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Contents

Three Chalcolithic Figures from Cyprus

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ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, between 1874 and 1876, the Metropolitan Museum purchased the Cesnola Collection of Cypriot antiquities. Today, after the disposal of duplicates in the 1920s, there remain approximately five thousand objects that range in date from the Bronze Age to Roman times and that represent the major forms and styles of ancient Cypriot art pretty much as it was known until 1927.[1] In that year the Swedish Cyprus Expedition began a four-year program of intensive excavation at eighteen sites;[2] it marks the beginning of modern archaeology on the island, and its efforts have been followed up ever since by Cypriot and foreign investigators. One of the most important results of this activity has been to reveal the Neolithic and Chalcolithic cultures, which seem to span a period of about 3500 years before the beginning of the Early Bronze Age (about 2300 B.C.)[3] At Khirokitia, Sotira, and Erimi, to name only the major settlements, architectural remains, pottery, and small objects, especially of stone, have disproved John L. Myres' statement that "the Stone Age has left but few traces in Cyprus."[4]

Among the very few additions to the Museum's Cypriot collection within the past century are three stone figures of the Chalcolithic period (about 3000–2300 B.C.). As Christine Alexander, Dietrich von Bothmer, and others have recognized, they belong to well-established types, yet they deserve to be better known. All three represent stylized human forms and are made of what is commonly called steatite.[5] The most important piece is preserved intact and measures 7.9 cm. in height and 4.8 cm. across the arms (Figures 1, 2). As is best seen in the head, the stone is layered into different shades of green; the chin, knees, toes, and back were cut into a band of dark green while the rest of the body has a lighter, slightly grayish color.[6] The cross-shaped figure is composed of a horizontal axis formed by the extended arms intersected by the long neck, short torso, and bent legs that mark the vertical axis; the rectangular head is set at an angle above the neck. While the front of the body, especially the neck and arms, has a rounded surface, the back—from the top of the head

1. The primary publication remains John L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1914).

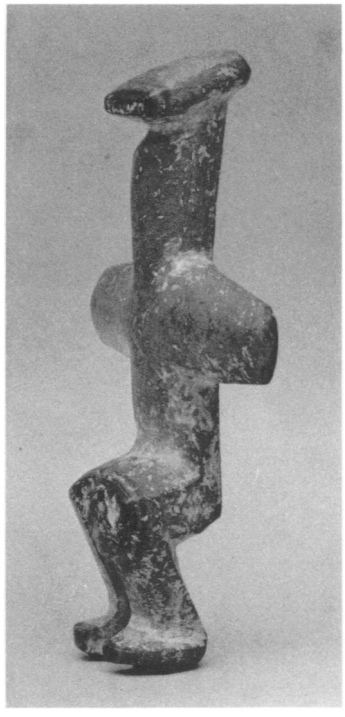
2. E. Gjerstad et al., *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition: Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus, 1927–1931*, I–IV, 3 (Stockholm, 1934–62) [hereafter *SCE*].

3. *SCE* IV, 1A, p. 204; H. W. Catling, "Cyprus in the Neolithic and Bronze Age Periods," *Cambridge Ancient History* (rev. ed., Cambridge, 1966) pp. 3, 7; H. L. Thomas, "Near Eastern, Mediterranean, and European Chronology," *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 17 (Lund, 1967) charts I:6a, II:6a.

4. *Cesnola Collection*, p. xxvii.

5. The identification of this material is complicated by the existence of conventional names (steatite, soapstone, greenstone) as well as specific geological names (chrysolite, picrolite, and others).

6. Steatite objects from Cyprus often have a lighter, softer color than their counterparts from the Aegean. The difference must be due, basically, to geological factors. Interestingly, the same light tonality occurs in Byzantine steatites.



FIGURES 1, 2
Steatite figure. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 51.11.5

FIGURE 3
Steatite figure. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 51.11.6

to the heels—has been cut so that it lies entirely flat. As a result, it seems as justifiable to interpret the figure as lying prone with its knees drawn up as sitting.

In a culture whose tools were principally of flint, chert, andesite, and only gradually of copper,[7] one of the most important properties of steatite was its softness. A figure such as ours was probably cut with a stone blade, then polished with sand, and perhaps burnished with the same kind of hard smooth stone as was used on contemporary pottery; the separation between the legs could easily have been achieved with a thong and wet sand. Though relatively simple, the conception and technology here are impressive and worthy successors to the remarkable stone industry of Neolithic Khirokitia.[8]

The second of the three figures (Figure 3) was originally a smaller counterpart of the first; as preserved, it measures 3.9 cm. in height and 3.6 cm. across the arms. It is broken across the thighs, yet enough remains to show that the legs had been separate and bent; the position of head and arms as well as the flatness of the back also correspond to the first piece. Besides size, the major difference lies in the stone, which was less highly polished and has banding visible on all surfaces.

The third of the Museum's figures, 5.1 cm. high, 2.4 cm. wide, is contemporary with the other two but represents another type[9] (Figure 4). Its vertical axis, consisting of a roughly circular head, long cylindrical neck, and flattened lower body, is intersected by the almond-shaped configuration of the arms; articulation of the arms is limited to many short incisions above and below a longer transverse one. Notch-like cuts separate head from neck and indicate the lower legs and feet. Most of these details do not appear on the back. Besides giving the impression of being harder, the stone has a uniform, very light grayish green color. While the fig-

7. P. Dikaios, "The Excavations at Erimi, 1933–1935," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1936) pp. 47–53; SCE IV, 1A, p. 186.

8. P. Dikaios, *Khirokitia* (London, 1953) pp. 232–264.

9. J. Thimme et al., *Frühe Randkulturen des Mittelmeerraumes* (Baden-Baden, 1968) pl. 18.

ure compares unfavorably in quality with the other two, it does provide an indication of its use. The hole in the head, which was drilled from both sides, suggests that it was suspended, perhaps worn as a pendant.

The archaeological context to which the three figures belong is to be found in Cyprus.[10] While small, schematic renderings of the human form occur in many parts of the eastern Mediterranean during the third millennium B.C., identification of the present examples is assured by their specific style and material.[11] Counterparts to Figures 1 and 3 are in the Z. D. Pierides Collection, Larnaca;[12] though they fall between the Museum's pieces in size, they correspond in all other respects. Comparable also is the figure from Kythrea, except that it has a hole through the crown of the head.[13] For Figure 4 the best parallel comes from Erimi,[14] which has yielded a particularly large and varied collection of Chalcolithic pendants. Another pendant, recently found near Kouklia,[15] shows a similar treatment of the lower body.

10. See, most recently, L. Vagnetti, "Preliminary Remarks on Cypriote Chalcolithic Figurines," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1974) pp. 24–33; F. G. Maier, "Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1974, 1, pp. 41–43.

11. See, for example, Catling, "Cyprus," p. 18. Catling mentions here the figure from Pomos (our Figure 5), which he assumes to be a woman, "the usual woman." Statuettes like Cyprus Museum W 291 and inv. 1959.XI-3.6 (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 84 [1960] p. 244, fig. 2) [hereafter *BCH*] show that the sex of the figure may be indicated, and in the present examples Karageorghis interprets the pairs as male and female (*BCH* 84 [1960] p. 245). However, for pieces like the one from Pomos, those in the Metropolitan, and their counterparts, the sex is best described as indeterminate. Moreover, within this group of Chalcolithic steatite objects, the woman seems less obviously characterized and less usual than in the Cyclades, for example.

12. V. Karageorghis, *Cypriote Antiquities in the Pierides Collection, Larnaca* (n.d.) nos. 1, 2, p. 98; H.-G. Buchholz and V. Karageorghis, *Altägäis und Altkypros* (Tübingen, 1971) p. 160, figs. 1702, 1703. Another figure similar to these and possibly larger appears in a line drawing in Thimme et al., *Frühe Randkulturen*, p. 61, fig. 2; there is no identification other than its location in the Cyprus Museum.

13. *SCE* I, p. 294, no. 412, pl. XIII; *SCE* IV, 1A, fig. XXXIX, 4.

14. Dikaios, "Erimi," pl. XXIX, no. 379; *SCE* IV, 1A, fig. XXXIX, no. 379.

FIGURE 4
Steatite pendant. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 51.11.7

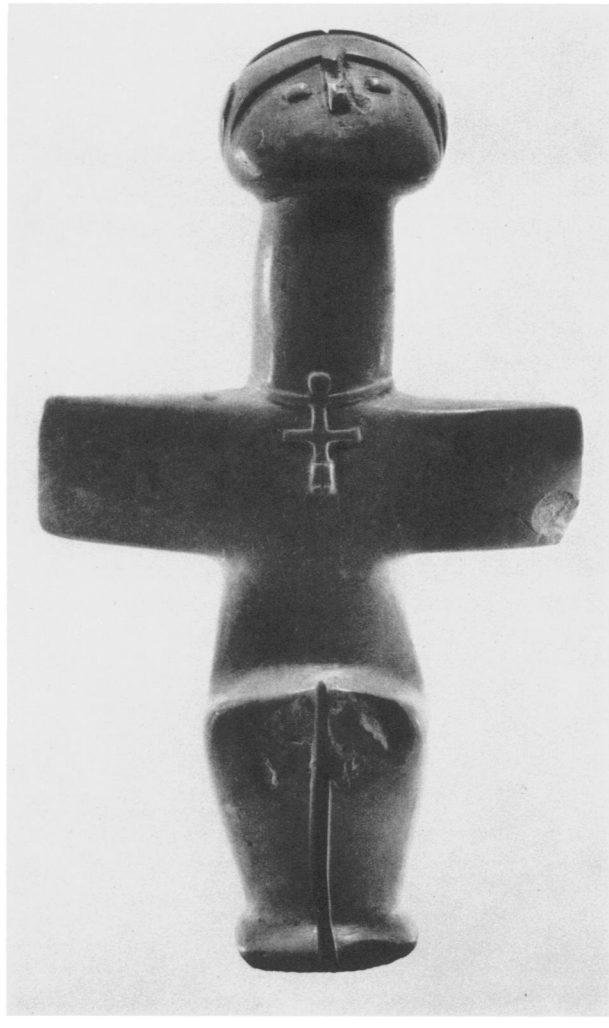


FIGURE 5
Steatite figure from Pomos. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. 1934. III-2.2 (photo: courtesy Cyprus Museum)

If their identification presents no difficulty, the function of these figures poses a problem in spite, or because, of a tantalizing clue: the statuette from Pomos, a chance find ultimately acquired by the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (Figure 5).[16] Perhaps the finest of the group, it has the familiar cross form and drawn-up knees, but its head is articulated with eyes, nose, and a cap-like covering with ears; more important, around its neck, on a narrow band, it wears a reduced version of itself: an object like our Figures 1 and 3, and like those in Larnaca. It is noteworthy that the legs of the pendant (Figure 5) are clearly shown as bent. Moreover, its long neck suggests that such an object could be tied by a band to the wearer and did not have to hang or swing freely. In other words, the Pomos statuette suggests that objects pierced or not pierced for suspension may have been used in similar ways. This one clue raises a number of questions. Whom do these objects represent? Would the pendant-wearing figure have been worn by yet someone or something else? Were small pieces like ours intended for larger pieces or for people? Were the backs cut flat so that the pieces would hang or lie straight? Since contemporary burials assumed a contracted position,[17] do these objects, large or small, have any funerary significance? At this point, the clue gives out. For the moment, therefore, our best compensation for the lack of answers must be the objects themselves: skillfully made of attractive materials, strangely reminiscent of familiar religious images, tangible remnants of distant beliefs and practices.

15. K. Nicolaou, "Archaeological News from Cyprus, 1972," *American Journal of Archaeology* 77, 4 (1973) p. 432, pl. 84, fig. 39c. Compare also K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst* (Basel, 1960) p. 112, I 9.

16. P. Dikaios, "Two Neolithic Steatite Idols," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1934) p. 16, pl. VI; Buchholz and Karageorghis *Altägäis* p. 160 fig. 1699. And see note 10, above.

17. *SCE* IV, 1A, p. 185. In this connection, the question also arises whether the figures of indeterminate sex may not warrant special consideration, for example, as dedications equally appropriate for men and women or as anthropomorphic symbols of a religious nature.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I wish to thank K. Nicolaou for his kind assistance with photographs and information, as well as D. von Bothmer for his helpful suggestions.

An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues

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THE PROBLEM

No feature of Egyptian sculpture has so often perplexed its present-day admirers as the peglike objects that are held in the fisted hands of male statues. This curious detail first appears in the right hand of the limestone statue of *Ḥm-iwnw* in Hildesheim, dating to the reign of Cheops (Figure 1),[1] but it is absent in that of the slightly earlier statue of *Rʿ-ḥtp* in Cairo (CG 3). Beginning, then, in the second reign of the Fourth Dynasty, its use extends throughout the Old Kingdom and down through the entire course of ancient Egyptian history, until, at length, it is carried over into the series of archaic Greek kouroi.[2]

There is fairly general agreement on one point: these objects are particularly characteristic of statuary in stone, a material that does not lend itself to attenuated projections such as the staff and baton that are often held by men as represented in relief and—as separate attachments—in standing statues made of more resilient material, notably wood. Such elements could, of course, have been represented in stone by showing them

1. Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum 1962. For this detail I am indebted to Dr. Arne Eggebrecht. See also Junker, *Giza*, I, pp. 153–157, pls. 18–22.

