to display its porcelain at the first "Exposition publique des produits de l'industrie française." Precursor to the world's fairs of the nineteenth century, the exhibition was held on the Champ-de-Mars to encourage and promote the new nation's industrial arts. Dihl et Guérhard's exhibit was located in arch number 65, between the confectioner Bazenerve, specializing in "Décorations en sucrerie," in arch 64, and Defrance, a mechanic who made "Tableaux en creux, gravé au tour" (pictures in relief, engraved with a lathe) in arch 66.³⁷ One needs to pause to take in the strangeness of this picture when it is compared with the ancien régime world of intimate cabinets, boudoirs, and well-laid tables, in which our minds more readily place sets of porcelain. The

disconcerting image of Dihl et Guérhard displaying its delicate porcelain wares in a temporary outdoor stall on the Champ-de-Mars between a candy maker and a mechanical carver demonstrates the utterly different context in which porcelain objects were contemplated in revolutionary France.

In 1806, when a number of artists working for Dihl et Guérhard such as Drölling displayed works on porcelain tablets at the Salon, art critic Pierre Jean Baptiste Chaussard praised Dihl for expanding the parameters of art, writing that porcelain "is not to be scorned, it opens new prospects to industry and the arts, it gives luxury a tasteful and elegant character, it widens the domain of art."³⁸ At the Salon of 1796, Dihl et Guérhard displayed a porcelain painting of a bather by Le Guay. The following year Dihl et Guérhard exhibited a number of works at the Musée Central des Arts (the newly established museum in the Grande Galerie of the Palais du Louvre), among them works by Le Guay, including "A rather large seascape / Another smaller seascape / A pendant landscape."³⁹

Landscapes were a stock feature of porcelain decoration, which often reproduced themes featured in oil paintings and engravings. However, paired seascape and landscape paintings on porcelain such as those the company displayed in 1797 are particularly significant in relation to the Metropolitan's vases. These vases were produced at a turning point in the meaning and conventions of the genre, when landscape was yoked to a politicized image of nature during the French Revolution. The new government sought to place its authority in a universalizing discourse of nature that would replace the language of sovereign authority, which had formerly been vested in the king's royal body. Volcanoes, thunderstorms, and earthquakes were no longer interpreted as signs of providence, but were marshaled instead by revolutionary rhetoric as evidence that revolution and rupture existed in the natural order of things, and that humanity, too, required radical revisions.⁴⁰ Although dramatic weather patterns had been depicted by artists like Vernet in his series of French ports commissioned by Louis XV from 1754 to 1765, the potential meanings for viewers had changed in light of the context of the Revolution. When the Constituent Assembly commissioned Jean François Huë in 1791 to complete his teacher Vernet's series of ports, the paintings no longer operated as expressions of monarchical stability, but as images in the service of a new republic.⁴¹

The gray-scale scenes on the porcelain vases might readily be situated alongside the prints, calendars, and other provisional forms of reproductive media that

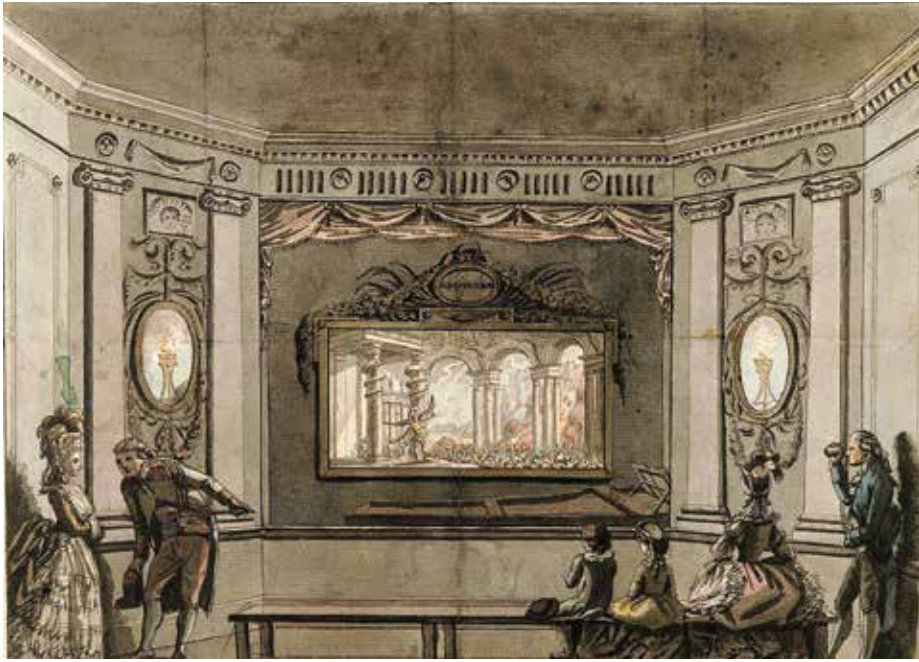


fig. 9 Edward Francis Burney (English, 1760–1848). *A View of Philip James de Louthembourg's Eidophusikon Showing Satan Exhorting the Rebel Angels*, 1782. Pen and gray ink and gray wash with watercolor, 8¼ × 11½ in. (21 × 29.2 cm). British Museum, London (1963, 0716.1)

proliferated during the French Revolution and which directly influenced the aesthetic changes in the Salon.⁴² The grisaille painting often seen on Dihl et Guérhard wares was a specialty of Piat Joseph Sauvage, who painted classicizing dancing putti and nymphs that evoked the masterful handling of grisaille established during the Renaissance. Art historian Aby Warburg interpreted grisaille as a kind of distancing mechanism through which artists such as Domenico Ghirlandaio momentarily held back pagan antiquity's return to a quattrocento Italy that was still ensconced in a medieval Christian culture.⁴³ By contrast, the grisaille seascape and landscape on the Dihl et Guérhard vases establish an effect of immediacy rather than distance by conjuring the dynamic language of current-event prints. Such prints were used by the revolutionary government both as political propaganda and as a way of reproducing a historical narrative that would make

sense of the rapid concatenation of contemporary events. Several of the artists working in the Dihl et Guérhard factory specialized in designs for engravings and other prints, particularly Swebach-Desfontaines, who provided some of the designs for the *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*, which sought to narrate the events of the French Revolution from the uprisings in Paris to the battles abroad (see fig. 6).⁴⁴ The heightened sense of movement in the trees, the lack of narrative focal point, and the landscapes' resemblance to exaggerated silhouette imagery of the period suggest the likelihood that the porcelain painter had in mind experimental forms of ephemera that pushed against the aesthetic ideals of calm grandeur championed during the Enlightenment by philosophers such as Johann Joachim Winckelmann.

The panoramic format of the seascape and the landscape on the Dihl et Guérhard vases evoke the optical viewing machines and devices of wonder that incorporated moving images, which captivated, delighted, and terrified Paris at the end of the eighteenth century. These precursors to the modern cinema were not only the province of people interested in the phantasmagoric, such as Etienne Gaspard Robertson, they were also produced by landscape painters. Particularly influential was the 1781 creation of the painter Philippe Jacques (Philip James) de Louthembourg, called the Eidophusikon, a miniature theater in which the artist created "immersive visual entertainments" that re-created the pictorial and sonorous effects of natural catastrophes for a small, paying audience in his home in London (fig. 9).⁴⁵

In France, the artist and playwright Louis Carrogis de Carmontelle created remarkable painted panoramas, which he called *transparens*. A former military cartographer who worked in the household of the duc d'Orléans, Carmontelle constructed a viewing box, which he set before a window in a darkened room. Long scrolls,



painted on transparent wove paper and affixed at each end to a roller, were pulled through the box by winding the cranks on the rollers, making it appear as though the viewer was moving through the artist's landscapes (fig. 10). Carmontelle's *transparens* entertained an ancien régime audience, for whom boredom was anathema, by visualizing a world filled with pleasures and pastimes, one on the verge of extinction.⁴⁶

While the extreme weather featured in the seascape and the landscape on the Metropolitan's vases evoke Louthembourg's Eidophusikon, one aspect of Carmontelle's invention is particularly relevant to these scenes: in his long, scrolling views of nature are foreground trees that function both as visual signals indicating that viewers are moving from one moment to the next and as the pictorial means of joining pieces of paper that are held together on the reverse with pieces of silk (fig. 11). In figure 2, too, the landscape on Dihl et Guérhard's *Vase with Scenes of Storm on Land* is unfurled, with trees delineating movement from one moment to the next. Unlike Carmontelle's mostly sunny and verdant landscapes offering picturesque pleasures, however, the Dihl et Guérhard vases present panoramas relentlessly driven by winds that seem politically charged. It is not impossible that the painter of the vases knew of Carmontelle's *transparens*, for in 1794 Carmontelle submitted a proposal to the government for creating window shades using his transparencies, suggesting his attempts to convert a private visual entertainment into an object of public utility.⁴⁷ Beyond the formal resemblances between the sylvan landmarks of the *transparens* and the exaggerated trees of the vases, the incongruous placement of a panoramic format intended to simulate motion on a pair of porcelain vessels creates a highly unstable visual effect.

A further connection between Carmontelle's transparencies and the Dihl et Guérhard vases is suggested by painted-glass panels that the porcelain factory began

producing about 1801 and which were displayed in the factory gallery. On his visit in 1810, the prince de Clary und Aldringen described the exhibit as composed of large glass panels "that produced a surprising effect, when they were placed in the casement windows exposed to the sunlight."⁴⁸ Dihl's experiments were so successful that he engaged the painters Jean Louis Demarne and Jean Baptiste Coste to use these enamels on glass. As can be seen in an example by Demarne at the Sèvres Museum (fig. 7), illusions of motion are created in these lifelike landscapes. Unlike stiffer, more abstracted forms of stained glass, in which colors are separated into individual cells, Demarne's panel was painted both on the back of the glass and on the front, thus trapping and diffusing the sunlight in an altogether novel manner. The art critic Charles Paul Landon noted the "meticulous execution and sparkling effect" of Demarne and Coste's paintings, and exclaimed that "one can execute using [Dihl's] new method, the most precious and the most appealing works by the diverse applications that can be made, through optical illusions."⁴⁹ On the Metropolitan's vases the landscape decoration surrounded by glimmering yellow ground and gilding masterfully advertises Dihl et Guérhard's ability to recreate the pellucid effects of enamel on the white porcelain body.

The French Revolution not only transformed patronage structures and the kinds of themes that could be painted by porcelain producers, but it also provided new modes of perceiving decorative arts objects and sites of display. The use of grisaille to depict turbulent landscapes indicates the extent to which such "low" forms of media as reproductive prints had penetrated the design of objects formerly intended for elite patronage; it also demonstrates how a radical new sense of time transformed porcelain and the ways in which it was read. Thus, we cannot necessarily assume that the vases were commissioned by or made to order for a

fig. 10 Louis Carrogis de Carmontelle (French, 1717–1806). *Figures Walking in a Parkland*, 1783–1800. Watercolor and gouache with traces of black chalk underdrawing on translucent Whatman paper, 18 3/4 in. × 12 ft. 4 3/4 in. (47.3 × 377 cm). J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (96.GC.20)



fig. 11 Louis Carrogis de Carmontelle. Detail of *Winter* from *The Four Seasons*, 1798. Watercolor and gouache with traces of black ink on silk-lined paper, overall 19¼ in. × 13 ft. 9⅞ in. (50 × 421.2 cm). Musée du Domaine Départemental de Sceaux (82.41.1)



specific client, although Dihl pieces did make their way into the homes of such distinguished collectors as Charles IV of Spain and the novelist and collector William Beckford.⁵⁰

By imaginatively foregrounding trees, which in landscape paintings had typically served as mere background imagery, the Dihl et Guérhard vases achieve a narrative indeterminacy that allowed the factory to produce luxury objects that were, in contrast to commissioned pieces, intended for a future clientele with uncertain political affiliations. The vases do not depict specific events, but the panoramic scenes achieve an effect of suspense, animation, and anticipation since they are on three-dimensional forms, which prevents the viewer from knowing what is happening on the other side of the vase and forces him or her to “perform” a revolution of the object to complete the two-dimensional image. This tension between a two-dimensional image and a three-dimensional form raises questions about the meaning and value of producing novel forms of luxury at a time when a vast number of exquisite and costly things were being

confiscated, auctioned, or destroyed as political acts, and the patrons who had formed the stable consumer base of such possessions had all but disappeared.

In conclusion, I would like to suggest that the vases, probably made about 1797–98 at the height of Dihl et Guérhard’s creative and technical period, may have been decorated by a celebrated artist of the Directory period such as Demarne, who was pleased to paint for the firm on a variety of surfaces and sizes, whether it was display pieces for the factory showroom or works of art for the new national museum in the Louvre. Since porcelain objects could be displayed at booths for industrial goods, perhaps these panoramic-format vases were not intended for the discerning gaze of a single collector or connoisseur but for a multitude of spectators marveling at the effects of seeing two distant horizons at once. For if anything, painting porcelain in revolutionary Paris meant the possibility of making objects for a modern, museum-going public.

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NOTES

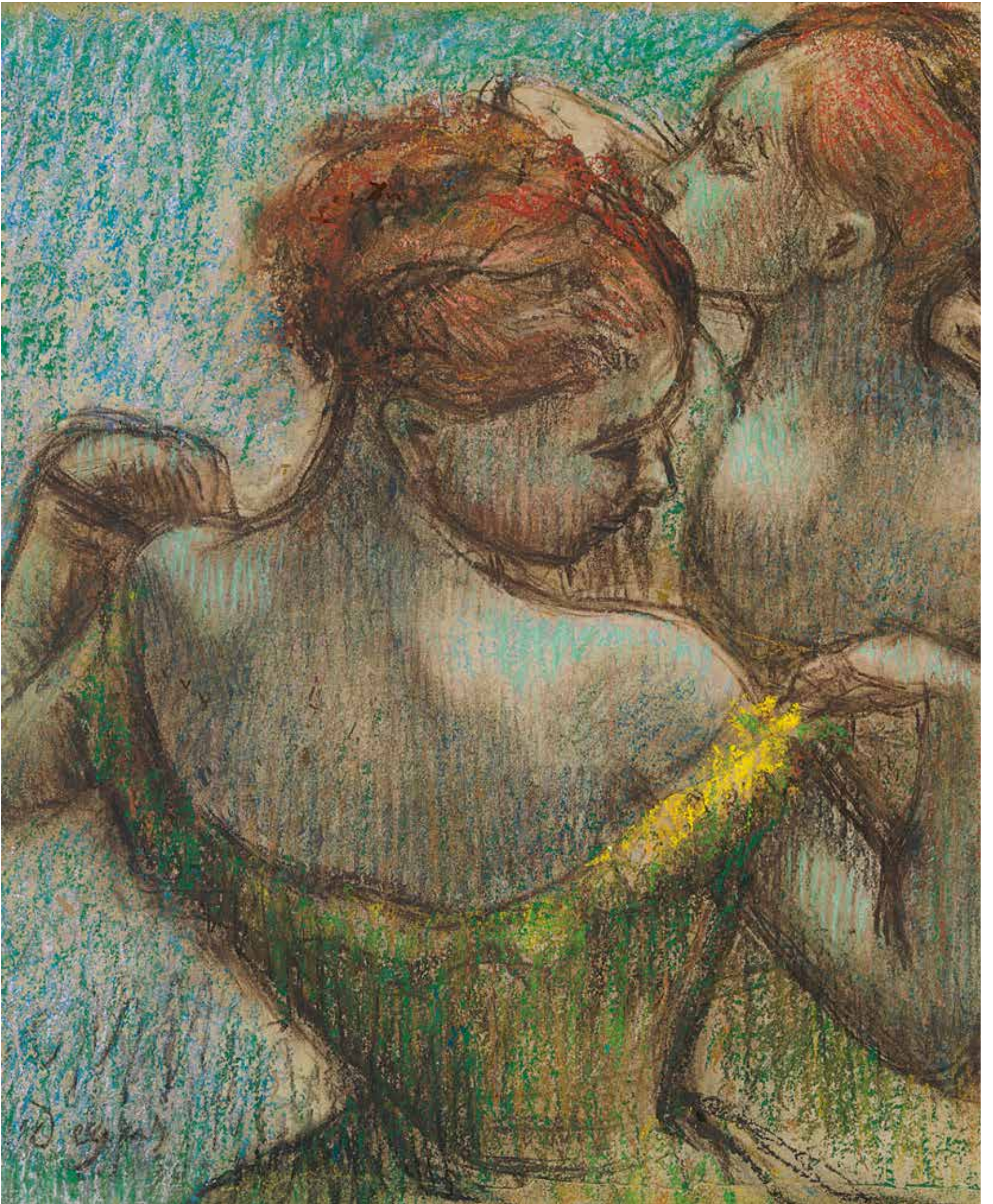
- 1 For violent seascapes by Jean Pillement, some paired with scenes of calm, see “Jean Pillement: Shipwrecks and the Sublime,” by Katharine Baetjer in the present volume.
- 2 Plinval de Guillebon 1982, p. 177.
- 3 Adamson 2010, p. 20.
- 4 On the secret of Chinese porcelain manufacture and its arrival in France, see Rondot 1999, pp. 19–21.
- 5 On Dihl et Guérhard factory marks, see Plinval de Guillebon 1982, p. 193. See also Dawson 2000, pp. 359–61.
- 6 The attributed date for the Victoria and Albert vase, ca. 1790–95, is unlikely since Etienne Le Guay’s painting in the band around the body probably relates to Jacques Louis David’s monumental *Intervention of the Sabine Women* (Louvre), which was first publicly displayed in 1799.
- 7 See Faÿ-Hallé and Mundt 1983, p. 34.
- 8 Plinval de Guillebon 1972, p. 14.
- 9 Plinval de Guillebon 1982, p. 180.
- 10 Archives Nationales, Paris, Minutier Central, XI, 700, February 25, 1781 (M. Guéret), quoted in translation in Plinval de Guillebon 1972, p. 200.
- 11 Plinval de Guillebon 1988, p. 2.
- 12 Plinval de Guillebon 1982, p. 207. Among the vestiges of Bergeret’s good taste included in the sale of his property at auction on March 7, 1789, were several mirrors, carved wainscoting, and large landscape paintings by François Boucher, all assessed as parts of the fixed property. On Bergeret’s collection, see Bailey 2002, pp. 68–69.
- 13 On Dihl et Guérhard in early American collections, see Frelinghuysen 2002, p. 289.
- 14 Plinval de Guillebon 1982, p. 190.
- 15 Heckenbrenner 2002, p. 10.
- 16 Plinval de Guillebon 1972, p. 202.
- 17 Porcelain production required multiple firings, particularly for pieces that incorporated several types of colored glaze. The first step entailed firing the clay body with or without glaze at a temperature of 1,400° centigrade. The bisque piece would then be decorated with painted enamels and would be fired at a temperature of about 800° centigrade. It was in the realm of decoration where “the greatest anarchy prevailed . . . to the great despair of dealers and collectors” (“La plus grande anarchie règne . . . au grand désespoir des marchands et collectionneurs”); Bloit 1988, pp. 77–78.
- 18 Plinval de Guillebon 1982, p. 186.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 194. The Flight brothers were the sons of Thomas Flight, who had purchased the Worcester Porcelain Factory for them in 1783. When John Flight died in 1791, Joseph formed a new partnership with Martin Barr that was known as Flight and Barr; Dawson 2007, p. 11. By 1792, the name of the Dihl et Guérhard firm was known in England, as attested by an advertisement for the auction of the marquis de la Luzerne’s property; Dawson 2000, p. 357.
- 20 On the Continental Blockade’s effects on French artistic production, see Wilson-Smith 1996, especially pp. xx–xxi, 225–48.
- 21 Plinval de Guillebon 1988, p. 3.
- 22 Plinval de Guillebon 2012, p. 56.
- 23 Plinval de Guillebon 1982, p. 183.
- 24 See, for example, a pair of Sèvres vases dated 1789 at the Metropolitan Museum (2008.529, 530) that have, on each side of both vases, a vignette surrounding a small illustration; the vignettes are separated by a pair of gilt-bronze handles. An illustration and documentation may be found on www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online.
- 25 “La Reine a déjà dans ses cabinets beaucoup de porcelaine de Sèvres, les formes sont anciennes et lui déplaisent; ne croyez-vous pas qu’on pourrait lui procurer de la manufacture Temple quelque chose qui serait d’un goût plus moderne et plus pur?” Alquier to Tallyrand, Aranjuez, 20 Floréal An 8 (May 10, 1800), Correspondance diplomatique “Espagne,” Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Paris, 658, 345r–v, quoted in Bottineau 1986, p. 189.
- 26 Except for Le Guay, these painters can be found in Louis Léopold Boilly’s *Gathering of Artists in Isabey’s Studio* (1798; Louvre); see Siegfried 1995, p. 97, fig. 69.
- 27 Plinval de Guillebon 2012, p. 59, fig. 42.
- 28 For an example of a yellow-ground Meissen pot with a mounted cover decorated with ship and coastal motifs, see Cassidy-Geiger 2008, p. 352, no. 120.
- 29 Pinot de Villechenon 1997, p. 45.
- 30 “[F]ournir aux peintres le moyen d’immortaliser leurs ouvrages, & de transmettre à la postérité, sans alteration, ce que la nature & l’histoire offrent de plus intéressant”; Delamétherie 1798, p. 358.
- 31 See note 17 above.
- 32 “[U]ne palette toute nuancée, composée de couleurs qui ne changeassent point par la vitrification . . . à se détruire ou à devenir sèches & arides au feu”; Delamétherie 1798, p. 355.
- 33 “[P]romettent, pour la peinture à l’huile, sur toile & sur d’autres corps, une inaltérabilité & une durabilité qui seront d’un prix infini pour la conservation des tableaux”; *ibid.*, p. 361.
- 34 Egerton 2007, pp. 66–71.
- 35 Wedgwood Museum Trust, Barlaston, Staffordshire, England; Egerton 2007, pp. 429–30, no. 218.
- 36 In 1782, Stubbs’s submission to the Royal Academy exhibition of five enamel paintings on Wedgwood earthenware tablets became an issue of contention between the painter and the hanging committee, which may have worried that it was showing work by a “painter on pottery”; Egerton 2007, pp. 70–71.
- 37 Vien et al. 1798, p. 16. On the history of early industrial exhibitions in France, see Colmont 1855, especially pp. 1–40.
- 38 “[N]’est point à dédaigner, il ouvre à l’industrie et aux arts de nouveaux débouchés, il donne au luxe un caractère de goût et d’élégance, il agrandit le domaine de l’art”; Chaussard, *Le Pausanias français* (1806), quoted in Plinval de Guillebon 1982, p. 185.
- 39 “Une marine assez grande / Une autre marine plus petite / Un paysage pour pendant”; 1797, 18 novembre (28 brumaire an VI), Archives de la Manufacture de Sèvres H’L⁴, quoted in “Liste non exhaustive de tableaux sur porcelaine ayant peints dans la manufacture de Dihl et Guérhard,” in Plinval de Guillebon 1988, p. 14.
- 40 For a discussion of nature, history, and changing conceptions of time during the French Revolution, see Perovic 2012, pp. 87–126.
- 41 On Vernet, Huë, and the marine painting tradition in France, see Pétry 1999, pp. 17–19.
- 42 On the ephemerality of prints and revolutionary politics, see Taws 2013, pp. 1–11.
- 43 For a brief overview of grisaille painting from Pliny to the Italian Renaissance and the painting style’s relationship to Warburg’s *Bildatlas*, see Schoell-Glass 1991, especially pp. 200–206.
- 44 Hould 2002.
- 45 Birmingham 2016, paragraph 2.

- 46 Chatel de Brancion 2008, pp. 11–16. On the broader context of proto-cinematic forms, see Stafford and Terpak 2001, pp. 1–142.
- 47 For a translation of Carmontelle's proposal, see Chatel de Brancion 2008, pp. 129–30, appendix 1, "Report on the transparent tableaux of Citizen Carmontelle, year 3 of liberty [1792]."
- 48 "[Q]ui produisent un effet surprenant, lorsqu'ils sont placées dans les baies des croisées exposées au soleil"; Plinval de Guillebon 1982, p. 185.
- 49 "[S]ont d'un exécution soignée et d'un effet piquant . . . on peut exécuter selon le nouveau procédé, les ouvrages les plus précieux et les plus séduisants par les diverse applications qu'on peut en faire, au moyen des illusions de l'optique"; Landon 1801, p. 56.
- 50 On Dihl et Guérhard cups and saucers in Beckford's collection, see Ostergard 2001, p. 331, no. 49. These objects, decorated with roses, tulips, and other flowers against a gold ground, are marked on the bottom with the manufacturer's name and also, very unusually, with Beckford's armorial devices painted in gold within an oval.

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MARJORIE SHELLEY

A Disputed Pastel Reclaimed for Degas: *Two Dancers, Half-Length*

When Edgar Degas (1834–1917) died, his studio was filled with unfinished works. Many were charcoal drawings—*articles*, as he called his commercial productions—that he would often develop with pastel to produce salable compositions. His dealer Paul Durand-Ruel and friend Mary Cassatt expressed concern that these previously unknown works risked being completed by disreputable artists.¹ This possibility was the basis for the dismissal of The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s vibrantly colored *Two Dancers, Half-Length* (fig. 1) as not entirely by Degas’s hand or as a copy. Bequeathed to the Museum in 1973 by Emma A. Sheaffer and given a date of about 1897 because of its similarity to a body of work by Degas with the same subject matter, the pastel has raised doubts in the minds of many scholars.²

Several other factors contributed to the rejection of the drawing as authentic. Discrepancies were noted



fig. 1 Edgar Degas (French, 1834–1917). *Two Dancers, Half-Length*, ca. 1897–1905. Pastel and charcoal on tracing paper with a joined strip, laid down to cardboard, 18 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 21 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (46.7 × 54.9 cm). Signed, lower left: *Degas*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Lesley and Emma Sheaffer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Sheaffer, 1973 (1974.356.31)

fig. 2 Ambroise Vollard,
Degas: *Quatre-vingt-dix-huit*
reproductions signées par
Degas . . . (1914, pl. XXV)



between the execution of the figures and that of the background, suggesting a second hand.³ The pastel was included in neither the posthumous sale of works from the artist's atelier in 1919 nor the catalogue raisonné of his paintings, pastels, and drawings published in 1946–49.⁴ To add to these adversities, the New York gallery that sold it to the Sheafers in 1950 was alleged to have been involved in questionable practices.⁵ Challenged on the grounds of stylistic integrity and lacking documentary proof of origin, the pastel was not accepted as autograph and was subsequently exhibited only once, in 1975, in a selective presentation of the Sheaffer bequest to the Museum.⁶

Degas made many half-length dancer images with which the present work might have been confused. This fact might account for its omission from the atelier sale, particularly in light of “the indescribable disorder” of the artist's studio at his death.⁷ The work's absence from the catalogue raisonné could be explained by the fact that the pastel never surfaced during the intervening years or, if it did, was misidentified. The catalogue's

author, Paul-André Lemoisne, was hindered in his research by the dispersal of many sheets to anonymous collectors following the 1919 sale.⁸ That his unsurpassed, four-volume work contains some errors and exclusions is not surprising, given that it was compiled during World War II.⁹

Among the many photographs that were taken during Degas's lifetime of his studies of half-length dancers, one shows a lost composition that bears a close resemblance to the pastel under discussion (fig. 2). Commissioned by the art dealer Ambroise Vollard, who was also a collector¹⁰ and close friend of the artist, for his book *Degas: Quatre-vingt-dix-huit reproductions signées par Degas (peintures, pastels, dessins et estampes)* (also known as the Album Vollard), the photograph was printed from a glass-plate negative that Vollard had Degas sign at the lower right on an added strip of paper (fig. 3).¹¹ All the negatives used in the book, which was published in 1914, were signed in this way as proof of the photographed works' authenticity. The image shown in figure 2 appeared untitled, as plate XXV, in

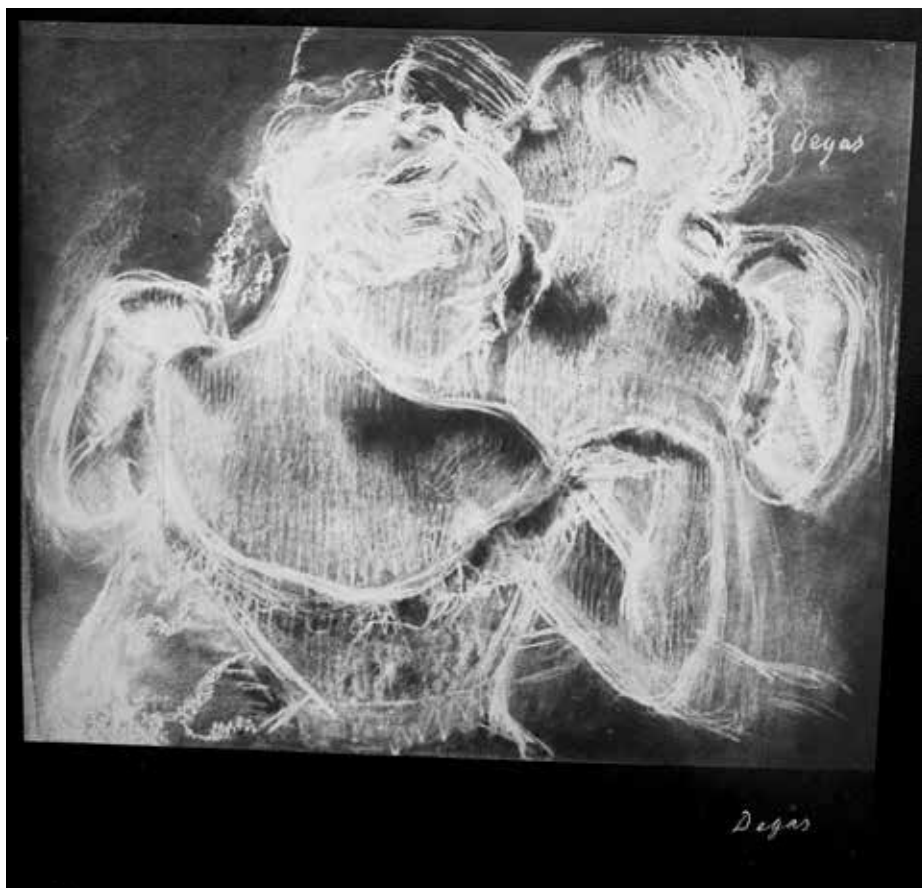


fig. 3 Glass-plate negative of photograph shown in fig. 2, ca. 1904–14, $9\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{8}$ in. (24×30 cm). Signed, lower right on an added strip of paper: *Degas*. Fonds Ambroise Vollard, Musée d'Orsay, Paris (ODO 1996 56 4008)

the Album Vollard but was not reproduced again, and the pastel it depicts disappeared.