2. See Gisela M. A. Richter, *Kouroi* (New York, 1942) p. 5, and the reference to Anthes at end of note 4, below.

FIGURE 1
Right hand of the statue of *Ḥm-iwnw* (photo: courtesy Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim)

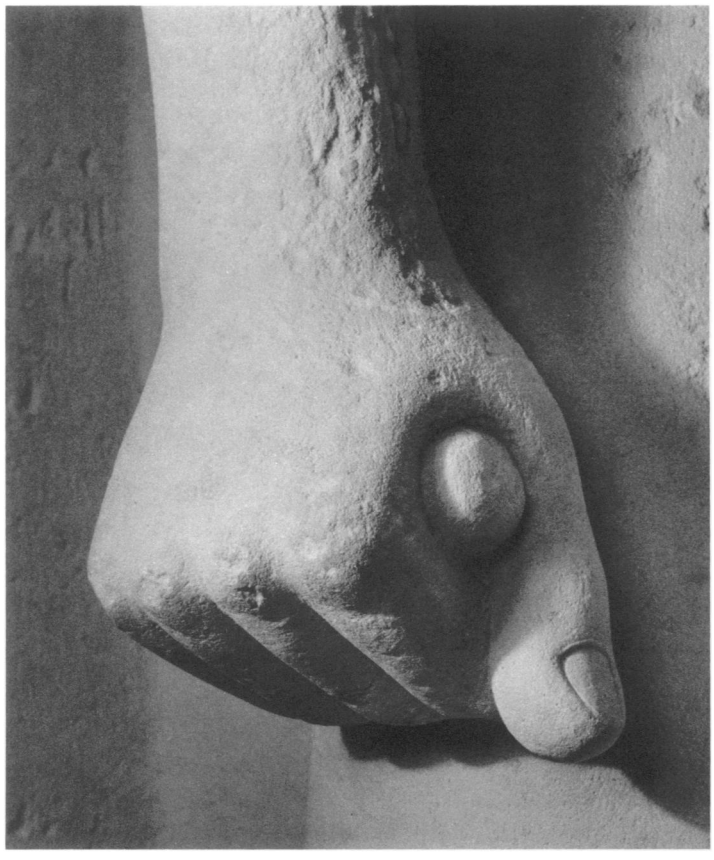


FIGURE 2
Right hand of the statue of *Bꜣ-bꜣ.f*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 64.66.2

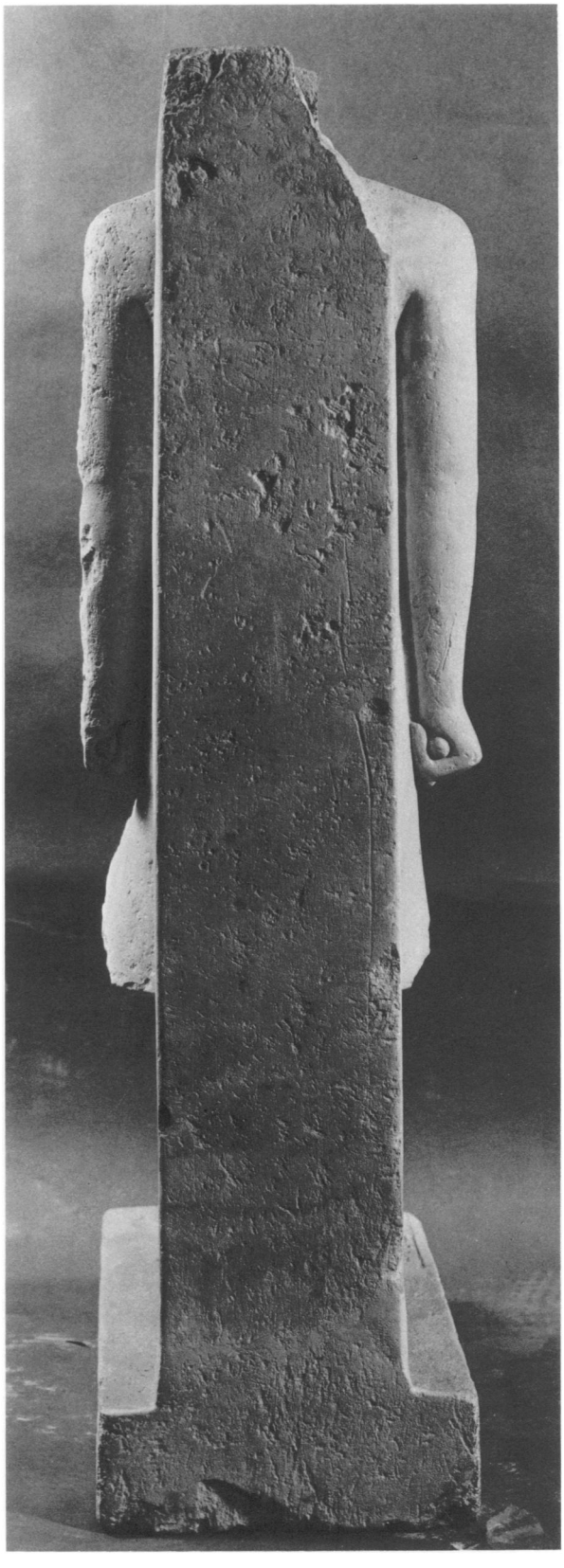


FIGURE 3
Bꜣ-bꜣ.f from rear

close to the body, as was done in the case of the Third Dynasty statues of *Zpꜣ* in the Louvre.[3] But this solution imposed a stiffness of attitude that was subsequently avoided by sculptors of any competence. The Egyptian statues of the Old Kingdom and later are usually relaxed, assuming an attitude that might, with greatest ease and comfort, be maintained for eternity. The resultant disengagement of the limbs meant, in turn, that the connective areas currently described as "negative space" (or more appropriately by the German "Zwischenraum") were used to a greater extent and

3. André Vigneau, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, I: *Musée du Louvre*, (Éditions "Tel," Paris [1935]), pl. 6.

with increased resourcefulness. It was in the Fourth Dynasty that the characteristic reinforcement now termed a "back-pillar" was supplied, in contrast to the aforementioned statues of *Zp3*, which lack it.

Consequently the peglike objects have frequently been regarded simply as another manifestation of "negative space."[4] As a rule, however, they form rounded projections at both ends (Figures 2, 3),[5] whereas the areas of negative space are characteristically cut back to a lower level than the elements they reinforce. The back-pillar cannot be cited as a comparable exception because, although it is sometimes painted black (i.e., the color applied to negative space) along with the upper surface of the base in standing statues,[6] it may also, in the case of seated limestone statues, be painted red in imitation of wood or granite, along with the rectangular block on which the figure is seated.[7] More significantly, in the case of a number of standing statues the back-pillar is painted red[8] or yellow[9] (the latter more clearly in imitation of wood) in contrast to the black surface of the base. This adjunct was accordingly regarded as a concrete, supportive element, fully justifying its modern designation.[10]

Of the alternative explanations for the elusive shape, the most persuasive is one that Spiegelberg proposed in 1906,[11] and which has been reiterated in recent years. Comparing standing statues of stone and wood, Spiegelberg concludes that the peglike objects in the hands of the former are a truncated version of the staff and baton that are held by the latter. In recent publications they are sometimes described as "emblematic staves," a term initiated by Bernard V. Bothmer.[12]

If the functional reason for the usage is beyond question, and if it also seems highly likely that a specific object is represented, it is nonetheless impossible to agree with Spiegelberg's explanation, for it incurs an objection that has not—to my knowledge—been raised against it previously,[13] but is nonetheless conclusive.

4. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* p. 6 (no. 5): "Hohlräume der Fäuste"; p. 8 (no. 7): "Hohlungen in den Händen." F. W. von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur*, text (Munich, 1914) no. 4: "Hohlraum der Faust." H. Schäfer in Schäfer and Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients* (Berlin, 1925) p. 44. George Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946) p. 6. Elisabeth Staehelin. *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich* (*MÄS* 8, 1966) p. 161. See also Rudolph Anthes, "Affinity and Difference between Egyptian and Greek Sculpture and Thought," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107 (1963) p. 64: "Since this bit of stone was meaningless otherwise, we must assume that it was left for either technical or aesthetic reason, or both."

5. A typical Fifth Dynasty example from Giza. Other examples are occasionally rounded in front only (CG 18, 24, 47, 52) or show no projection (CG 70, 126, 132, 178, 180, 192, 211, 235). Such cases are very much in the minority, however.

6. About 18 examples noted by Borchardt: CG 5, 6, 47, 54, 55 (seated), 77, 81, 88, 90 (?), 97, 98, 100 (seated), 111, 129, 132, 133, 158, 212.

7. About five examples noted by Borchardt: CG 22, 44, 91, 94 (?), 101.

8. Five examples noted by Borchardt: CG 20, 125, 278, 284, 372. In two other cases this element is blue gray, imitating darker stone (CG 143, 205).

9. Six examples noted by Borchardt: CG 23, 50, 51, 96, 99, 151.

10. In some cases it is replaced by a wall-like backing (CG 18, 19, 20, 29, 47, 52, 89, 90). This, like the narrower back-pillar, does not always extend above shoulder level, and for that reason Bernard V. Bothmer is inclined to doubt that back-pillars were simply intended as structural support (Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* [New York, 1960] p. xxxiv). In at least one New Kingdom statuette, representing Amenophis III, the back-pillar is carved to represent the hieroglyph meaning "stability" and "permanence" (): MMA 30.8.74; W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II (Cambridge, Mass., 1959) p. 237, fig. 142.

11. W. Spiegelberg, "Der 'Steinkern' in der Hand von Statuen," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 28 (1906) pp. 174–176. His view is accepted by Anwar Shoukry, *Die Privatgrabstatue im Alten Reich* (*ASAE* Suppl. No. 15 [Cairo, 1951]) p. 129.

12. "A Wooden Statue of Dynasty VI," *BMFA* 46 (1948) p. 34; more extensively discussed in "Notes on the Mycerinus Triad," *BMFA* 48 (1950) p. 15; there is no mention of Spiegelberg in either case, and the idea is put forward as a new one. So also Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, p. 10. J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III (Paris, 1958) p. 19, refers to Bothmer's view and partially agrees: the object in question is described as "un bâton, très court, mais probablement moins court que sur les statues égyptiennes." The same view is followed more explicitly by E. L. B. Terrace in Terrace and Fischer, *Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Cairo Museum* (London, 1970) p. 48.

13. The only detailed argument that has been presented against it is that of Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, p. 161; she adduces the allegedly dark color of the objects and the fact that women sometimes hold them. Although, in my opinion, the example shown in her fig. 3 is not of ancient manufacture, valid examples are to be found in a Hildesheim statue (G. Roeder, *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums zu Hildesheim* [Berlin, 1921] fig. 10) and CG 135 (cf. B. Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, IV [Munksgaard, 1966] no. 1056), as well as in one of the Mycerinus triads (Cairo J. 46499: G. A. Reisner, *Mycerinus* [Cambridge, Mass., 1931] pl. 45). In some other cases it appears in the hands of prisoners (esp. Cairo J. 51729, although this feature is not apparent in G. Jéquier's *Le Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III [Cairo, 1940] pl. 47 [right]), or a child (Leiden D.125: P. Boeser, A. and J. Holwerda, *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung* I: *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches, Atlas* [The Hague, 1908] pl. 24). And the object is also

In all of the extraordinarily abundant evidence for ancient Egyptian iconography there is not a single comparable example of symbolic abstraction. One of the most salient aspects of pharaonic art, in fact, is its adherence to concrete and naturalistic detail. This point is most strikingly attested by the fact that hieroglyphic pictographs continued to be employed for monumental inscriptions, despite the virtually simultaneous development of hieratic, which tended to become more abbreviated and cursive. As the individual hieroglyphs demonstrate, the Egyptian artist was willing to isolate parts, to combine them as seen from different points of view, and to alter their scale and proportions. But the result is consistently clear and recognizable, and the departures from retinal reality were generally designed for precisely that reason—to produce greater clarity and comprehension.

The hieroglyphic representation of one of the alleged "emblematic staves" is a case in point. The sign 𓌡 alters the proportions of width and length in order to differentiate the two ends as distinctly as possible—one knobbed (i.e., larger and bulbous, with a beveled edge), the other flat and narrower. It is hardly possible that this truncated form would not appear in the hands of statues if it had actually been intended, particularly if one takes account of the very close interrelationship of Egyptian art and hieroglyphic writing. The so-called emblematic staves not only fail to make the distinction between the two ends of the alleged staff, but also fail to distinguish the staff from its supposed counterpart, the scepter, the end of which is shaped quite differently; in hieroglyphs these are given equal length, but are contrasted as follows: 𓌡 𓌂 (Figure 4).[14] Furthermore the peglike objects sometimes appear in the hands of kings, and in this case one would have to suppose the elimination of a further distinction between a staff and mace (𓌡 𓌉) or between the crook and flail (𓋾 𓍁).

Although Spiegelberg does not overlook the important consideration of color, his observations on this score are meager and rather suspect. That shortcoming is understandable, for descriptions of polychromy on statues are sadly deficient even in recent publications, such as Junker's *Gîza*, and it is by no means easy to identify traces of pigment under ordinary lighting conditions in museum installations. For this reason, my own observations are also limited, but, taken together with the observations made by Ludwig Borchardt in his *Statuen und Statuetten*, the evidence seems sufficient to indicate a range of possibilities that evidently excludes the staff and baton from further consideration.

Borchardt's observations are clearly affected by the fact that he considered the peglike object to represent the "hollow of the fist" and therefore merely "negative space." Unless he observed definite traces of color on the rounded ends, this detail evidently received no attention, and, conversely, it is impossible to say to what extent he observed traces of pigment on these areas when he states that in general the negative space of a certain statue is black. In some instances—such as CG 20—the surface of the limestone seems to have been left unpainted in contrast to the surrounding dark reddish paint on the hand itself, but Borchardt's sole description of a similar distinction is that of CG 145, which specifies "freie Räume, mit Ausnahme der Höhlungen der Fäuste." In addition to these two cases, Borchardt records that thirteen statues have peglike

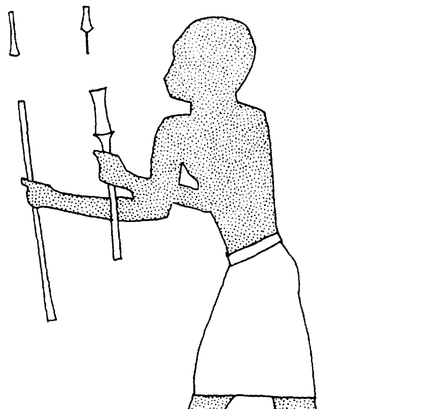


FIGURE 4
Offering bearer holding staff and scepter. After Newberry

occasionally found in the hands of naked boys and youths: MFA 06.1881 (*HESPOK*, pl. 24 [d]); CG 143, Cairo J. 57019; Junker, *Gîza*, VII, pl. 10.

14. From an early Middle Kingdom procession of offering bearers: P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II (London, 1893) pl. 7.