Although similarities are immediately evident in the major contours, postures, and gestures of the dancers in the photograph and in the Metropolitan Museum's pastel, closer scrutiny reveals significant differences in the two compositions. Among them are the location of the artist's signature, which appears at the upper right in the photograph and the lower left in the pastel, and the low position of the tutu at the right in the photograph. Absent from the pastel are the extended raised elbow of the dancer at the back; the abstract network of strokes at the lower left (possibly representing a large bow, a motif often depicted by Degas in ballet scenes); the ambiguous diagonal line extending behind the head on the left; and the abundance of pentimenti surrounding the four arms. Also of note is the tighter framing of the figures in the photograph, which has a narrower background and shallower foreground than the Museum's work and presents the crown of the head at the right as cropped. Furthermore, though it is not possible to ascertain from the black-and-white print the colors of the composition that Vollard published, comparison with a black-and-white photograph of the Metropolitan's pastel reveals a marked difference in the tonal values of the backgrounds (fig. 4).

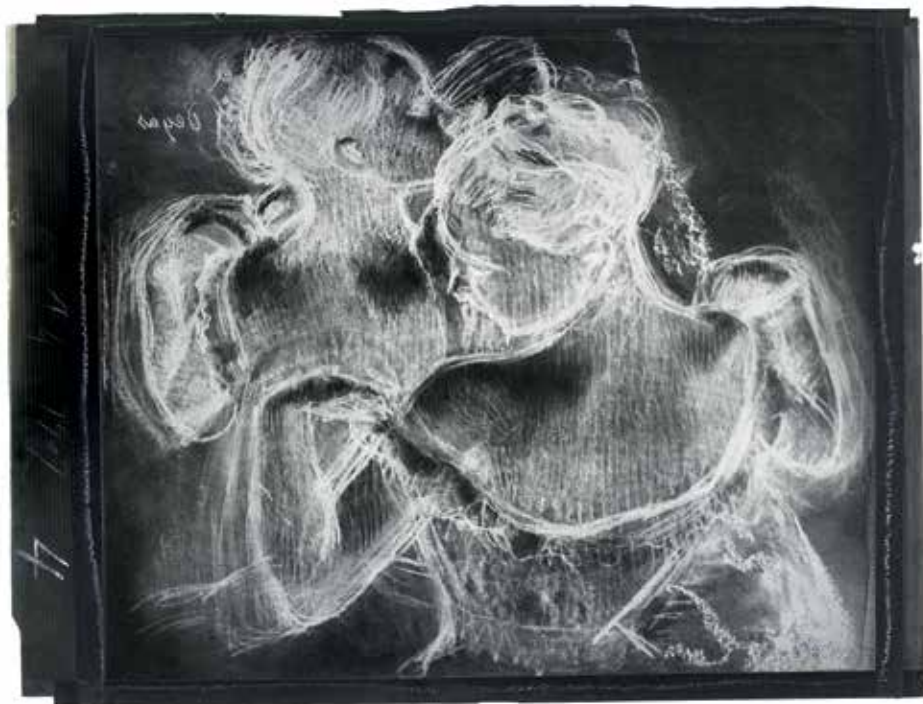
While these divergences remain irrefutable, examination of the photograph's glass-plate negative reveals that the spatial relationship of the figures to their setting is identical in the two compositions. The apparent visual inconsistency results simply from an uneven band of black paper tape, about one-half inch wide, carelessly adhered to and overlapping the perimeter of the verso of the plate (fig. 5). During the printing process, the tape blocked the border of the negative from exposure to light, effectively cropping the resulting image and compressing the *mise-en-scène*. (In the photograph, the black paper tape appears as a white border.) The print seems to have been further cropped for publication in the Album Vollard.

This article takes another look at *Two Dancers, Half-Length* and discusses how the many perplexing issues that have been seen to discredit the work actually provide tantalizing clues to its identification and help establish its authenticity. The disparities in the appearances of the pastel and the Vollard photograph are analyzed by examining the materials and techniques Degas used in executing the composition. Also considered are the artist's aesthetic intentions; his innovative method of tracing and, as proposed here, the possible genesis of that method in his sketchbook in the Metropolitan Museum; and his structuring of the composition by layering pastel over a charcoal tracing. The close visual correspondence of the Museum's pastel with the Vollard photograph and the pastel's embodiment of Degas's customary studio practices suggest that *Two Dancers, Half-Length* is, in fact, by Degas and that it is the completed version of the work shown in figure 2. As will be argued, the original drawing was later reworked, presumably by the artist. It disappeared between 1914, when Vollard's book was published, and the atelier sale of 1919, and it reappeared at the Metropolitan Museum about six decades later without any historical record. A complex, layered composition, the work testifies to the artist's distinctive procedures using mutable and insubstantial materials to create and revise his late pastels.

During the last phase of Degas's production, beginning about 1890, his working methods underwent a transformation. In the 1870s and 1880s his drawings "had a clearly defined purpose" as preparatory studies for later compositions.¹² During that earlier period, he returned continually to classical sources and to his own academic oeuvre for inspiration, recasting motifs as contemporary subjects and changing details of pose, gesture, physiognomy, and costume for use in pastels and paintings.

fig. 4 Black-and-white digital photograph of *Two Dancers, Half-Length* (fig. 1)

fig. 5 Verso of fig. 3, bordered with black paper tape



Drawings from his wide-ranging repertoire, which included figure studies, portraits, and scenes of dance rehearsals, performers, milliners, bathers, laundresses, and jockeys naturalistically portrayed in clearly defined settings, often were reworked in series related by subject and developed in notebooks, on various types of paper and in diverse media. He made monotypes, counterproofs, etchings, studies in graphite and charcoal, and sketches in oil, gouache, pastel, and *peinture à l'essence* (oil paint diluted with turpentine and then drained, yielding a fairly dry, matte medium), and he explored many of their subjects further in sculpture.¹³

In the 1890s, still turning to earlier motifs to fuel his projects, he narrowed his range of subjects, concentrating largely on bathers, jockeys, milliners, and ballet dancers. The new works, unlike their predecessors, neither told stories nor depicted slices of contemporary life. Rejecting narrative and the purely naturalistic, Degas abandoned precision and the particular and traded visual subtlety for boldness. His draftsmanship became

emphatic; his line, more angular yet free; his color, strident and vigorous; his compositions, simplified and increasingly abstract.

Dancers were a particularly favored subject for Degas and a source of sustained fascination. When asked by the collector Louisine Havemeyer, “Why, Monsieur, do you always do ballet dancers?” Degas replied that dancers were “all that is left us of the combined movement of the Greeks.”¹⁴ His ballet pictures from this time portray variations on half-length dancers, dancers in overlapping friezes or ensembles, and dancers seen from the front or back, adjusting a strap or an earring.¹⁵ The revision and reuse of motifs by repeating, reversing, and recombining them, so prominent in these compositions, were fundamental to Degas’s practices and reflect his long-standing interest in technical experimentation—most notably with pastel, monotypes, counterproofs, and photography, and with the opportunities these media offered for multiplying his images and transforming his ideas. However, in these final years, he varied his motifs using a new technical procedure. Rather than making individual studies in an array of media on separate sheets, he used only charcoal and pastel, inventively layering the colored medium over charcoal on a single support and conflating the preliminary and finished designs. He used tracing paper as his vehicle for replication and as the physical and aesthetic foundation for these innovative works.

Tracing paper (*calque* in French), a translucent, smooth-surfaced drawing support, had been employed for centuries by artists, architects, and draftsman, who used it to execute preliminary studies, to copy, and to transfer designs. By the mid-nineteenth century the material was manufactured in rolls, sheets, and books, and its use was widespread.¹⁶ Degas would have been introduced to tracing paper as an academic tool during his brief attendance at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris in the 1850s. Inspired by the example of Ingres, whom he fervently admired, and other Neoclassical artists who regularly employed *calque* in their working process, he used it frequently over the next twenty years. During the 1880s, which ushered in his most creative period of technical innovation, tracing paper gained increasing importance in his production.¹⁷ In his later years, this seemingly expendable material became the principal support for his pastels and charcoal drawings, and he executed hundreds of these works on it, far more than on any other type of paper he employed for these media at that time.

From a technical standpoint, tracing paper was not a practical choice. The compact, nonfibrous surface makes it a poor substrate for direct media. Pastel and

fabricated charcoals are weakly bound, and natural charcoal contains no binder; thus, these materials require a roughened surface or a ground layer of tempera or similar material to establish a bond with the support. Such demands seem not to have deterred Degas. His preference for tracing paper, unlike his earlier choice of richly colored opaque papers, was based on its utility for repeating motifs and creating series of drawings rather than on its aesthetic potential. In the Metropolitan Museum’s *Two Dancers, Half-Length*, the paper imparts no discernible textural effect, nor is its typically muted, yellowish color immediately apparent between the strokes of pastel. In particular, the reserves between the green, blue, and pink hachures in the background are visible only on close inspection, and the paper underlying the figural group is almost entirely obscured beneath a continuous blanket of pastel. For Degas, the benefits of the translucent support were strictly functional: they enabled him to transfer, endlessly vary, and correct stock images he had executed earlier in his career.

Degas described his method succinctly: “Make a drawing, begin it again, trace it, begin it again, and trace it again.”¹⁸ This remark, which aptly applies to the steps he took when laying the foundation of *Two Dancers, Half-Length*, is given graphic form in his sketchbook held in the Metropolitan’s collection. The volume is one of thirty-six extant cahiers in which, over the course of more than three decades, from 1853 to 1886, the artist made rapid notations of his observations, sketching motifs as source material for his drawings and paintings, recording details of artistic and personal interest, and jotting down technical recipes and addresses.¹⁹ The Museum’s sketchbook, which Degas used from about 1882 to 1885, contains mostly charcoal drawings. Measuring 10 ⁵/₈ by 8 ¹/₂ inches, it was probably too large for him to carry around out of doors but, as its drawings suggest, was more likely employed in the studio for exploring ideas. As in most of Degas’s notebooks, the drawings are not focused on a single theme, and they are clustered at different sections of the binding. Composed of 499 leaves of diaphanous onionskin paper numbered in stamped black ink, the book was originally intended for office use—as a ledger in which transaction records were duplicated with copy ink or carbon paper.

What is exceptional about Degas’s use of this account book for sketching is his manipulation of its translucent pages. He drew exclusively on the recto of each of the bound sheets, proceeding from the back of the book to the front. He would execute a drawing on a

fig. 6 Edgar Degas. Four untitled drawings in album of forty-five figure studies, ca. 1882–85. Charcoal on translucent paper, each sheet $10\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in. (26.8 × 21.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1973 (1973.9)



right-hand page, then turn the preceding blank leaf (on the left) on top of it, trace the underlying image onto this clean sheet while making changes in the new design, and continue to turn the leaves in this manner to repeat the process. Thus, from pages 49 to 46, for example, he successively traced a standing, draped figure with left arm extended, a study for *Personnages d'Opera* (Lemoisne 594), reworking and modifying each of the four drawings by adjusting the position of the arm and slightly increasing the scale of the body (fig. 6).

As seen in this sketchbook, Degas's attraction to the process of tracing anticipates the more complex technique he developed about 1890 for his larger, layered drawings, exemplified by *Two Dancers, Half-Length*. As observed by the English painter William Rothenstein (1872–1945), Degas began by pinning tracing paper on top of a previously made drawing, presumably fixing the two layers to a wall or board.²⁰ Using charcoal, he then copied the original or a detail of it onto the tracing paper and used the traced image as the basis for a new composition. He would repeat the process over and over, altering the outlines in each new tracing just as he had on the onionskin leaves of his sketchbook. On these large sheets, such as the one used for the Metropolitan's *Two Dancers, Half-Length*, he synthesized motifs, combining

and reversing tracings from stock models and varying the figures' spatial relationships to one another or to the format of the composition. In many of the dance scenes, Degas focused on the upper torsos and arms of his subjects, setting them against empty expanses of vaguely suggested stage flats. In the Museum's pastel, he juxtaposed two half-length ballerinas, their figures closely placed and overlapping. One adjusts her shoulder straps; the other extends her left arm across her body to meet her raised right arm, as if she were rotating away from the foreground figure. Degas reused these two poses individually and in groups, portraying them from different points of view in numerous works in pastel, oil, and charcoal as well as in monotype and counterproof.²¹

These late compositions, which started out as charcoal drawings loosely traced from a model, did not serve as conventional underdrawings that subsequently would be obscured by other media, nor did Degas use them for preparatory purposes, as he had done for decades with studies of subjects in several media on papers of different types. Rather, in the Museum's composition and in other fully worked compositions he made about this time, the charcoal drawing formed the first stage of a layered composition. It established the framework for rendering the figures in pastel and,



fig. 7 Infrared reflectogram mosaic of fig. 1, showing the charcoal drawing beneath the pastel

because it remained visible, served as an integral component of the finished work.

Degas's charcoal drawings are characterized by multiple vigorous, unbroken contours and broad masses of tone to which energetic, linear strokes and hatchings were applied. This manner of handling, which imbues the drawings with sculptural force, is seen in countless sheets executed over many decades and is evident from the Vollard photograph, its glass-plate negative, and the infrared reflectogram mosaic showing the underlying charcoal layer of the Museum's pastel (fig. 7).²² The diversity of effect Degas achieved with charcoal was made possible by the friable nature of

the medium, which readily yields to the pressure of the hand: bearing down heavily creates dark, compact marks; a light touch produces effects of transparency.²³ A stroke of charcoal can be modulated by light rubbing with a finger or a stump (a pointed coil of paper or chamois) to spread the particles; incising or scratching the charcoal will expose the paper below. All these techniques were employed in *Two Dancers, Half-Length*.

Degas's methods of replication and mark-making on large sheets of tracing paper were inexact and inevitably gave rise to unplanned divergences from the stock drawings he used as his templates. Unlike the Museum's sketchbook, in which each page was secured

fig. 8 Digital overlay of figs. 1 and 2, showing the correspondence of the figural groups in the two images



to the adjacent leaf by the binding, thus limiting the amount of chance deviation from the underlying drawing, large, insubstantial sheets, even when pinned to the model, were subject to movement or slippage, causing misalignment of the copied strokes and stumped passages. Degas's disregard of such askew layers was observed by Vollard, who described the artist "making a correction by beginning the new figure outside the original outlines, the drawing growing larger and larger."²⁴ In fact, Degas's process of repeatedly tracing and retracing was as much the cause of the simplification and anatomical ungainliness of his late figures as was his independence from the model.²⁵

The divergence of the tracings from the model is important to take into account when considering the authenticity of the Museum's pastel, for if that work were a copy or a tracing of the Vollard composition, or if the two compositions were based on the same stock

drawing, differences in the scale and modeling would be expected. However, a digital overlay of the Vollard photograph and the pastel shows that the drawing of the two dancers is unquestionably the same size in each composition (fig. 8). Comparison of the Vollard photograph with the infrared reflectogram mosaic of the pastel reveals many other identical features. For instance, in the figural group, the major and secondary contours, such as the neckline of the nearer dancer's costume and the positions of the hands and arms, are identical. The figures in both compositions have the same interior modeling: the faces have identical vertical hatchings, and the boundaries between light and shadow correspond; the same is true of the closely spaced hatchings along the leftmost arm and wrist and on the dancers' backs, and of the well-defined stumping in the tight space of the farther dancer's raised right hand (figs. 9a,b,c). Additional evidence supporting the



fig. 9 The partially stumped, raised right hand of the dancer in back, seen in details of three images: (a) fig. 1 (the Metropolitan Museum's *Two Dancers, Half-Length*); (b) fig. 7 (the infrared image of the Metropolitan Museum's *Two Dancers, Half-Length*); (c) fig. 2 (the Vollard photograph)

proposal that the drawing depicted in the Vollard photograph and the Metropolitan's pastel are two phases of the same work is seen in the subtle, incised lines within the lower contour of the nearer dancer's right arm (fig. 10a) and in the irregular left edge of the sheet (fig. 10b).²⁶ It is indeed unlikely that the particular dynamics of execution and the details of condition captured in the Vollard photograph could have been so exactly duplicated in the Metropolitan's pastel by tracing, freehand copying, or happenstance.

When the charcoal drawing was completed, a light, vaporous spray of fixative or steam was applied to stabilize its surface.²⁷ After the medium was secured, Degas's mounter pasted the translucent sheet to a lightweight, subtly textured, whitish card, generally known as Bristol board. The backing served to impart opacity to the tracing paper, conferred a slightly nubby topography to the surface of the sheet, and provided the solidity and resiliency required for the next stage: the application of the vigorously manipulated pastel layer.²⁸ The mounting process, mainly reserved for the charcoals Degas planned to develop further with color or for which he had a buyer, also provided the artist with an opportunity to adjust the format of these sheets—effectively creating new compositions. The process had an aesthetic importance equal to his manipulation of his media. He frequently attached strips of paper to the card backing of a cropped drawing in order to extend the pictorial field. At times he made explicit notes in his cahiers regarding the placement of these strips and how wide they were to be.²⁹

Two Dancers, Half-Length was constructed in this way. As can be seen on close examination of the pastel and the Vollard photograph, a narrow, horizontal strip attached across the top of the sheet provided additional space to expand the drawing of the cropped head on the right (fig. 10c). Along the join, infrared reflectography reveals smudged charcoal fingerprints, evidence of the hand that pasted the band of paper to the larger sheet (see fig. 7). In the Museum's composition, the added strip is covered with a thick layer of pastel that obscures the seam, a treatment often found in Degas's highly finished works.

Degas customarily added pastel once the charcoal drawing had been mounted. In some works, color was limited to sparse touches or to coverage that was comparable in extent to the charcoal, whereas in highly finished compositions, the pastel was built up in multiple, thick layers, obscuring the charcoal and the surface of the paper almost entirely.³⁰ Like the charcoal layer, pastel was applied using any number of techniques, thus

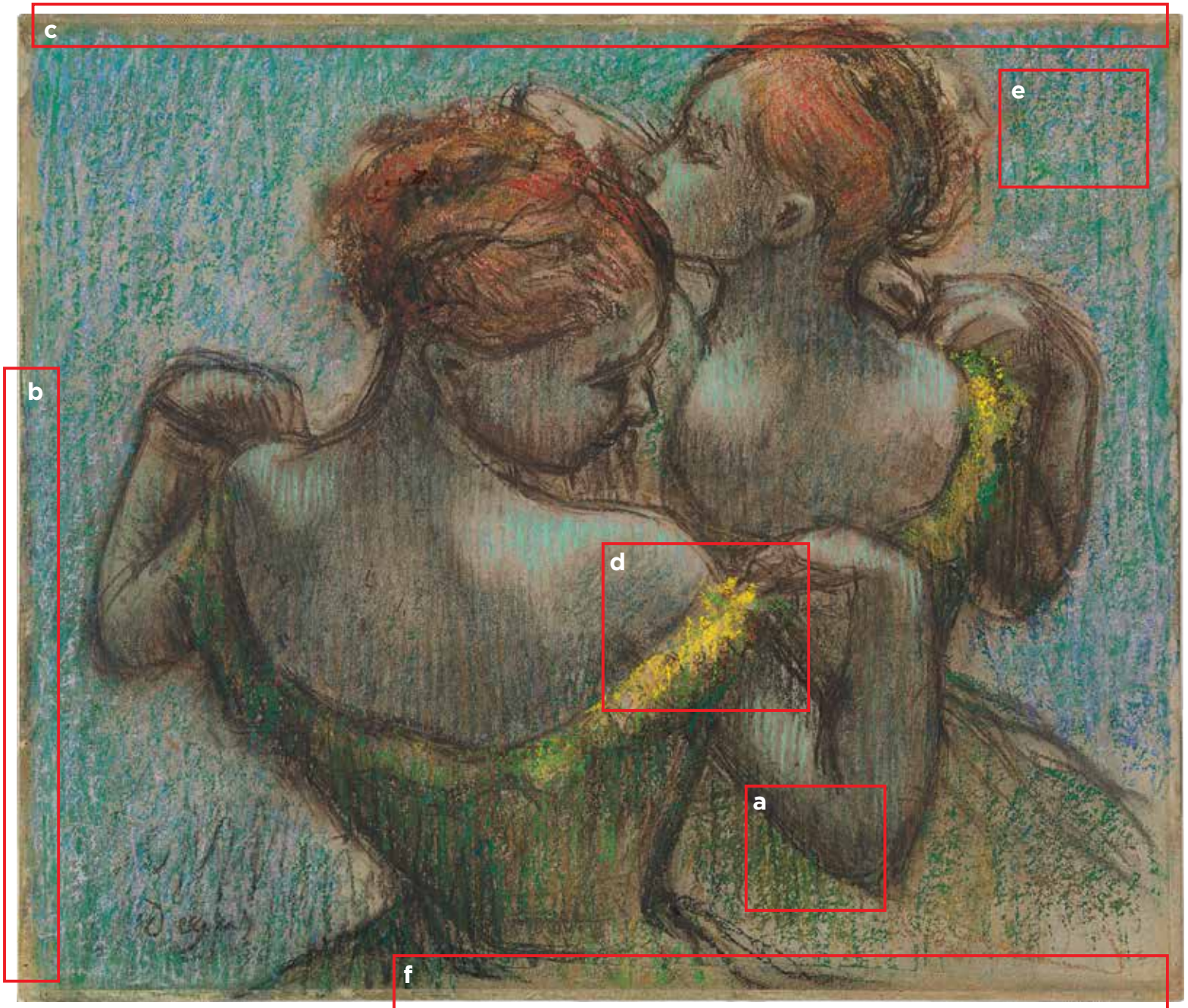


fig. 10 *Two Dancers, Half-Length* (fig. 1) with areas of detail outlined in red. (a) Incised lines on the lower contour of the upper right arm of the dancer in front. These lines are also seen in fig. 2. (b) Irregular left edge of the tracing paper. (c) Added strip of tracing paper across the top of the composition. (d) Thickened pastel on the shoulder strap of the front dancer. (e) Undisturbed pastel layer covering the site of the removed signature. (f) Horizontal tear and pastel strokes extending across the loss in the tracing paper onto the mount

producing the varied pictorial effects among this large group of late works. In the Metropolitan Museum's *Two Dancers, Half-Length*, the artist established the primary layer by applying variously colored sticks of pastel over the charcoal figures. He then produced the flesh-hued undertone of the near dancer's back and shoulders by spreading the dry powder with his finger or a stump, unifying these areas into dense, smooth, and broad expanses while allowing the emphatic charcoal contours and parallel hatchings to remain visible. The uniform flatness of this primary pastel layer—the fact that it lacks the irregular texture that would have resulted from bearing down on the laminate of tracing paper and Bristol board—suggests the possibility that the figures were partially colored before the sheet was mounted.

Because pastel contains only a minute amount of binding medium, it is powdery. Thus, when it is manipulated in the manner described above, the many facets of its light-reflecting particles are compressed and the colors become somber. Degas avoided this reduction in chromatic intensity by inventively applying a fixative to selected areas of the composition before superimposing additional pastel and repeating the process between each successive layer of color, a procedure observed by Vollard.³¹ By this means, Degas prevented the powder from intermixing with the underlying color. Thus, rather than employing fixative for the purpose of stabilizing the picture surface, as is the common practice, he used it to create a barrier between layers of pastel, to ensure their tonal clarity. While current analytical techniques cannot detect traces of this type of resin between pastel strata, the compact quality of the flesh-toned passages in *Two Dancers, Half-Length* suggests not only its presence but also that Degas's intention was to produce a planar, uniform topography, a pictorial effect recalling his naturalistic pastels of the 1870s and 1880s and the surfaces of Neoclassical painting he had long admired—surfaces that, according to Ingres, were “always [to be as] flat as a board.”³²

Over this foundation Degas applied vertical hatchings in rich, tactile strokes of color. These pulsating accents, notably the brilliant yellow and green trim of the costumes and the scintillating turquoise reflections on the shoulder blades, are far more roughly textured and exuberant than their counterparts in his early pastels. He produced them by slightly moistening the tip of the crayon, causing the pastel particles to agglomerate or cluster (fig. 10d).³³ A hallmark of Degas's late pastels, these strokes of unfixed, thickened color, which reflect more light than the surrounding passages because of their irregular texture, create dramatic contrasts with

the exposed, underlying hues. The play of texture and color, which Degas exploited to great effect, also served to evoke a sense of the artificial stage lighting illuminating the performers' collarbones, foreheads, and the tips of their noses, an effect that continued to intrigue him, as it had in the past. Certain of these vigorous marks are discernible in the Vollard photograph as white strokes against the print's gray field, notably those corresponding to the turquoise hatching superimposed on the flat passages of flesh tone at the shoulders and to the orange-pink highlights in the hair (see fig. 2).

At the time *Two Dancers, Half-Length* was executed, Degas no longer concerned himself with placing his figures in clearly defined interiors. In both the Metropolitan Museum's pastel and the Vollard photograph, the background is a simplified, abstract space, a foil for the dancers. Unlike the composition's primary subject matter, the traced figures, which were developed with a complex of stumping and highly wrought, decisive strokes of dry and dampened pastel crayons, the background was applied rapidly in nearly vertical, unmodulated, and overlapping hatchings in blue, green, and pink (fig. 10g). The irregular texture of these strokes was produced by applying moderate pressure while dragging the dry crayons over the composite of pastel, tracing paper, paste, and card. The uneven surface of this layered substrate and the action of the hand simultaneously broke up and compressed the pastel powder. The broken quality of these strokes suggests that the subtly nubby texture of the underlying paper was transferred to the pastel as the background was being built up, an effect that would have occurred only after the tracing paper was mounted on the Bristol, as may have been the case with *Two Dancers, Half-Length*. The visual, almost flickering quality that results from this handling is a consistent element in Degas's late pastels: he employed it on top of stumping, over the paper reserve, above broad marks made with the side of a crayon, across entire compositions (as in the Museum's *Russian Dancers*, 1899 [1975.1.166]), and to emphasize a figure or a background area.³⁴

These vigorous diagonal background hatchings do not appear in the Vollard photograph. When that image is compared to a black-and-white photograph of the Metropolitan's composition, it is readily apparent that the background values (the position of the colors on a gray scale) in the two photographs are not the same: the background of the Vollard composition is light, whereas the background of the Museum's pastel, primarily composed of strokes of Prussian blue and chromium green, appears dark (see figs. 2, 4).³⁵ There are two possible

explanations for this disparity. The first is that the Vollard photograph was taken with orthochromatic film, which was commonly used at that time. Because of the film's spectral sensitivity to blue and green, the distinction between the hatched background strokes would not have been clearly visible, and the blue hatchings in the figures would not have been differentiated from the underlying flesh tone. Rather, these hues would have registered as white with vague markings of gray in the photographic print, which is the way they appear in the Vollard image, and as black in the glass-plate negative (see figs. 2, 3).³⁶ The other possibility, proposed here, is that pastel was not present in the background, or was present only in moderate touches, when the photograph was taken, and that *Two Dancers, Half-Length*, like many of Degas's charcoal *articles*, was not fully developed in color at that time.³⁷

Central to the argument that pastel was not present in the background of the 1914 composition is the fact that certain charcoal marks visible in the photograph are not found in the Museum's *Two Dancers, Half-Length*: these include the pentimenti surrounding the arms, the unidentified charcoal network at the lower left, the low contour of the tutu on the right, and the artist's signature at the upper right. Had the Vollard charcoal been covered with pastel, an inherently opaque medium, these marks would have been hidden or diminished in intensity and would not have registered with clarity on the photograph. (It was, in fact, pastel's opacity that enabled Degas to superimpose the medium over layers of oil-based black ink in his monotypes and thus to obscure the printed design. It also allowed him to minimize the visibility of charcoal drawing in his late pastels, as he did at selected sites in *Two Dancers, Half-Length*.) Curiously, examination of the Metropolitan's work under infrared reflectography (IRR) shows that the charcoal details cited above as present in the Vollard photograph are missing beneath the pastel background in the Museum's *Two Dancers, Half-Length*. Closer scrutiny with IRR explains the puzzling absence of these marks. It reveals that they have been physically removed from the paper: some seem to have been scraped off with a knife, others rubbed out with an eraser. Under IRR, the site of the signature seen at the upper right in the Vollard composition appears as a halo of blank paper, and the outer strokes of the nearby chignon have grown very faint (see fig. 7); only vague traces of the presumed bow are visible in the lower left corner; and the shadowy fingerprints along the top strip show signs of having been partially removed. The process of erasure was evidently

clean and efficient, as little charcoal powder was left behind. This suggests that Degas must have valued tracing paper not only for its transparency, but also for its nonfibrous, reusable surface. Significantly, there are no disruptions in the pastel lying on top of the erasures (fig. 10e). As it would not have been possible to remove the charcoal details without disturbing the color above them, the charcoal marks that were effaced must have been applied directly to the paper reserves.

Whether motivated by his aesthetic judgment, impelled by a potential buyer's interest in the picture, or governed by his habit of "prolonging the process of revision indefinitely,"³⁸ Degas seems at this stage—after he had removed the unwanted marks of charcoal from the tracing paper—to have added pastel to the background of *Two Dancers, Half-Length*. Perhaps he did it to hide his changes: he used pastel to cover the faint pentimenti still visible around the arms, camouflage the strip of paper added at the top, conceal the remaining traces of the presumed bow and the original positions of the tutus, and cover the site of his effaced signature. At the left he squared off the irregular edge by extending the background treatment over the exposed Bristol (fig. 10b), and at the lower edge, he masked the physical damage to the sheet by extending the network of green and yellow strokes onto the mount (fig. 10f). The general repetition in the sequence of the background colors (green, blue, then pink), the uniform pressure applied to the crayons, and the fluidity of the strokes suggest the work of a single artist and are in accord with the techniques Degas used in his pastels of the early 1900s. Rather than signaling the reworking of an existing layer of pastel, these vibrant strokes seem to have been applied to blank areas of paper to complete the composition.