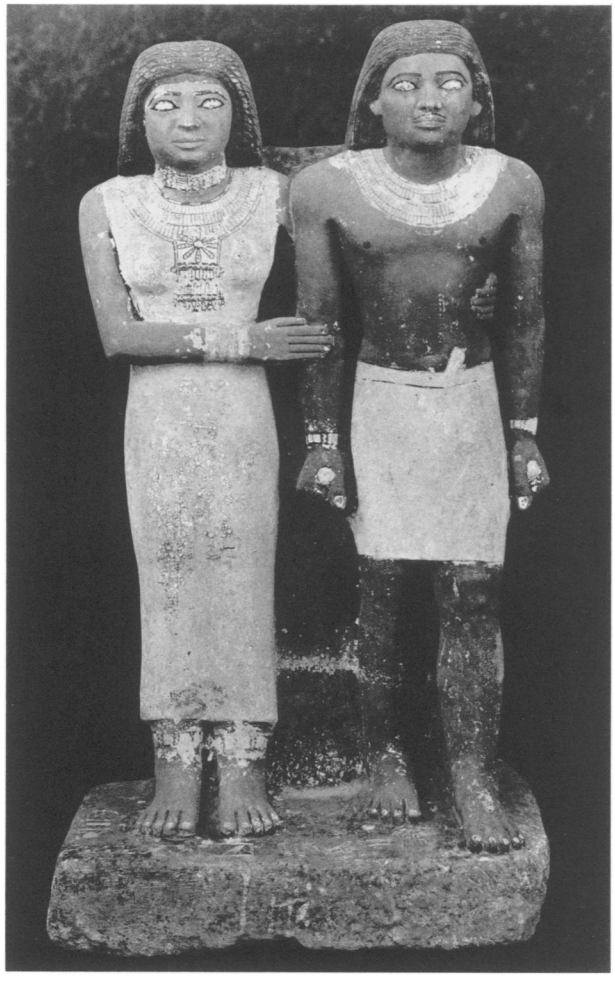


FIGURE 5
Statue of *Mśi* and *Śnnw*. Cairo J. 38670. Excavation-record photograph, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (photo: courtesy Museum of Fine Arts)

objects that are white, while the negative space is black (CG 80, 88, 98, 101, 129, 133, 151, 185, 191, 192), unspecified (CG 60, 370), or white (CG 219).

From my own observation I have noted that the peglike objects are similarly white (or, in the case of limestone statues, unpainted) in many instances: Brooklyn 53.222; MFA 06.1876, 06.1885,[15] 12.1484 (probably),[16] 21.2598,[17] 31.777,[18] 47.1455;[19] Univ. Mus. E 13515,[20] 14301;[21] Cairo J. 38670 (Figure 5),[22] 66618,[23] 66619,[24] 87804.[25] A few more examples may be found in publications: Univ. Calif. 6-19775,[26] statues in the tombs of *'Irw-kȝ-Ptḥ*[27] and *Mrr-w(.i)-kȝ(.i)*[28] at Saqqara (with white negative space in both cases),[29] Hildesheim 418,[30] and the statue illustrated in J. E. Quibell and A. G. K. Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side* (Cairo, 1927) pl. 29, where the objects in question are much lighter in contrast to the red hands and the yellow goffering of the kilt.[31]

In a few other cases the peglike objects are the same hue as the dark red or reddish brown hand that holds them, but, in contrast to the foregoing cases, these are more probably to be explained as negligence on the part of the painter: MFA 21.2596, 21.25999; Univ. Mus. E 2551 (?); Cairo J. 66620, CG 27, 28. In the last case the color is described as yellow brown, again matching the skin, but I have not personally observed any that are black.[32] I know of no certain cases where the objects are yellow.

15. For MFA 06.1876 and 06.1885, *HESPOK*, p. 69; the latter illustrated in pl. 24 (c).

16. For MFA 12.1484, *HESPOK*, pl. 21 (d).

17. For MFA 21.2598, *HESPOK*, p. 74.

18. For MFA 31.777, *HESPOK*, p. 76.

19. Not pale yellow as described by Bothmer, *BMFA* 46 (1948) p. 34.

20. See Alan Rowe in Clarence Fisher, *The Minor Cemetery at Giza* (Philadelphia, 1924) pp. 135–136, pl. 42.

21. Unpublished: standing limestone statue of a man named Khenu, purchased in 1925 and said to come from Saqqara.

22. See *HESPOK*, p. 69 pl. 24 (b). The photograph is published with the permission of Dr. Wm. K. Simpson.

23. Hassan, *Gîza*, I, pl. 70.

24. Hassan, *Gîza*, I, pl. 73.

25. Hassan, *Gîza*, V, pl. 53 (A).

26. H. F. Lutz, *Egyptian Statues and Statuettes in the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California* (Leipzig, 1930) p. 23 (referring to pl. 34 a).

27. B. de Rachewiltz, *The Rock Tomb of Irw-Kȝ-Ptḥ* (Leiden, 1960) frontispiece and p. 9. More clearly seen in Cyril Aldred, *Egypt to the End of the Old Kingdom* (London, 1965) fig. 100.

28. *Mereruka*, II, pl. 148.

29. The use of white "negative space" evidently tends to occur in the case of statues that, like these two examples, are located within niches; so too BM 1165, which also has white objects in the hands: E. A. W. Budge, *British Museum: A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)* (London, 1909) p. 21, and T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae* I, 2nd ed. (London, 1961) pl. 4. In this case, however, the base of the niche is painted red.

30. Hans Kayser, *Die ägyptischen Altertümer* (Hildesheim, 1973) color plate 2, p. 47.

31. Other examples of this kind might also be cited; Abdel-Moneim Abu-Bakr, *Excavations at Giza 1949–1950* (Cairo, 1953) pl. 50; Junker, *Gîza*, VI, pl. 17; in neither case is the color described in detail.

32. W. Wolf so describes CG 19 (*Die Kunst Aegyptens* [Stuttgart, 1957] p. 158) but this does not coincide with my own observations or those of Borchardt, who says the color is red, matching the surrounding color of the skin.

If the objects in question represented staves, one would certainly expect their color to be yellow in most cases, although red might also be considered a secondary possibility. And the large proportion of white examples (those listed above add up to at least thirty-two) would be totally unexplained. This proportion evidently greatly exceeds the relatively rare incidence of white as the color of negative space; Borchardt notes five or six cases of white negative space,[33] as compared with ninety-nine that show the normal use of black.

It may be added that Heinrich Schäfer seems to be the only scholar who has previously characterized the color of the "elusive shape" as white,[34] but Perrot and Chipiez and their German translator, Richard Pietschmann, were evidently of the same opinion, for they identified the object in question as a roll of papyrus[35] and as a loop of cloth.[36] These explanations, although they have long since been discarded,[37] deserve closer consideration.

THE PROPOSED SOLUTION

The form of the "elusive shape" is displayed most clearly in a few seated statues that turn the fisted hand so that both rounded ends are outlined upon the lap. Examples like Figure 6 confirm the concrete reality of

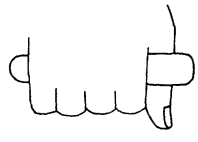


FIGURE 6
Right hand of statue of *Pṯḥ-špśś*. CG 164. After Borchardt

this object;[38] if it seems improbable that the rounded protuberances would represent negative space in free-standing sculpture, it is altogether inconceivable that negative space would assume such a form in relief, against a flat surface. The predominantly rounded ends also exclude the possibility that the object ordinarily represents a roll of papyrus, although that possibility is suggested by some two-dimensional representations of standing statues,[39] as well as by a seated statue that exceptionally shows this object as a white cylindrical shape with flat ends.[40] It must, of course, be admitted that the convention, once it had become established, could occasionally have been reinterpreted in more than one sense.

But the only object in the repertory of Old Kingdom iconography that corresponds to the more usual form of the "elusive shape," both in contour and color, is a bolt of cloth, as represented by the hieroglyph 𓋴. This sign is explained as a "garment" in Gardiner's Sign List,[41] but is actually a folded length of linen, and it is accordingly rounded at both ends as compared with the hieroglyph 𓋹, which shows a cloth that is only partly folded.[42] Both modes of representing cloth appear in Old Kingdom scenes that depict linen being delivered by the weavers and their supervisors (Figure 7).[43]

A handkerchief in the form of 𓋹 is often seen in the hands of two-dimensional representations of the tomb owner, and it is apt to replace 𓋴 in the right hand of seated statues, where the free ends of the cloth can be readily displayed in relief upon the surface of the kilt, as noted earlier.[44] In the case of standing statues, the

33. CG 18, 27, 31 (?), 37, 49, as well as 219, mentioned earlier. Even more rarely the color is red or red brown (CG 8, 44) or gray blue (CG 649).

34. H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 4th ed. (Wiesbaden, 1963) p. 52.

35. G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, I (Paris, 1882) p. 655.

36. Perrot and Chipiez, trans. Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Kunst im Alterthum: Aegypten* (Leipzig, 1884) p. 855 (Anhang zu S. 595). This view is cited and rejected by Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur*, text, no. 4.

37. The interpretation as a roll of papyrus has again been suggested fairly recently, however, by Henri Wild in "Statue de Hor-néfer au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lausanne," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale* 54 (1954) p. 174.

38. Borchardt says CG 164 and 177 are the same. The same is also true of CG 649 and Hassan, *Gîza*, I, pl. 70 (Cairo J. 66618); II, pls. 19, 21 (2, 3).

39. Most clearly in Junker, *Gîza*, XI, fig. 99, p. 248. Cf. *Mereruka*, I, pls. 29, 30, 39 (the latter perhaps an incomplete representation of 𓋹 as in the figure shown above it), and *LD* II, pl. 64 bis (b), where the object appears to be rounded at either end.

40. MFA 06.1885, cited among the white examples presented earlier (note 15, above).

41. Adapted from N 18; this follows S 26 in the Sign List (A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. [London, 1957] p. 507).

42. Sign List S 29.

43. From *LD* II, pl. 103 (a); also reproduced by Junker, *Gîza*, V, fig. 10, p. 49. Another example is in A. M. Blackman and M. R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, V (London, 1953) pl. 15.

44. CG 9, 10, 14, 15, 17 (all Chephren), 26, 30, 41, 46, 49, 55, 63, 67, 69, 84, 123; Hassan, *Gîza*, II, pls. 1, 2 (3, 4); Junker, *Gîza*, VI, pl. 7; Cairo J. 48076; Louvre A 43.

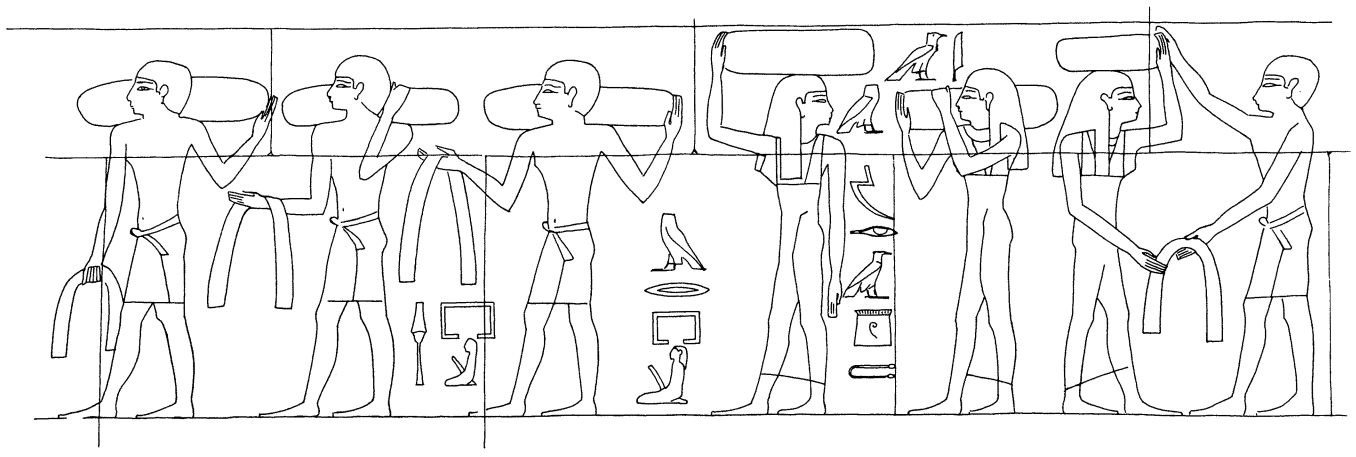


FIGURE 7
Relief from tomb of *Pṯḥ-ḥtp*, Saqqara. After Lepsius

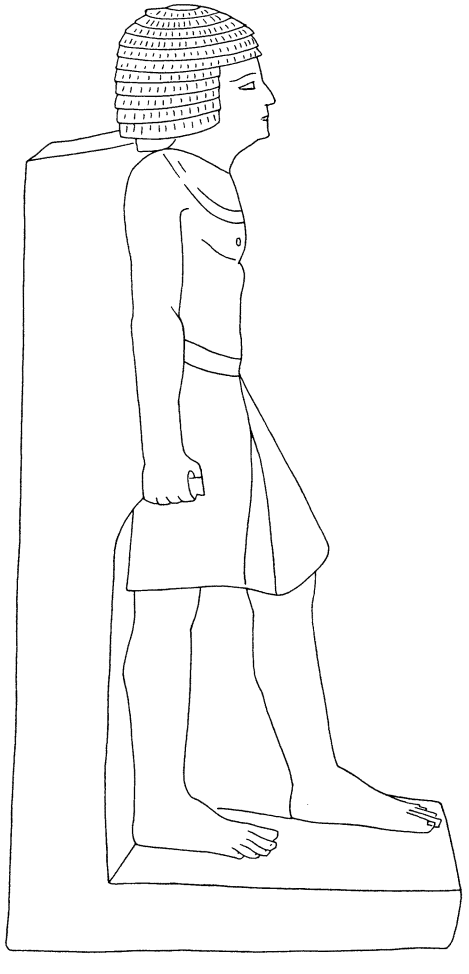


FIGURE 8
Statue of *Rʿ-wr*. Cairo J. 66622. After Hornemann

pendant ends of this style of handkerchief are generally avoided unless the statue is made of a material such as wood, which permits projections to be introduced with less danger of breakage. But in at least two standing statues of stone the same form is suggested by making a curved connection with the back-pillar (Figure 8).[45] Another stone statue, in the Metropolitan Museum, more surprisingly makes the same connection by extending the object in the hand straight backward, and this evidently represents ⟹ rather than 𓋴 (Figure 9).[46]

Both representations of cloth, as seen in the hands of statues, are "hieroglyphic" in that they reduce a flat object to a thin strip—Figure 10, a, b instead of c, d. The thin strip then assumes a tubular form when transferred to three dimensions. In view of their hieroglyphic aspect, they may well display that disregard of scale that is particularly characteristic of hieroglyphs, although it also pertains to Egyptian art in general, which is itself an extension of the hieroglyphic system. While relatively small handkerchiefs were doubtless used on some occasions, representations such as Figure 11[47] show that a much larger cloth was carried,

45. B. Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, I (Munksgaard, n.d.) no. 125. Also Cairo J. 66616, Hornemann, V (Munksgaard, 1966) no. 1361. Front views of both appear in Hassan, *Gîza*, I, pls. 21 (Cairo J. 66622) and 22 (Cairo J. 66616).

46. Another view is shown by H. Fischer, "Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom," *MMJ* 8 (1973) p. 14, and by Nora Scott in "Memy-Sabu and His Wife," *BMMA* (1948–49) p. 96.