Investigation of Degas's procedures provides explanations to the questions surrounding the authenticity of the Metropolitan Museum's *Two Dancers, Half-Length* and gives insight into the artist's choice of materials. Pastel appealed to him because of its rich color and because it proffered the broadness of painting and the linearity of drawing; it could be mixed with water and other solvents; and it could be layered and reworked. With charcoal, also readily manipulated to produce fine lines and transparent or dense masses, he could achieve effects similar to the ones he sought with the black tones of monotype, etching, and lithography, media to which he had long been attracted. Tracing paper afforded him endless aesthetic freedom to repeat and reinvent his dancers, and as the Museum's pastel reveals, it gave him a technical edge in revising them.

Degas's proclivity to change or correct works was part of his lifelong creative process and is well documented. He kept his artworks in the studio for months and even years, retouching and sometimes disfiguring them, reworking older compositions he had set aside as well as those in progress.³⁹ He experimented incessantly and with "restless dissatisfaction."⁴⁰ This same unceasing drive led him to make changes in his readily yielding pastel crayons and the methods he devised for working with them on tracing paper, as he did in *Two Dancers, Half-Length*.

During his final productive years, the late 1890s to about 1905, beset by declining vision, Degas embarked on few new compositions but altered and added color to many works that were in his atelier. He continued to work in pastel as late as 1905–10.⁴¹ It is not known when the reworking of *Two Dancers, Half-Length* took place, but it would have occurred between the time the partially colored charcoal was photographed and the time the album was published, thus between 1904 and 1914, the years when Vollard's main art holdings were photographed by Etienne Delétang, who was then in the dealer's employ.⁴² Compelled by his habit of revising his earlier drawings, Degas may have been inspired to complete *Two Dancers, Half-Length* when he was asked to sign Vollard's glass-plate negative, possibly near the time of the album's publication in 1914—although, compared with his last pastels, this composition's chromatic and formal restraint makes so late a date improbable.⁴³ On the other hand, he may have altered the pastel after encountering it when it was photographed, either reclaiming the drawing from the dealer or retrieving it from his own collection. It is conceivable that he reworked it as early as 1904 or shortly thereafter, as much as a decade before the album was published.⁴⁴ Presumably, when the elderly artist was asked to sign the glass-plate negative, the

drawing it represented—a theme he had portrayed in numerous subtle variations—had long since been modified. Wanting to comply with Vollard's wishes, Degas verified the earlier image, still recognizable to him, as his own.

Unaccounted for at Degas's death, the pastel remained missing, and the only evidence of its existence was Vollard's photograph. That image, when held up for comparison to the eventually rediscovered pastel—as it may have been by Lemoisne and has been by others in recent times—no longer served as a convincing record of the composition's original appearance based on surface features alone. Yet, as close examination reveals, Degas's technical processes in his late years and the many identical details the pastel shares with the Vollard photograph, present persuasive evidence that the Museum's *Two Dancers, Half-Length* evolved from the missing 1914 composition, and with little doubt, did so through the intervention of the artist.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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MARJORIE SHELLEY

Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge, Department of Paper Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

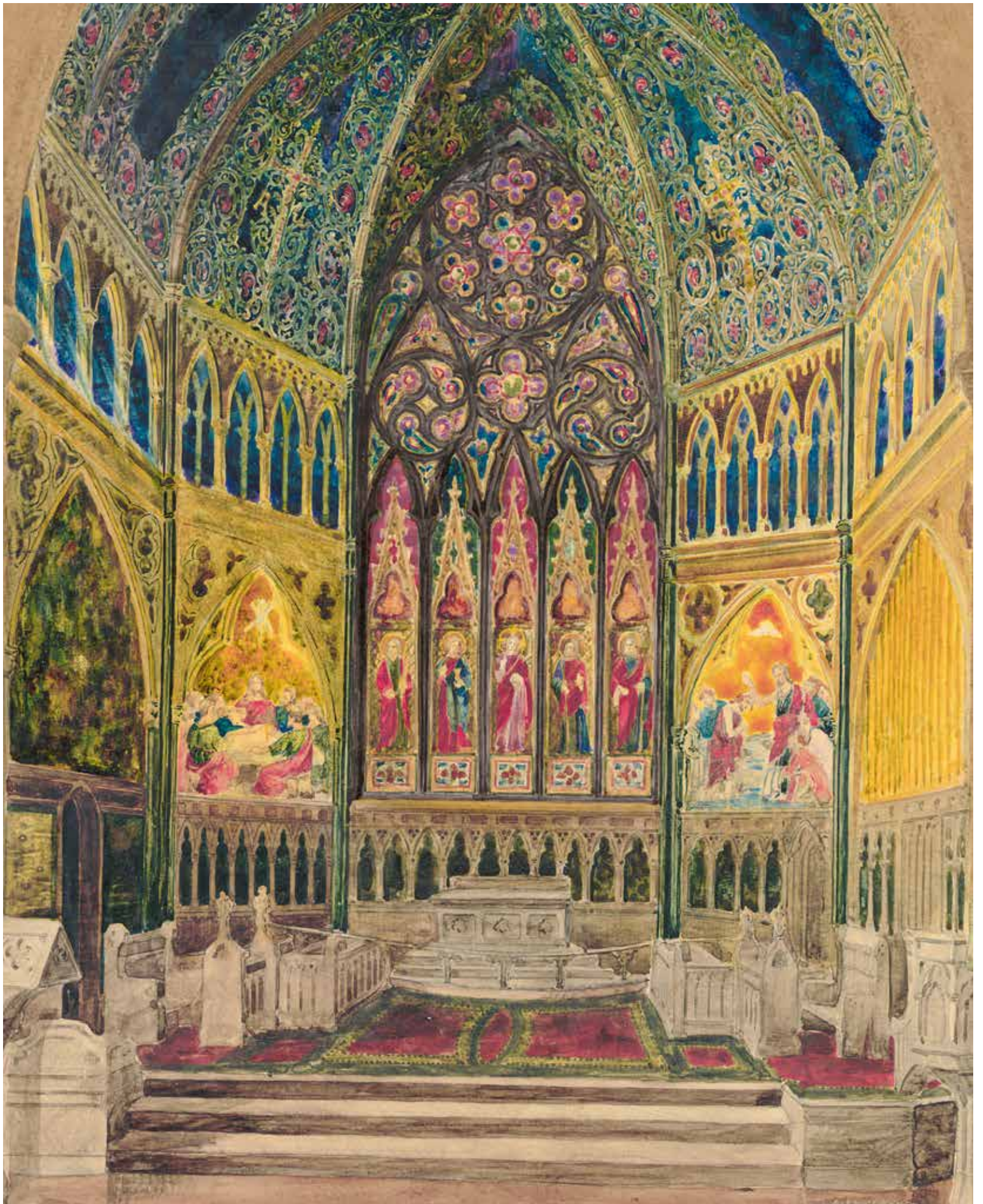
NOTES

- 1 Tinterow 2006, p. 157.
- 2 Degas scholar Paul-André Lemoisne did not record the Metropolitan's picture in his catalogue raisonné (1946–49), but he did include three other pastels employing the same grouping of two dancers adjusting their shoulder straps and dated them to about 1897. For these and other related works in oil, pastel, and charcoal, see, for example, Lemoisne 1946–49 (works dated ca. 1896–99): no. 1267 (*Four Dancers [En Attendant l'Entrée en Scène]*, oil on canvas, 1895–1900, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Chester Dale Collection [1963.10.122]), and nos. 1274–76. Lemoisne dated other compositions closely comparable to the Metropolitan Museum's *Two Dancers, Half-Length* to 1899: *ibid.*, nos. 1344–48.
- 3 Gary Tinterow, former chairman, Department of Nineteenth-Century and Modern and Contemporary Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, verbal communication, 2010. The authenticity of the work is questioned in Tinterow 2006, pp. 157, and 161n45. According to Tinterow (in conversation with the author, 2010), a curatorial committee that was preparing the international Degas exhibition of 1988 and which included himself and Degas scholars Jean Sutherland Boggs and Theodore Reff, expressed doubts about the pastel's authenticity and determined not to include it in the exhibition. This information was corroborated by Asher Ethan Miller in conversation with the author, 2016.
- 4 *Catalogue des tableaux, pastels et dessins par Edgar Degas, et provenant de son atelier* (Degas atelier sale 1919). The catalogue raisonné, by Paul-André Lemoisne (1946–49), includes photographs—many of them taken by Vollard and Durand-Ruel—of works that were once in Vollard's and Degas's collections, as well as works found in Degas's studio at his death.
- 5 Asher Ethan Miller in conversation with the author, 2012.
- 6 Hackenbroch and Parker 1975, no. 32.
- 7 The chaos of Degas's studio at 37, rue Victor Massé, was described during the artist's lifetime by his friend Paul Lafond (1918–19; as translated in Gordon and Forge 1988, p. 32) and by his model Pauline, who characterized it as cluttered and dusty (Michel 1919, pp. 458–59; Kendall 1996, p. 26). After Degas died, Durand-Ruel inventoried the contents of his house and studio and reported that the latter was dusty, crammed with paraphernalia, easels, pastels, charcoals, photographs, paintings, and pieces of sculpture scattered over many floors (Durand-Ruel to Royal Cortissoz, June 7, 1919, in Cortissoz 1925, pp. 245–46; quoted in Reff 1971, p. 165n77).
- 8 Thomson 1987, p. 133n182.
- 9 Ronald Pickvance cites several examples of omissions and confusion of similar works in Lemoisne's catalogue raisonné; see, for example, Pickvance 1963, pp. 256n6, 258n24.
- 10 The Lemoisne catalogue (1946–49) identifies many of Degas's pastels as having been in Vollard's collection, including no. 589, *Dancers*, a study for MMA 64.165.1. For references to Vollard's stellar art collection, see, for example, Assante di Panzillo 2006.
- 11 Vollard 1914, pl. XXV.
- 12 Pickvance 1963, p. 263.
- 13 Degas's drawings throughout his oeuvre testify to the range of media and types of paper he employed at different stages in his drawing process. For example, he executed studies for *Mary Cassatt at the Louvre* (1879–80) in pastel and charcoal and as etchings. His drawings also show how he characteristically returned to his early studies to develop his ideas, and how his exploration of a motif frequently continued over many years. In the 1870s, for instance, Degas returned to and reworked his many studies from 1860–61 for *Young Spartans*, a painting he would finish only in 1880. Similarly, multiple preparatory studies in graphite, charcoal, and pastel from the late 1870s would culminate in *The Little Fourteen-Year-Old Dancer*, the wax sculpture of 1880 that Degas continued to work on until after 1900.
- 14 Havemeyer 1961, p. 256. Georges Jeannot (1848–1934), his friend and disciple, similarly observed, “Degas was very concerned with the accuracy of movements and postures. He studied them endlessly”; as translated in Gordon and Forge 1988, p. 223.
- 15 See the late dancers in pastel illustrated in Lemoisne 1946–49 (works dated ca. 1896–99): nos. 1267–76; (works dated 1899): nos. 1344–65bis.
- 16 Paillot de Montabert 1829–51, vol. 9, chap. 614, pp. 624–32. This classic text on academic instruction describes the various ways in which tracing paper was used. The material was also employed by nonacademic artists, among them Delacroix, Gérécault, Moreau, and Daumier. From the mid-nineteenth century, tracing paper was advertised in colormen's catalogues, such as those of Goupil & Cie, published internationally and in France by Sennelier.
- 17 Jules Chialiva (1875–1934), the son of Luigi Chialiva (1841–1914) (see note 27 below), claimed to have introduced him to the common studio practice of using tracing paper over a drawing in order to correct or simplify it; see Chialiva 1932. Among the many examples of Degas's early work on tracing paper are *Young Spartan Girl, Study for Young Spartans*, ca. 1860, Cabinet des Estampes, Musée du Louvre (Boggs et al. 1988, no. 41, ill.); and *Study for Mme Théodore Gobillard*, 1869, MMA 1984.76 (Lemoisne 1946–49, no. 213); in the 1870s, *Two Grooms on Horseback*, essence and gouache on oiled paper, 1875–77, Musée du Louvre (Orsay), RF5601 (*ibid.*, no. 382).
- 18 “Faites un dessin, recommencez-le, calquez-le; recommencez-le, et calquez-le encore.” Lafond 1918–19, vol. 1, p. 20.
- 19 MMA 1973.9; Reff 1985, vol. 2, pp. 144–45, Notebook 36.
- 20 Paraphrased in Gammel 1961, p. 13.
- 21 For related compositions, see note 2 above. The frequent reuse, interchanging, and reworking of these motifs make it impossible to identify the original stock drawings of most of the late pastels. A possible source for the dancers' poses portrayed in many pastels and paintings of the late 1890s is seen in several photographic negatives that were found in Degas's atelier after his death (Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France) but have not been firmly attributed to him; see the discussion in Shackelford 1984, p. 112; Boggs et al. 1988, p. 573; and Daniel 1998, pp. 136–37.
- 22 For Degas's charcoal drawing technique, see also *Three Studies of Ludovic Halévy Standing*, ca. 1880, charcoal counterproof on buff wove paper, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (1985.64.167); *Two Dancers Resting*, ca. 1895, charcoal on tracing paper, mounted on cardboard, Philadelphia Museum of Art (1963-181-144); *Two Dancers*, 1905, charcoal and pastel on tracing paper, Museum of Modern Art, New York (B&R149); and *Grand Arabesque, Second Time*, 1900–1905, charcoal on tracing paper (private collection; Hauptman 2016, fig. 164). Infrared reflectography (IRR), a form of spectral imaging, renders most pigments and pastels transparent but allows underlying carbonaceous materials, such as charcoal and black chalk, to be seen because they absorb light in the infrared range of the spectrum. The image in figure 7 was made using an 800 nanometer long-pass filter.
- 23 Charcoal is made from twigs of vine wood charred at high heat in an enclosed chamber devoid of oxygen.

- 24 Vollard 1936, p. 102.
- 25 Degas's late dancers are rendered with indifference to anatomical accuracy. Commentary in the early literature notes their resemblance to bas-reliefs of classical sculpture (Gsell 1918, p. 373), whereas more recent assessment, reflecting contemporary taste, considers them "another form of life" (Boggs et al. 1988, p. 596, under no. 382) and "unbeautiful" (DeVonyar and Kendall 2003, p. 272).
- 26 The incising along the lower contour of the right arm of the front dancer, which exposes the light tone of the tracing paper, occurred in the initial drawing process. It was produced with the sharpened point of a charcoal stick, which, by the action of the stroke, displaced the medium. The vertical tear along the lower left seen in the Vollard print is visible along the entire left side of the Museum's pastel in sharp, raking light. The irregular horizontal loss along the lower edge of the pastel does not appear in the Vollard print. Its position corresponds to the lower area of the glass-plate negative that was covered by the black paper tape, a site that was further cropped in the photograph.
- 27 D. Rouart 1988, pp. 51–54, 64, 67; Gammel 1961, p. 13. The ingredients of the fixative, prepared by Degas's friend Luigi Chialiva, the Swiss painter, architect, and engineer with whom the artist often discussed technique, have never been identified. For Degas's use of a fixative and its possible identification, see Fletcher and DeSantis 1989.
- 28 Degas's mounter and framer is identified as Père "Lézin" in Vollard 1927, p. 65. According to Vollard (*ibid.*, p. 68), Lézin would "glue" Degas's pastels on tracing paper to card, known as "Bristol board." Most of the pastels, including the Metropolitan's *Two Dancers, Half-Length*, were then mounted to millboard, a rigid panel made of recycled paper, old sails, and rope. This material was commonly used to back pastels in the late nineteenth century to enable them to be framed. It is not certain if the lined pastels were applied to the millboard during the initial mounting process or when they were framed. Many of Degas's pastels on wove paper, which lacks a distinctive grain, were also mounted on millboard. The edges of these sheets were wrapped and pasted to the back of the panel without an intermediary layer of card.
- 29 Reff 1967, p. 260.
- 30 Examples of Degas's transformation of his *articles*—simple charcoal drawings—into highly wrought and colored pastels include *Two Dancers*, 1905 (Museum of Modern Art, New York, SPC65.90), a charcoal drawing with sparse additions of color; *Russian Dancer*, 1899 (MMA 29.100.556), in which the charcoal and pastel are equally visible; and *Russian Dancers*, 1899 (MMA 1975.1.166), in which pastel obscures the underlying charcoal.
- 31 Vollard 1936, p. 113. This inventive method was also observed by Ernest Rouart, one of Degas's few protégés, who worked with him in his studio; see D. Rouart 1988, pp. 51–54, 64, 67. According to these sources, Degas applied fixative by boiling it and directing the steam toward selected sites of his composition. It is present in very dilute concentrations, embedded within the particles of pigment and filler (inert white powder combined with pigment to impart opacity and body) and between layers of pastel. It is not readily detectable under spectral analysis and is below the detection limit of nondestructive instrumentation, including terahertz and Ramon spectroscopy. Its subtle luster is occasionally visible in raking light in exposed, localized sites in Degas's pastels.
- 32 Loyrette 1988, p. 46.
- 33 On Degas's use of wet pastel techniques, see Fletcher and DeSantis 1989.
- 34 For emphasis of a figure, see *After the Bath*, 1895 (Musée du Louvre, Paris, RF31343; Lemoisne 1946–49, no. 1335; Boggs et al. 1988, fig. 311). For emphasis of a background area, see *Young Girl Braiding Her Hair*, 1894 (private collection; Lemoisne 1946–49, no. 1146; Boggs et al. 1988, fig. 319).
- 35 The presence of chrome green, Prussian blue, strontium yellow, chrome yellow, and iron was detected with X-ray fluorescence by Amy E. Hughes, Andrew W. Mellon Fellow in Conservation, Department of Paper Conservation, MMA. Pink, the third color added to the background, was analyzed by the author. It fluoresced under long-wave ultraviolet radiation, indicating that it consists primarily of an organic colorant combined with an iron oxide pigment. This mixture was commonly used at the turn of the century to produce various red tones in commercially prepared pastel.
- 36 Tonal reversals common to this type of film suggest that the blue and green hues in the Museum's pastel are likely the same as those represented in the black-and-white Vollard image. The discrepancies result from the different sensitivities of orthochromatic and panchromatic film. The same tonal value reversal is present in Vollard's photograph (1914, pl. XVII) of *The Dancers* (MMA 64.165.1; Lemoisne 1946–49, no. 589), in which the blue costumes of the four background figures printed out as white. Orthochromatic film is no longer available; attempts to replicate it digitally have been unsuccessful.
- 37 For example, see *After the Bath (Woman Drying Her Feet)*, ca. 1900 (Art Institute of Chicago, 1945.34; Shackelford and Rey 2011, fig. 204), in which charcoal is the primary medium and pastel is present in relatively small touches.
- 38 Reff 1971, p. 150.
- 39 Degas's habit of constant revision, which he acquired as a young artist, lasted into his final years of production, eliciting frequent comments. See, for example, E. Rouart 1936, pp. 161–62; Reff 1971, pp. 141, 164 (quoting Rouart's memoir); and Loyrette 1988, p. 41 and nn. 50, 51.
- 40 Thomson 1987, p. 35.
- 41 Because it is not known when Degas finally ceased his artistic production, the dating of the late work is problematic. That Degas was actively making pastels in 1907 is documented in a note by the artist from August of that year: "Here I am back again at drawing and pastel" (Guérin 1947, p. 226); and was attested by Etienne Moreau-Nelaton, who, on December 26, 1907, observed him working on a pastel (Moreau-Nelaton 1931, reprinted in Lemoisne 1946–49, vol. 1, p. 260). Degas is quoted as telling Daniel Halévy on December 10, 1912, "Since I moved [in early 1912] I no longer work"; see Tinterow 2006, p. 155; see also Boggs 1988, p. 481. Degas's pastels from 1905–10 include *Seated Bather Drying Her Hair*, dated to 1894 by Lemoisne but now believed to have been completed later (Kendall 1996, pp. 297–304). Tinterow (2006, p. 156) proposes that some pastels, such as *Dancer in the Wings* (Saint Louis Art Museum), could have been made as late as 1910–12.
- 42 Cahn 2006, p. 264.
- 43 It is claimed that Degas signed the photographs in late 1913 or early 1914; however, documentation supporting this assertion is lacking. See Tinterow 2006, pp. 156–57.
- 44 Vollard published a series of monographic albums on artists, including Paul Cézanne, Berthe Morisot, and Auguste Renoir, each of which took years to realize. It is conceivable that the Degas album, too, was prepared over an extended period. See Cahn 2006, pp. 264–65.

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DESIGN DRAWINGS FROM THE STUDIOS OF LOUIS COMFORT TIFFANY: AN INTRODUCTION

The Metropolitan Museum of Art holds the most comprehensive and historically significant collection of work by Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848–1933), including architectural elements, stained-glass windows, mosaics, paintings, lamps, blown-glass vases, enamel work, pottery, furniture, textiles, and jewelry. The Museum's holdings were considerably enhanced in 1967 with the acquisition of more than 350 design drawings, as well as photographs and ephemera from the studios of Louis Comfort Tiffany, the largest and most extensive compilation of this material known. The wide range of works on paper from Tiffany's studios includes highly finished presentation and working drawings, cartoons, and studio photographs. Encompassing virtually all of Tiffany's career, from the 1880s through the early 1930s, and nearly the full array of his production, the assortment contains designs for stained-glass windows for religious, public, and domestic buildings; designs for the interiors of churches, hotels, residences, and a museum gallery; ecclesiastical furnishings, such as lecterns, baptismal fonts, and textiles; numerous lighting designs, including some of the acclaimed Tiffany Studios floral shades; and many other decorative works. The commissions span a geographic distribution from Boston to Atlanta, New York to Los Angeles.

The highly finished drawings are beautiful works of art in their own right. Many, executed in exceedingly delicate translucent hues, evoke the effect of light filtering through Tiffany's signature multicolored glass in the final work. Their study provides an invaluable aid in identifying and establishing a chronology of individual works by Tiffany Studios, understanding aspects of the design and fabrication process, and illuminating the patron-studio relationship.

While in Tiffany Studios or after the studios closed in 1932, the drawings sustained significant damage because of poor storage and water infiltration. Miraculously, most of the damage appears around the edges, leaving the main images relatively unscathed. Still, many of the drawings could not be accessed because of microbial infestation; their fragile condition made even the mere handling of them nearly impossible. Some years ago, the Museum undertook the challenging project of conserving the drawings in order to make them available for exhibition and research.

The study and conservation of the drawings have revealed critical new information on the designers and working methods of Tiffany's studios.* In this volume, Patricia C. Pongracz views the drawings with an eye to distinguishing Tiffany Studios' little-known work for Jewish congregations. To that end, she not only identified a detailed drawing for a pair of ark doors but also located them in New York's Temple Emanu-El. In her article, she determines a chronology of Tiffany Studios' work for the temple and in so doing sheds light on the process by which religious institutions reuse and repurpose decorative works from earlier sites. Pongracz made a further discovery, identifying a design drawing and a composite photograph in the collection as part of a larger series of windows for the Euclid Avenue Temple in Cleveland. Documents she studied in the temple's archives illuminate the crucial role of the client in this particular commission.

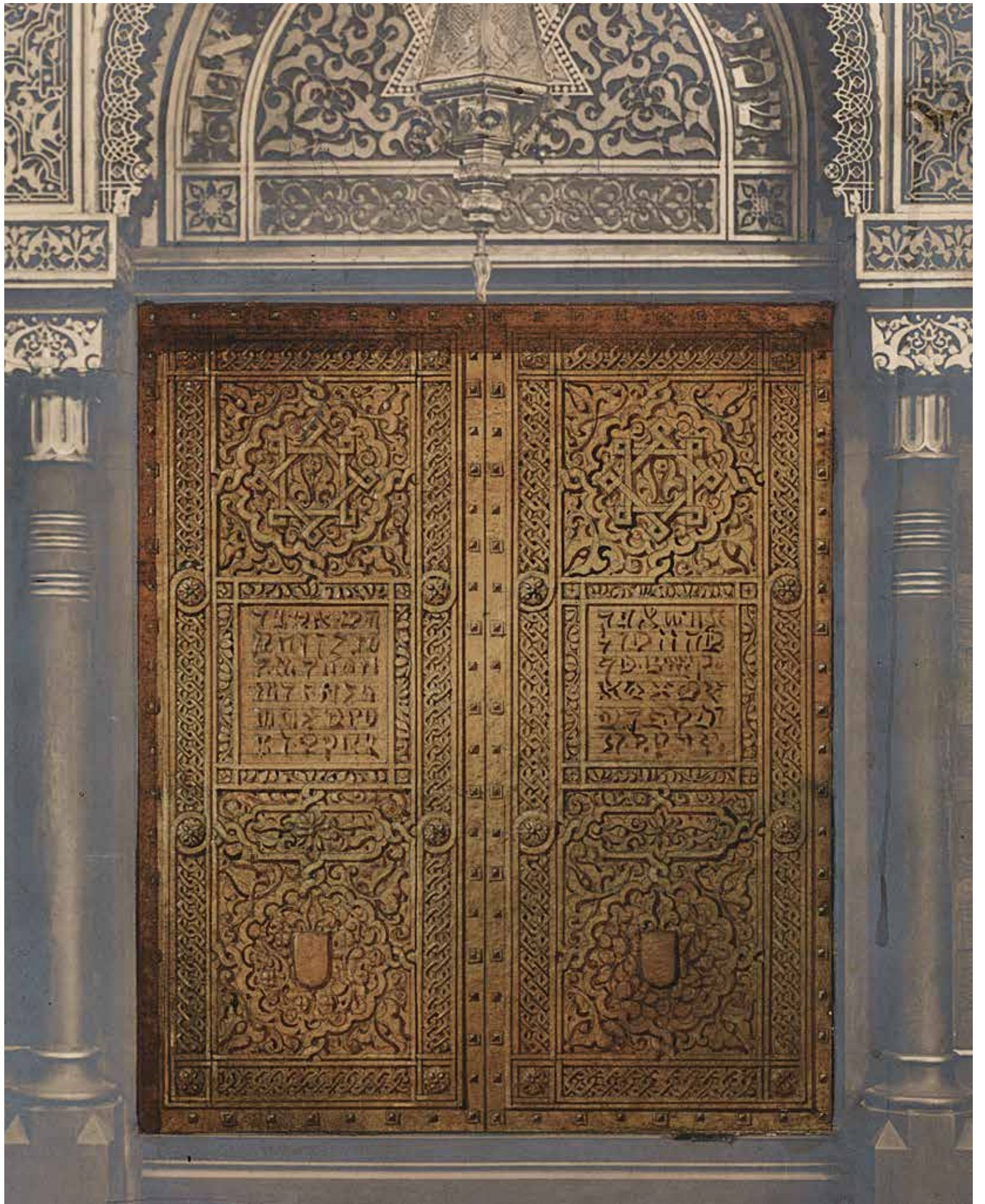
The second article is a collaboration between Marina Ruiz Molina, an associate conservator who has been examining and treating this collection since 2010 in the Museum's Sherman Fairchild Center for Works on Paper and Photograph Conservation, and art historian Christine Olson. Their important integration of technical analysis and research focuses on a late commission for Tiffany Studios—an extraordinary mosaic triptych, *Te Deum Laudamus*, designed for the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Los Angeles in 1923. In addition to tracing the evolution of the mosaics to Northern California, the authors present new insights into the studios' practices—especially their use of photography as a critical aid during the design process. The articles will undoubtedly generate new ways of thinking about the Tiffany studios' workings and artistic creations, and as a result spawn future scholarship utilizing the Metropolitan's extraordinary collection.

ALICE COONEY FRELINGHUYSEN

Anthony W. and Lulu C. Wang Curator of American Decorative Arts

*See Martin Eidelberg and Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen in *The Lamps of Louis Comfort Tiffany* (2005, pp. 66–80) and Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen in *Tiffany Glass: A Passion for Colour* (2009, pp. 74–105).