47. From Selim Hassan, "Excavations at Saqqara 1937–1938," *ASAE* 38 (1938) p. 520, pl. 96. See also Vigneau, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, I, pl. 27. The tomb owner is also shown with such a cloth over the shoulder: L*D* II, pls. 9, 12 (same in Hassan, *Gîza*, IV, fig. 77, p. 135), 19, 106; Junker, *Gîza*, II, fig. 22, p. 156; also Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, p. 194 and notes

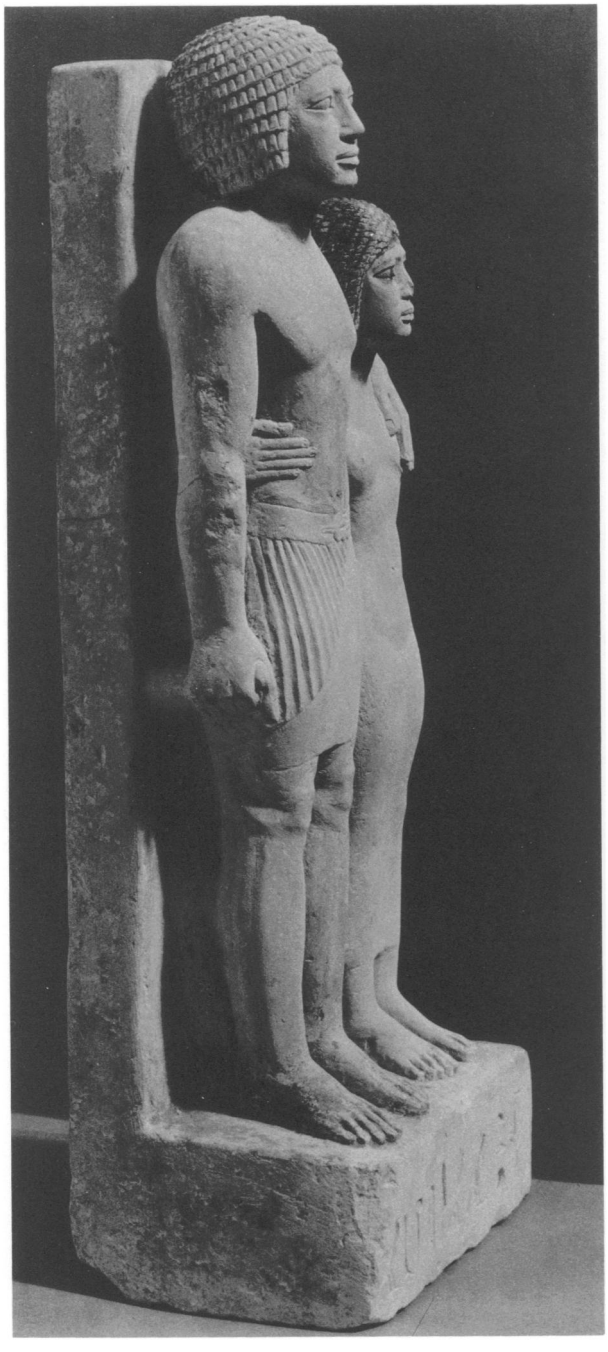


FIGURE 9
Statue of *Mmi/Śʿbw* and his wife. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 48.111

slung over the shoulder. A relief from one of Mariette's mastabas at Saqqara, illustrated here for the first time (Figures 12–14),[48] shows a cloth of this size that has been folded up and placed under one arm. The lower edge of the folded cloth is broken at the rear, and partly restored with plaster; but a portion of the original surface of the stone is visible only a short distance below the break, and from this it is evident that the cloth did not originally show a pair of pendant ends, curving downward. It is apparently the exact counterpart, on a larger scale, of the object that is under discussion.[49]

The date of this relief is probably no earlier than the mid-Fifth Dynasty, but there is every reason to believe that the hieroglyph ⟹, representing a bolt of cloth, was familiar to sculptors in the early Fourth Dynasty, when it made its first appearance in the hands of statues. The earliest evidence derives from offering lists, where it figures among the various determinatives

6, 7. This use of the cloth reappears in Ramesside tombs (N. de G. Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes* [New York, 1927] pl. 37; N. de G. Davies, *Tomb of Nefer-ḫotep at Thebes*, I [New York, 1933] pl. 27), which also show a folded cloth used as a head covering (*Nefer-ḫotep*, I, pls. 16, 47; N. de G. Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Ḳurnah* [London, 1948] pl. 30).

48. Published with the kind permission of the owner, Dr. Endre Ungar of Mexico City. From Mariette's B4: see A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1889) pp. 95–96, where the titles may be seen more completely. The left jamb measures 40 × 124.2 cms., the right 37.5 × 126.5. The location of tomb B4 is discussed by W. S. Smith in G. A. Reisner, *Development of the Egyptian Tomb* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936) p. 398. For the unusual pair of tabs that project below the kilt of the right-hand figure, see Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, p. 15 and note 3. For the belt on the leopard skin of the left-hand figure, see the same work, p. 45, note 7; also James, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, I, 2nd ed., pls. 3 (3), 12 (2).

49. One might be tempted to regard this as the scribal kit called a *ḫryt-ʿ*, literally "that which is under the arm (or hand)"; but such kits are generally less elongated, and made of wood (W. F. M. Petrie, *Medum* [London, 1892] pl. 13; M. A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I [London, 1905] pl. 2); furthermore, they were evidently too large to be placed under the arm, as shown by representations of a man carrying one on his shoulder, S. Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani a El-Ghiza* (Rome, 1963) fig. 7, pl. 7; *LD* II, pl. 105 (2); *ASAE* 16 (1916) p. 259.

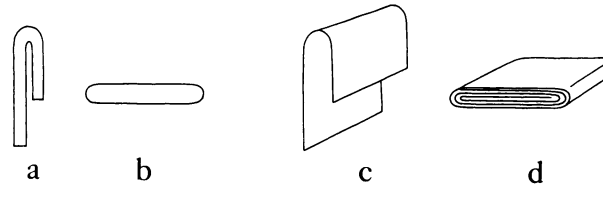


FIGURE 10
Hieroglyphs representing folded cloth, with perspective interpretation

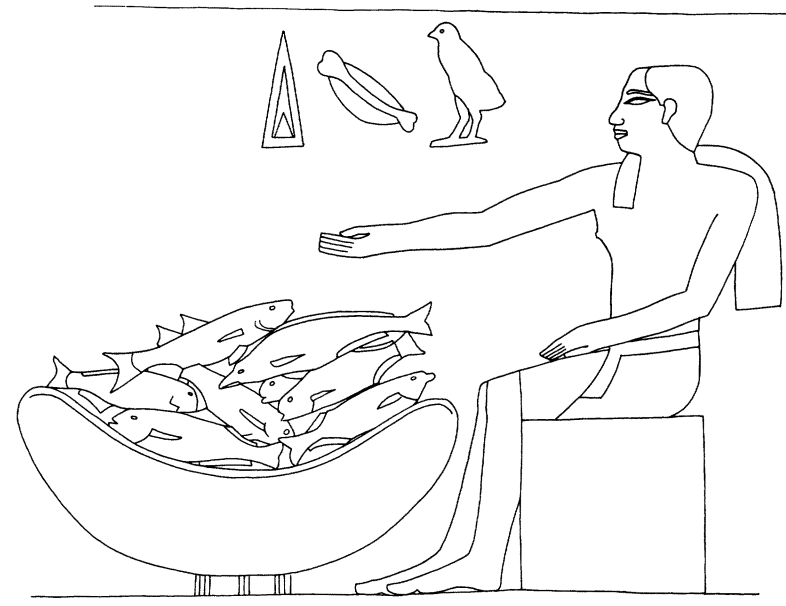
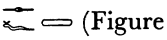
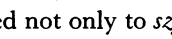
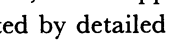


FIGURE 11
Relief from Unis pyramid causeway. After Hassan

of  (Figure 15).[50] Some of the variants show an elongated rectangular form, probably representing a chest or pile of cloths, as is seen more clearly from later Old Kingdom representations of bolts of linen (Figure 16).[51] A few early examples show a tie at the center, and in some cases the determinative is reduced to the tie alone:  . Some sort of binding, at the ends or at the center, is also applied to the form  , as again illustrated by detailed representations.[52] This form is applied not only to *szf* but also to several other terms for cloth in the Abu Sir papyri, dating to the end of the Fifth Dynasty.[53] It is particularly well known in  , *ḏsiw*, a word that is first attested in the Sixth Dynasty and is generally taken to mean "kilt" but primarily means "bolt of cloth."[54] From the Eleventh Dynasty onward *ḏsiw* is written ideographically as  . The hieroglyph in question also appears

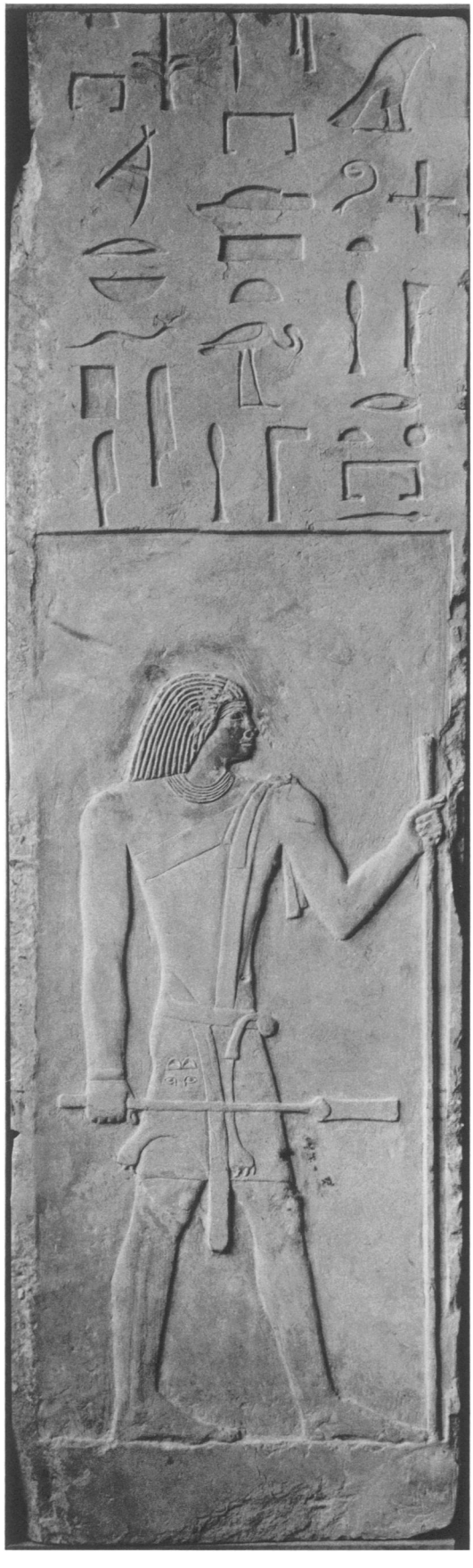
50. Fig. 15 a: Zaky Y. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs* (*ASAE* Suppl. No. 21 [Cairo, 1957]) no. 19, pl. 23. Fig. 15 b: *Ceiling Stelae*, no. 25, pl. 30. This earliest attested example of occurs relatively late in the series of Helwan stelae, and most probably belongs to Dyn. III; see Drioton's comments in the same work, pp. xv, xvi, and P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* (*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen*, 8 [Wiesbaden, 1963]) pp. 331, 343–354. Figs. 15 c, d: CG 1385, 1386 (both dating to end of Dyn. III). Fig. 15 e: G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, I (Cambridge, Mass., 1942) pl. 39 (a) (Dyn. IV, temp. Cheops). Fig. 15 f: same work, pl. 31 (c) (Dyn. IV, temp. Chephren). Fig. 15 g: Berlin 1107G, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, I (Leipzig, 1913) p. 99 (early Dyn. V; see Junker, *Giza*, II, pp. 121–131). Fig. 15 h: A.-M. Abu-Bakr, *Excavations at Giza, 1949–1950*, fig. 10, facing p. 14 and pl. 10 (B) (Dyn. V ?). Fig. 15 i: P. Posener-Kriéger and J. de Cenival, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, V: *The Abu Sir Papyri* (London, 1968) pl. 47, and similarly pls. 41, 49, 50, 51, 92, 93 (end of Dyn. V). Fig. 15 j: A. M. Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, IV (London, 1924) pl. 20, p. 48 (Dyn. VI). Another hieratic writing of *szf* with the determinative is to be found in A. M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay* (Mainz am Rhein, 1971) fig. 11, p. 44 (late Dyn. V). The same determinative occurs in the related word  , Pyr. 265c, at the end of Dyn. V: K. Sethe, *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*, I (Leipzig, 1908) p. 144. Sethe (*Dramatische Texte zu altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen* [Leipzig, 1928] p. 216), discussing this word, rightly concludes that the determinative is a "Zeugballen," a bolt of cloth. W. S. Smith ("The Old Kingdom Linen List," *ÄZ* 71 [1935] p. 149) may also be right in concluding that *szf* represents a narrow width of cloth, but, less happily, he believes that this narrowness is represented by the determinative.

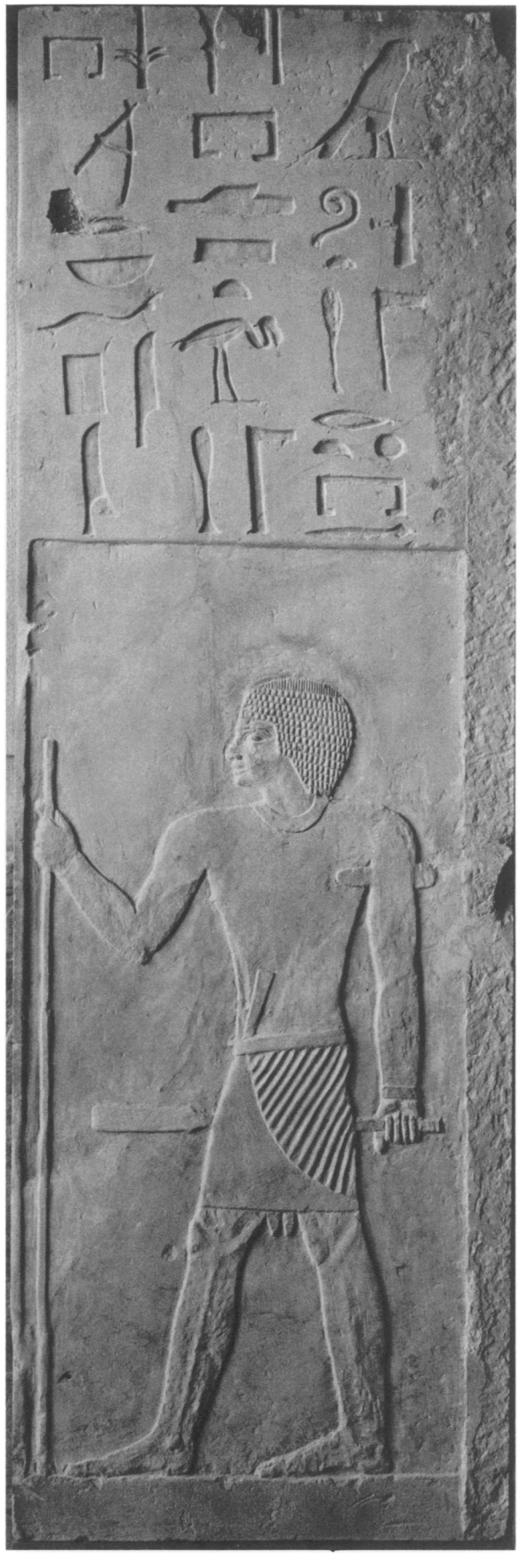
51. Fig. 16a is from Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, IV, pl. 19. Other examples: G. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pépi II* (Cairo, 1929) fig. 17, p. 19; fig. 18, p. 20; fig. 50, p. 46, etc.