Jacob Holzer (Swiss, 1858–1938) for Tiffany Glass & Decorating Company. Detail of *Design for Chancel of Christ Church, Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, New York*, ca. 1899. Watercolor, gum Arabic, gouache and graphite on tissue or tracing paper mounted on board, 27 × 18¾ in. (68.6 × 47.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Walter Hoving and Julia T. Weld Gifts and Dodge Fund, 1967 (67.654.8)



PATRICIA C. PONGRACZ

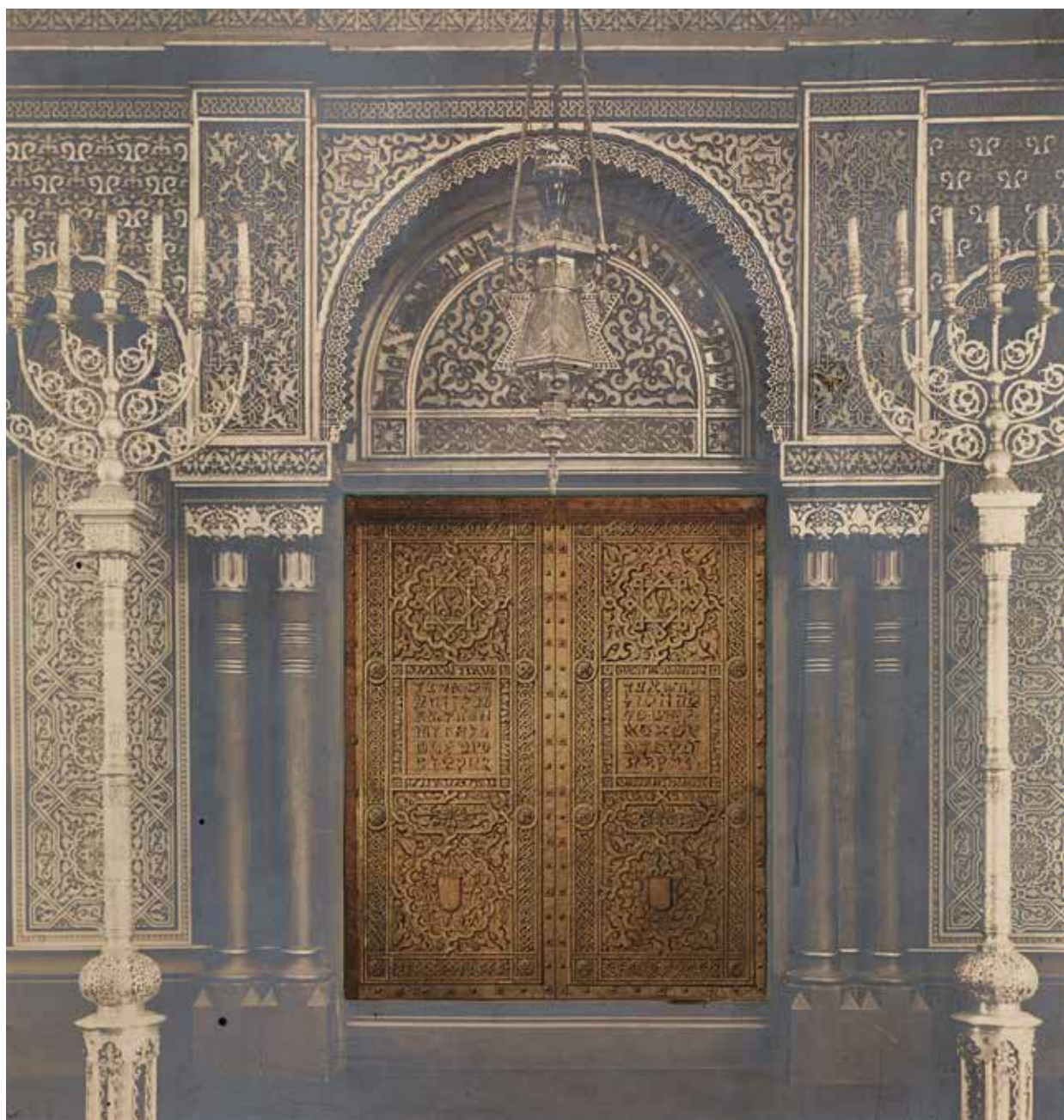
Louis Comfort Tiffany's Designs for American Synagogues (1889–1926)

The studios of Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848–1933) are well known for their church windows produced over the course of nearly fifty years, beginning in the early 1880s. Little known is the firm's work for American synagogues. In 1889—early in Tiffany's commercial career—Tiffany Glass & Decorating Company began to design decorative elements for Jewish congregations. From 1889 to 1899, the firm received commissions from seven prominent congregations building new monumental synagogues in Buffalo, Albany, Baltimore, and New York. Renamed Tiffany Studios in 1902, the firm continued to create Judaic designs and by 1926 had completed at least eleven commissions, ranging from decorative geometric and figural windows and mosaics to Torah mantels and ark curtains and doors. This work has remained largely unstudied, and in some cases unidentified, until now. Three newly attributed works in

fig. 1 Tiffany Studios. *Design for Ark Doors, Temple Emanu-El, New York City, 1910.* Gelatin silver print with inset of brown ink and graphite on wove paper mounted on board in original warm gray mat, overall 23 × 21½ in. (58.3 × 54.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Walter Hoving and Julia T. Weld Gifts and Dodge Fund, 1967 (67.654.331)

fig. 2 Tiffany Studios. *Design Drawing for the Patriarchs Window, Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio, 1912.* Gouache, watercolor and graphite on paper mounted on board in original mat, overall 26¼ × 10½ in. (66.7 × 26.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Walter Hoving and Julia T. Weld Gifts and Dodge Fund, 1967 (67.654.432)

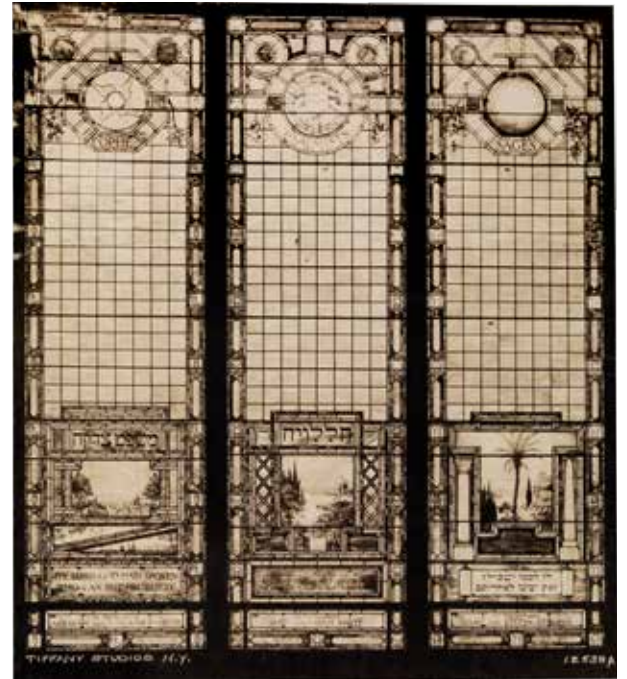
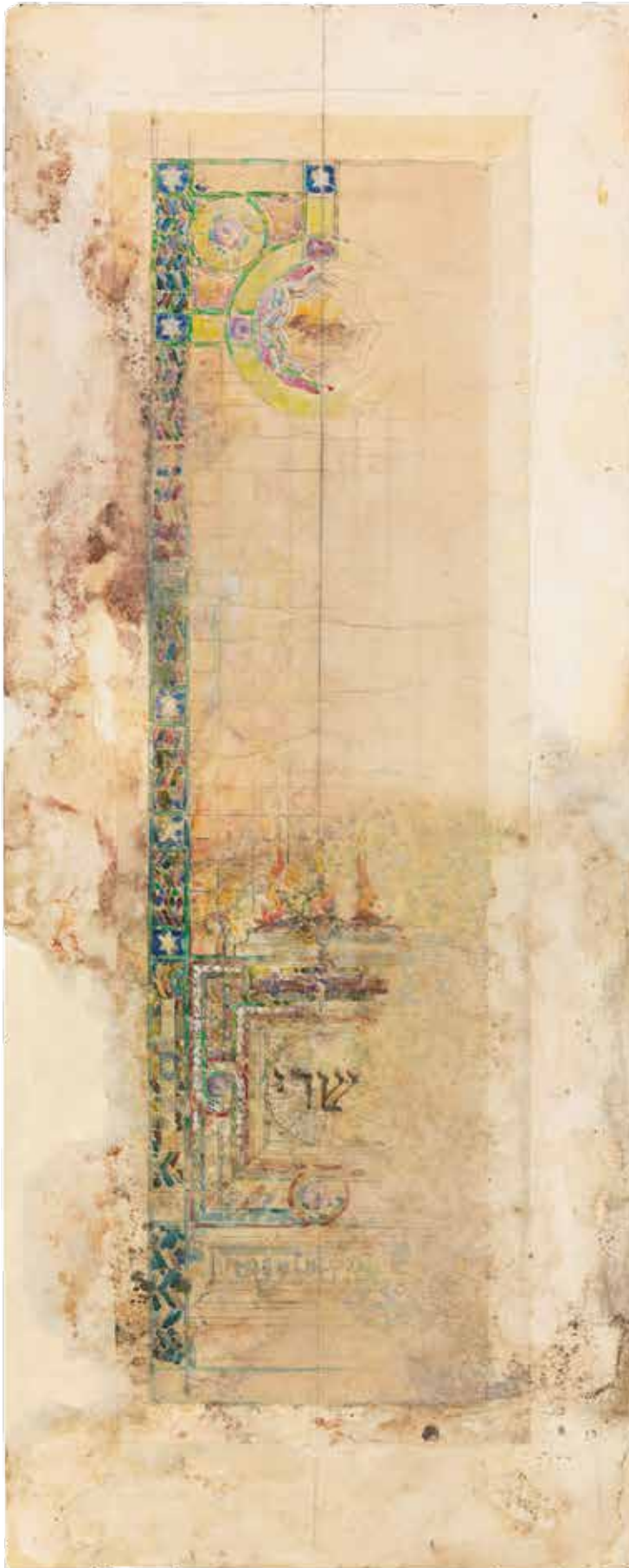
fig. 3 Tiffany Studios. *Prophets, Psalmists, and Sages Windows, Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio, 1912.* Photograph on mounted board, overall 13¾ × 11 in. (35.4 × 27.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Walter Hoving and Julia T. Weld Gifts and Dodge Fund, 1967 (67.654.259)



The Metropolitan Museum of Art—a drawing for New York's Temple Emanu-El's ark doors executed in 1910 (fig. 1) and a design drawing and a composite photograph of three completed windows made for Cleveland's Euclid Avenue Temple in 1912 (figs. 2, 3)—illuminate part of this unknown story of Tiffany Studios' production.¹

By the 1890s, Tiffany Glass & Decorating Company had positioned itself as the ecclesiastical designer of choice, broadly advertising its services and promoting its commissions to congregations, peers in the design field, and the general public alike. In magazines targeting ecclesiastical audiences such as the *Congregationalist*

and the *Churchman*, the firm advertised to Christian patrons. It also promoted some of its commissions in design periodicals such as the *American Architect*. Throughout its years of activity, Tiffany Studios often circulated press releases when one of its windows was dedicated in a church. These releases were picked up by local newspapers such as the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, the *Grand Rapids Herald*, and the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, and in some instances the copy was printed verbatim as a news item.² The firm also regularly displayed in its showrooms recently completed commissions before they were installed. Beginning with its participation in the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition



in Chicago, Tiffany Glass & Decorating Company published a list of its commissions to date for both churches and synagogues.³ Soon after the fair, the firm also periodically published illustrated catalogues of its work and made them available to prospective clients. These titles included *Memorial Windows* (1896), *Glass Mosaic* (1896), *Memorials in Glass and Stone* (1913), and *Mausoleums* (1914).

In the summer of 1894, Tiffany Glass & Decorating Company launched a steady advertising campaign aimed at Jewish patrons. On August 24, 1894, the firm placed a small notice in the style of an elegant business card in the *American Hebrew*, which listed the firm's services and location and noted, "Examples of our work may be seen in the following Synagogues: Beth Zion, Buffalo, NY; Beth Emeth, Albany, NY; Oheb Sholom [sic], Baltimore, MD; Shaaray Tefila, New York City." Listing these commissions highlighted the company's work in the field to date while simultaneously signaling to a New York audience that it counted among its patrons the most established, prominent congregation in Manhattan.

The *American Hebrew*, a weekly newspaper published in New York every Friday beginning in 1879, contained international and national news items of interest to America's Jewish community. The paper's contents included the goings-on at various congregations in the United States, commentary on topical subjects such as immigration and anti-Semitism, notes on music, and book recommendations. Billing itself as a paper that "appeals to every intelligent Jew. Whether you are or are



fig. 4 Interior of Temple Emanu-El, Fifth Avenue and Forty-Third Street, New York

not religiously inclined,” the weekly was also a vehicle for advertising.⁴ Regular advertisers during the 1880s included the department stores Macy’s and Bloomingdales; Durkee spices; Rubifoam and Colgate toothpastes; makers of gas fireplace logs; and magazines including the *Ladies’ Home Journal*, *Scribner’s*, and the *Menorah*, which described itself as “a monthly magazine for the Jewish home.” In the 1890s, Tiffany & Co., the firm founded by Charles Lewis Tiffany, Louis C. Tiffany’s father, was a frequent advertiser, along with Gorham Manufacturing Company and Reed & Barton Silversmiths, all of whom advertised seasonally—in time for Hanukkah, in late fall; confirmation, usually in the early spring; and weddings, in the early summer.⁵ The *American Hebrew* catered to readers who were interested in keeping abreast of current events with particular

impact on their communities and who also happened to have disposable income.

Tiffany Glass & Decorating Company placed its advertisements in the *American Hebrew* at strategic times: just after the closing of the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition and, later in the decade, upon its completion of commissions in New York for Shearith Israel (1897) and Temple Emanu-El (1899). Both commissions were, in fact, feature subjects in the newspaper at the time. Timing the appearance of its advertisement to coincide with the most recent commission’s dedication and including a list of its synagogue commissions in the copy, the company instantly communicated to *American Hebrew* readers its familiarity with the decorative liturgical needs of a Jewish audience while publicizing where its most recent work could be seen. The firm’s four commissions completed by 1894—Beth Zion, in Buffalo; Beth Emeth, in Albany; Oheb Shalom, in Baltimore; and Shaaray Tefila, in New York—were for well-known, esteemed congregations, all of which had been the subject of feature articles in the *American Hebrew*. Unlike the stained-glass studios of J. & R. Lamb and Heinigke & Bowen, which placed more generic advertisements for their windows in the *American Hebrew*, Tiffany Glass & Decorating Company made its Jewish bona fides the central part of its advertising strategy.⁶

From August 24, 1894, through March 1, 1895, the company placed a weekly advertisement in a business-card format in the *American Hebrew*, listing its four synagogue commissions. This ad campaign was timed to coincide with the display in its studios on Fourth Avenue of the Tiffany Chapel, designed for the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition. Seeking to capitalize on the Chapel’s success at the fair, where it was seen by more than one million visitors, Tiffany decided to erect the fair installation in the firm’s showroom and steadily publicize its display to as broad an audience as possible, beginning in the spring of 1894. In April 1894, an ad in the *New York Tribune* announced the Chapel’s one-day showing on April 28 as a benefit for the New-York Diet Kitchen Association. In October, a brief notice in the *Decorator and Furnisher* advertized the Chapel’s display through December 1. In January 1895, an article announcing the extension of dates for the Chapel’s display appeared in the *New York Times*.⁷ Advertising copy for the *American Hebrew* was similarly amended in October 1894. Beginning on October 19, 1894, and running through November 30, an insertion into the copy announced, “The Tiffany Chapel as Exhibited at the World’s Fair Will Remain on Exhibition Daily

fig. 5 Interior of Temple Emanu-El, Fifth Avenue and Forty-Third Street, New York, showing Tiffany Studios' ark doors in place



until December 1st.”⁸ From December 7, 1894, through March 1, 1895, the advertisement was again amended slightly, this time to state that the Tiffany Chapel would be on view “until further notice.”

Although the firm ceased advertising in the *American Hebrew* by 1900, most likely in response to the decline in monumental synagogue building in the United States, Tiffany Studios continued to be the go-to brand for congregations seeking deluxe liturgical decoration over the next two decades—the time of the commissions discussed here.

TEMPLE EMANU-EL, 1910

Pasted into a Tiffany Studios photograph of the bimah (the elevated platform from which the Torah is read) at Temple Emanu-El, the Metropolitan Museum’s design for the temple’s ark doors was most likely made as a preview for the clients (see fig. 1). The composition suggested how the doors, commissioned in 1910 by the philanthropist Jacob H. Schiff (1847–1920), might look in place at the temple’s Fifth Avenue and Forty-Third Street location. Tiffany Studios took great care

with this drawing, finely detailing the intricate geometric ornament to be cast in relief and selecting the warm yellow-brown tones to convey bronze. Once fabricated and installed, the doors were published in the *American Architect* on December 14, 1910 (figs. 4, 5).⁹ Commissioned by Tiffany Studios, the published photograph of the doors also appears in the firm’s “Bronze Works,” a photograph album of its notable metalwork, indicating the importance of this project for the firm.¹⁰

In the Forty-Third Street synagogue, the ark doors would have been a primary focal point for the congregation gathered for worship. Installed in the east end on the bimah, the doors both concealed and enshrined the Torahs they protected and honored. Though in Tiffany Studios’ design drawing the Hebrew lettering is nonsensical, included only to suggest how the inscription would look—as is typical at this stage of the design process—the final cast doors bear biblical quotations that are part of the morning service for the Sabbath from the *Hebrew Union Prayer Book*. The door on the right cites Psalms 24:9–10, recited when the ark doors are opened at the beginning of the Sabbath service:



fig. 6 Tiffany Glass & Decorating Company. May Memorial Window, Temple Emanu-El, New York, 1899

Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors, for the King of glory shall enter. Who is the King of glory? The Lord of hosts—He is the King of glory.

The left door bears verses from Proverbs 4:2, 3:18, and 3:17, two of which are spoken at the end of the morning service for the Sabbath. The three verses are visible when the doors are closed at the conclusion of the service, reminding the faithful of the Torah's significance:

For I give you good doctrine, forsake ye not my law.
She is a tree of life to those who grasp her: and whoever holds on to her is happy.
Her ways are pleasant ways, and all her paths peaceful.¹¹

Though no record of correspondence between Temple Emanu-El and Tiffany Studios has yet come to light regarding this commission, the firm's work for other Jewish congregations suggests that there must have been extensive communication concerning the design, especially given the liturgical prominence of the ark doors. The doors' success depended not only on their aesthetic appeal, but on the appropriateness of their form to the liturgy and the accuracy of their Hebrew lettering. The last requirement was no small consideration, given that each bronze door was a single cast: correcting an error in the inscription would not have been an option.

The Schiff Doors, as they are known today, were not the first significant Tiffany Studios design element

created for Temple Emanu-El's Forty-Third Street synagogue. As Elka Deitsch has documented in detail, the congregation first commissioned the Tiffany Glass & Decorating Company to create a monumental stained-glass window celebrating the leadership of Lewis May, president of the congregation from 1863 to 1897 (fig. 6). The window was installed in 1899 above the bimah. The firm created a fantastical view of Jerusalem framed by a patterned arcade that took its cues from the temple's richly decorated interior, which incorporated stylized Byzantine, Gothic, and Moorish design elements. The Tablets of the Law are framed within the large central cusped arch; the Temple of Solomon can be seen to the right, and a group of small buildings is visible beneath a backdrop of the Judean Hills. When Temple Emanu-El moved into its new synagogue at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Sixty-Fifth Street in 1929, both the May window and the Schiff Doors were moved to the Beth-El Chapel in that building and greatly altered to fit their new space.¹²

By that time, Tiffany Studios' work was less valued, though Schiff's patronage continued to be held in high esteem. New bronze ark doors were created for the main sanctuary. In addition, the architects of the new temple—Robert D. Kohn, Charles Butler, and Clarence S. Stein, with Bertram Goodhue Associates as consultants—specified several monumental metal elements for their new building, noting that in their architectural design “metal work has been depended upon for the high notes.”¹³ Incorporating a significant bronze decorative element from the old temple must not have been a particularly high priority, but both the May window and the Schiff Doors were included in the new design because of their associations with highly regarded members of the congregation.

Though the May window continued to be known as a Tiffany creation, the Schiff Doors would completely lose any attribution to Tiffany Studios. In the late 1920s, Temple Emanu-El raised \$5,000 to commission a new ark “exclusive of the doors” for the Beth-El Chapel, selecting Oscar Bach (1884–1957) as the craftsman.¹⁴ Clearly pleased with the final product, the architects—who stipulated the design specifications—published the commission in two articles in the *Metal Arts* in July and November 1929. The process, from the design specifications to the incorporation of the existing ark doors into the newly created surround and their installation in the Beth-El Chapel, was outlined almost step by step. Missing from this otherwise comprehensive account, however, was any attribution of the original ark doors to Tiffany Studios.

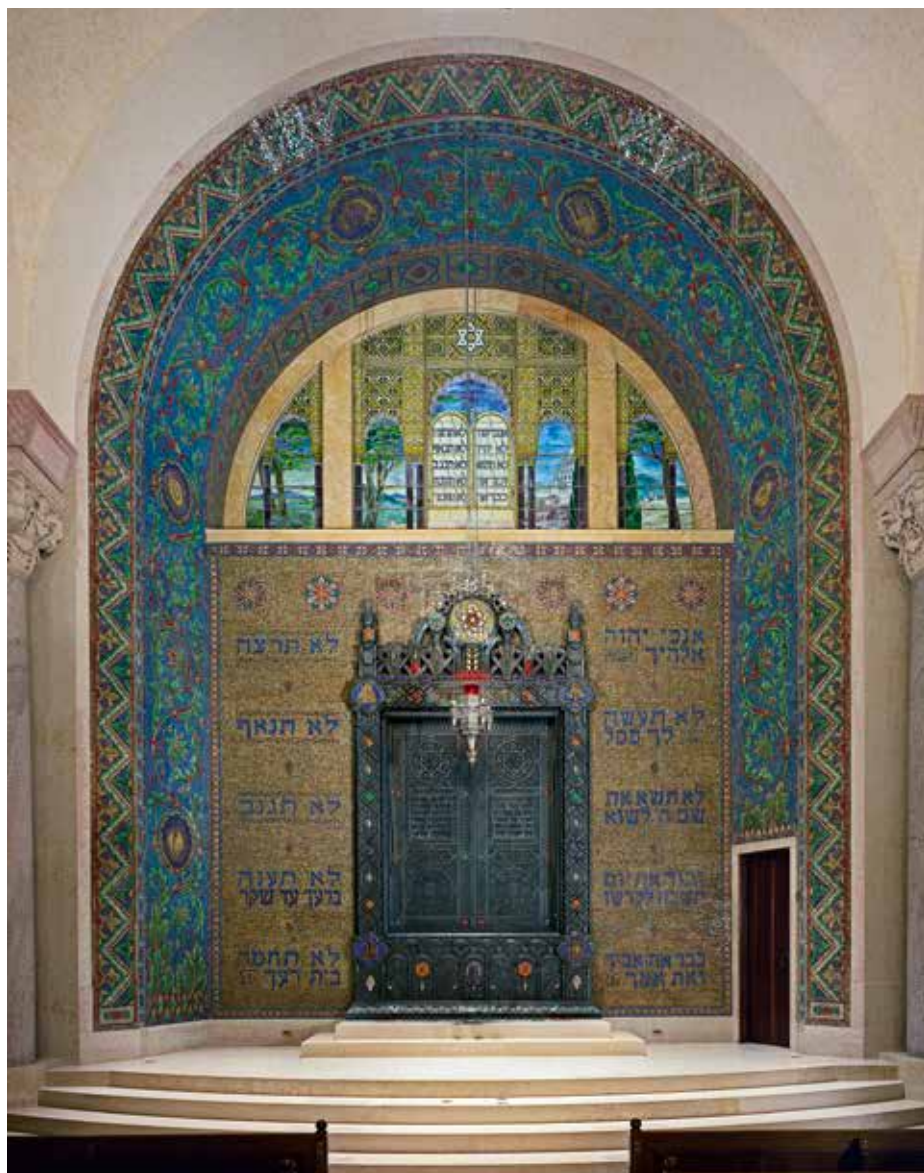


fig. 7 Tiffany Studios and Oscar Bach, New York. Beth-El Chapel ark, 1910 (doors) and 1929 (door alterations and surround), Temple Emanu-El, New York

In “The Metal Enrichment of the New Temple Emanu-El,” the second *Metal Arts* article, the architects acknowledged the reuse of the Schiff Doors, stating simply: “The doors of the Ark in the Chapel are the bronze doors of the Ark of the old Temple Emanu-El, skillfully altered to bring them into harmony with their new setting. This has been accomplished by giving them a gun metal finish that tones in with the dark steel of the frame and by adding notes of color.”¹⁵ These decorative adjustments significantly altered the doors’ appearance and required no small amount of effort, as the architects explained: “The color has been introduced by chipping out the bronze bosses that were at the intersections of the rails and stiles of the doors and putting in their place jewels of repoussé copper with vitreous enamel in brilliant colors rimmed with gold.”¹⁶ To achieve these alterations and ensure proper fit, “these doors with their track were erected in Mr. Bach’s

shop, so that they might be rolled open and shut just as they will operate when in place in the chapel for which they are destined.”¹⁷ Though not mentioned, the stud-ded border of both doors was also removed in order to fit them into their new surround. Out of all this creative effort, according to the architects, a wholly new and quite beautiful ark was made: “While this intimate detailed study of the work in the drafting room and in the shop cannot but impress one with the masterly character and artistry of the craftsmanship, it gives one but an inadequate idea of the splendor of the completed work. The word splendor has been chosen advisedly.”¹⁸

According to the architects, the formal adaptations of steel plating and the addition of enameled bosses to the ark doors signaled a creative process that subsumed the earlier Tiffany Studios design, rendering it exclusively the work of “Oscar B. Bach, Craftsman.”¹⁹ This creation, the architects urged, needed to be experienced in person: “Seen with the play of light upon the surfaces of wrought steel, of repoussé, copper and silver, and of bright-hued enamels, the effect is dignified, beautiful and rich. It has the sense of the precious combined with strength and bigness of scale that fit it for its high purpose as the repository of the Scrolls of the Law in this beautiful house of worship.”²⁰

As it stands today, set in an ornately mosaicked bimah crowned by a Tiffany Studios window, the Beth-El Chapel ark is indeed “dignified, beautiful and rich” (fig. 7), but we can now trace its decorative roots to a Tiffany Studios design. Without the discovery of the design drawing in the Metropolitan’s collection, *Design for Ark Doors, Temple Emanu-El, New York City*, this significant Tiffany Studios commission might have been lost to time.

CONGREGATION ANSHE CHESED, EUCLID AVENUE TEMPLE, 1912

Less than two years after the Schiff Doors commission for Temple Emanu-El in New York, Tiffany Studios undertook what would become its largest and most iconographically complex Judaic commission: the windows, a mosaic, and a pair of monumental bronze menorahs for the Euclid Avenue Temple in Cleveland. The Metropolitan Museum’s recently identified works related to this commission—a design drawing for the Patriarchs window and a composite photograph of three other completed windows—together document the design process and finished product for four of the eight memorial windows created by Tiffany Studios for this synagogue in 1911–12.

Designed by the architects Israel Lehman and Theodore Schmitt, the Euclid Avenue Temple stood at

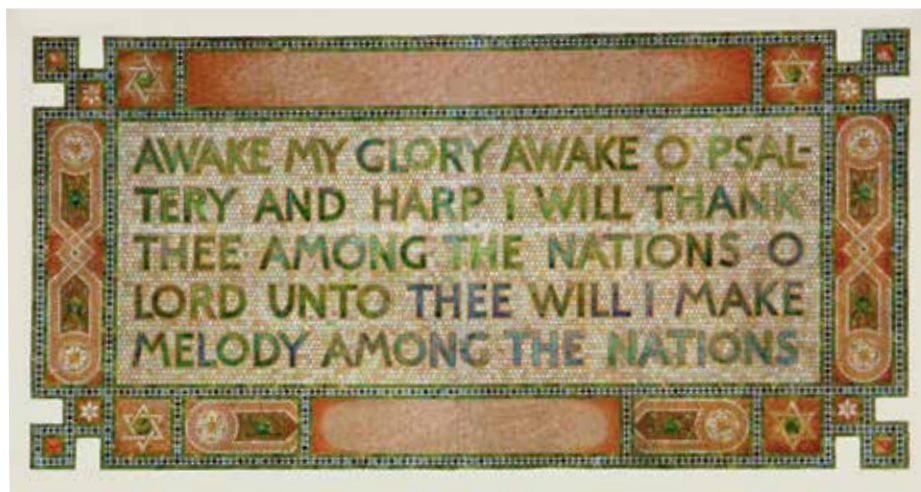


fig. 8 Tiffany Studios. Choir loft mosaic, Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio, 1912

the corner of Euclid Avenue at East Eighty-Second Street, on what was one of Cleveland's most prosperous thoroughfares during the first half of the twentieth century. The monumental, domed, centrally planned synagogue seated 1,200 people and reportedly cost \$250,000 to build. Tiffany Studios fabricated windows for the entire synagogue and its attached school building; created the mosaic, still in place, in the choir loft (fig. 8); and cast two large menorahs, which, sadly, have been lost. We have an idea of the form these menorahs took, however, owing to an order slip from Tiffany Studios stating that the firm planned to provide "1-7 light candlestick, in design—duplicate of the Arch of Titus," the Roman Triumphal Arch commemorating the sack of Jerusalem erected by Emperor Domitian in A.D. 81. Though only one menorah was listed on the order, two were purchased and placed on the bimah flanking the ark. One was inscribed "The Gift of the Children of the Religious School," and the other "In Memoriam, Anselm and Celia Rothschild."²¹

The starring features of the decorative program were the eight memorial windows, consisting of two sets of four on the north and south walls of the main sanctuary. Created in consultation with Rabbi Louis Wolsey (1877–1953), the windows illustrated the history of Judaism up to the Middle Ages and were intended to be both beautiful and edifying. Each window addressed a specific period in Jewish history and was titled accordingly: Patriarchs, Moses, Kings, and Prophets, on the south wall, and Psalmists, Sages, Talmudists, and Middle Ages (fig. 9), on the north wall.²² An analysis of the complex symbolism of these windows leaves no doubt that Tiffany Studios could only have created them in close consultation with Rabbi Wolsey, whose important role the firm did not hesitate to acknowledge

publicly. In a commemorative booklet that Tiffany Studios designed and printed for the temple's dedication—a gesture signaling just how highly the firm valued the commission—the windows were described as "conceived by Rabbi Louis Wolsey, and designed and executed by the Tiffany Studios of New York City who are responsible for the beautiful colorings, the exquisite arrangement, and the artistic workmanship."²³

The Metropolitan's design drawing for the Patriarchs window gives an idea of the creative process for the first window in the series (see fig. 2). Drawn in graphite and watercolor on transparent paper, it outlines the form the window will take and the symbols to be used and suggests a color palette for the glass. Notes on the mat indicate that it was sent for approval from Tiffany Studios to the architects and the congregation in Cleveland. "Approved. Lehman & Schmitt" is written on the front of the mat, signaling to Tiffany Studios that it could proceed with this design.

The congregation's approval may not have been easily won. Correspondence between Rabbi Wolsey and the firm hints at their lively working relationship. In a letter from Rabbi Wolsey to Daniel Harrington at Tiffany Studios sent sometime during April 1911, the rabbi inquired "as to why you do not care to incorporate into the memorial window contract the understanding that you are to make designs until we are satisfied. You will remember that that is what you told me prior to the making of the contract."²⁴

The window's clean geometric design punctuated by symbols belies the complex theology and biblical text informing it. On May 14, 1911, Rabbi Wolsey sent Tiffany Studios what he called a "sketch" for the Patriarchs window—in which he explained the biblical themes and recommended inscriptions and iconography—with this note:

I herewith enclose a few suggestions for study in connection with the design of the first window. Of course I can only suggest; your artists must of course use their own discretion and taste. I have intended only to convey the spirit. Let me know whether you wish a similar sketch for the other windows.