52. Fig. 16b is from C. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, II (Cairo, 1926) pl. 6 (B, D). Fig. 16c is from T. G. H. James and M. R. Apted, *The Mastaba of Khentika Called Ikhekhi* (London, 1953) pl. 38.

53. Posener-Kriéger and Cenival, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, V: *nfr(w)*, pls. 14, 47, 50, 51, 92, 93; *ḥnk*, pls. 41, 47, 49; *pḳ*, pl. 47; *nwt* and *mnw*, pl. 51; *sḫ*, pl. 49; *šzpt*, pl. 15.

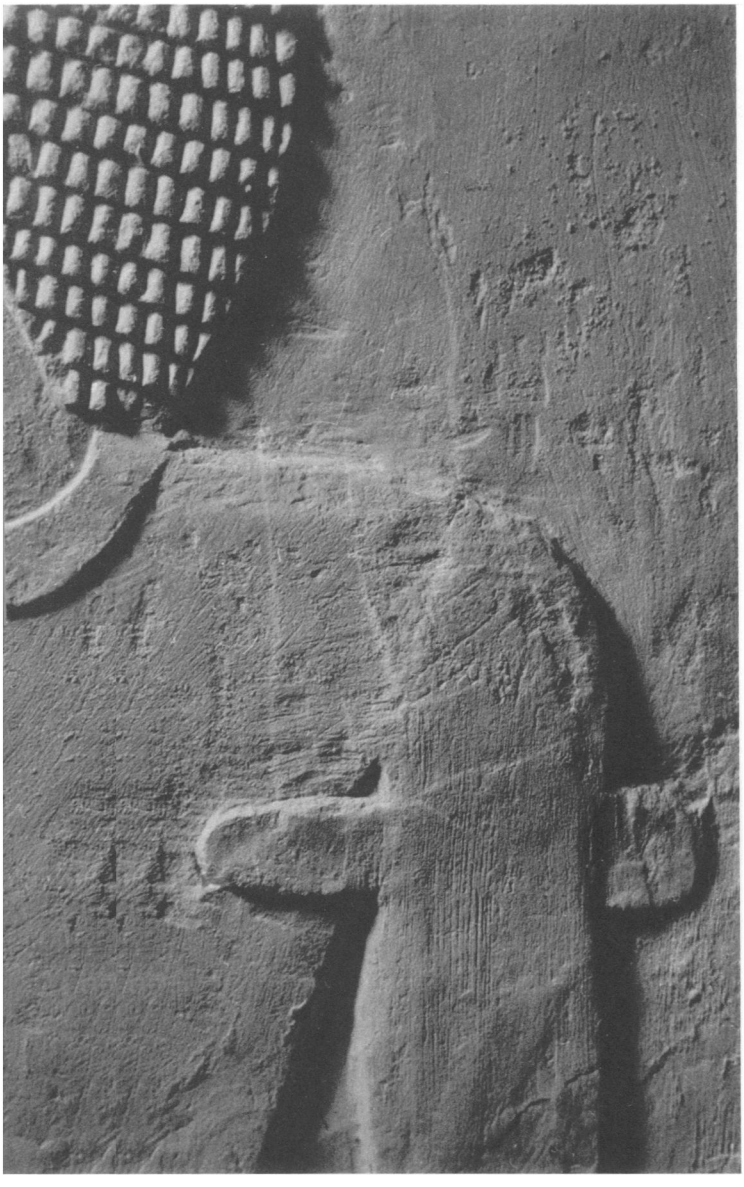
54. Elisabeth Staehelin has independently come to the same conclusion in "Bindung und Entbindung," *ÄZ* 96 (1970) pp. 125–133, and her careful survey of the evidence leaves little more to be said; a few more references will be presented elsewhere, in an article of mine in the *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13.





FIGURES 12, 13 (LEFT)
Reliefs from tomb of *'Ipi*, Saqqara (photo: courtesy Dr. Endre Ungar)

FIGURE 14
Detail of relief, Figure 13



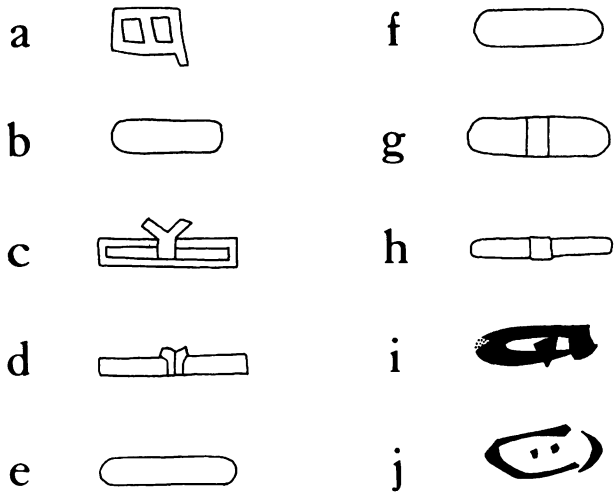
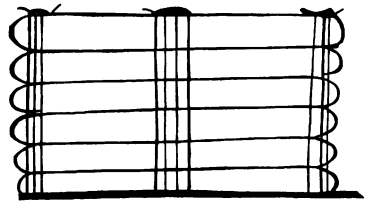


FIGURE 15
Variants of the hieroglyph representing a bolt of cloth



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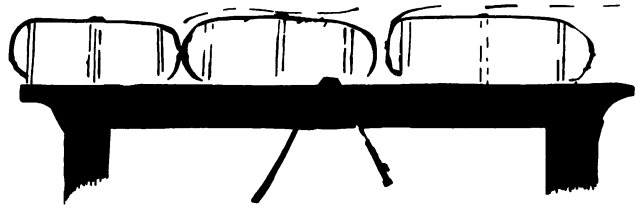

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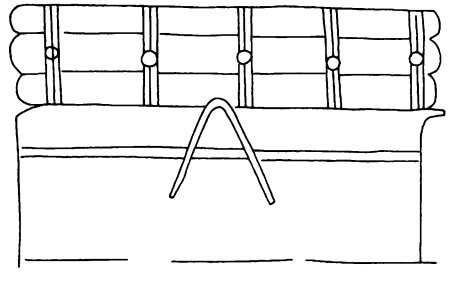


c

FIGURE 16 (RIGHT)
Bolts of cloth as represented among offerings in Old Kingdom burial chambers

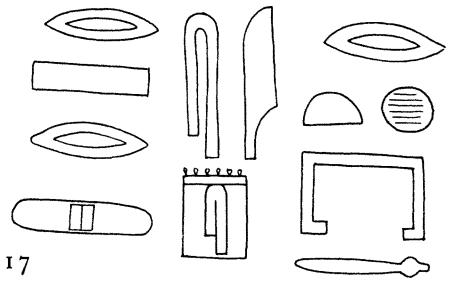
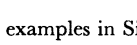


FIGURE 17
Titles from the tomb of *Nfr-kꜣ.i*, Giza, based on photograph (photo: courtesy Museo Egiziano, Turin)

in some later Old Kingdom variant writings of the title  "overseer of the wardrobe."[55] And finally, a particularly interesting occurrence of  is to be found in a title that is probably not much later than the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty (Figure 17).[56] The orthography offers some difficulties, but I suggest that it is to be read  , *iry śšr*, "keeper of linen."[57] The last sign is certainly not a loaf of bread, as has previously been suggested.[58] The last two signs may both be regarded as generic determinatives.[59] Possibly, however, the sign may have a more specific meaning, in which case the title would mean "keeper of bolts of linen."

If cloth has, by its very nature, an elusive shape, assuming, among other shapes, the one that is found in the hands of Egyptian statues, it also lends itself to a variety of uses. Thus it is not surprising to find a piece of cloth occasionally in the hands of women, children, or prisoners (see Note 13), who would not ordinarily be expected to hold a staff or baton.

Finally it should be noted that the "elusive shape" is to be distinguished from the wide-ended object () that was sometimes carried by the king. This is colored yellow[60] and represents a container for documents.[61] Something very similar exceptionally appears in the

55. Several examples in Sixth Dynasty tomb chapels near the Unis pyramid causeway: A. Barsanti, "Le mastaba de Samnofir," *ASAE* 1 (1900) p. 152 (also in Z. Y. Saad, *Royal Excavations at Saqqara and Helwan [1941–1945]* [Cairo, 1947] p. 56, pl. 18); other examples unpublished:  , etc.

56. Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani a El-Ghiza*, fig. 22 and pl. 2. I am indebted to Professor Curto for the photograph from which my drawing was made. Another detail from the same tomb is discussed in "Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom," *MMJ* 8 (1973) pp. 16–18.

57. *ʾIry śšr(w)* is otherwise known from BM 130 (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, pl. 14); CG 1564, Cairo J. 37731 (the latter on a basin from Reisner's tomb G 1351). In the first two cases the title is accompanied by *iry ḫt pr ꜥꜣ* "keeper of property of the Great House," just as in the present example. The use of instead of is unexpected in an Old Kingdom inscription, although another case occurs in the tomb of *Mrr-w(.i)-kꜣ(.i)* (: *Mereruka*, I, pl. 8); it is more frequent in the Twelfth Dynasty (e.g., , BM 839, *Hieroglyphic Texts . . . in the British Museum*, II, pl. 7). Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani a El-Ghiza*, p. 14, takes as a writing of , citing *Wb.* I, 127; the interchange of and would be quite unexpected, however, in the midst of reliefs and inscriptions that are carefully designed and executed. Nor is there any parallel for his interpretation of the entire title: (*jrj-ḫt pr-ꜥꜣ*) *jś ḥbś jrj śjrj t* "addetto alle cose del Palazzo (e) el guardaroba, addetto ai giardini, addetto al pane."

58. See preceding note. The sign representing a loaf of bread is similar to this in hieratic (Posener-Kriéger and Cenival, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, V, pls. 34, 36, 39, 40, 41, etc.), but the detailed hieroglyphic equivalent is more like (Junker, *Gîza*, II, fig. 15, p. 146), which more usually lengthens to at the end of the Old Kingdom (H. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* [Locust Valley, N. Y., 1968]) p. 81 [13]; also G. Jéquier, *Les Pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit* [Cairo, 1933] figs. 4, 12, pp. 11, 30). But elongated examples of (without internal detail) occur as the determinative of *psn*-bread as early as Dyn. IV (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 19 [1933] pl. 23); also Dyn. V (Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 300); Dyn. VI (James and Apted, *Mastaba of Khentika*, pl. 9 [33], with two vertical strokes at the bottom edge, not as high as shown in the publication); perhaps this form typifies the particular loaf in question. A form like does occur as a generic determinative for food in at least one small-scale hieroglyphic inscription of the late Old Kingdom (C. Fisher, *The Minor Cemetery at Giza*, pl. 50[2]; not, however, Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 348, which is Cairo CG 1304); the variant is clearly influenced by semicursive writing and such an influence is unlikely in the present case.

59. One may perhaps compare cases where the related title *imy-r śšr* is written with both and , the first of which represents a sack for clothing, the second a generic determinative for cloth: Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 307 (and CG 1484), 252 (and Hilda F. Petrie and M. A. Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels* [London, 1952] pl. 14). The group occurs once in the Abu Sir papyri, but the preceding signs are lost: Posener-Kriéger and Cenival, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, V, pl. 15. Both these hieroglyphs are combined, apparently as determinatives, in a Middle Kingdom coffin which lists, among various kinds of cloth: (sic) *pśḳt, irtyw, mrw* (W. F. M. Petrie and G. Brunton, *Sedment*, I [London, 1924] pl. 18).

60. As in L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Śaʾḥu-reꜥ*, II (Leipzig, 1913) pl. 42; see also Jéquier, as cited in following note.

61. W. Spiegelberg, "Varia," *ÄZ* 53 (1917) pp. 101–104; G. Jéquier, *Les Frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire* (*MIFAO* 47 [Cairo, 1921]) pp. 281–282; B. V. Bothmer, "Notes on the Mycerinus Triad," *BMFA* 48 (1950) pp. 15–16 and fig. 5, p. 12.

hand of a nonroyal individual in an Old Kingdom relief[62] and a Twelfth Dynasty statue;[63] in the latter case it is white, and is held in the left hand, while the right hand holds a white folded cloth. The same combination of objects is, more appropriately, held by royal statues of the Twelfth Dynasty.[64] Royal statues of the Eighteenth Dynasty show a more cylindrical container, the ends slightly concave, held in both hands,[65] while those of the Nineteenth Dynasty revert to something closer to the original form.[66] Cylindrical objects with flat ends occasionally appear in the hands of nonroyal statues of the later dynasties,[67] and these may perhaps represent rolls of papyrus rather than the cases in which such documents were placed.

62. H. Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ti*, Pt. III (Cairo, 1966) pl. 171; see also Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, p. 162, but note that her second example, a relief on the base of CG 376, shows a son holding a papyrus roll.

63. W. M. F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London, 1907) pl. 10 E, and M. A. Murray, *The Tomb of Two Brothers* (Manchester, 1910) p. 16, pl. 21 (7).

64. Cairo J. 38286, J. 38287, Sesostris I (the former in C. Aldred, *Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* [London, 1950] fig. 27); CG 42011, Sesostris III. In the last case, the container is more or less cylindrical; so too CG 42026 (despite Lacau's description), representing Sesostris IV, and CG 386, representing Sobekemsef I, both of Dyn. XIII.