Please note particularly the use of significant words, and the Bible verse to be placed above and below the cartouche. If your artist prefers to work these words into the cartouche, that is a matter for his wisdom to work out. I would suggest however some harmonious border for the cartouche.²⁵

Rabbi Wolsey eventually sent a total of eight written sketches to the firm, which became the basis of the dedicatory booklet published by Tiffany Studios in 1912.

The rabbi's sketch for the Patriarchs window was a detailed explanation of theology, a list of relevant biblical citations, and suggestions for appropriate symbols for the theme. The sketch began:

The typical passages in Genesis [that illustrate] the spirit and [character] of this period are Chapters XII, 1–9; XVII–1; XVIII, 10–22; XXXI 44–48; XXXII 24–32; XLI, XLIX. The Patriarchs are Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph. Their chief thought is the growing consciousness of the ONE GOD—Whose Name is Shaddai. The Almighty (of XVII–1)—revealed through Abraham's leaving of home (XII) through the command to sacrifice Isaac (XXII) and the newer revelation that the sacrifice of a ram was a more exalted form of religious worship than the sacrifice of a human being.²⁶

This exegesis continued for another eight lines before the rabbi shifted to suggestions for symbols:

Symbols gathered from the above chapters: The burning altar with ram, the wood and knife, the burning city of

Sodom (for which Abraham interceded in vain Chapter XVIII), the ladder (reaching from earth to heaven, symbolizing union of mortal and immortal, material and spiritual), the stone Jacob used as a pillow, and the monument he set up as a sign of treaty of peace, the shepherd's staff (symbol of the patriarchs' profession and wanderings).

Mindful of the didactic nature of the window, Rabbi Wolsey emphatically urged the firm to employ the shepherd's staff: **"(IF POSSIBLE I WOULD UTILIZE THIS SYMBOL WITH OTHERS BECAUSE IT IS TYPICAL AND MORE EASILY UNDERSTOOD BY THE LAITY)."** He concluded with a list of possible inscriptions:

The Hebrew name for Almighty God is 'שד. These words should be placed somewhere in the window both in Hebrew and English; together with the verse: "Walk before Me and be Perfect." Perhaps the title "Patriarchs" might be employed somewhere.

Comparing the design drawing to the window as it was installed in 1912, and as it remains today (fig. 10), we see that the overall structure was set: a rectangular lancet with a decorative roundel at the top and the lower half of the window cleanly ordered to present symbols

fig. 9 Tiffany Studios. Psalmists, Sages, Talmudists, and Middle Ages windows, 1912, Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio



fig. 10 Tiffany Studios.
Patriarchs window, 1912, Euclid
Avenue Temple, Cleveland,
Ohio



and inscriptions illuminating the theme of the patriarchs. A neat geometry creates visual cohesion. The Lion of Judah is inscribed in the roundel, though in the window it becomes a lion rampant; just beneath the middle of the window, the ram Abraham sacrificed in place of Isaac is shown atop the flaming altar. A bundle of sticks is set beneath the altar, and at the bundle's center is the dagger used by Abraham to slay the ram. The altar is flanked by the shepherd's crooks. *וַיֵּלֶךְ* is written in Hebrew at the center of the cartouche, and the decorative border is punctuated by Stars of David. The executed window bears the inscription "PATRIARCHS" at the top, and flanking the roundel are bunches of grapes—symbolic of Kiddush, the blessing said over a cup of wine to sanctify the Sabbath. The phrase from Genesis 17:1, "Walk before me and be thou perfect," has been added in English translation as stipulated. The English biblical translation comes not from the Hebrew Bible, but from the King James version of the Bible. Its use in this context is not surprising: Jonathan Sarna has noted that even a half century earlier, American Jews generally "did not read Hebrew, and those Jews who studied the Bible at all used the venerable King James version, obtained cheaply or at no charge from the American Bible Society or from missionaries."²⁷

It is reasonable to assume that the other seven windows, which are similar to the Patriarchs window in composition, followed a comparable design process. As Marina Ruiz Molina has suggested, the design drawing's execution on transparent paper suggests multiple iterations; the paper would have facilitated copying the drawing as design elements were added or removed. This, combined with the half-finished nature of the drawing, indicates a design process that involved extensive exchanges between the rabbi and architects in Cleveland and Tiffany Studios in New York.²⁸ Given the elegant didactic window produced from the rabbi's rather dense theological description, it is also likely that the Metropolitan's design drawing for the Patriarchs window was not the firm's initial suggestion, and that there must have been additional communications between the parties before they arrived at the window's final form. There was also probably a more finished presentation drawing—similar in execution and degree of finish to the Metropolitan's design for Temple Emanu-El's ark doors (see fig. 1)—which would have been made after the design drawing was formally approved. The importance of the Euclid Avenue Temple commission for Tiffany Studios would suggest that bound presentation drawings were given to the congregation to

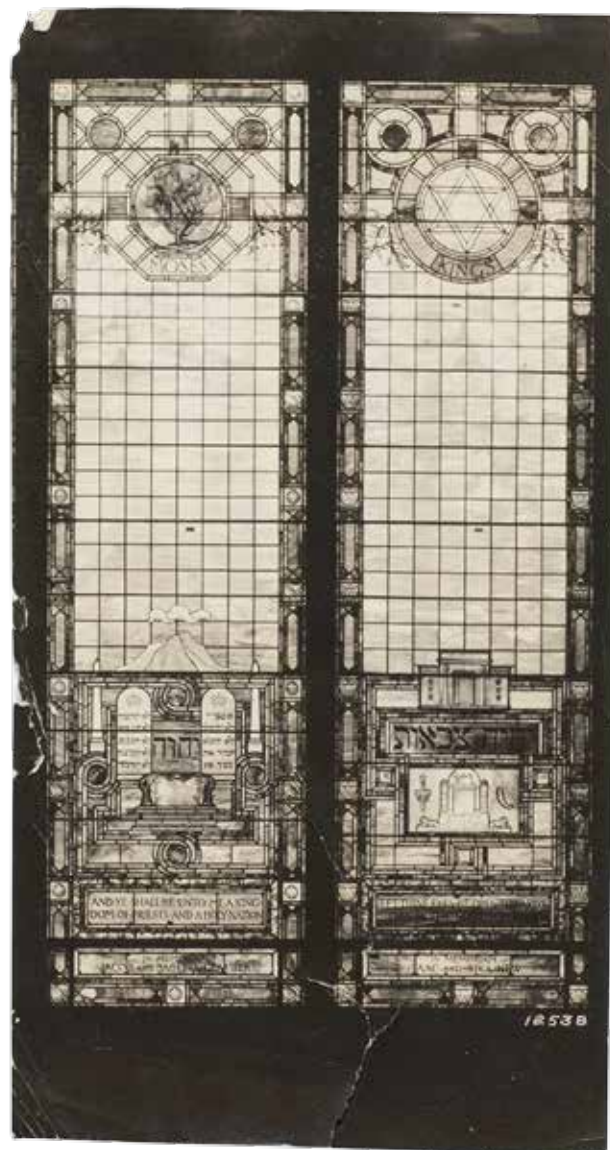
fig. 11 Tiffany Studios. Moses and Kings windows, 1912. Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio. Photograph. Avery Classics Collection, Columbia University, New York

commemorate the commission, but the Metropolitan's drawing is the only one that has surfaced to date.

As noted above, Tiffany Studios photographed the windows for a commemorative booklet it published for the temple's dedication services on March 22–24, 1912. In eight illustrated spreads, the firm explained the windows' symbolism, adapting Rabbi Wolsey's sketches.²⁹ Four photographs from this publication, *The Memorial Windows in the Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio*, have been located. *Prophets, Psalmists, and Sages Windows* is a composite photograph shot and created by Tiffany Studios before the windows were installed (see fig. 3). A newly identified complement to this photograph illustrating the Moses and Kings windows is in the Avery Classics Collection, Columbia University (fig. 11). The photograph, a rare survival, is a working studio proof, most likely kept as part of the firm's archive. The Metropolitan Museum counts two other composite photographs, also working photographs, of this commission in its collection: a second copy of *Prophets, Psalmists, and Sages Windows* and another composite, *Patriarchs, Moses, and Kings Windows*.³⁰ Photographs of the Talmudists and Middle Ages windows are yet to be discovered.

The commemorative booklet became a source of pride for the rabbi, who sent it to colleagues. In April 1912, Rabbi Joseph Rauch of Sioux City, Iowa, wrote to Rabbi Wolsey: "The Tiffany Pamphlet describing the memorial windows of your temple just reached me. I read it with considerable interest. I wish Tiffany had reproduced the color effect, but even in its absence I admired the fine taste which you displayed in the designs. I thought that you were only a rabbi but it seems that you are also something of an artist."³¹ Now in the collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland, this richly illustrated booklet, bound by a silk cord, is an example of just how deftly Tiffany Studios both documented and marketed its proud record, including fine decorative objects for American synagogues.

As Congregation Emanu-El relocated from its Forty-Third Street temple to Sixty-Fifth Street, so Congregation Anshe Chesed eventually left its Euclid Avenue address for a new home in 1957. Liberty Hill Baptist Church moved into the former temple and kept the Tiffany Studios windows, minus their memorial inscriptions, which were most likely removed when the building changed hands. There, the windows can be seen today.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research, part of a larger study of Tiffany Studios' designs for American synagogues, was made possible by an Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship in The American Wing at the Metropolitan Museum, 2014–15. I thank Sylvia Yount, Lawrence A. Fleischman Curator in Charge, for hosting me and Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, Anthony W. and Lulu C. Wang Curator of American Decorative Arts, for supporting my work.

PATRICIA C. PONGRACZ

Executive Director, Macculloch Hall Historical Museum, Morristown, New Jersey

NOTES

- 1 See "Design Drawings from the Studios of Louis Comfort Tiffany: An Introduction," by Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen in the present volume.
- 2 See Frelinghuysen 2014, p. 139.
- 3 Tiffany Glass & Decorating Company 1893.
- 4 *American Hebrew*, December 2, 1904, p. 5.
- 5 This overview comes from my examination of the *American Hebrew* beginning with volume 40, August 9, 1889, through volume 78, May 25, 1906. Tiffany & Co. placed its first advertisement on April 14, 1890, p. 176. A full examination of Tiffany Glass & Decorating Company's work with American Jewish congregations is the subject of my forthcoming book, *Tiffany Studios' Designs for American Synagogues*.
- 6 J. & R. Lamb of 59 Carmine Street, New York, advertised in the *American Hebrew* during the same period as the Tiffany Glass & Decorating Company. Lamb's ad of May 18, 1894 (p. 71), suggests the firm is targeting the domestic market, noting "Work done is the best guarantee of what we can do, we are pleased to refer to recent important orders filled for Mr. David Einstein, in his house, West 57th Street New York." In J & R Lamb's subsequent ads, the client reference is replaced with the line "We design to special order all forms of Stained Glass, in Opal, Venetian, Antique, Rolled, Cathedral, &c., &c.," *American Hebrew*, May 3, 1895, p. 784. Heinigke & Bowen of 24 and 26 East 13th Street, New York, placed a simple, small banner ad with the phrase "Memorial Windows" at its center. *American Hebrew and Jewish Messenger*, May 25, 1906, p. 823.
At times, business advertisements in the *American Hebrew* were identical to those placed in periodicals aimed at a primarily Christian audience. For example, on November 28, 1890, the *Ladies' Home Journal* published an advertisement for its special Christmas edition. The more-than-half-page notice, featuring a robed female figure holding a large holly bough, notes that the magazine "will publish a handsomely printed and daintily illustrated Special Issue, full of Christmas Cheer including *Common-Sense in Christmas Gifts* by Helen Jay . . . *Dressing a Christmas Tree* by Mrs. A.G. Lewis . . . *Decorating a Church Altar* by Eben E. Rexford" among other Christmas-themed articles. *American Hebrew*, November 28, 1890, p. 96.
- 7 See The Louis Comfort Tiffany Chronology, The Charles Hosmer Morse Museum of American Art, Winter Park, Florida, entries for "April 28, 1894," "September 4, 1894 to December 1, 1894," "January 10, 1895," "February 15, 1895 to March 9, 1895," and "March 25, 1895 to April 6, 1895," accessed May 29, 2015, www.morsemuseum.org/chronology/custom/filters/1893/1900/all/none/.
- 8 *American Hebrew*, October 19, 1894, p. 728.
- 9 *American Architect* 98, no. 1825 (December 14, 1910), p. 200M.
- 10 Tiffany Studios, "Bronze Works," album of photographs, ca. 1912 (MMA 1996.19), leaf 17. I am grateful to Moira Gallagher in The American Wing at the Metropolitan Museum for bringing this album to my attention.
- 11 I thank Warren Klein, curator, Herbert and Eileen Bernard Museum of Judaica at Temple Emanu-El, New York, for providing these Hebrew translations and discussing their liturgical significance with me. The translations of Psalm 24:9–10 and Proverbs 3:18 and 3:17 are from *The Union Prayer-Book for Jewish Worship* of 1895; the translation for Proverbs 4:2 is taken from the King James version of the Bible, the English translation of the Bible most frequently used in the early twentieth century. See note 27 and discussion below.
- 12 Deitsch 2012.
- 13 Kohn et al. 1929, p. 536. Moira Gallagher kindly brought this article to my attention.
- 14 *New York Times* 1927, p. N3.
- 15 Kohn et al. 1929, p. 495.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 *Metal Arts* 1929a, p. 290.
- 18 Ibid., p. 322.
- 19 *Metal Arts* 1929b, pl. LXV caption.
- 20 *Metal Arts* 1929a, p. 322.
- 21 For the seating capacity of the Euclid Avenue Temple, see the temple's undated sale brochure, "Euclid Avenue Temple," unpaginated; for the temple's cost, see *American Hebrew and Jewish Messenger* 1912; for the mosaic panel and bronze menorah, see Tiffany Studios, "Mosaic Estimate for the Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio," and the "Menorah Estimate for the Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio," both dated March 16, 1911, MS Collection 3941, Anshe Chesed Congregation Records, 1851–1983, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio (hereafter Anshe Chesed Congregation Records); for the menorahs' inscriptions, see Rabbi Louis Wolsey to Daniel Harrington, Tiffany Studios, New York, April 11, 1911, MS Collection 3941, Anshe Chesed Congregation Records.
- 22 For other windows in the former Euclid Avenue Temple, see www.clevelandjewishhistory.net.
- 23 Tiffany Studios 1912.
- 24 Rabbi Wolsey to Harrington, undated [April 1911], MS Collection 3941, Anshe Chesed Congregation Records.
- 25 Rabbi Wolsey to Tiffany Studios, New York, May 14, 1911, MS Collection 3941, Anshe Chesed Congregation Records.
- 26 Ibid. The three quotations that follow are from the same letter.
- 27 Sarna 2004, p. 81.
- 28 Conversation with Marina Ruiz Molina, associate conservator, Department of Paper Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, July 31, 2015.
- 29 Tiffany Studios 1912, unpaginated.
- 30 *Prophets, Psalmists, and Sages Windows and Patriarchs, Moses, and Kings Windows* share the same album sheet (MMA 67.654.107).
- 31 Rabbi Joseph Rauch to Rabbi Wolsey, April 26, 1912, MS Collection 3941, Anshe Chesed Congregation Records.

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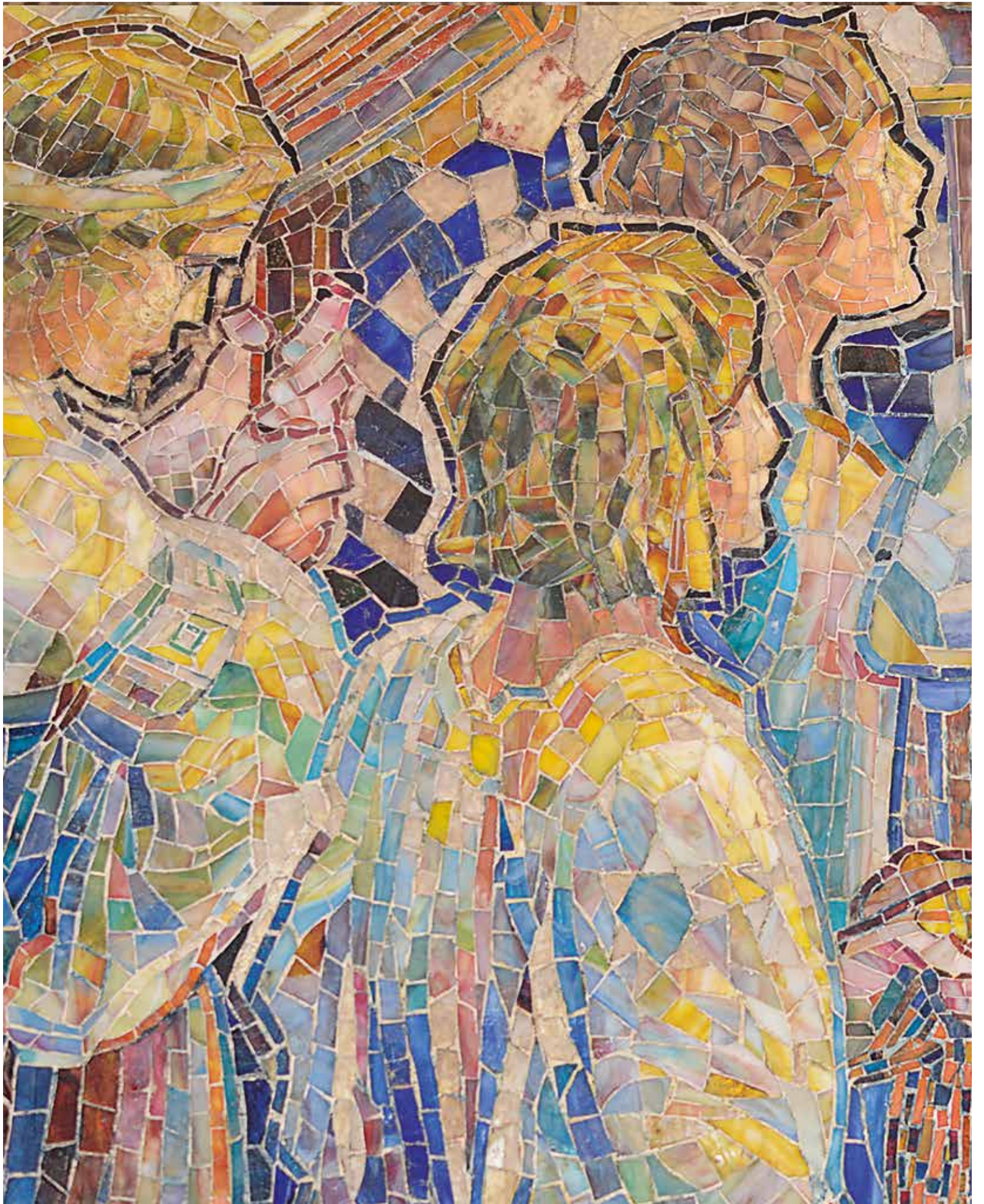
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**MARINA RUIZ MOLINA
CHRISTINE OLSON**

Drawing, Photography, and the Design of Tiffany Studios' *Te Deum Laudamus* Mosaic Triptych

In the late 1880s, Louis Comfort Tiffany began to incorporate glass mosaics into designs for homes, churches, and commercial buildings.¹ He stunned audiences at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago with a chapel interior decorated with mosaic columns, a glass-and-stone mosaic and lectern, and mosaic reredos of two peacocks beneath a radiant crown.² Tiffany's career coincided with a boom in American church building: by the early twentieth century commissions for church interiors, Favrite glass memorial windows, and altarpieces were pouring into Tiffany Studios' ecclesiastical department from across the United States.³ Although mosaics were less common than the firm's famed windows, they were among the Studios' most prestigious commissions, produced at great cost because of the labor required to select, shape, and place glass tesserae often numbering in the millions.⁴ Tiffany



fig. 1 Tiffany Studios. *Te Deum Laudamus* triptych, 1922.
Favrile-glass mosaic, each panel
18 ft. × 96 in. (548.6 × 243.8 cm).
Lake Merritt United Methodist
Church, Oakland, California

himself held mosaic in high regard, endorsing it in an 1896 promotional booklet for its brilliance, durability, and historical associations with Byzantium and Classical Antiquity.⁵

Thirty years after the 1893 Columbian Exposition, in July 1923, the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Los Angeles held dedication services for a monumental Tiffany mosaic triptych titled *Te Deum Laudamus*, which was later moved to its present location behind the altar of the Lake Merritt United Methodist Church in Oakland, California (fig. 1).⁶ Each panel measures eighteen feet high by eight feet across, and the triptych was advertised in the November 17, 1922, edition of the *New-York Tribune* as “the largest and most important ecclesiastical mosaic ever made of Tiffany Favrile glass.”⁷ The triptych was meant for the altar wall of the First Methodist Episcopal Church’s new building (fig. 2), which was designed in a Spanish Revival style by architect John C. Austin; at the time it was one of the most costly Methodist churches ever built.⁸ The mosaics were \$5,000 each; the left and right panels

were sponsored by church member Melvina A. Lott as memorials to her two former husbands, the center panel by Maud and Henry Mosier in memory of their son.⁹ Designed by one of Tiffany Studios’ most prolific ecclesiastical artists, Frederick Wilson (1858–1932), the mosaics portray the ancient Latin hymn of the same name, which translates as “We Praise Thee, O God”:

We praise thee, O God / we acknowledge thee to be
the Lord.
All the earth doth worship thee / the Father everlasting.
To thee all Angels cry aloud / the Heavens and all the
Powers therein.
To thee Cherubim and Seraphim / continually do cry,
...
The glorious company of the Apostles / praise thee.
The goodly fellowship of the Prophets / praise thee.
The noble army of Martyrs / praise thee.
The holy Church throughout all the world / doth
acknowledge thee...¹⁰

Frederick Wilson, described in one article as “a man imbued with the antique sense of the divine in art,” was known for his stirring depictions of religious figural compositions.¹¹ His designs, including the *Te Deum Laudamus*, characteristically reflect his extensive knowledge of Christianity. In a description of the Los Angeles triptych published in *International Studio*, each figure of the composition is individually identified, the allegorical significance of each object noted, and the symbolism of color explained, revealing the specificity and depth of Wilson’s engagement with religious stories and iconography.¹² As Diane Wright points out in her in-depth study of the artist, Wilson’s work also reflects numerous artistic influences that undoubtedly derived from his training at the South Kensington School and early career in London during the 1870s and 1880s; these included Gothic architecture, Old Master paintings and prints, and the works of the British Pre-Raphaelite painters.¹³ Wilson, who immigrated to the United States in 1892, was hired by Tiffany the following year and promoted to head of the ecclesiastical department at Tiffany Studios by the close of the century. By the 1910s, Wilson began working independently from a studio of his own at Briarcliff Manor, New York, and created designs not only for Tiffany but also for firms such as Gorham.¹⁴ In 1923, coinciding with the installation and dedication of the *Te Deum Laudamus*

at First Methodist Episcopal Church, Wilson and his family moved to Pasadena, California, where he continued designing stained glass for the Judson Studios until his death in 1932.

In the center panel of Wilson’s design for the *Te Deum Laudamus* mosaic, a ring of figures surrounds Christ, while heavenly beings—the angels, cherubim, and seraphim mentioned in the hymn—present offerings. Two angels at the center hold a radiant monstrance. Standing on a grassy ground dotted with wildflowers, their backs turned to the viewer, saints, prophets, and apostles look toward the divine presence and throw up their hands in praise. The left panel depicts a group of singing youths led by a robed and haloed man walking toward the holy gathering in the center panel. Swinging incense and holding lanterns, these worshippers represent the “holy Church throughout all the world.”¹⁵ This scene is walled off from the background of cypress trees piercing the cloud-filled night sky, and a tent tabernacle, the “dwelling place of god,” encloses the scene on the far left.¹⁶ The procession is mirrored in the right panel, where a haloed singer leads a “choir of the faithful” that represents the monastic orders. Here, the background is a lush Italianate landscape with a vine-covered pergola, flowering magnolias, and orange trees bearing fruit.¹⁷

Four objects related to this commission are in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art: a drawing, a photograph, and two hand-colored photographs, representing the left and center panels of the triptych (figs. 3, 5, 12, 13). While some of these objects are in poor condition, their deteriorated state has rendered valuable insights into the process of their creation.¹⁸ In fact, the imperfect condition, rather than being an obstacle, serves as a means for discovering the original purpose of each, and its relationship to Wilson’s overall triptych. The enigmatic nature of the objects inspired the present study: only by elucidating the material condition and historic context of each object can we interpret their meaning in relation to Tiffany Studios’ mosaic production.

This article investigates the role that each object played in the transformation of Wilson’s original design, first into drawings on paper, and then into the glimmering Favrite glass of the *Te Deum Laudamus* triptych. An examination of analogous designs and written accounts of the *Te Deum Laudamus* and Tiffany Studios’ mosaic workshop reveals that the *Te Deum Laudamus* commission followed practices characteristic of Wilson and Tiffany Studios alike, and allows the authors to establish a complete chronology of the *Te Deum Laudamus* commission, encompassing both Wilson’s artistic process

fig. 2 Photograph of the *Te Deum Laudamus* triptych installed in the First Methodist Episcopal Church, Los Angeles, California, undated



fig. 3 Frederick Wilson (American, 1858–1932). Design for left mosaic panel of *Te Deum Laudamus* triptych, ca. 1921. Watercolor and gouache on artist board, 16½ × 7¾ in. (42 × 19.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Walter Hoving and Julia T. Weld Gifts and Dodge Fund, 1967 (67.654.318)



fig. 4 Detail of ultraviolet-induced visible fluorescence image of fig. 3



and the multistage production of the triptych by the Studios' glassworkers. The elaborate process of designing and producing mosaics at Tiffany Studios has generally been well understood but, due to a dearth of documentary evidence, has rarely been traced for a single commission, a gap that this article aims to fill.

DRAWINGS, PHOTOGRAPHS, AND THE PRODUCTION OF TIFFANY MOSAICS

In this section, material and historical analyses of the four objects related to the *Te Deum Laudamus* commission illuminate the specific role of each object in the design and production process. The authors also address the nuanced relationship between the practical and aesthetic purposes of the drawings and photographs. Originally created in the service of design and production, these objects came to be understood as works of art worthy of presentation and display.

Design for the Left Mosaic Panel of the Te Deum Laudamus Triptych

The palette and lack of finish of the design for the left mosaic panel of the *Te Deum Laudamus* triptych (fig. 3) suggest that it was produced as an early-stage proposal for the composition. The scene is illustrated with a range of neutral dark and mid-tones, providing a strong sense of shadow and drama, especially in the architecture surrounding the figures and the treetops jutting up into the sky. To compose this drawing, Wilson first laid down warm brown umber watercolor layer to establish atmospheric intensity and warmth and to delineate the general composition of the shadowed areas. He then modeled the figures and architectural and landscape elements in shades of gray to create depth and substance. Finally, after outlining the individual forms with black watercolor, he applied white to convey the soft brilliance emanating from the lamps and to highlight the shoulders of the worshippers.¹⁹

fig. 5 Frederick Wilson.
Photograph of cartoon of left
mosaic panel of *Te Deum
Laudamus* triptych, ca. 1922–23.
Gelatin silver print, overall 13¾ ×
10⅞ in. (34.9 × 26.2 cm), design
9⅞ × 4⅝ in. (23.7 × 11.9 cm).
The Metropolitan Museum of
Art, Purchase, Walter Hoving
and Julia T. Weld Gifts and
Dodge Fund, 1967 (67.654.323)

An ultraviolet-induced visible fluorescence image of the drawing reveals Wilson’s strategic use of two different white pigments: zinc white and titanium white (fig. 4).²⁰ By the mid-nineteenth century zinc white had become commercially available and was favored by watercolorists and designers as the most effective and stable alternative to lead white, a pigment that had been in use since antiquity.²¹ Zinc white has a distinctive greenish appearance in ultraviolet-induced visible fluorescence imaging, which reveals that the pigment was used in admixtures in the gray and mid-tonal passages. Zinc white is a relatively transparent pigment and was used to lighten regions of the architecture and landscape, as well as in the figures and where their robes fall into shadow. By allowing the warm brown underlayers to remain visible, and by emphasizing the contrast of darks and lights, the artist created the atmospheric effects of a nocturnal scene illuminated by lantern light. Titanium white, on the other hand, does not fluoresce in ultraviolet imaging, and a comparison of the ultraviolet image with the normal light image reveals that titanium white was used for the areas of strongest highlighting. When titanium white, a brilliant and opaque pigment, was introduced to the artist’s palette in the 1920s, it gained a competitive edge over the other available white pigments. Its use in this drawing suggests a date that coincides with the *Te Deum Laudamus* commission.²²

Although it may seem contradictory in the context of colored glass design, Wilson used a monochrome palette almost exclusively for his early renderings, even those intended for richly colored glass.²³ A review of numerous sketches and presentation drawings confirms that he used grisaille to establish the tonal range required to strongly articulate the forms and volumes that would eventually be transposed into the mosaics.²⁴ The simplicity of this palette also seems to have facilitated communication with the client in the early phases of large-scale commissions. In fact, black-and-white versions of Wilson’s designs were appreciated by their recipients not only as anticipatory proof of the designs to be produced in glass but also as works of art in their own right. In a 1905 letter referring to a black-and-white “photographic picture” of a window at the First Presbyterian Church in Syracuse, New York, Pastor George Spalding wrote that such was the effect of the image that “[his] own family ha[s] sat around it like devotees around an idol . . . charmed and inspired.”²⁵ The devotional intensity of their reaction to even this small-scale, uncolored image—certainly a far cry from the monumental, multicolored, illuminated work



ultimately achieved—attests to the value of black-and-white renderings in the communication of designs.

Photograph of the Cartoon for the Left Mosaic Panel of the Te Deum Laudamus Triptych

The photograph (fig. 5) of the cartoon for the left mosaic panel of the *Te Deum Laudamus* triptych is a selenium-toned, black-and-white gelatin silver photograph print of the full-scale cartoon that was created by Wilson for the production of the left panel.²⁶ Although the composition is the same as that of the drawing discussed above, the cartoon that this photograph captures is strikingly different in its approach to the scene and marks a conceptual shift from drawing to mosaic. Whereas the drawing is suggestive and atmospheric, the photograph of the full-scale cartoon is detailed and precise. Each tessera is meticulously outlined, and the shading suggests the varied colors of glass that would be used in the mosaic panel.

fig. 6 Mosaicist at work. From Tiffany Glass & Decorating Company promotional booklet, 1896, facing p. 17



A 1901 profile published in the *New-York Tribune* describes Tiffany's workshop and explains how cartoons were made and subsequently used by the glassworkers:

The cartoon of the mosaic must be reproduced in every line, as in the glass window. The tracing is made on transparent linen from a full size cartoon, either in color or carefully shaded black and white. The color scheme of the mosaic is determined by a small color sketch from which the glass is also chosen. This tracing is transferred by impression paper to a mounted board, which is the size of the mosaic panel. . . . The working drawing shows every line which will afterward appear in the mosaic. . . . This drawing is then covered thinly with melted wax so that the lines underneath can be distinctly seen.²⁷

As illustrated by a photograph published in an 1896 promotional booklet by Tiffany Glass & Decorating Company, the mosaicist would use the cartoon along with a color study as guides to select and shape the glass for each tessera (fig. 6). These were then applied over the wax-covered cartoon in sections until the mosaic was completed. The cartoon was destroyed as it was removed from the finished mosaic. Accordingly, although a number of cartoons for Tiffany windows are extant, no known examples exist for mosaics.²⁸ Nevertheless, many photographs of monumental mosaic cartoons taken at the time of production have survived, including the photograph of the left panel cartoon of *Te Deum Laudamus* under discussion here.

That the photograph (fig. 5) is an image of the full-scale cartoon is confirmed by the *New-York Tribune's* description and by analogous examples of other Tiffany projects. Also in the Museum's collection, for instance, is a photograph of the mosaic reredos of the Chapel of Angels at Saint Michael's Church in New York pasted onto a grisaille drawing of the altar and its architectural surround (fig. 7). The mosaic was designed by Wilson and installed in 1922, making it an almost exact contemporary of the *Te Deum Laudamus* triptych.²⁹ The full-scale cartoon that was photographed for the Saint Michael's design consists of multiple pieces held together by tacks (fig. 8). The scale of these tacks in relation to the size of the tesserae is vital evidence of the fact that this is a photograph of a full-scale cartoon. The production of the mosaic in sections, which contemporary accounts indicate was common practice for Tiffany Studios' large mosaic commissions, was necessitated by the work's size. A photograph of another Tiffany project records the full-scale cartoon for a mosaic of a kneeling angel that is similar in proportion to the *Te Deum Laudamus* panels (fig. 9). Particular features in the photograph, including the inscription in the upper-left corner, the tacks, and the drips of paint, provide a clear indication of scale in relation to the individual tesserae.³⁰ Unlike the Saint Michael's reredos, this cartoon consists of a single piece of paper similar in size to that used for *Te Deum Laudamus*. A one-to-one comparison of the photograph of the *Te Deum Laudamus* cartoon with the actual mosaic panel (fig. 10) further demonstrates that the shape, orientation, and placement of the tesserae are identical, a precision that would have been possible only if the tesserae were cut to fit the corresponding shapes on the cartoon.

Because the cartoons have been documented with black-and-white photography, it is uncertain if the cartoons were made in color. Although the *New-York Tribune* article suggests that mosaic cartoons were sometimes colored, other references to Wilson's cartoons describe his preference for monochrome. In an undated newspaper clipping, one of Wilson's cartoons for a window is described as brown: "Though [the] design seems overcrowded with figures of angels, the color sketch indicates a harmony in the decorative scheme which must obviate the objection which one feels in merely looking at the brown cartoon."³¹ Another article, published on March 4, 1895, in the *New York Evening Post*, describes the Architectural League's "Tenth Annual Exhibition," at which Wilson exhibited cartoons for windows, and criticizes the use of grisaille to represent works that would be produced in colored glass:



fig. 7 Tiffany Studios. Design for mosaic reredos of the Chapel of Angels at Saint Michael's Church, New York, ca. 1919. Gelatin silver print mounted over watercolor, gouache, black ink, and graphite on artist board, overall 26 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 33 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (66.4 × 84.1 cm), design 19 × 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (48.3 × 73 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Walter Hoving and Julia T. Weld Gifts and Dodge Fund, 1967 (67.654.60)

fig. 8 Detail of fig. 7

With regard to the large cartoons for windows, every artist will have his own method of putting his designs before the eyes of his employer and into the hands of his workmen. . . . It is objectionable to show the public, as a full-size and highly finished representation of a colored window, a drawing worked up in black and white, to complete rounding and bold projection of forms and elaboration of drapery. No such complete system of light and shade, with the darks carried down to blackness, can be given in a window without complete destruction of its important quality, translucent color. To do our American glassworkers justice, they do not try to ruin their windows in this way; they keep a strong hold of the only true doctrine, that a decorative window is a translucent mosaic. Why, therefore, misrepresent the fine piece of color, with shade only slightly indicated, which they have in mind, by these cartoons which seem to have been executed under the influence of the Bolognese painters or of other deniers and rejecters of color? In one way such drawings may be useful to the artist in his capacity as one who has his work to sell, and therefore to show to committees and clergymen: those possible patrons are more apt to take an interest in a drawing of prophets or angels or children in the familiar black shading. . . . Let it be so if it must, but do not exhibit them; they fail to give a truthful idea, and they must often give false ideas of what a decorative window is and must be.³²

These contemporary accounts suggest the importance of context in shaping the reception of Wilson's uncolored designs. For clients like Reverend Spaulding, eagerly anticipating a magnificent new window for his church, the black-and-white photograph was sufficient to inspire admiration. For art critics viewing the designs as autonomous works of art, the monochrome cartoons were a disappointing shadow of the brilliant works in glass they would become. Moreover, both articles indicate that, as at the studio, Wilson's uncolored cartoons were exhibited together with smaller colored sketches so that the two together provided a sense of the completed work.

A highly finished watercolor produced for another mosaic commission contemporary with the *Te Deum Laudamus* points to the radical differences between these distinct but complementary types of drawings. This watercolor also confirms that Wilson continued to create small, highly refined presentation drawings into the 1920s and suggests that analogous drawings may have been created for the *Te Deum Laudamus* commission, although no known examples exist. A physical comparison of the watercolor (fig. 11) and cartoon (fig. 5) highlights their distinct purposes. In the watercolor the shimmer of Favrite glass is emphasized

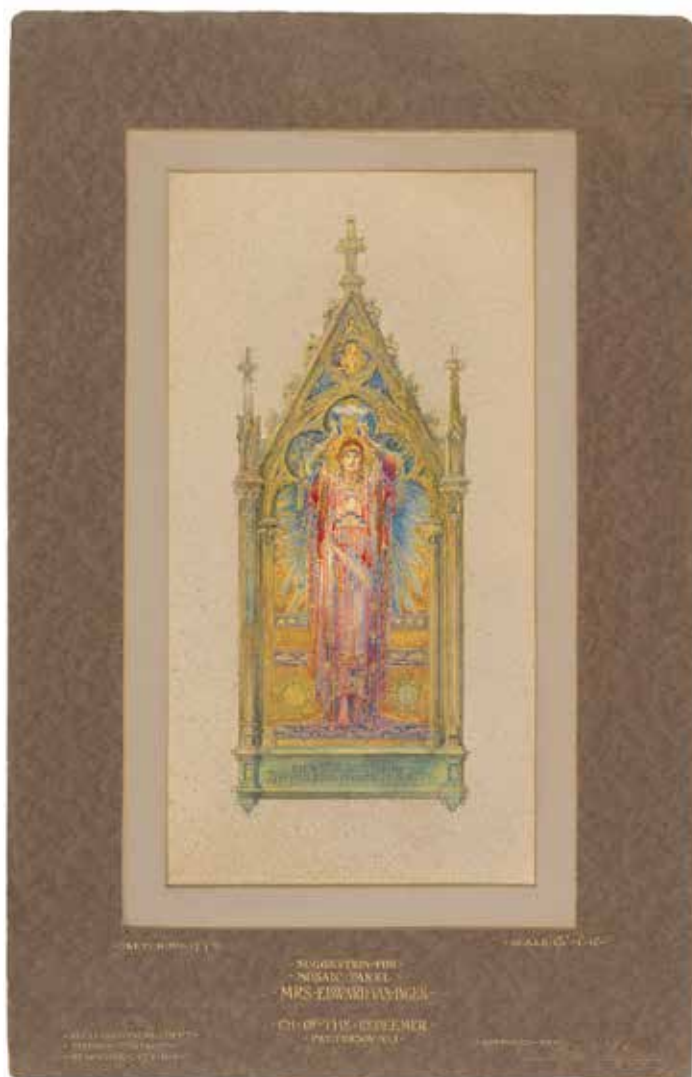


fig. 9 Frederick Wilson.
Photograph of design for mosaic
panel, undated. Photograph.
Frederick Wilson Scrapbook,
Jeffrey Rush Higgins Collection
on Frederick Wilson, Juliette K.
and Leonard S. Rakow Research
Library, The Corning Museum of
Glass, New York

fig. 10 Top: detail of fig. 5.
Bottom: detail of fig. 1, left panel

fig. 11 Frederick Wilson. Design for a mosaic panel, ca. 1921. Watercolor, gouache, graphite, and metallic paint on artist board, overall 22 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (57 × 36.5 cm), design 15 × 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (38 × 19.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Walter Hoving and Julia T. Weld Gifts and Dodge Fund, 1967 (67.654.18)

fig. 12 Frederick Wilson. Photograph of design for single mosaic panel of *Te Deum Laudamus* triptych, ca. 1922. Watercolor and metallic paint over gelatin silver print, overall 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (62.2 × 34.6 cm), design 20 × 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (50.8 × 24.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Walter Hoving and Julia T. Weld Gifts and Dodge Fund, 1967 (67.654.453)



through Wilson's sensitive gradations of color and with highlights of metallic pigments. Minute brushstrokes give the impression of individual tesserae but lack precision. The cartoon (fig. 5), fourteen times larger, was intended primarily for the practicalities of mosaic production. Exact in its delineation of each individual tessera, the cartoon did not require color to serve its purpose in the workshop.

Enlarged Photograph of the Cartoon for the Left Mosaic Panel of the Te Deum Laudamus Triptych

A gelatin silver print of the cartoon for the left mosaic panel of the *Te Deum Laudamus* triptych (fig. 12) is an enlargement of a photograph of the left panel cartoon discussed above. The support and the image are significantly degraded, with large areas affected by disfiguring mold pigmentation. Fading and loss of detail in the highlights are the result of exposure to extreme moisture and mold damage, and possibly to deficiencies in

the processing of the photograph print.³³ The Bishop's robe is hand-colored with a thin wash of gold and red watercolor, suggesting that this photograph may have been used as a color study to aid the mosaicist in the selection of glass and execution of Wilson's design.³⁴

The practice of painting over photographs in this manner is known from a letter written by Clara Driscoll in 1902, when she was head of the women's glass-cutting department. Describing her work on Wilson's mosaic of the Last Supper, Driscoll writes:

I have the center part of the panel (the figure of Christ) photographed to the three quarter size that I want to make the panel. It is that part of the present one that they seem to be dissatisfied with. They think that the artist who made the full sized color cartoon has lost the character of that face as it was in Mr. Wilson's original black and white sketch. In spite of not knowing how I am trying to make a new painting on this $\frac{3}{4}$ reproduction.³⁵

fig. 13 Frederick Wilson. Design for center mosaic panel of *Te Deum Laudamus* triptych, ca. 1921, after drawing of 1899. Watercolor, gouache, and iron gall ink on gelatin silver print, overall 21 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (53.7 × 33.7 cm), design 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (41.9 × 19.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Walter Hoving and Julia T. Weld Gifts and Dodge Fund, 1967 (67.654.202)



As she expresses concern for the mosaic's adherence to Wilson's original design, Driscoll mentions numerous types of drawings and reproductions that coincide with the drawings and photographs of the *Te Deum Laudamus* commission in the Metropolitan's collection: an original black-and-white sketch, a full-size cartoon, and a reduced-size photographic reproduction that was subsequently painted over by Driscoll. The cartoon she mentions, unlike the photographed *Te Deum Laudamus* cartoon (fig. 12), was made in color by a designer other than Wilson, but this passage confirms the use of multiple types of drawings and photographs during the course of mosaic design and production at Tiffany Studios.

The poor condition of the Metropolitan's photograph (fig. 12) may result from deficiencies in the developing process. Analysis suggests that this photograph was not toned, a process that would have enhanced its aesthetic qualities and permanence.³⁶ Developing, fixing, and washing a print properly was a time-consuming practice that required careful attention. If a photograph was not required to retain high-detail definition for a long time, prints produced as working copies may have been processed quickly, and would thus irreversibly fade and develop stains upon aging.

Design for the Center Mosaic Panel of the Te Deum Laudamus Triptych

The only identified design for the *Te Deum Laudamus* triptych's center panel embodies yet a different use of photography (fig. 13). It is a badly deteriorated, hand-colored, gelatin silver print of an earlier drawing.³⁷ Significantly, Wilson produced that drawing decades before the commission for the *Te Deum Laudamus* triptych. His dated initials, "FW 99" (1899), are contained within the photographic image in the lower right corner.³⁸ It is not possible to determine when the 1899 drawing was photographed, when the print was produced, or when the print was hand-colored. However, some of the processes may have occurred about 1899, soon after the initial drawing was completed, or possibly later, closer in time to the Los Angeles *Te Deum Laudamus* commission of the early 1920s.

The monochrome palette of the watercolor and gouache applied over the photograph gives some indication of the shimmering tonal effects that would ultimately be produced in Favrile glass. Dark brown outlines add definition to the figures, while gray-and-white shading provides depth and contour to the folds of their garments and the cobblestone pavement below. White is used to heighten the effects of radiant light, the glow of the lanterns held by the human figures below, and the halos of the heavenly beings above. Most of the smaller details of the composition, such as the hair and facial features of the figures, are conveyed through the photographic image, which was left partially visible, while brushstrokes of white-and-gray gouache were applied loosely during the hand-coloring to produce effects of depth and illumination on the forms.

The hand-colored photograph is in very poor condition because of damage caused by mold that occurred before it entered the collection. Although it has been stabilized and decontaminated, irreversible staining and image loss have altered the figure of Christ and the surrounding angels. In assessing the image, it is

essential to consider how material degradation has affected its appearance. The hand-colored white highlights, the photographic image, and the paper support are degraded and transformed, resulting in a loss of detail, a reduction in tonal contrast, and an overall darkening of the image. The white pigment present in the gray admixtures and highlights—identified as lithopone—has been shown to darken under the influence of light due to the chemical process of reduction.³⁹ The slate color displayed by the whites and grays seems to be the result of the reduction process, one that transformed the drawing, once rich in contrast and reflections of light, into a bleak, overcast array of mid-tones.

The photographic details have yellowed and lost intensity. Photographs are silver images and may fade and shift to yellow or brown tones when processed poorly, stored improperly, or exposed to pollutants in poor environmental conditions. The darkening of the photographic gelatin emulsion and the paper substrate adds to the considerable loss of contrast. This darkening is apparent in the many passages of reserved areas, where the paper was meant to provide a white ground.

Together, this is sufficient evidence to conclude that the design for the central panel was originally much richer in values, with high contrasts of light and dark, and a wider modulation of mid-tones. It was most likely very similar in appearance to the drawing for the left panel (fig. 3): the size and scale of these two works are virtually identical, as are their original mats.⁴⁰ The two objects were probably made as companions—part of a triptych that included an analogous, sketchy design for the right panel that is now lost.

FREDERICK WILSON AND THE ICONOGRAPHY OF *TE DEUM LAUDAMUS*

As Diane Wright has pointed out, the Los Angeles triptych was not the first work in which Wilson represented the hymn *Te Deum Laudamus*.⁴¹ Evidence from two other drawings in the Metropolitan's collection as well as an existing *Te Deum Laudamus* window from 1896 at Christ Church in Rochester, New York, which was dedicated in 1896, demonstrates not only that Wilson had treated the subject before but also, remarkably, that all parts of the Los Angeles triptych had been designed at least twenty years prior to the time it was commissioned. Although it is difficult to determine the precise order in which the various elements were designed, Wilson clearly drew on his earlier work to create the mosaic for the First Methodist Episcopal Church.

The dated signature, "FW 99," in the photographic image of the center panel design (fig. 13) suggests

that the design was recycled from an earlier version. However, even the 1899 work is not the earliest incarnation of the panel's composition. The Rochester window is divided into five lights surmounted by quatrefoils and nested roundels, together forming a single scene in which dozens of holy figures gather in a swirl of color and light around Christ enthroned at the apex. Like the mosaics in the First Methodist Episcopal Church in Los Angeles, the figures represent the angels, prophets, saints, martyrs, and apostles referred to in the hymn's lyrics. Heightening the similarities is the window's figure of Christ, almost identical in facial features, pose, dress, and accoutrements. The Rochester window suggests that the Metropolitan's hand-colored photograph of the 1899 drawing could have been conceived as a single and autonomous design, without the side panels depicting the processions of singing figures that are part of the Los Angeles commission.

A drawing in the Metropolitan's collection, the design for two windows, *Te Deum Laudamus*, dated 1900 (fig. 14), confirms that the figure groupings in the mosaics' side panels were designed in advance of the Los Angeles commission, supporting the notion that the center panel was originally designed as an independent composition. The 1900 drawing, in Wilson's characteristic monochrome palette, depicts a window in two panels, each of which represents a group of singing youths led in procession by a haloed man. These groupings, from their overall composition to their individual figures, and including even minute details such as the smoke curling up from swinging censers, are virtually identical to those in the side panels of the *Te Deum Laudamus* mosaics.

There are nevertheless significant differences in the appearance of the Metropolitan drawings (figs. 3, 14). Most notable is the reversal of the right-side figure grouping: the figures in the 1900 drawing (fig. 14) walk toward the right, while the figures in the Los Angeles mosaic panels (fig. 1) walk toward the left, in procession toward the holy figures in the center. The mat for the 1900 design offers additional insights into the reversal of these right-side figures. The 1900 drawing is housed in an inscribed mat that reads "the Holy *Te Deum Laudamus*" and describes the scene as the "procession of saints Ambrose and Augustine to [the] Baptistery at Milan where Ambrose baptized Augustine." The baptism of Saint Augustine is traditionally held to have been the occasion for which the *Te Deum Laudamus* was composed; thus, in this drawing the procession of singing figures, rather than allegorizing the church and monastic orders, represents the hagiographical origins of the hymn itself, its first recitation.



fig. 14 Frederick Wilson. Design for two windows, *Te Deum Laudamus*, 1900. Watercolor, gouache, and graphite on paper attached to board, overall 11¼ × 12½ in. (28.6 × 30.8 cm), design 6¼ × 3½ in. (15.9 × 9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Walter Hoving and Julia T. Weld Gifts and Dodge Fund, 1967 (67.654.456)

This last point raises important questions about Wilson's conception of the later *Te Deum Laudamus* as a mosaic triptych, especially when considered in relation to the Rochester window and the 1899 date embedded within the Metropolitan's design for the central panel (fig. 13). The 1900 drawing and the 1896 Rochester window appear to have been conceived as autonomous designs that represent the *Te Deum Laudamus* quite differently from one another: one pictures the exultation described in the hymn, the other its scene of origin. The mosaic triptych's reversal of the 1900 drawing's right-side figure grouping coincides with the reattribution of the side processions; accordingly, these figures no longer represent the baptismal procession of Saint Augustine but instead serve as allegorical worshippers joining a holy gathering around Christ.

The significant similarities found in the Los Angeles *Te Deum Laudamus* design and its two much earlier predecessors show that the 1921–23 commission was made as a composite of earlier ideas regarding the hymn's iconography. This is in keeping with the well-documented phenomenon of design recycling at Tiffany Studios and in Wilson's work in particular.⁴² However, technical comparisons between the 1900 drawing and the designs for the 1921–23 triptych

go beyond iconographic analysis to suggest how, physically, the recycling of designs may have been carried out for the *Te Deum Laudamus* triptych. The 1900 design for two windows (fig. 14) displays the remarkable sensitivity to bodily expression and gesture for which Wilson is known. By comparison, the drawing for the left panel of the Los Angeles *Te Deum Laudamus* (fig. 3) seems rather stiff, with firm, black outlines adding to this effect. In addition, where profuse graphite sketching visibly underlies transparent watercolor washes in the former—a practice that was part of the artist's creative process when developing original compositions—no underdrawing is detected in the latter through either visual examination by the naked eye or microscopy. The examination of both drawings with infrared reflectography provides confirmation: the 1900 design for two windows exhibits extensive underdrawing but the design for the Los Angeles *Te Deum Laudamus* left panel seems to have none (fig. 15).⁴³ Lack of underdrawing is highly unusual for Wilson and supports the hypothesis that the *Te Deum Laudamus* design for the left panel (fig. 3) was produced in the early 1920s not as an original sketch but as a copy of an earlier work, perhaps even by someone other than Wilson.

Gaps in archival evidence preclude a definitive conclusion regarding the order in which the two earlier *Te Deum Laudamus* compositions were combined. It seems likely that Wilson added his 1900 two-panel window design and his 1899 drawing into the Los Angeles commission, producing a new *Te Deum Laudamus* in triptych form. Although design recycling is well documented among Tiffany ecclesiastical commissions, the drawings at the Metropolitan reveal the ways in which it was carried out in the context of a single commission, demonstrating the considerable length of time between the earlier and later adaptations and the importance of photographic reproduction in the preservation of old designs for future use.⁴⁴

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE *TE DEUM LAUDAMUS* COMMISSION

Based on the combined technical, art historical, and documentary evidence, it is possible to securely place each of the Metropolitan's drawings and photographs within a timeline running from Wilson's initial conception of the *Te Deum Laudamus* composition in the 1890s through the production of the mosaic triptych and its installation in the First Methodist Episcopal Church in Los Angeles in 1923. Photographs of the *Te Deum Laudamus* drawings published in newspapers



fig. 15 Top: Infrared reflectogram detail of fig. 3. Bottom: infrared reflectogram detail of fig. 14

and Tiffany Studios' promotional materials in 1921–22 confirm that the cartoons were made by 1922 and illustrate yet another role played by drawings and photographs: that of circulating Tiffany Studios' designs for monumental ecclesiastical works, whether to communicate with clients or to publicize the firm's singular and site specific memorials.

In a photograph of the triptych design that was published in the December 11, 1921, edition of the *Los Angeles Times*, under the heading "Superb Work of Art to Add Beauty and Distinction to New House of Worship,"⁴⁵ the left and center panels exactly match the grisaille designs in the Metropolitan's collection, confirming that these works were produced some two years prior to the completion and installation of the mosaics at the First

Methodist Episcopal Church in Los Angeles (fig. 16). This publication thus offers conclusive evidence that the Metropolitan's matching works represent the *Te Deum Laudamus* triptych design at a preliminary stage and that this early version was sent to Los Angeles in 1921. The *Los Angeles Times* photograph is also the only known documentation of the right-hand panel as it was articulated at this early stage and shows that the analogous designs in the Metropolitan's collection were created as part of a set of three drawings representing the full triptych. It is likely that the sketches were showcased in the *Los Angeles Times* in conjunction with their presentation to the clients at the First Methodist Episcopal Church.

A large number of the Metropolitan's designs from Tiffany Studios' ecclesiastical department were produced to provide patrons with the opportunity to either approve the concept for production or request changes.⁴⁶ Although the *Te Deum Laudamus* drawings stand out among analogous presentation drawings for their lack of color, grisaille presentations are not unusual among commissions carried out by Wilson. The mat of the center panel design in the Metropolitan's collection (fig. 13) further supports this conclusion, since it notes the name of the church's architect, J. C. Austin, and is approved with Louis C. Tiffany's signature.

Tiffany Studios also published photographic reproductions of the *Te Deum Laudamus* in 1922, promoting the mosaics in the press as well as in brochures they distributed themselves (fig. 17). The images circulating in these contexts were of the cartoons for the Los Angeles *Te Deum Laudamus* and depict the same drawing of the left panel represented in the Metropolitan's photographs (figs. 5, 12). A series of press releases that includes an image of at least one panel of the triptych was published in New York newspapers in late 1922, while the mosaics were exhibited at Tiffany Studios prior to their shipment to California.⁴⁷ A reproduction of all three mosaics also illustrates a descriptive review titled "This *Te Deum* Is Sung in Glass," in the January 1923 issue of *International Studio*.⁴⁸ Tiffany Studios included these images in their own promotional materials as well. A trifold pamphlet dedicated to the *Te Deum Laudamus* mosaics may have been distributed in conjunction with the works' display at Tiffany Studios.⁴⁹ It is also possible that this pamphlet is the "six-page brochure" that was sent to the First Methodist Episcopal Church "with the personal compliments of Mr. Louis C. Tiffany" as a souvenir of the mosaics' dedication ceremony on July 8, 1923.⁵⁰

In 1922 Tiffany Studios reissued a promotional booklet, titled *Memorials in Glass and Stone*, which was

first published in 1913. The 1922 version updates the earlier one by including more recent commissions and was issued as a means of showcasing the capabilities of Tiffany Studios in the production of large-scale memorial commissions, especially windows, altar decorations, mosaics, and mausoleums.⁵¹ The caption opposite the “Working Drawings” of *Te Deum Laudamus* describes the triptych as “a group of three mosaics now being constructed in the First Methodist Episcopal Church, Los Angeles, California.” These published images of the cartoon suggest the value of design drawings for photomechanical reproduction, and especially of cartoons in the case of mosaics. Because of the glimmering iridescence and subtle modulations of color that characterize Tiffany’s Favrile mosaics, the works themselves would have been extremely difficult to photograph clearly in black and white. On the other hand, the crisply rendered outlines of the cartoon made it a suitable subject for photomechanical reproduction, clearly illustrating both the scene itself and its articulation as mosaic. These published images constitute the only known records of the finished cartoons of the center and right panels.

Together, the 1921–22 publications contribute vital information to our understanding of the Metropolitan’s drawings and photographs while also demonstrating the manner in which drawings and photographs of drawings circulated among Tiffany’s clients and the public at large. They serve as crucial evidence for

the existence and appearance of drawings and photographs that would have completed the sets of monochrome designs and cartoon photographs that are only partially represented in the Metropolitan’s collection. At the same time, they help establish a chronology for the production process insofar as they provide evidence for dating these two distinct versions of the *Te Deum Laudamus* design, allowing for a clear understanding of the evolution of the mosaics from paper to glass. The Metropolitan’s grisaille renditions of the left and center panels represent an initial version in which the overall composition, figures, and backgrounds are in place and presumably approved by the client. In the year following the publication of these works in the *Los Angeles Times*, minor modifications were made and the design was transferred to a full-scale cartoon used in production.

One factor that complicates this chronology is the presence of grid lines on three of the Metropolitan’s four works: the design of the left panel cartoon, the smaller photograph of the left panel cartoon, and the design for the center panel (figs. 3, 5, 13). Grid lines are conventionally used to transfer drawings to larger scales, as in the production of full-scale cartoons from drawings; they can thus indicate the order in which drawings and photographs were used within the studio production process. Indeed, the two grisaille designs contain grid lines that are similarly spaced and drawn in graphite.⁵² These lines do not appear in the images of the designs published in the *Los Angeles Times* in 1921, indicating that they were added after this date, when the drawings were ostensibly approved and returned to Tiffany Studios for production.

The grid lines on the smaller of the two left-panel cartoon photographs (fig. 5) are somewhat more difficult to interpret for two reasons: because they are part of the photographic image but not present in the corresponding published versions, and because once a design has been enlarged to a cartoon there is little need for scaling marks. Their spacing also does not match that of the lines on the other designs. In fact, these grid lines seem to have been applied over a photographic print of the published photograph, which was in turn reproduced to create the Metropolitan’s photograph. (In other words, the Metropolitan’s version is a photograph of a photograph of the original cartoon.) The grid lines remain enigmatic, but it is possible to conclude that they were not related to the scaling involved in producing the cartoon and that the Metropolitan’s photograph was created somewhat after the publication of the cartoons in late 1922.



fig. 16 *Los Angeles Sunday Times*, December 11, 1921, p. 4



fig. 17 Tiffany Studios. *Memorials in Glass and Stone*. From Tiffany Studios promotional booklet, 1922. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1962 (62.508.6)

Drawing on all the available evidence, the authors have outlined a complete chronology for the *Te Deum Laudamus* commission, from Wilson's original artistic processes to the production of the mosaics (see Appendix). The earliest instantiation of the design represented in the four works under review is the drawing from 1899 that was subsequently photographed and hand-colored to produce the design for the triptych's central panel. Grisaille designs for all three panels were produced, constituting an initial design approved by Tiffany and sent to the client in Los Angeles for review no later than December 1921. It was at this time that photographs of the drawings were produced for publication in the *Los Angeles Times*. The monochrome palette, painterly execution, and suggestive handling of detail effectively captured Wilson's interpretation of the hymn—its iconography, composition, and mood—which satisfied the main purpose for which the drawings were produced: to communicate the design to the clients. He later scaled the designs up with the use of grid lines in

order to produce three full-size cartoons, one for each panel of the triptych. The cartoons reflect Wilson's modifications: he changed many of the figures in the central panel, refined the architectural background of the left panel, and transformed the cobblestone pavement to grass interspersed with wildflowers. The cartoons were subsequently photographed, and the images circulated in the media as well as in Tiffany Studios' promotional materials. The photographs were also printed within the studio to serve as color studies while the mosaicists selected, cut, and precisely applied the thousands of colored glass tesserae that make up the triptych.

In addition to the cartoon and its photographic reproductions, color sketches of the design would likely also have been supplied to the mosaicists, but their existence and whereabouts are unknown. Upon their completion, the mosaics were exhibited at Tiffany Studios in November 1922 and finally sent to Los Angeles, where they were installed above the altar of the newly constructed church building.