65. CG 42053, 42054, both Tuthmosis III, and 42077, representing Amenophis II; the last is best illustrated in Terrace and Fischer, *Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Cairo Museum*, pp. 110–111

66. The object is held horizontally on the lap of the seated statue of Ramesses II in Turin (R. Anthes, *Aegyptische Plastik in Meisterwerken* [Stuttgart, 1954] pls. 4–5). The colossal statue of Ramesses II in Cairo Station Square (L. Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II* [Glückstadt, 1969] pl. 14) holds this object in the right hand, while the object in the left hand may represent a piece of cloth, as shown in the accompanying sketch (Figure 18a). Possibly, however, the pendant end represents a flap to close the case, and the same detail is perhaps to be recognized in the right hand of Louvre A 24, a statue of Seti II (Figure 18b), although Spiegelberg (*ÄZ* 53 [1917] p. 104) interprets this as the document that the case ordinarily concealed. This statue is illustrated in Charles Boreux, *Musée National du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, Guide-Catalogue Sommaire* (Paris, 1932), pl. 2.

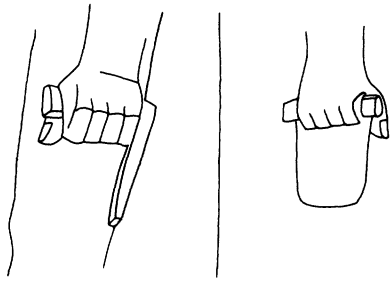


FIGURE 18
Details of statues, Ramesses II (a), Seti II (b)

67. Cairo J. 37150 (H. Kees, *ÄZ* 84 [1959] pp. 54–67, pl. 2, dating to Dyn. XXV; better illustrated in J. Yoyotte, *Treasures of the Pharaohs* [Geneva, 1968] p. 190); CG 42243, dating to Dyn. XXVI.

SOURCES ABBREVIATED

ASAE—*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*
ÄZ—*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
BM—British Museum
BMFA—*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston)
BMMA—*Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*
Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*. See CG + number
Cairo J. + number—Monuments in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, unpublished unless otherwise noted
CG + number—Monuments in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, numbers referring to *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire:*
CG 1–1294: Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo* I–IV (Berlin, 1911–34);
CG 1295–1808: Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, I–II (Berlin, 1937–64);
CG 42001–42250: Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, I–III (Cairo, 1906–14)
Hassan, *Giza*—Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, I–X (Oxford–Cairo, 1932–60)
HESPOK—W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1946)
Junker, *Giza*—H. Junker, *Giza* (*Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften*), I–XII (Vienna, 1929–55)
LD—C. R. Lepsius, ed., *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, I–XII (Berlin, 1849–59)
MÄS—*Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, Münchner Universitäts-Schriften, Philosophische Fakultät* (Berlin)
Mereruka—University of Chicago, *Oriental Institute Publications* 31, 39, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, I–II (Chicago, 1938)
MFA—Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MIFAO—*Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale* (Cairo)
MMA—The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Univ. Mus.—University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
Wb.—A. Erman and H. Grapow, eds., *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*, I–V (Leipzig, 1926–31)

An Eighteenth-century Find of Four Late Bronze Age Gold Discs near Enniscorthy, County Wexford, Ireland

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WHEN THE DISCS were found, an adequate report was published almost immediately by Ralph Ousley (1797); since then the find has been virtually ignored. The four discs "were exactly alike, quite circular and four inches and three quarters in diameter, very thin, weighing about one ounce each, ornamented handsomely at one side and quite plain on the other, except for a kind of cap or screw for the purpose of being affixed to a handle." Ousley stated that two of the discs were melted down shortly after discovery and two were sent to the President of the Royal Irish Academy, the Earl of Charlemont.[1] Until recently it was not known if any of the discs survived. The find was mentioned incidentally by William R. Wilde (1862, p. 87). He "believed" that a circular sheet gold object with a hole in the center, on one side of which there was a flange, was one of the Enniscorthy objects. Subsequently, E. C. R. Armstrong (1933, p. 46) quoted Wilde's statement. There the matter rested until March 1974. At that time I found that Ousley's publication contained an excellent illustration of one of the discs, showing a highly decorated piece that differed completely from the object published by Wilde and Armstrong (Figures 1, 2). Ousley's object had some decorative features that appeared familiar, but an examination of the appropriate publications failed to produce anything like it. It occurred to me to check my notes on, and photographs of, a gold disc in the Metropolitan Museum, an object I had examined in 1965. According to the Museum's records, it was found at Ballyjamesduff, county Cavan. However, comparison of the Museum's photographs (Figure 3) with Ousley's illustration showed that the discs were similar in decoration and size. I concluded that the "Ballyjamesduff" disc is one of the Enniscorthy discs. Further inquiries established that this disc was once at Johnstown Castle, in southeast county Wexford, within recent centuries the home of the Grogan family. The disc was seen at the castle by Mr. and Mrs. John Hunt prior to the sale of the contents of the castle in 1944.[2] Before the commencement of the sale it was

1. James Caulfeild first Earl of Charlemont (1728–99), was descended from a family of English origin. A patron of learning and the arts, he was a founder of the Royal Irish Academy; the first meeting of that institution took place in his Dublin townhouse, Charlemont House, in 1785 (M. J. Craig, *The Volunteer Earl* [London, 1948]).

2. The present building of Johnstown Castle was constructed by the Grogans during the earlier part of the last century. The castle and estate were presented to the nation in 1945 by Captain M. V. Lakin and Dorothy Violet Jefferies, who, through their mother, descended from the Grogan family. It has not been possible to trace Grogan family papers or any documentation about the disc.

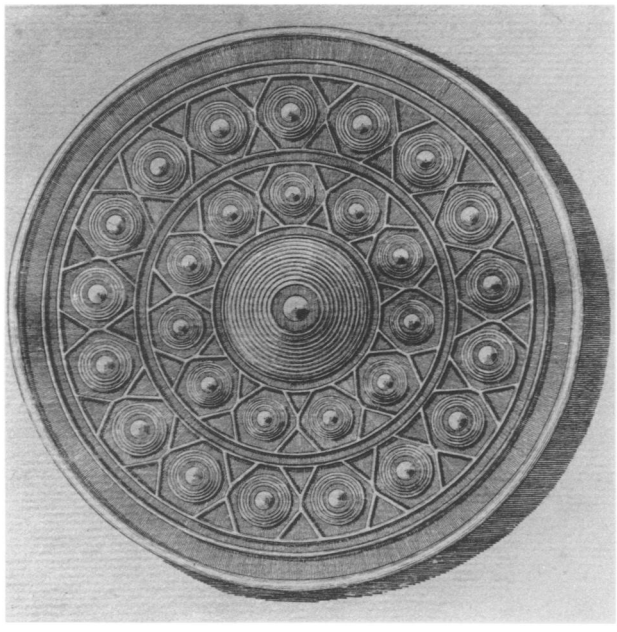
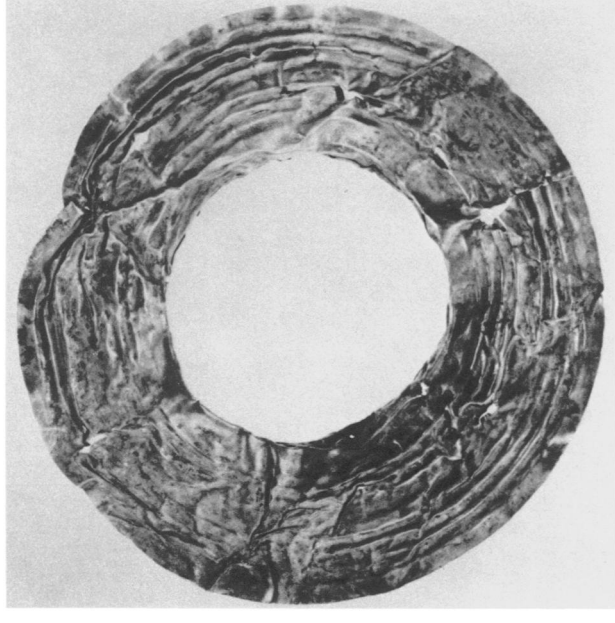


FIGURE 1
Ousley's illustration of one of the Enniscorthy discs. "Diameter 4¾ in." (121 mm.) (Ousley 1797)

FIGURE 2
Gold object of uncertain use. Diameter 128 mm. National Museum of Ireland, W 276 (photo: National Museum of Ireland)



acquired by a Dublin dealer, Harold Naylor. The Metropolitan acquired the disc from Patrick O'Connor, Dublin, who, it may be assumed, acquired it from Naylor. If Ousley's statement that two of the discs were melted down is correct, then this disc must have been one of the pair that was in Lord Charlemont's possession.

It was now established that at least one of the Enniscorthy discs was extant. When I spoke of this to Ruaidhrí de Valera, University College, Dublin, he mentioned a similar disc that he had seen in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1949. My inquiry revealed that Trinity College had no record concerning the acquisition of the disc or about its find place. The disc, together with other objects, had been transferred by the Board of Trinity College to the National Museum in 1963. I examined it in the National Museum and found it similar to the Metropolitan Museum's disc and to Ousley's illustration (Figure 4). In view of the similarities it appears likely that this is the second of the surviving discs.[3]

The four discs were found near Enniscorthy in October 1795 by an unknown peasant while ploughing. The precise find place was not recorded. Since it appears that the four were found at the same time, it seems reasonable to conclude that they were deposited together and that they constituted a hoard. According to Ousley, the finder sold them to a silversmith of Enniscorthy, a Mr. Gurly, "who melted two of them down and sent the other two for sale to the Earl of Charlemont, President of our Academy."

In structure, technique of manufacture, decoration, and size the two surviving discs are similar. They consist of three separate sheet-gold pieces: face plate, back plate, and binding strip. The decoration consists of concentric bands of repoussé work. The face plates, slightly convex, are more richly decorated than the back plates.

DISC NO. 1 (Figure 3). In the center of the face plate there is a conical boss surrounded by fourteen concentric ridges of equal size. Outside the outermost of these is a larger ridge. The next band, bounded inside and outside by a ridge, contains eleven motifs con-

3. This disc was incidentally mentioned by Adolf Mahr in his Presidential Address to the Prehistoric Society in 1937 (*Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 3 [1937] p. 371, note 1).

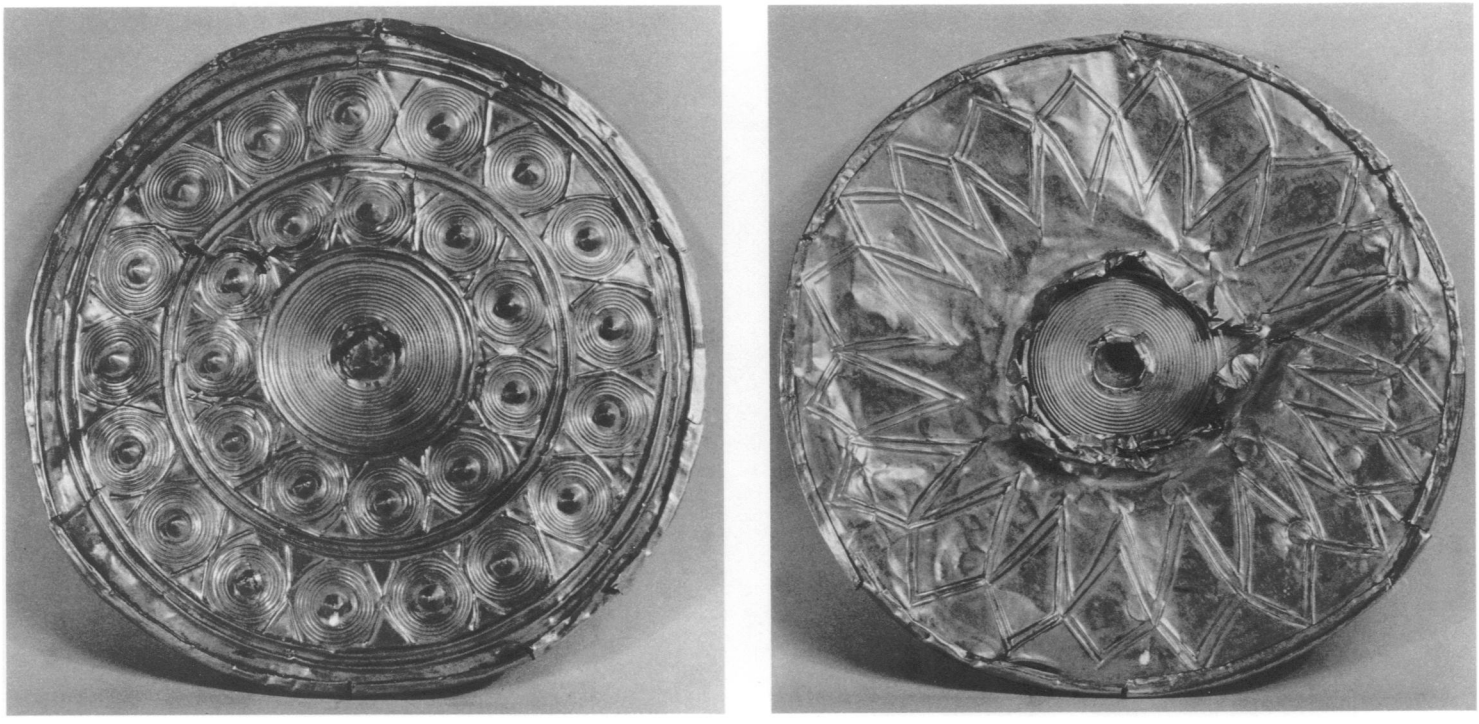
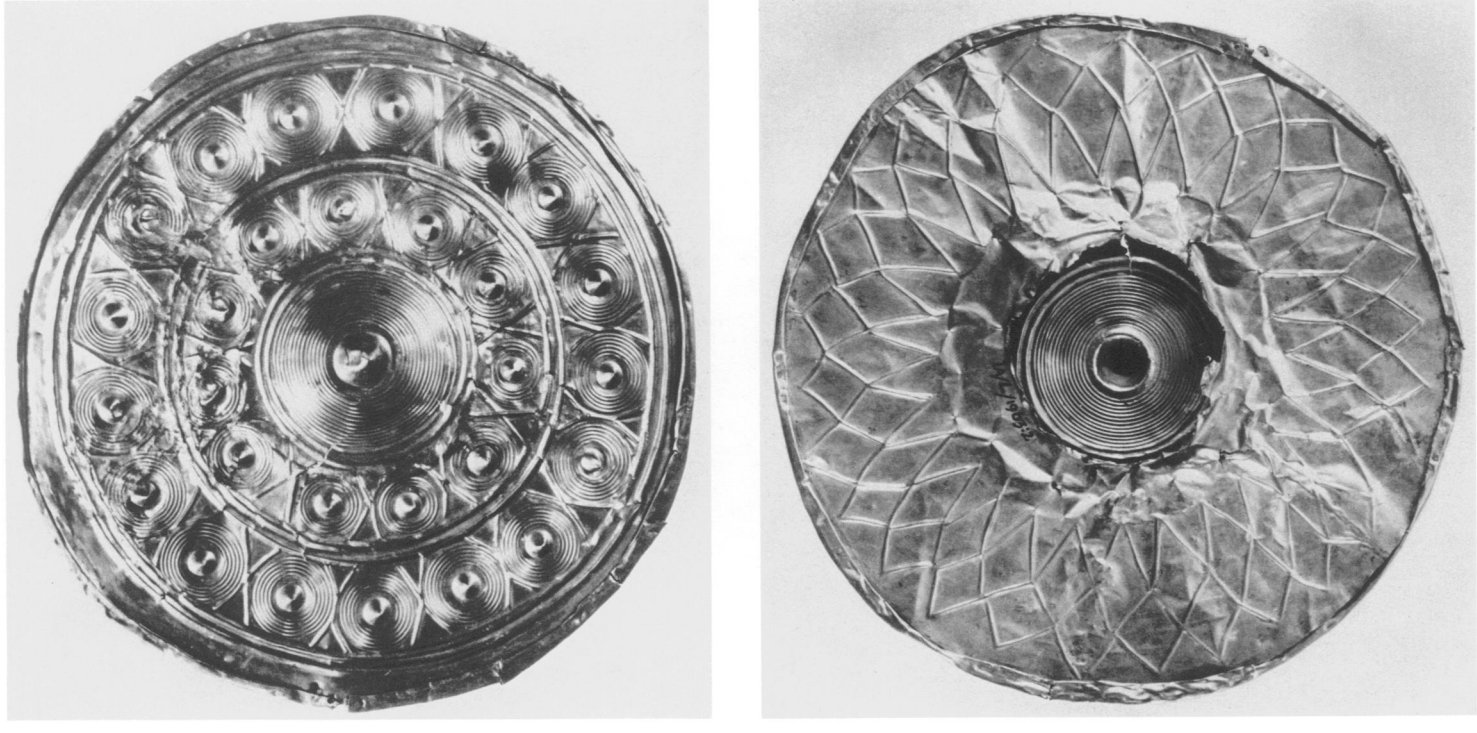