CONCLUSION

Utilizing both technical analysis and art historical research, this study has established the chronological evolution of the *Te Deum Laudamus* triptych through the many stages of its production. The authors' evaluation of the complex history, varied uses, and degraded material condition of the related photographs and drawings entailed fruitful dialogue between the historical and conservatorial perspectives that furthered our understanding of these objects.

The *Te Deum Laudamus* commission constitutes a valuable case study, demonstrating the myriad roles that drawing and photography played in the creation of Tiffany Studios' monumental mosaics. Designs on paper were a product of the designers' individual artistic process; they offered a means by which designs could be effectively communicated between artists, clients, and workers; they were employed within Tiffany's mosaic workshop in the service of executing the artists' designs; and, finally, they were used to publicize Tiffany's works through the circulation of photomechanical reproductions in media and promotional materials.

Ultimately, the drawings and photographs produced for these purposes remain enigmatic, and further research is needed to unravel their complexities. Their hybrid nature often resists clear classification of their medium and function. In spite of these interpretive and methodological challenges, this study demonstrates the enormous research potential of drawings and photographs from Tiffany Studios in deepening our understanding of the firm's practices.

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APPENDIX


Te Deum Laudamus Triptych Summary Chronology


1899 —————  ORIGINAL DESIGNS MADE AND REPURPOSED
Design for center panel made and photographed (fig. 13)


1900 —————  Original designs for right and left panels made (fig. 14)


1921 —————  Monochrome designs finished and sent to Los Angeles for client's approval (figs. 3, 13)


—————  Designs published in the *Los Angeles Sunday Times* on December 11 (fig. 16)

—————  DESIGNS FINALIZED AND MOSAICS CREATED
Cartoons created, photographed, and published (fig. 17)

1922 —————  Cartoon photographs enlarged for color sketches (fig. 12)

—————  Gelatin silver prints made of cartoon photographs (fig. 5)

—————  Mosaics completed in New York and exhibited at Tiffany Studios from November 15 through December 2 (fig. 1)

1923 —————  MOSAICS INSTALLED
Mosaics transported to Los Angeles and installed in the First Methodist Episcopal Church (fig. 2)

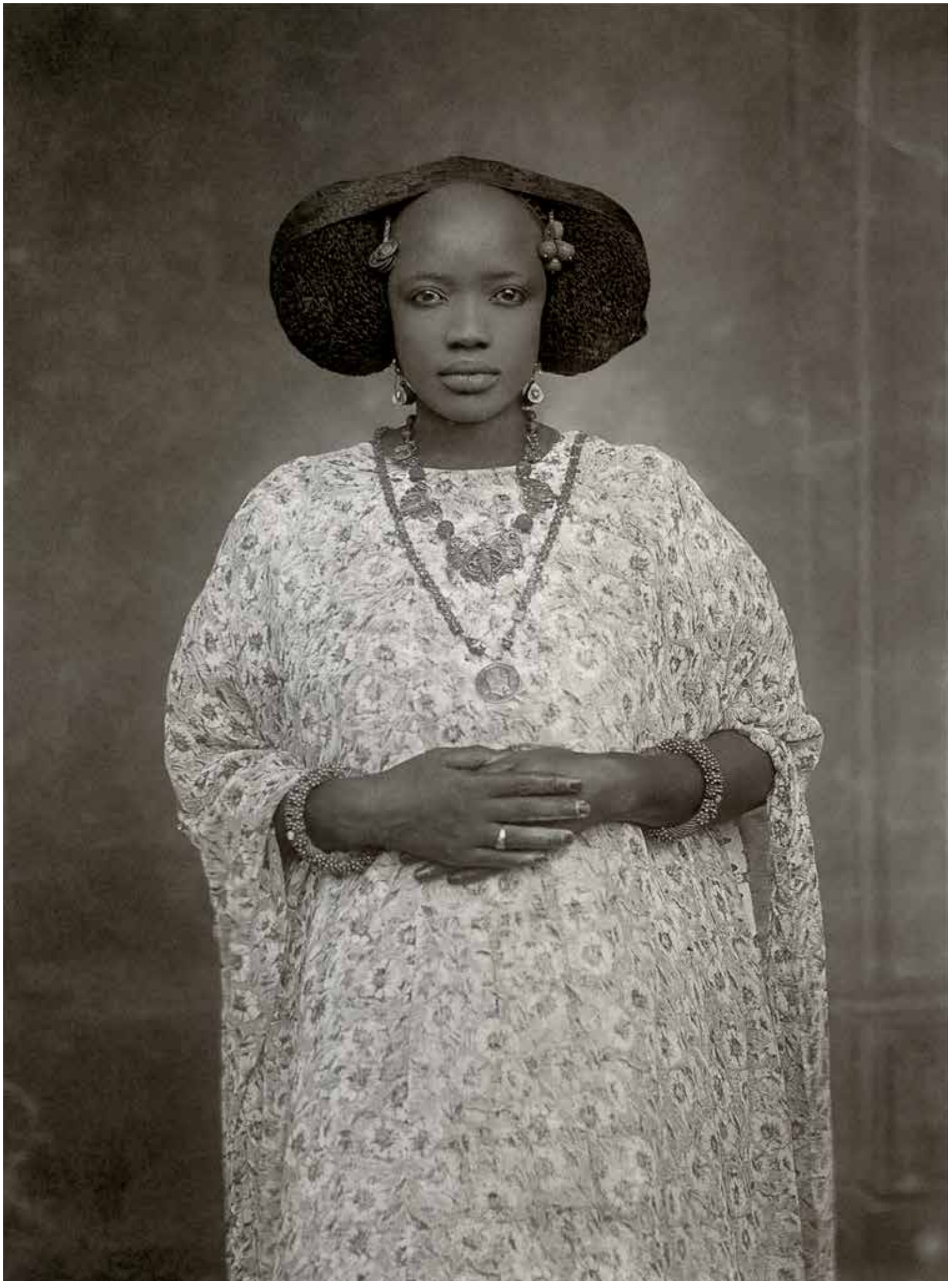
NOTES

- 1 On Tiffany's early mosaic work, see Frelinghuysen 2002, pp. 43–48.
- 2 The Tiffany Chapel, as it is now known, is owned by and on display at the Charles Hosmer Morse Museum of American Art in Winter Park, Florida. See Frelinghuysen et al. 2002.
- 3 For an overview of Tiffany's work in the mosaic medium, see Frelinghuysen 2002 and Crouch 2009. See also Frelinghuysen 1998.
- 4 For a discussion of the making of Tiffany mosaics, see Gray, Hofer, and Eidelberg 2007.
- 5 Tiffany Glass & Decorating Company 1896.
- 6 The triptych was relocated upon the demolition of the First Methodist Episcopal Church building in Los Angeles in the 1980s.
- 7 Advertisement, *New-York Tribune*, November 17, 1922, p. 6.
- 8 First Methodist Episcopal Church 1923, p. 24; *Los Angeles Times* 1923.
- 9 Advertisement, *New-York Tribune*, November 17, 1922, p. 6.
- 10 "Te Deum Laudamus," in *Methodist Hymnal* 1905, p. 513.
- 11 Smith 1909, p. XCVIII.
- 12 Quélin 1923.
- 13 Wright 2012, p. 144.
- 14 Wright 2009.
- 15 Quélin 1923, p. 361.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 See "The Louis Comfort Tiffany Archives in the Metropolitan Museum: An Introduction," by Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen in the present volume.
- 19 Pigment identification of the drawing was performed by research scientist Silvia A. Centeno and A. W. Mellon Fellow María Lorena Roldán by Raman spectroscopy and X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy. These techniques revealed the presence of a carbon-based black pigment, an iron ochre mainly containing hematite, zinc oxide, and the anatase form of titanium oxide mixed with barium sulphate.
- 20 In ultraviolet-induced visible fluorescence imaging, an object is photographed while exposed to ultraviolet radiation (200–400 nm). The resulting image indicates the presence and distribution of certain pigments and materials on the surface because of their differential absorption and reemission of ultraviolet radiation—a phenomenon known as fluorescence.
- 21 Harley 1982, pp. 176–80.
- 22 Although it wasn't until the 1930s that it became broadly accepted, accounts exist of the introduction of early composite titanium dioxide pigments since 1918–19. The paint industry remained skeptical into the 1920s of the claims made for titanium whites, and the public in general was unaware of the new pigment. Nevertheless, in 1920, F. Weber and Company, in Philadelphia, introduced a composite called Permalba, which consisted of the anatase form of titanium oxide and barium sulphate. The composition of the white used in the Tiffany drawing, a combination of the anatase form of titanium oxide and barium sulphate, may well indicate an early composite titanium white paint. See FitzHugh 1997, pp. 296–302.
- 23 Within the Jeffrey Rush Higgins Collection on Frederick Wilson, 1885–1990, at the Juliette K. and Leonard S. Rakow Research Library at the Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York (hereafter Rakow Research Library), one of Wilson's scrapbooks contains many drawings done without color. These drawings illustrate the ways in which the artist translated coloristic

- effects into a monochrome palette. In one example, Wilson's minimalistic approach to color is distilled clearly. It is a quick sketch of the black, white, and salmon tiled floor of Santa Anastasia Church, possibly made on site in Verona, Italy. Here, the pattern is rendered entirely in graphite, with contrasting values for the black and white, and cross-hatching for the pinkish-orange hue. Nearby, as if to remind himself of the specific color that he saw, he wrote the word "salmon."
- 24 The Metropolitan's collection contains many examples of Tiffany designs rendered in grisaille, practically all of them attributed to Frederick Wilson. These include a design for a window (67.654.23), a design for a mosaic tablet behind an altar (67.654.60), the *Prayer of the Good Shepherd* (67.654.66), a design for three windows (67.654.204), the *River of Life* landscape window design (67.654.228), three designs for three different windows (67.654.236; 67.654.438; and 67.654.451), a design for two windows, *Te Deum Laudamus* (67.654.456), and a design for a three-lancet window (67.654.458; fig. 14). In addition, the authors were able to assess at least sixteen grisaille drawings by Wilson in the Rakow Research Library and two examples in the Judson Studios Archives, Pasadena, California.
- 25 George Spalding to Frederick Wilson, November 28, 1905, Jeffrey Rush Higgins Collection on Frederick Wilson, Rakow Research Library.
- 26 The photographic technique was identified by Marina Ruiz Molina and photograph conservator Janka Krizanova by visual examination and X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy.
- 27 *New-York Tribune* 1901, p. 9.
- 28 As the *Tribune* mentions (ibid.), in some cases copies of mosaic cartoons were made in cloth. It remains uncertain what purpose these copies may have served, but the cloth medium implies that they were meant to be stored. It is possible that this step offered a means of preserving the design at the cartoon stage knowing that the cartoon itself was destined for destruction. The authors have been unable to locate such an object for study.
- 29 In an extreme example, the mosaic curtain for the Palacio de Bellas Artes in Mexico City was made at Tiffany Studios in two hundred panels measuring three feet square, which were shipped to Mexico City and assembled as they were installed. Tiffany Studios [1911], p. [7]. *Garden Landscape*, a mosaic fountain in the Metropolitan Museum (ca. 1905–15; 1976.105) was clearly produced in this manner.
- 30 The inscription "North Reformed Church / Newark NJ" helps confirm that this cartoon was used to produce a mosaic panel for the chancel of the mentioned church, which still exists.
- 31 Frederick Wilson Scrapbook, Jeffrey Rush Higgins Collection on Frederick Wilson, Rakow Research Library.
- 32 *New York Evening Post* 1895, p. 7.
- 33 The photographic technique and process of degradation were identified by Ruiz Molina and Krizanova by visual examination and X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy.
- 34 Gold and possibly vermilion pigments (mercury and sulfur) were identified by Ruiz Molina by X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy.
- 35 Clara Driscoll, letter, May 27, 1902, Pierce/Wolcott Family Correspondence, boxes 26 and 27, Kelso House Collection, Department of Special Collections and Archives, Kent State University, Ohio, quoted in Gray, Hofer, and Eidelberg 2007, p. 100.
- 36 By comparison, the selenium toning of the smaller photograph of the left panel cartoon (fig. 5) suggests that this print was intended for display, publication, or archival purposes.
- 37 The silver-based photographic technique was identified by Ruiz Molina and Krizanova by visual examination and X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy.
- 38 Employing photographic techniques to reuse imagery was common practice among Tiffany Studios' designers, including Frederick Wilson. For a description, see Frelinghuysen 2009, p. 87.
- 39 Pigments, including carbon-based black, barium sulfate, zinc sulfide, and zinc oxide, were characterized by conservation scientists Silvia A. Centeno and María Lorena Roldán by Raman spectroscopy. The plausible presence of a baryta layer (barium sulfate) on the photographic paper renders it difficult to conclude that the zinc-based white is not zinc oxide but lithopone, a pigment produced through the co-precipitation and calcination of zinc sulfide and barium sulfate. The transformation of white into gray, a degradation process typically undergone by lithopone when exposed to light, nonetheless supports this hypothesis. See Capua 2014.
- 40 Both drawings retain deteriorated fragments of their original mats, a board lined with pale brown paper.
- 41 Wright 2012, pp. 154 (Syracuse), 158 (Rochester), 161 (Los Angeles).
- 42 See Frelinghuysen 2009, p. 80.
- 43 Infrared reflectography (IRR) is a means of producing images of objects exposed to infrared radiation (1000–2500 nm). Carbon-based materials such as graphite reflect radiation in the infrared region, unlike most common pigments and other materials found on the surface. Therefore, this technique is often used for visualizing underdrawing.
- 44 Another design drawing in the Metropolitan Museum for a 1914 *Te Deum Laudamus* window (67.654.200) exhibits a composition and figure of Christ very similar to the *Te Deum Laudamus* triptych's center panel. Notably, it is also a watercolor—this time in full color—over a black-and-white photographic print.
- 45 *Los Angeles Times* 1921, p. 4.
- 46 The Metropolitan's collection includes examples in which the mat bears a stamp requesting that the drawing be returned to Tiffany Studios. Letters between Frederick Wilson and his clients also document exchanges of this nature.
- 47 *New York Evening Post*, November 18, 1922, clipping in Tiffany Studios Scrapbook, 1913–34, p. 70. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D'Agostino, 2002 (2002.608.10).
- 48 Quélin 1923, p. 360; advertisement, *New-York Tribune*, November 17, 1922, p. 6.
- 49 *The Te Deum Laudamus*, Tiffany Studios, 1922, Jeffrey Rush Higgins Collection on Frederick Wilson, Rakow Research Library.
- 50 First Methodist Episcopal Church 1923, p. 17.
- 51 The 1922 edition of *Memorials in Glass and Stone* includes photographs of numerous other drawings now in the Metropolitan's collection and features an image of the fountain base for a mosaic wall mural (ca. 1905–15) on view in the American Wing (1978.584). Copies of Tiffany Studios' 1913 and 1922 booklets are held in the Digital Collection of Tiffany Publications and Ephemeral Materials at the Thomas J. Watson Library, MMA; available online at <http://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/search/collection/p16028coll5>.
- 52 Since the drawings are made in a 1':1" scale, each square of the grid relates to an area in the cartoon of approximately 2 square feet.

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Photographic Portraiture in West Africa: Notes from “In and Out of the Studio”

In a striking portrait of an elegant Senegalese woman dating from the 1910s, the sitter’s self-assured presence fully engages the viewer (fig. 1). She looks into the camera, decidedly aware of the image that is being created of her likeness. For her portrait, she wore a long *boubou* and an array of jewelry: a silver ring, filigree-work bracelets, two necklaces, earrings, and golden pendants decorating her coiffure set in a style called *Nguuka*.¹ Carefully staged, this image was undoubtedly taken by a professional photographer who did not, however, leave a trace of his identity on the glass negative. An image of great beauty that is now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, it epitomizes a moment in which African photographers and their clientele embraced the medium of photography as a powerful tool with which to shape their own image.²

This photograph is one of nearly eighty images from the Metropolitan’s holdings presented in the 2015 exhibition

fig. 1 Unidentified artist (Senegalese). Portrait of a woman, 1910s. Glass, emulsion, 6½ × 4½ in. (16.5 × 11.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Susan Mullin Vogel, 2015 (2015.499.14.1)

“In and Out of the Studio: Photographic Portraits from West Africa.”³ Co-curated by the present authors and drawing on Giulia Paoletti’s research in Senegal, the exhibition showcased one hundred years of portrait photography in West Africa, from the 1870s through the 1970s.⁴ Most of the photographs, the majority of which had never been shown before, were drawn from the Visual Resource Archive in the Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas, with the addition of a few important works in the Department of Photographs.⁵ The installation sought to expand our understanding of West African portrait photography by rendering visible the broad variety of its practices and aesthetics. It juxtaposed albumen prints, postcards, real-photo postcards (postcards printed with photographic images), and original negatives taken both in and out of the studio by professional and amateur photographers active from Senegal to Cameroon and from Mali to Gabon. These photographic artists explored the possibilities of their medium, developing a rich aesthetic vocabulary through compelling self-portraits, casual snapshots of leisurely activities, and staged images against backdrops or open landscapes.

The exhibition offered its curators an occasion to study the Museum’s collection and to showcase selected works in this first installation devoted solely to African photography at the Metropolitan. Building on the research conducted during that project, this article reflects on issues central to the history of African photography as represented in the Metropolitan’s collection and defines themes that emerged.⁶ The article focuses on West Africa—one of the regions where photography arrived first on the continent—and

narrows the sphere of inquiry to portraiture. In surveying the history of photography on the continent, we found that portraiture is the genre that, more than any other, has inspired photographers and patrons alike. This is evident as one traces the founding of the first studios established in the coastal urban centers as early as the 1860s, and it continues to the present day with many artists reworking this trope. Portraiture is a fertile area of inquiry for it reveals changing perceptions and constructions of the self in the fine tension between authenticity and artificiality. In looking closely at specific works, this article will tackle the complexity of authorship and attribution, as in the case of postcards; the emergence of an extensive visual vocabulary of gesture; the place of amateur photographers within the canon of African photography; and the exploration of self-portraiture as a genre. As the literature on African photography is rapidly growing, curators and collectors across the world are encouraged to reinterpret their holdings and reconsider their selection criteria for acquisitions. This article seeks to raise questions and suggest possible avenues in interpreting, collecting, and displaying African photographs under a new light.

COLLECTING AND STUDYING AFRICAN PHOTOGRAPHY: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FIELD

In 1969, when Nelson A. Rockefeller announced the transfer of the Museum of Primitive Art (MPA) to the Metropolitan Museum, it encompassed not only more than three thousand works of art from Africa, Oceania, and the Americas, but also the MPA’s library, its archives, and what was then known as the Photograph Study Collection.⁷ This collection was a

fig. 2 Unidentified artist (Senegalese). Seated man, 1930s–40s. Gelatin silver print, 5¼ × 3¼ in. (13.3 × 8.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Visual Resource Archive, Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas (VRA.2014.8.027.2)



fig. 3 Mama Casset (Senegalese, 1908–1992). Two reclining women, 1950s–60s. Gelatin silver print, 5 × 6⅞ in. (12.7 × 17.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Visual Resource Archive, Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas (VRA.2014.8.049)





fig. 4 Malick Sidibé (Malian, 1936–2016). *Karim Keita, le gentleman*, 1967. Gelatin silver print in original frame of reverse-painted glass, overall 15¾ × 11¾ in. (40 × 29.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph and Ceil Mazer Foundation Inc. Gift, 2005 (2005.85)

form of analogue database, a research tool that included thousands of photographs of artifacts in museums and private collections around the world. Since it entered the Metropolitan, this visual archive has continued to be enriched and its scope extended to images that were thought to provide added context to the sculptural works in the collection: they ranged from field photographs donated by researchers, to postcards, to photographic albums assembled by colonial officers. By the late 1990s, as scholarship on the history of photography in Africa began to grow, the collection expanded to include works on a variety of supports and by a wide range of authors, particularly those working on the continent.⁸ In 2012, this heteroclite ensemble of archival and photographic material was renamed the Visual Resource Archive (VRA).

As a whole, the collection and its history provide fascinating insights into the development of a field. By the 1990s, many of the images that originally had been annexed as “study documents” began to be understood as works of art in themselves, integral to a broader history of photography.⁹ Until then, images—particularly those produced during the colonial time—were assumed to have been taken almost exclusively by Western photographers to address a foreign audience and in support of the agenda of colonial powers.¹⁰ As early as the 1970s, however, scholars such as Stephen Sprague, Vera Viditz-Ward, and Christraud Geary had already suggested that photography was highly valued among African patrons and that Western photographers did not have a monopoly over the medium.¹¹ Yet it took almost two decades for international exhibitions and publications to showcase photographers such as the Malian Seydou Keïta (figs. 11, 13) and the Senegalese Mama Casset (fig. 3) and to catapult African photography onto the international art market, reaching visitors in Europe, the United States, and Africa. These included Susan Vogel’s 1991 landmark exhibition “Africa Explores”;¹² *Revue Noire*’s editorial and curatorial projects beginning in 1991; the first iteration of the “Mois de la photo” in Dakar in 1992; and Françoise Huguier’s work on Malian photography, also in the early 1990s.¹³ Before these initiatives, the wider art audience in the West had given little consideration to the notion that photography could have been a popular medium among the general African population, or that African photographers had developed such a distinctive and spectacular photographic vernacular. In contrast to images that promoted colonial enterprise, Malian portraitists Malick Sidibé’s exuberant shots (fig. 4) and Seydou Keïta’s sharp portraits (figs. 11, 13) surprised and intrigued the unfamiliar spectator. Now displayed in galleries and museums, these photographs demonstrated to the Western viewer that Africa had a rich and long-standing photographic history—one that could be called “art.”

Since the early 2000s, the field of African photography has grown exponentially, with a substantial number of scholars conducting extensive field and archival research in an attempt to retrieve unwritten histories.¹⁴ Approaching these works from a wide range of perspectives and disciplines, including anthropology, art history, comparative literature, and history, scholars and archivists have raised crucial questions: Who were the first photographers and their patrons? How did photography relate locally to preexisting media and aesthetics? How do we reconcile interpretations and uses of

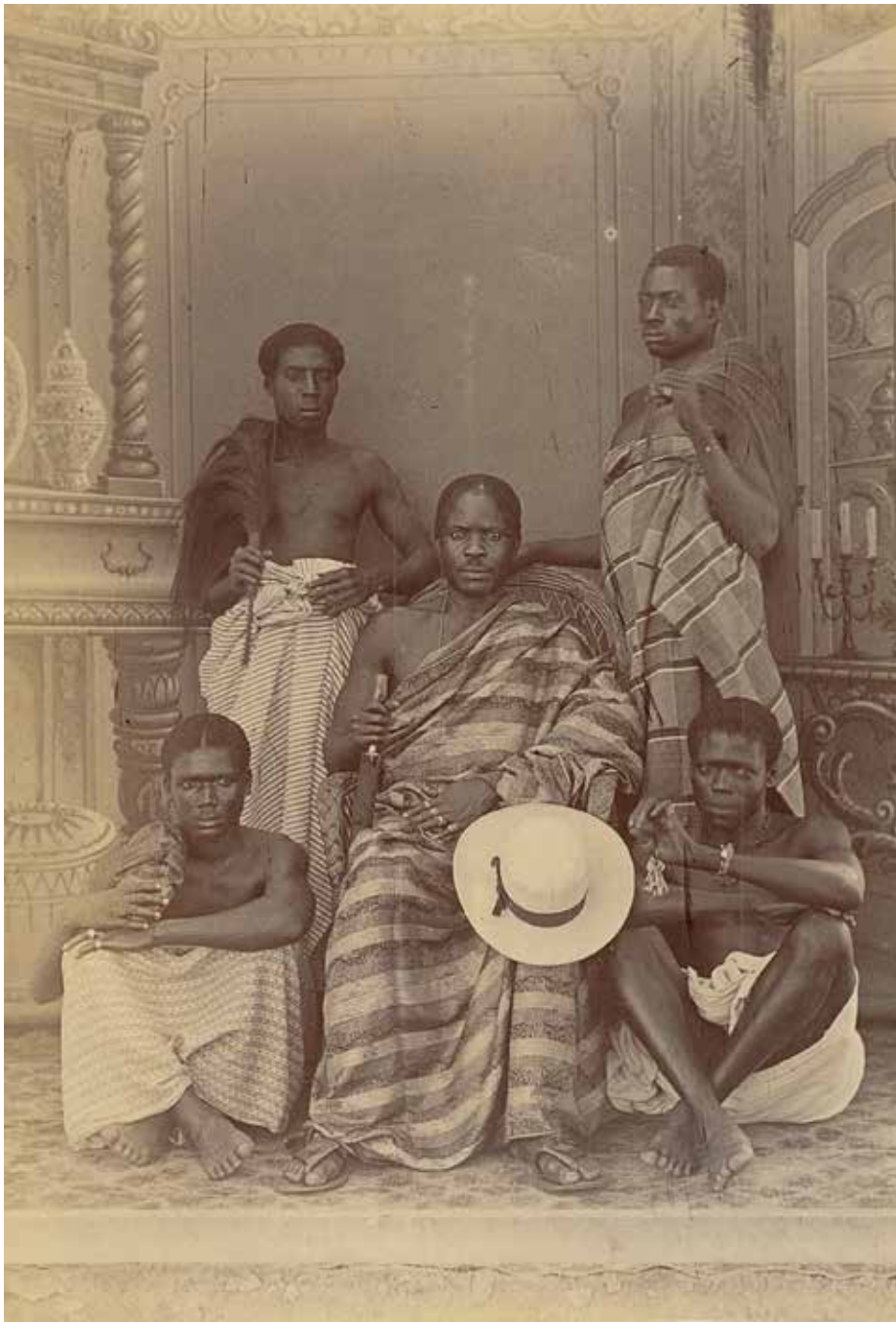


fig. 5 George A. G. and Albert George Lutterodt (Ghanaian, active from 1876). Five men, ca. 1880–85. Albumen silver print from glass negative, 6 × 4½ in. (15.2 × 10.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Ross Family Fund Gift, 1999 (1999.184.1)

photography particularly in the colonial context, where it served both as a tool of surveillance and a means of emancipation? How do we promote the study of African photography when faced by the challenges of collecting and preserving it?²⁵ Although scholars have found many answers to these questions, the study of African photography is, in many respects, still in its infancy. With a collection that has grown to include a wide variety of genres, media, authors, and sitters, the VRA offers the opportunity to study these rich photographic histories, their authors, and patrons.

MAKING DISCOVERIES—DRAWING CONNECTIONS

In figure 5, a central figure sits in an armchair flanked by four younger men posing almost symmetrically. Two stand in back and two sit cross-legged on the ground holding similar postures along the vertical axes of the composition. Rather than being a group portrait, the placement of the figures draws attention to the central sitter—the patron of the photograph—who stares directly at the camera. The men's hand gestures, the direction of their gazes, and the employment of props indicate a carefully orchestrated composition that responds to the formality of the portrait-making situation. The painted backdrop recalls nineteenth-century aristocratic interiors and, combined with the complex *mise-en-scène*, speaks to the refinement and eminence of the principal sitter. Dating from the early 1880s, it is one of the earliest photographs in the VRA and one that opens questions of authorship and attribution.

Although the reverse of the print is marked by a rare stamp in purple ink that bears the name of the photographic studio—LUTTERODT & SON / PHOTOGRAPHERS / ACCRA (GOLD COAST) / WEST AFRICA—the identity of the author is not specified. Indeed, the Lutterodt family comprised several generations of photographers who worked in the Gold Coast and trained numerous apprentices in different locations where they established temporary studios. Photograph historian Erin Haney has documented the pivotal role of this family in shaping the history of photography in the region.¹⁶ While the lack of a date on the vintage print made it difficult to identify which member of the Lutterodt family might have authored it, careful study of the stamp and the composition allowed Haney to attribute it to George and Albert Lutterodt.¹⁷ The eldest of three brothers, George Lutterodt (1850/55–ca. 1904) was the first to open a studio, doing so with his son Albert in Accra in 1876. Produced during the first few years of George Lutterodt's career, about 1880–85, this photograph marks the beginning of an important tradition of portrait-making in the region.

While efforts to attribute this extraordinary work were underway, the VRA received the gift of a glass negative by another early West African photographer, Alex Agbaglo Acolatse (fig. 6). Acolatse was one of the trainees who studied with the Lutterodts in the Gold Coast before setting up his own practice about 1900 in neighboring Togo.¹⁸ Like the Lutterodts, he specialized in portraits of the upper class and documented the social and political life of the then-German colony.

In this photograph, a group of male sitters poses outdoors in front of a large backdrop. Shooting in

fig. 6 Alex Agbaglo Acolatse (Togolese, 1880–1975). Group portrait, 1900–20. Glass negative, 6½ × 8½ in. (16.5 × 21.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Anonymous gift, in honor of Agamah Ayao, to the Visual Resource Archive, Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas (N.A.2015.7)



natural light, Acolatse arranged his sitters in two rows: three men, each resting one hand on a hip, stand at the back, while two figures sit in front of them. He organized his subjects symmetrically, in a manner similar to George Lutterodt's composition, and he employed a painted backdrop showing an aristocratic interior with cut flowers, wood furniture, and lavish curtains. While Acolatse would likely have cropped the final print, his wide angle reveals the building wall and the sand in the street of Lomé. The incongruity between the backdrop and Acolatse's *mise-en-scène* highlights the tension between reality and photographic fiction and possibly hints at his disregard for the medium's (artificial) veracity, that is, a reality constructed through the photographic lens.

The juxtaposition of the two portraits is a visual description of the establishment of a photographic language across national borders and within the West African region. Since most of the earliest photographers relied on itinerant practices, specialist Jürg Schneider argues that they successfully "moved beyond cultural, political and linguistic boundaries."¹⁹ Seen in this light, photographers working in the nineteenth and early twentieth century are revealed as having been more

than highly skilled professionals or respected members of the community: they were cosmopolitan entrepreneurs. By tracing the lineage that connects the artists through their biographies, it is possible to appreciate the complex networks of exchange that popularized photography and portraiture across West Africa.