FIGURE 3
Disc No. 1 from the Enniscorthy hoard. Diameter 117 mm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 47.100.14

FIGURE 4
Disc No. 2 from the Enniscorthy hoard. Diameter 121-124 mm. National Museum of Ireland, IA L 1963:2 (photo: National Museum of Ireland)



sisting of a conical central projection surrounded by five concentric ridges. Each of the motifs is separated from the next by two triangles, each pointing inward from the ridges that enclose the band, their apexes meeting to form an X. The result is that the individual motif is enclosed within a "compartment." The next band contains seventeen similar motifs, somewhat larger in size. A short distance out from the outer ridge to this band there is a similar ridge.

In the center of the back plate there is a hole, 40–60 mm. in diameter, with jagged edges. The decoration on the back plate consists of twenty kite-shaped areas, each outlined by a double ridge. The broad end of the "kite" is toward the outer edge of the plate and each motif adjoins its neighbor at the shoulder. The overall effect is that of a double row of chevrons in double outline.

The binding strip, which grips the edges of the plates together has a C-shaped, or penannular, cross section.

Apart from slight damage, especially to the binding strip, the disc is well preserved. Diameter: 117 mm. Weight: 1.213 oz. troy (37.73 grams).[4]

DISC NO. 2 (Figure 4). The decoration on the face plate is nearly identical to that of No. 1, the difference being in the shape of the "compartments" in the outer row. The majority are hexagonal but some are pentagonal and others octagonal.

The decoration on the back plate, differing slightly from that of No. 1, consists of adjoining areas that are either kite-shaped or lozenge-shaped. The lozenges are on the outside, and the inner sides of each are formed by the upper sides of two adjoining lozenges, producing a continuous zigzag. The outer zigzag is broader and shallower than the inner one. The central hole is 39 mm. in diameter. Its edges are slightly frayed. The binding strip is similar to that of No. 1. The disc is only slightly damaged. Diameter: 121–124 mm. Weight: 1.214 oz. troy (37.75 grams).

While it seems reasonable to accept these two discs as part of the Enniscorthy hoard, nevertheless, there are minor discrepancies in Ousley's description. He said that one side was "quite plain." By this he may have meant that the back plates did not have the pronounced repoussé work of the front plates. The "kind of cap or screw for the purpose of being affixed to a handle" could simply have been Ousley's cumbersome description of the central opening in the back plates.

The find place of the circular gold object published by Wilde (1862, p. 87) and Armstrong (1933, p. 98, no. 463, pl. 14, no. 274) is not recorded. Its size is roughly comparable to that of the Enniscorthy discs: diameter 128 mm. It has been slightly damaged. The decoration (Figure 2) consists of two groups of four concentric rings separated by a plain area. The diameter of the hole, one side of which is flanged, is 62 mm. Differing in decoration and having a larger hole than the other discs, it is unlikely to have been part of the Enniscorthy hoard.[5]

The purpose of the Enniscorthy discs is unknown. The opening in the back plate indicates that they were attached, or were intended for attachment, to something. Either singly or collectively, in other words, the discs were part of a composite object. They might have been attached to a belt, for instance, like the Danish circular bronze belt plates of Period II–III (Randsborg 1968, p. 130, fig. 67, top), or they may have been part of a more elaborate object, something similar to the Iron Age "Petrie Crown," where repoussé discs are attached to a "body" (Lucas 1973, pl. 13). Or they may have been the terminals of gorgets, although the largest terminal discs so far known are smaller. Furthermore, as Dr. Joseph Raftery has pointed out to me, the opening on a gorget terminal into which the end of the body

4. This disc was analyzed by Pieter Meyers, Research Laboratory, Metropolitan Museum. He reports that "the composition of the three parts was determined by thermal neutron activation analysis on minute samples, obtained by the 'streak' method—rubbing on pure etched quartz tubing."

Sample	*Description*	*Composition* (Approximate, based on assumption that gold, silver, and copper are the only elements present in significant amounts)		
		% Au	% Ag	% Cu
BG 7	Front disc, on raised circles of decoration	83.6	10.7	5.7
BG 8	Back disc, on raised relief	78.6	14.9	6.5
BG 9	Binding strip	82.9	12.1	5.0

5. The Enniscorthy discs constitute Enniscorthy Hoard No. 2. Another hoard found in the neighborhood (Enniscorthy Hoard No. 1) also consists of gold objects: a bar torc with recurved terminals and untwisted body of square cross section, and a penannular neck ring or armlet with solid body of rounded cross section and unexpanded terminals (Eogan 1967, pp. 139–140, fig. 2).

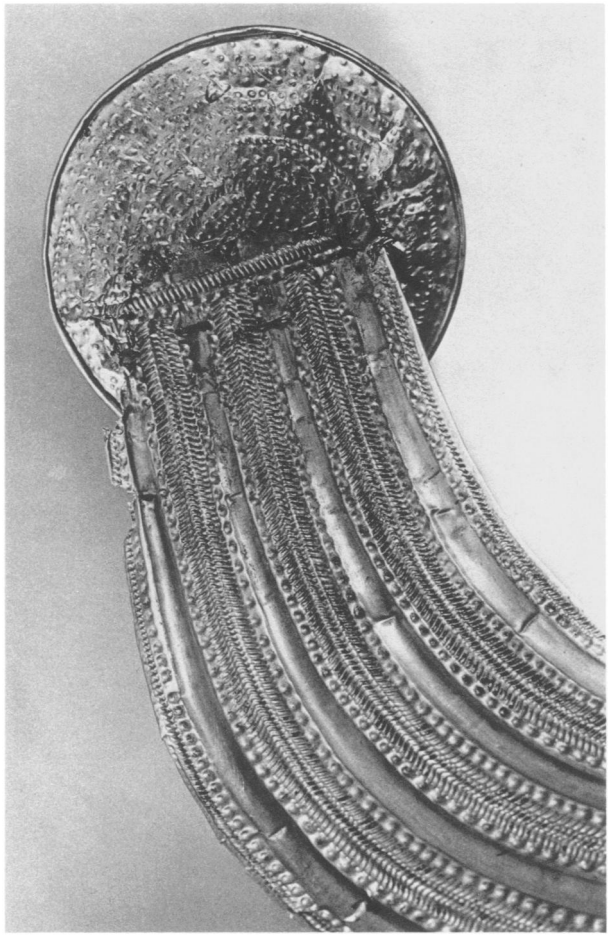


FIGURE 5
Gold terminal and part of body of gorget, Borrisnoe, county Tipperary. Diameter of disc 90 mm. National Museum of Ireland, W 17 (photo: National Museum of Ireland)

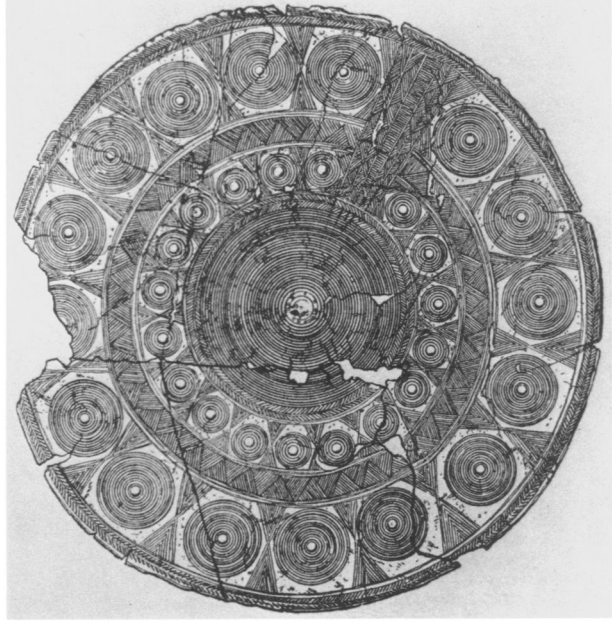
was inserted was elongated (Figure 5), not circular as in the Enniscorthy discs. The only object that compares in size with the Enniscorthy discs is the disc from Lattoon, county Cavan (Armstrong 1933, p. 47) (Figure 6), and structurally this disc is entirely different: a single sheet of gold with no attachment for mounting. If the hypothesis that all four Enniscorthy discs were part of a complete object is correct, then this object was something not hitherto known from Late Bronze Age Ireland. Such an object could hardly have served any practical purpose, and would have been too elaborate to have been an item of personal adornment. One might speculate that it was part of religious or ceremonial trappings.

A number of features help to place the discs in their technological and chronological contexts: material, structure, and technique and type of decoration.

The material, sheet gold, was the material from which the earliest gold objects that were used in Ireland were made: the "sun discs" and the basket-shaped earrings (Armstrong 1933, pp. 84–85, pl. 19, nos. 425–439; p. 86, pl. 18, nos. 413, 423–424). At the end of the second millennium B.C. (the Bishopsland Phase) goldsmiths started to work in bar gold in addition to sheet gold. During the final stage of the Irish Late Bronze Age (the Dowris Phase, eighth century and later) both techniques were used again. It was at this time, too, that the technique of sheet-bronze working was first practiced, and in this connection the numerous buckets and cauldrons provide clear evidence for the skill of the craftsmen (Leeds 1930; Hawkes and Smith 1957).

Structurally, as has been noted, each disc consists of two sheets held together with a C-section binding strip. The terminals of a gorget from Shannongrove, county

FIGURE 6
Gold disc from Lattoon hoard, county Cavan. Diameter 121 mm. National Museum of Ireland (after Armstrong 1933, fig. 17.5)



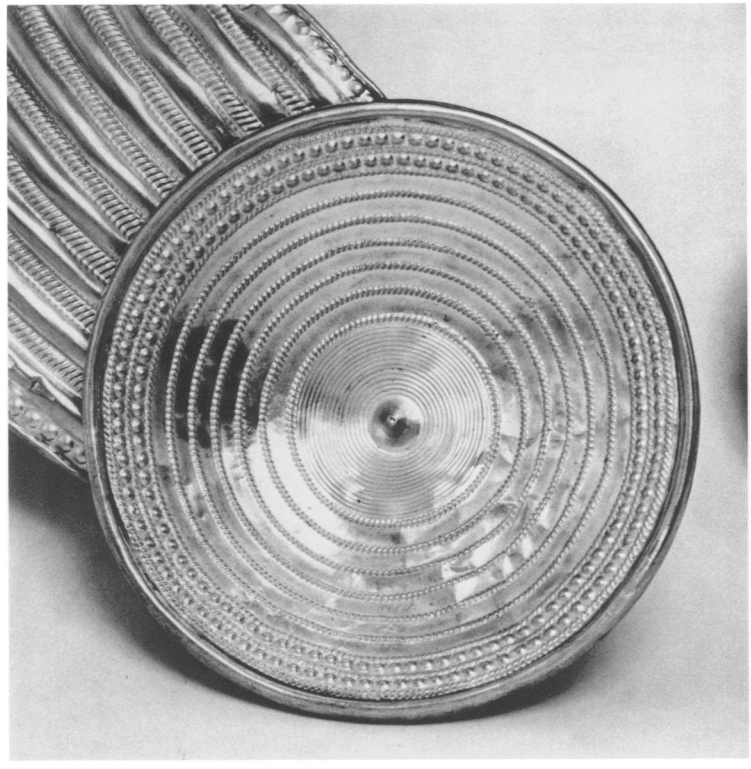
Limerick (Gogan 1931, p. 99, pl. opp. p. 87, top; Powell 1953, pl. 26, right) have a similar binding strip (Figure 7). This type of edging is most frequently found on "lock-rings" (Eogan 1969, esp. p. 105) (Figure 8). Twenty of these rings are known from Ireland; apart from one definite exception (Eogan 1969, no. 3), all have a C-section binding strip. A similar strip occurs on some of the "lock-rings" that have been found in the north of Britain.

Repoussé work was but one of the decorative techniques practiced by goldsmiths. Compass work and graving were also used during the Dowris Phase (Maryon 1938). Repoussé has a long history of use in Ireland. It was first used, but faintly, at the beginning of the Metal Age, as its occurrence on "sun discs" shows (Armstrong 1933, pp. 84–85; Maryon 1938, p. 197). During the Bishopsland Phase, about the twelfth to tenth century, repoussé work was prominent on ribbed bracelets (Eogan 1962, p. 51; 1964, p. 279), but it was during the Dowris Phase that craftsmen produced the finest goldwork in that technique. The Dowris Phase gorgets are the outstanding examples (Figures 5, 7).

The main types of decoration on the Enniscorthy discs are linear and curvilinear. Linear ornament was used from the beginning of the Irish "Bronze" Age but curvilinear ornament was not introduced until the Dowris Phase. Six motifs are present on the discs:

1. A conical boss surrounded by multiple concentric circles—either a large central boss or small "satellite" bosses.
2. X-shaped motifs.
3. Kite-shaped motifs.
4. Lozenge-shaped motifs.
5. Large ridges to separate the bands of decoration.
6. Hexagonal, pentagonal, and octagonal "compartments."