ATTRIBUTING POSTCARDS: MULTIPLE AUTHORS AND UNEXPECTED PATRONS

Postcards are images that are designed to travel: they are inexpensive, portable, and made in multiples. From 1900 to 1960, the total production of postcards in West Africa reached almost nine thousand exemplars; in Senegal alone there were more than two dozen producers.²⁰ The production of postcards involves several steps and different individuals—the photographer who takes the picture, the editor who selects the images, the printer or factory that produces them, and the publisher that distributes them. The multiplicity of "authors" involved in the production of these objects parallels the proliferation of postcards, which were reproduced by the hundreds or thousands, traveled around the world, and were further circulated as *cartes de visites* and through reproductions in books and catalogues.



fig. 7 Unidentified artist, possibly Louis Hostalier (French, active ca. 1890–1912). *A Nioro (Soudan)—Femmes et fils de marchand Ouolofes*, French Sudan (Mali), ca. 1900–1910. Postcard format photomechanical reproduction, 5¼ × 3¼ in. (13.3 × 8.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Visual Resource Archive, Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas (VRA.PC.AF.04)

Two postcards in the VRA offer a fascinating exercise in attribution and raise essential questions pertaining to their medium, which was one of the first to enter Western collections as “study documents.” The image in figure 7 features two seated women posed, with a young boy standing behind them. The sitters fill the picture plane of this closely cropped photograph. Rather than striving to strike theatrical poses, the subjects sit motionless with their hands resting on their knees. Statuesque presences, they are identified on the postcard as “Wives and son of a Wolof merchant,” and the stitch-resist indigo-dyed fabrics in which the women

are clothed identifies them as wealthy and refined inhabitants of Saint-Louis, the historic capital of Senegal.²¹

The identities of the photographer and editor of this postcard are more difficult to recover than was the case of the Lutterodts since the postcard’s label does not provide any information about them. Nevertheless, archival research brought to light other postcards showing the same backdrop and studio decor, suggesting that they were taken by the same person. In one of them (fig. 8), a man holds a kora, a stringed instrument used in West Africa. His pose and the photographer’s low-angle shot reveal more of the painted scenery: thatched-roof houses in the distance on the left punctuate the vista beyond palm trees on the right and suggest a Senegalese village. This image of a kora player must have been particularly popular, as it can be found in various postcard series and formats with different labels and attributions. In one instance, the portrait appeared in a well-illustrated volume published for the Exposition Universelle of 1900 in Paris, in which the photographer was identified as Hostalier.²²

Active in Senegal between 1890 and 1912, French photographer Louis Hostalier embraced the latest technical innovations including the production of postcards.²³ While the specific circumstances of production are difficult to confirm, there is evidence that local customers commissioned portraits that subsequently circulated (with or without their permission) in the form of postcards, as may have been the case with the formal portrait of the Wolof merchant’s wives.²⁴ These examples are, then, just one instance of the complex process of image circulation, production, and consumption in Africa.

Contrary to widely held assumptions, scholars have demonstrated that postcards were embraced by African photographers and consumers.²⁵ Among the former was Alphonso Lisk-Carew (1887–1969), a Creole photographer who opened his studio between 1903 and 1905 in Freetown, Sierra Leone, with his brother Arthur.²⁶ They worked for both the African and the European communities and produced a wide array of images, many of which circulated as postcards. These included formal portraits, records of social events, and images of people and places in the colony.

In one portrait (fig. 9), Lisk-Carew followed the convention of portraiture for an unusual subject. The postcard’s caption indicates that the sitters are “Bundoo girls,” or initiates of a powerful pan-ethnic women’s association responsible for education and moral development, known as Bundu or Sande. Sande is an



fig. 8 Louis Hostalier. *Joueur de Cora*, Senegal, early 20th century. Postcard format photomechanical reproduction published by A. B. & C., Nancy, France; 5¼ × 3¼ in. (13.3 × 8.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Visual Resource Archives, Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas (VRA.PC.AF.08)

fig. 9 Alphonso Lisk-Carew (Sierra Leonean, 1887–1969). *Bundoo Girls, Sierra Leone*, ca. 1905–25. Postcard format photomechanical reproduction published by Lisk-Carew Brothers, 5¼ × 3¼ in. (13.3 × 8.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Visual Resource Archives, Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas (VRA.PC.AF.02)

all-female secret society in West Africa, the only society in which women are the wearers of masks during ceremonies that celebrate the end of the young initiates' training period.²⁷ Sande, as well as the initiation rituals that are fundamental to its role, is shrouded in secrecy. In figure 9, three young women pose formally in front of a painted backdrop that features both vegetation and an aristocratic interior. The central figure sits on a chair while her two associates stand on either side. They wear matching outfits that include a headscarf, bracelets, a necklace, babouches, and a cropped top with a geometric pattern. The central sitter and the woman at her proper left look at the camera; the two standing protagonists seem to give a hint of a smile.

In approaching this and other portraits from the same series, scholars have often focused on their documentary value—their ability to shed light on traditional institutions and ceremonies. More recently, specialists have dwelled on the complexity of these images and raised important questions regarding the relationship

between sitter and photographer, “public display and visual secrecy.”²⁸ How did Lisk-Carew obtain permission to photograph these individuals whose secret activities were not to be seen by non-initiates? Also, how does the photographic experience change when the author of these photographs is from Sierra Leone rather than Europe? Nanina Guyer argues that these images reveal that the sitters had embraced photography and that the photographer did not hesitate to stage and take creative liberties in composing his images, in a manner that was not, however, disrespectful.²⁹ In a similar vein, photography historian Julie Crooks emphasizes the merit of Lisk-Carew’s “disrupt[ing] the unfavorable depictions” of his fellow countrymen.³⁰

The intriguing images by Hostalier and Lisk-Carew raise substantive questions about the relationship between photographer and sitter, privacy and visibility, ethnography and portraiture. In defying expectations about the identity of the photographer or the patron,

fig. 10 Unidentified artist (Senegalese). Five women with two children, indoors, ca. 1915. Glass, emulsion, 3¼ × 4¾ in. (8.3 × 12.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Visual Resource Archive, Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas (VRA.2014.8.003)



such portraits account for the ambiguity of images that acquire different meanings according to the context within which they are consumed.

NEW GENRES: MORE THAN A MÉTIER

In a photograph taken in Saint-Louis in 1915, three generations of women from the Dumont family pose as a group (fig. 10).³¹ As art historian Richard Brilliant argues, group portraits above all serve to document relationships among the sitters.³² The close angle of the shot combined with the posture of the sitters conveys a sense of these women's proximity and intimacy and contrast strongly with the studio portraits discussed thus far. The room is modestly decorated: hanging on the wall are a calendar for the year 1915, two small, framed photographs of young children, and a mirror reflecting the backs of the posing women.

Although this image belongs to a corpus that was first published by Revue Noire in the *Anthology of African and Indian Ocean Photography* in 1999, very little is known about the unidentified photographer.³³ Close examination of a group of seventeen glass plates in the VRA that are believed to have been created by this individual offers some clues to his or her identity.³⁴ It is almost certain that the photographer belonged to

the *métis* community, as almost all the images show members of this tight-knit social group. Alongside dozens of other families from Saint-Louis and Gorée, the sitters reflect a long history of *métissage* between Europeans and Africans that dates to the arrival of the Portuguese in Senegal in the sixteenth century. It also appears that the author was not a professional photographer. While sharing some of the features of a formal portrait, the print betrays photography's incidental nature.³⁵ The image is far from crisp and focused, with the standing woman slightly blurry—a little too late in striking her best pose.

It is clear from the images that this amateur took pictures during his or her leisure time, working outside the formal space of the studio. The photographer walked with a camera in and out of homes, through the city, using these real locations as backdrops. Starting in the 1880s, photographic cameras, which had been heavy and expensive and required technical knowledge to operate, became portable, relatively cheap, and automated.³⁶ Thanks to these advancements, photography became increasingly available to the rising middle classes. Photographers and their sitters could break out from the stiffness of the studio portrait: they could stage their joviality and, one second later, their melancholy.

Amateur practices as well as snapshot photography are two genres that have acquired significant currency in the field of photography at large, with some of the most prestigious art institutions, including the Metropolitan Museum, devoting exhibitions to the topic.³⁷ Yet within the field of African photography, research has focused mostly on amateurs working after the 1970s, when photography had become a “social imperative.”³⁸ Dating back to the first decades of the twentieth century, this group of seventeen glass plates seems to be one of the earliest taken by an amateur from West Africa. By approaching these works through the new authorial figure of the amateur, the tension between spontaneity and staging, leisure and labor becomes apparent, opening new dynamics in the nature of the photographic experience to be explored by the viewer and the researcher alike.

EXPANDING THE CANON: DIVERSIFYING STUDIO PRACTICES

If photographers such as Keïta and Sidibé, both Malians, are often too quickly labeled as the “fathers of African photography,” in the last fifteen years scholars have demonstrated that these portraitists are two among thousands of practitioners who popularized the medium during the transition from the colonial to the postcolonial era in West Africa. Building on the literature, it is particularly revealing to consider the work of

renowned artists such as Keïta and to contrast their work with that of lesser-known photographers who were working in neighboring Senegal. This may allow researchers to trace continuities in visual language among these communities while concentrating on the articulation of each photographer’s aesthetic. While the human figure remains the subject, photographers have developed distinct formal compositions.

Born in Bamako, capital of Mali, in the early 1920s, Keïta learned darkroom techniques there from photographers such as the Frenchman Pierre Garnier and the Malian Mountaga Traoré. He launched his own studio in Bamako in 1948 and in just over a decade produced about ten thousand negatives of the Bamakois elite. In these images, backdrops, clothing, accessories, and postures were meticulously and collaboratively selected to fashion the subject’s chosen identity. Yet it was Keïta’s camera that turned the sitter into a new Bamakois: his photographs contributed to the myth of Bamako as a cosmopolitan and modern city.³⁹ In one portrait, Keïta depicted a woman seated in front of one of his signature arabesque backdrops. She rests her arms on the back of the chair and stares directly at the viewer (fig. 11). Keïta closely cropped the image, calling attention to the woman’s elaborate jewelry, voluminous outfit, and intricate coiffure, presenting an aesthetic of abundance and opulence that speaks to her social status.

fig. 11 Seydou Keïta (Malian, ca. 1921–2001). *Untitled, #313*, 1956–57. Modern gelatin silver print (2001), 22 × 15½ in. (55.9 × 39.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph and Ceil Mazer Foundation Inc. Gift, 2002 (2002.217)



fig. 12 Unidentified artist (Senegalese). *Woman*, 1950s–60s. Gelatin silver print, 9½ × 7¼ in. (24.1 × 18.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Visual Resource Archive, Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas (VRA.2014.8.052)



fig. 13 Seydou Keïta. Reclining woman, 1950s–60s. Film, emulsion, 5½ × 7½ in. (13 × 19 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Susan Mullin Vogel, 2015 (2015.499.2.1)



In a portrait produced about the same time by an unidentified Senegalese photographer, a woman also poses seated on a chair, this time, however, with her closed fist resting on her cheek (fig. 12). This photographer played with composition and artificial lighting, employing the latest artistic strategies and technologies. The backdrop here is monochromatic, functioning as a muted device that cedes the focus to the sitter. He manipulated the depth of field, making the sitter's face his focal point while blurring her arm and dress. With artificial lights, he cast strong shadows on to the sitter, creating a dynamic image that enthrones her, like an actress under a spotlight. The difference between these works by Keïta and his Senegalese counterpart is their artistic intent and aesthetic bias. They show the products of two photographers, each of whom developed an idiosyncratically individual visual vocabulary while echoing the established vernacular of postures shared across West Africa.

Another juxtaposition may further explain this point. Comparing prints by Seydou Keïta with those by Senegalese photographer Oumar Ka (born 1930) makes it possible to appreciate the wealth of approaches to portraiture in the region. Keïta's tendency to fill the picture with bold patterns (figs. 11, 13) stands in dramatic opposition to the portraits by Ka, whose subjects are surprisingly enveloped in space revealing either the

edges of a monochromatic backdrop and the contours of the surrounding built environment (fig. 14).

Trained under the Senegalese Cheikh Kane, Ka began his practice as an itinerant photographer in 1959 before opening his own studio in the city of Touba, Senegal, in 1968.⁴⁰ Portraying the rural communities living in the interior of Senegal, he traveled from village to village, taking portraits with the only tools he could carry: his medium-format TLR camera and a folded monochromatic backdrop. Rather than cropping the image close to the sitter or modulating sharp tonal contrasts with backdrops the way Keïta did, Ka maintained a distance from his patrons—individuals mostly living in rural rather than urban areas. His wide frames allow a glimpse of local architecture, private interiors, and open landscapes.

In his portrait of a man, a small monochromatic backdrop centers the sitter and defines the image as a formal portrait. The man's shirt, leather sandals, and loose-fitting pants, called *thiaya*, suggest that he was probably a mason who commissioned his portrait during an ordinary workday. Ka included the sandy streets of the Baol region, its overcast sky, and a building complex. He played with the different surfaces—the uneven white sand, the corrugated iron fence, and the cloudy sky—to create patterns that modulate and enrich the composition. In the unequal



fig. 14 Oumar Ka (Senegalese, born 1930). Man standing in a courtyard, 1959–68. Tagged Image File Format (TIFF). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Visual Resource Archive, Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas (N.A.2015.13)

ratio of space attributed to sitter and landscape, Ka's fascination with his environment, or what he called the *décor*, comes to light.⁴¹ While different in their aesthetics and their clientele, both Ka and Keïta successfully visualized and shaped the aspirations of their sitters. The medium of photography allowed artists and patrons alike to express their concept of what modernity looked like—a concept that was constantly reinvented.

ON BOTH SIDES OF THE CAMERA

From the early days of portrait photography in West Africa, photographers were professionals who were aware of their role and their image, which they often articulated in carefully constructed self-portraits. The earliest self-portrait in the VRA is a formal representation of Alex Agbaglo Acolatse (fig. 15). Over the course of his long career, Acolatse performed in a series of self-portraits that pictured him wearing a range of outfits. Figure 15, probably dating from the 1910s, shows him dressed in a tuxedo adorned with lapel pins, sporting an elegant mustache, standing in front of an aristocratically decorated backdrop and behind a balustrade. In another image, possibly dating to the 1920s (fig. 16), he wears a suit pinned with medals, a bow tie, and a hat and holds a cane or an umbrella. He has shaved his mustache and is hardly

recognizable. Both self-portraits contrast sharply with yet another one reproduced in Philippe David's monographic book on Acolatse's work: there he chose to represent himself dressed with the canonically Akan prestige cloth known as kente.⁴² Playfully foregrounding different aspects of his persona, he applied to his self-portraits the same conventions of portraiture he used for his clients.

Taken several decades later, in 1956, a rare self-portrait by Malick Sidibé was recently donated to the Metropolitan's Department of Photographs (fig. 17). In a clear break from Acolatse's formal portraiture, Sidibé is seemingly caught off guard as he looks surprised at the camera. Sitting at his desk, the twenty-year-old photographer turns toward the viewer, his face illuminated on one side by the natural light coming in the entrance to his studio in the heart of Bamako, Mali. The painted frame, added decades after the photograph was made, echoes glass painting traditions particularly popular in neighboring Senegal since the late nineteenth century.⁴³

Oumar Ka, in a self-portrait taken in Touba that dates from the 1960s, chose to picture himself in his role as a photographer (fig. 18). Snapping this image in a mirror, he is seen holding his camera. His glasses hanging from his left ear, and he wears a hat that identifies him as a Sufi follower of the Senegalese

fig. 15 Alex Agbaglo Acolatse. Self-portrait with balustrade and hanging, ca. 1910s. Glass, emulsion, 9½ × 7½ in. (19.1 × 24.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Susan Mullin Vogel, 2015 (2015.499.32)

fig. 16 Alex Agbaglo Acolatse. Self-portrait in bow tie and hat, ca. 1920s. Glass, emulsion, 9½ × 7½ in. (19.1 × 24.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Susan Mullin Vogel, 2015 (2015.499.33)



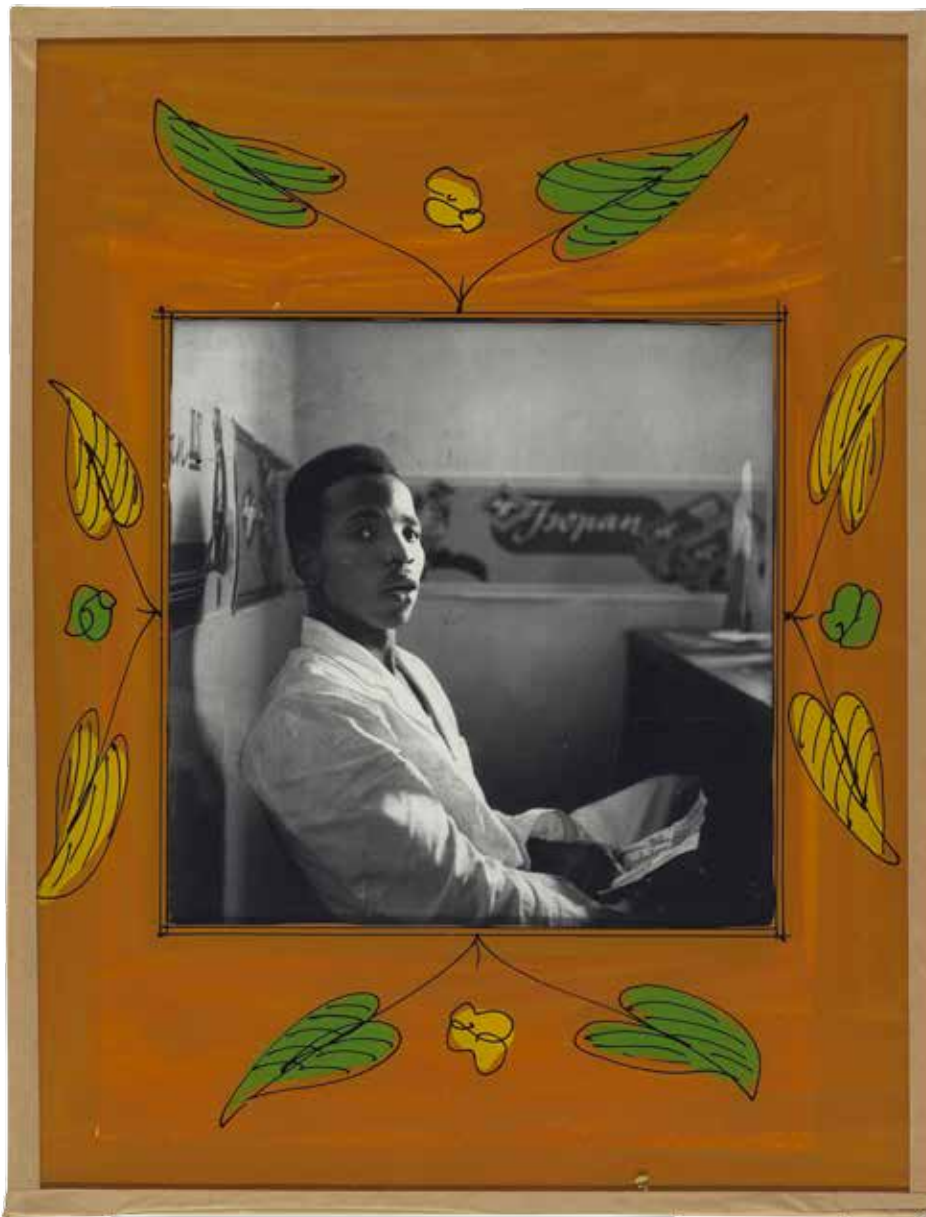


fig. 17 Malick Sidibé. Self-portrait, 1956. Gelatin silver print in original frame of reverse-painted glass, tape, cardboard, string, 15¼ × 12¼ × ¾ in. (40 × 30.7 × 1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jack Shainman and Claude Simard, 2014 (2014.638)

fig. 18 Oumar Ka. Self-portrait at home, 1959–68. Film, emulsion, 2¼ × 2¼ in. (5.7 × 5.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Visual Resource Archive, Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas (N.A.2015.10)

Saint Amadou Bamba. As in his portraits, Ka articulates his likeness through his surroundings. We can see the underside of the thatched roof, a bit of the wardrobe door that holds the mirror, and numerous portraits hanging on the wall behind him. Throughout his career Ka produced dozens of carefully composed self-portraits that he printed in multiple copies. These images he gave to his best customers to please and reward them as a deliberate marketing strategy.⁴⁴ This portrait presents Ka as a professional photographer, conscious of his art, strategic in business, and aware of his image.

These photographers' self-fashioning is revelatory of their practice and their understanding of their role. In West Africa, this genre was explored further by Samuel Fosso (fig. 19). In one of his self-portraits in the



Metropolitan's collection, Fosso staged himself in his studio wearing high-waist bellbottom trousers and a tightly fitted shirt with cuffs rolled up, platform shoes, a gold watch, large metal-framed sunglasses, and a white cap with "Kodak" printed on it. He looks the epitome of a 1970s fashionable youth. Hanging behind him is a plain backdrop bordered by boldly patterned curtains, platform, and floor. On either side of the composition a vertical row of voluminous photographic lights further accentuates his dashing presence. Here, the studio setting is as integral to the image as Fosso himself. Of Cameroonian origins, Fosso studied photography during the 1970s in the Central African Republic, where he eventually opened a studio. He became known for his extravagant self-portraits, which he took in his studio at the end of the working day. For these images, he experimented with outfits and props in order to cast himself as different characters, investigating the limits of portrait photography, and questioning the distinction between sitter and photographer, reality and fantasy.

Since for decades anonymity of both artist and sitter has been a principal characterization of African art and photography, the existence of this corpus of self-portraits resonates powerfully.⁴⁵ These deliberate images bring African photographers sharply into focus as authors. In a field in which the agency and intent of photographers and sitters have often been questioned, welcome clarity comes from images in which the individual represented asserts full control, from the choice of pose, outfit, and backdrop or surroundings to decisions about lighting, framing, and printing.

fig. 19 Samuel Fosso
(Cameroonian, b. 1962). *Self-Portrait*, 1976. Gelatin silver print (2003), 20 × 20 in. (50.8 × 50.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Ross Family Fund Gift, 2003 (2003.459)



CONCLUSION

The photographic holdings of the Visual Resource Archive in the Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas at the Metropolitan Museum now go far beyond their original mission as a study collection. This collection constitutes a rare depository of images comprising a wealth of photographic voices while simultaneously telling the story of the development of a history of African photography. As such, it is an ideal collection to mine: the works discussed here, focusing on a specific region—West Africa—and a particular genre—portraiture—offer only a glimpse of its contents. The images bring to light themes central to the growing field of the history of African photography and to photography in general, including topics that have been neglected until recently, such as the figure of the amateur photographer and the genre of self-portraiture.

When considering this history, it becomes evident that studio practice in West Africa as it came to be known in the 1990s did not emerge from a vacuum. Works crafted during the mid-twentieth century reflect

a specific time and place and are the result of a long history that is both locally rooted and globally connected. These artists' paths and their images' journeys go beyond national borders, producing a fertile ground for new creations and interpretations. Images held in the VRA offer powerful testimony that, more than any other medium, photography thrust Africans into a global visual market as consumers, producers, and patrons. When seen and studied within the walls of the Metropolitan Museum, these photographs may finally be perceived by the wider public as integral contributions to the history of art.

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NOTES

- 1 The hairstyle, the *Nguuka*, which was in vogue in the 1910s and 1920s, identifies the sitter as a mature woman. Siga 1990, p. 38.
- 2 On the early history of photography in West Africa, see Schneider 2010 and Geary 2013.
- 3 The exhibition was held at the Metropolitan Museum from August 31, 2015, to January 3, 2016. This collaborative project involved the participation of many individuals at the Metropolitan Museum, including members of curatorial departments, the Imaging department, Design, and the Digital Media department, as well as specialists in the field. We cannot name all of them here, but we particularly thank the Department of Modern and Contemporary Art, especially Sheena Wagstaff, for lending us an exhibition space and providing the necessary financial support, and Pari Stave, for extensive logistical support; the Department of Photographs, especially Jeff Rosenheim and Beth Saunders, for their enthusiasm for this project and invaluable advice on content and best practices for printing original and digital negatives, and writing labels, and conservators Nora Kennedy, Katherine Sanderson, and Georgia Southworth, for the love and care they gave in preparing the photographs for the exhibition; and in the Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas, Jennifer Larson in the Visual Resource Archive, for her masterly logistical oversight.
- 4 For her PhD dissertation (2015), Giulia Paoletti conducted more than two years of archival and field research in Senegal (2010; 2011–13; 2014), with trips also to France and Italy. Her research was supported by awards and fellowships from the National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution; The Metropolitan Museum of Art; and the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, among others.
- 5 Some of the works, such as the early portraits and postcards, entered the collection of the Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas (AAOA) mostly in the 1980s and 1990s. In 2014 the Visual Resource Archive (VRA) acquired an important ensemble of vintage prints and negatives from Senegal dating from the 1910s to the 1960s. In 2015 two donors came forward with gifts, and the VRA also purchased a set of portraits taken by Oumar Ka, a professional photographer working outside the main urban centers of Senegal.
- 6 For a description of the exhibition as it developed, see Biro and Paoletti 2015.
- 7 LaGamma et al. 2014.
- 8 Virginia-Lee Webb, the AAOA research curator responsible for some of these acquisitions, coedited a volume on the history of postcards precisely at that time. See Geary and Webb 1998.
- 9 While exhibitions of African arts at the Metropolitan Museum have regularly included photographs in a variety of formats, “In and Out of the Studio” was the first exhibition to focus solely on African photography, presenting the images as works of art rather than as historical documents.
- 10 By contrast, images of Africa’s cosmopolitan, assertive elites were not disseminated in Europe, for the images sent to and circulated in the West were intended to serve colonial propaganda. Images by African photographers, intended for an African audience, cherished by their owners, sent to friends as souvenirs, kept in albums, or framed and hung in private homes remained mostly in Africa.
- 11 Sprague 1978; Viditz-Ward 1985; Viditz-Ward 1987; and Geary 1988.
- 12 According to Susan Vogel, in an email exchange with Giulia Paoletti, June 2015, “Africa Explores” was seen by well over 100,000 people and the catalogue’s English version alone sold at least 10,000.
- 13 In the 1991 exhibition “Africa Explores,” Vogel included photographic portraits by Seydou Keita that she had collected in Mali in 1975, as well as at least a dozen photographs by other West African photographers; she donated most of these to the Metropolitan Museum in 2015. In 1992, Revue Noire curated the exhibition “Revue Noire et les photographes africains” at the Centre Wallonie-Bruxelles in Paris, showcasing about ninety photographers. In 1991–92 the French photographer Françoise Huguier conducted research on Malian photographers that led to the organization of the First Biennial of African Photography in Bamako in 1994. Also in 1992, the joint effort among the Senegalese photographer Bouna Médoune Seye, Jean Loup Pivin of Revue Noire, and Bertrand Hosti of the Centre Culturel Français in Dakar resulted in the organization of the first edition of the “Mois de la photo.” See Vogel 1991 and Amselle 2005, pp. 74–75, 97, 150–51.
- 14 See, for instance, Haney 2010; Vokes 2012; and Peffer and Cameron 2013.
- 15 The Metropolitan Museum was one of the participants in the *Préservation du Patrimoine Photographique Africain (3PA)*: West African Image Lab, a photograph conservation workshop organized in 2014 in Porto-Novo, Benin. On some of the challenges of collecting and archiving African photography, see Morton and Newbury 2015.
- 16 Haney 2004a; Haney 2004b; Haney 2013, pp. 67–101; Haney 2014.
- 17 See Erin Haney’s contribution to the Metropolitan Museum’s blog in conjunction with “In and Out of the Studio”: www.metmuseum.org/about-the-museum/now-at-the-met/2015/photographing-the-gold-coast. We thank Haney for generously sharing her knowledge and time in the study this work.
- 18 David 1992.
- 19 Schneider 2010, p. 134.
- 20 David 1978, p. 4; David 1986, p. 168.
- 21 On the technique of stitch-resist dyeing, see, for instance, Gillow 2003, p. 68.
- 22 Lasnet et al. 1900, p. 93.
- 23 Hickling 2014.
- 24 For a discussion of this issue, see Geary 1998; Hickling 2014; and Paoletti 2015, chap. 1.
- 25 See, for instance, Geary 1998.
- 26 Viditz-Ward (1985, p. 46) argues that the studio opened in 1905, whereas Julie Crooks (2015, p. 20) maintains that Lisk-Carew began his photography business in 1903.
- 27 Phillips 1995.
- 28 Guyer 2014, p. 411.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Crooks 2015, p. 27. See also Julie Crooks’s blogpost for the Metropolitan Museum website in conjunction with “In and Out of the Studio”: <http://www.metmuseum.org/about-the-museum/now-at-the-met/2015/reinforcing-identity>.
- 31 That the sitters are members of the Dumont family from Saint-Louis was communicated by collector Xavier Ricou to Giulia Paoletti, Dakar, Senegal, 2013.
- 32 Brilliant 1991, p. 92.
- 33 Saint Léon, Martin, and Fall 1999, pp. 62–63.
- 34 The catalogue numbers of this group of negatives, which include fig. 10, are VRA.2014.8.001—VRA.2014.8.017. For an extended discussion about them, see Paoletti 2015, chap. 3.

- 35 Fineman 2000.
- 36 The introduction of dry plates, for instance, was one of the elements of portability that had an immediate influence upon the development of amateur photography. Black 1980, p. 149.
- 37 See, for instance, Nickel 1998; Fineman 2000.
- 38 Batchen 2001, p. 5.
- 39 This concept is elaborated by Manthia Diawara (1998).
- 40 For an extended discussion of the work of Oumar Ka, see Paoletti 2015, chap. 4.
- 41 Oumar Ka, personal communication with Giulia Paoletti, Touba, Senegal, December 2012 and January 2013.
- 42 David 1992, cover and p. 48.
- 43 On glass painting traditions, see Sylla 2001 and Renaudeau and Strobel 1984.
- 44 Oumar Ka, personal communication with Giulia Paoletti, Touba, Senegal, December 2012, January 2013, and April 2014.
- 45 See, for instance, Blier 1996 and Bigham 1999.

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METROPOLITAN
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JOURNAL 51

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