The large central conical boss with multiple concentric circles is a decorative feature of disc-headed pins of both the straight-stemmed and bent-stemmed or "sunflower" varieties, and the terminal discs of gorgets. The "satellite" boss (or central dot) with multiple concentric circles has parallels on the terminal discs of gorgets and occasionally on "sunflower" pins. The motif also occurs on other gold objects such as the Lattoon disc, boxes, bowls (?), bullae, and the "dress-fastener" from



near Clones, county Monaghan (for the last, Lucas 1973, pl. 10). Single conical bosses are found on horns of Class 2, while rivets with conical heads occur on bronze cauldrons of Class B.

Conical bosses are known on various objects in Bronze Age Europe. In central Germany they are found at the beginning of the Bronze Age on metal-hafted halberds (von Brunn 1959, p. 69, pl. 97, from the Welbsleben hoard). Incipient conical bosses are found on an early form of the Transylvanian bronze battle-ax with disc head (Type A 2), but as the form developed during the Middle Bronze Age the bosses become more pronounced (Nestor 1938). A central cone is also found on the copper discs of the central European Early Bronze Age Aunjetitz and Straubing cultures; it is often surrounded by concentric ridges (Gimbutas 1965, pl. 393, 4; fig. 163: 1, 2).

Rivets with conical heads developed in central Europe during late Urnfield times (c. 1000–700 B.C.). From there they spread to other areas, especially to Italy and to southern Scandinavia (Hawkes and Smith 1957, p. 186).

A boss or dot surrounded by multiple circles is a

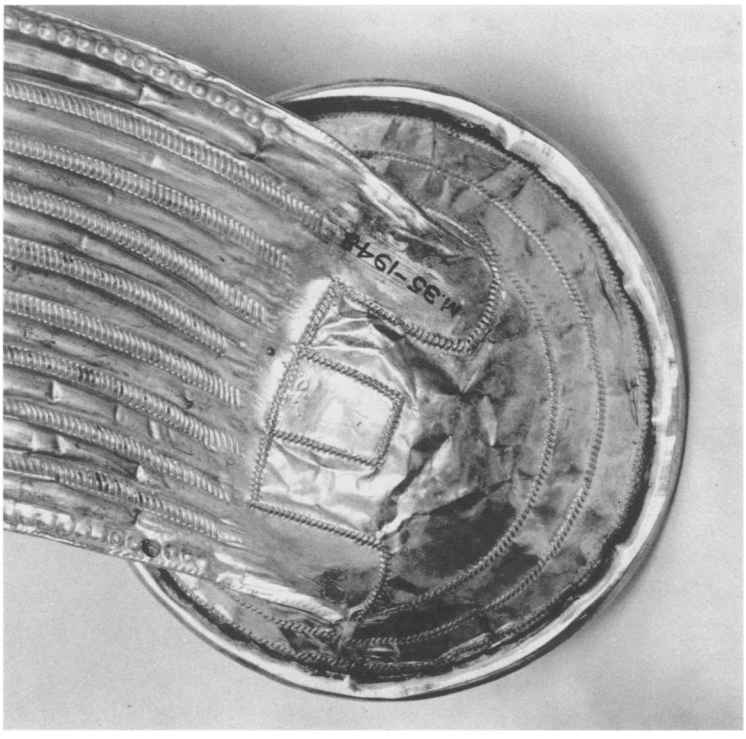
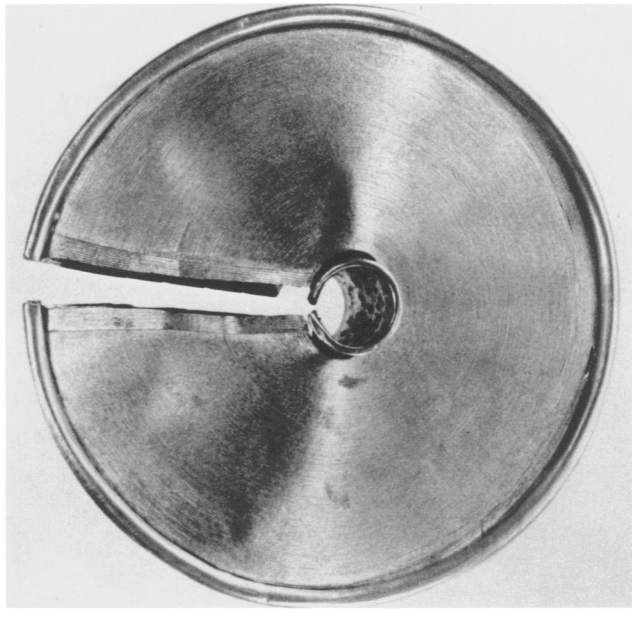


FIGURE 7
Terminal of gold gorget, Shannongrove, county Limerick. Diameter 95 mm. Victoria and Albert Museum (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

common motif throughout Bronze Age Europe. During the Early Bronze Age it was found on the gold bowls of the Transylvanian Hajdúsámson horizon (Mozsolics 1965–66, p. 48, pl. 12, from Biia [Magyarbénye]). In fact, a feature of the metalwork of this horizon, and of the Ottomani culture in general, is its decoration, and this appears to have been strongly influenced by the Mycenaean world during the shaft-grave stage (Mozsolics 1965–66, 1967, also Vladár 1973). The boss or dot with surrounding circles is found in the west Baltic area during the Mosbaek stage of the Early Bronze Age (Hachmann 1957, pp. 45–46): it appears to have been introduced to this region from southeastern Europe. At least the Mosbaek group was much indebted to the Hajdúsámson stage in Transylvania, as was first clearly demonstrated by Forssander (1936) and amplified by Hachmann (1957) and Lomborg (1959). The boss motif became popular in southern Scandinavia and northern Germany, and had a long life, occurring on such Period V pieces as the "plastic" decorated bronze hanging-bowls and the terminals of fibulae (Bandou 1960, p. 71, fig. 14, no. XXII C [bowls], p. 76, fig. 15, no. XXIV E4 [fibulae]; Sprockhoff 1956, I, pp. 241–242; II, pl. 67:7 [bowls]; I, pp. 215–216, pl. 49, 4–9 [fibulae]).

A boss surrounded by multiple concentric circles was also used in west-central Europe. It occurs on a looped bronze "disc" with gold foil covering from a grave at Mühlau in the north Tyrol, datable to around Bronze Age D (von Merhart 1969a, pp. 9, 11–12, pl. 1:6), on the gold "sun disc" from Worms (Kossinna 1913, pl. 16), and on the magnificent gold diadem and discs from Velemszentvid, Hungary (Mozsolics 1950). A fragment of a sheet-gold plaque decorated in repoussé technique, from the Lanrivoaré hoard, Finestère, Brittany (Hawkes 1961, pp. 472–473, pl. 2:13) shows that the motif was current in Atlantic Europe during the last centuries of the second millennium B.C. The motif is also found south of the Alps, in Italy (Hencken 1971, pp. 79–81, figs. 53, 54 [bronze crested helmet and flask from a burial at Bisenzio, Viterbo, dating from late eighth

FIGURE 8
Gold "lock-ring," Gorteentreagh, county Clare. Diameter 97 mm. National Museum of Ireland, 1948:237 (photo: National Museum of Ireland)



century]; Müller-Karpe 1959, fig. 56:8 and 20, dating from Tarquinia II, eighth century).

There is no evidence for the use of the conical boss and circles in Ireland before the Dowris Phase.

The second and third of the motifs on the Enniscorthy discs—the X-shaped and kite-shaped motifs—cannot be precisely paralleled, but the lozenge-shaped motifs are known on lunula (Armstrong 1933, pl. I). The fifth motif, the large ridges to separate bands of decoration, occurs on gorget terminals. The "compartment" arrangement, the sixth motif, can to some extent be paralleled on the Lattoon disc.

All of the foregoing evidence shows that the Enniscorthy discs were manufactured during the Dowris Phase. During that phase a great expansion in goldworking took place.[6] Hundreds of gold objects survive and hundreds more were melted down (E. Cllbborn, *The Athenaeum*, 1669 [October 22, 1859], p. 533; Wilde 1862, p. 4; Wood-Martin 1895, pp. 480, 486; Armstrong 1933, p. 2). The large number of individual items as well as large hoards is clear evidence for the abundance of gold.

Two main forms of goldworking were practiced during the Dowris Phase, sheet and bar. Hollow goldwork was also practiced, but probably the most complicated technique of all was the soldering together of tiny individual wires to make the face plates of "lock-rings" (Eogan 1969, pp. 103–104). There is also evidence that gold foil was skillfully attached to a metal backing. Thus, by hammering, casting, and soldering, the goldsmiths of the Dowris Phase manufactured a wide variety of ornaments. Like the Enniscorthy discs, some of these were lavishly decorated. A range of motifs, both concentric and linear, were used and in its application two main techniques, repoussé and incision, were used. Other techniques, less frequently used, were twisted wires (to give a filigree effect) and inlay. The latter, usually of silver solder, is found on the "hair-rings."

The restriction of certain types of objects to a region is especially noticeable in Munster and in Ulster (Eogan 1974). The closest parallels for the Enniscorthy discs are provided by gorget terminals and "lock-rings." Now, both of these have a limited distribution in Ireland,[7] both occurring in the province of Munster, in the counties that border on the lower Shannon valley. This area was the center of a regional industry during the Dowris Phase (Eogan 1964, pp. 13–14; 1974, p. 322, fig. 80:A), and apart from individual finds, the content of the massive assemblages of metal objects—Askeaton (Eogan 1969, pp. 130–131), Cullen (Wallace 1938), Dowris (Eogan 1964, p. 344), Mooghaun (Armstrong 1917), and what has been described as a "great gold find" from the Athlone neighborhood[8]—shows that gold and bronze were in plentiful supply. As gorgets and "lock-rings" are found in this area, it seems reasonable to assume that they were made there. The finding of both types of ornaments together in the Gorteenreagh hoard, county Clare (J. Raftery 1967) confirms their contemporaneity. Both ornaments share structural features, notably the C-section binding strip on the Shannongrove gorget and the similar binding on the "lock-rings" (compare Figures 7, 8). It may be mentioned that there is a piece of twisted wire attached to the end of the body (from which the terminal is missing) of the gorget from Ardcrony, county Tipperary (Armstrong 1933, p. 57, no. 40). Another object that

6. Axel Hartmann, in a curious publication (*Prähistorische Goldfunde aus Europa* (Berlin, 1970), has put forward the view that the bulk of the gold used in Ireland during the Bronze Age was imported. This view is mainly based on the assumption that no gold, other than that from Wicklow, was available in Ireland during the Bronze Age. Hartmann's view has been challenged, justifiably, by Peter Harbison (*Journal Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 101 [1971] pp. 159–60).

7. It is recorded that two gorgets were found outside the north Munster area, but the information is inconclusive. A disc considered to be the terminal of a gorget was purchased by the National Museum (1911:229) from "the late Mr. Talbot Ready of London." Its find place is given as county Armagh (Armstrong 1933, p. 58, no. 45). The find place of part of a gorget in the British Museum (1871.4-1.14) is given as Ballycotton, county Cork. It is recorded in the Museum Register that the gorget was found near Ballycotton in 1867 and that it was broken up by a country man. It should be noted, however, that this gorget was in the possession of Sir Thomas Tobin, Director of the Ballincollig Powder Mills (Gogan 1931, p. 90). Tobin may have been a collector; at least he had one other gold object in his possession, a penannular ring of uncertain date (*Journal Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 4 [1856–57], pp. 254, 320).

8. Secrecy surrounds this find, which was made before 1859, and no records of the contents were kept. It may have been a large Dowris Phase assemblage like Mooghaun. Objects from the find were sold to different goldsmiths in Dublin and were most likely melted down. The sums paid for the pieces sold in Dublin totaled over £27,000 (E. Clibborn, *The Athenaeum*, no. 1669 [October 22, 1859] p. 553).

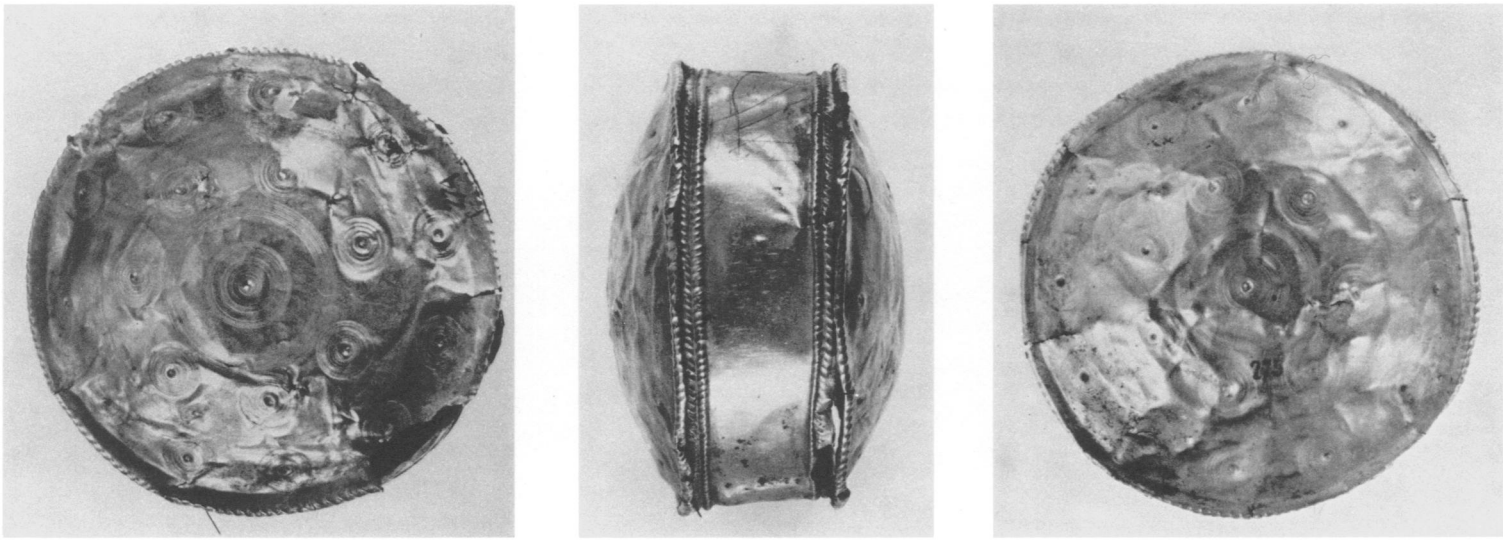


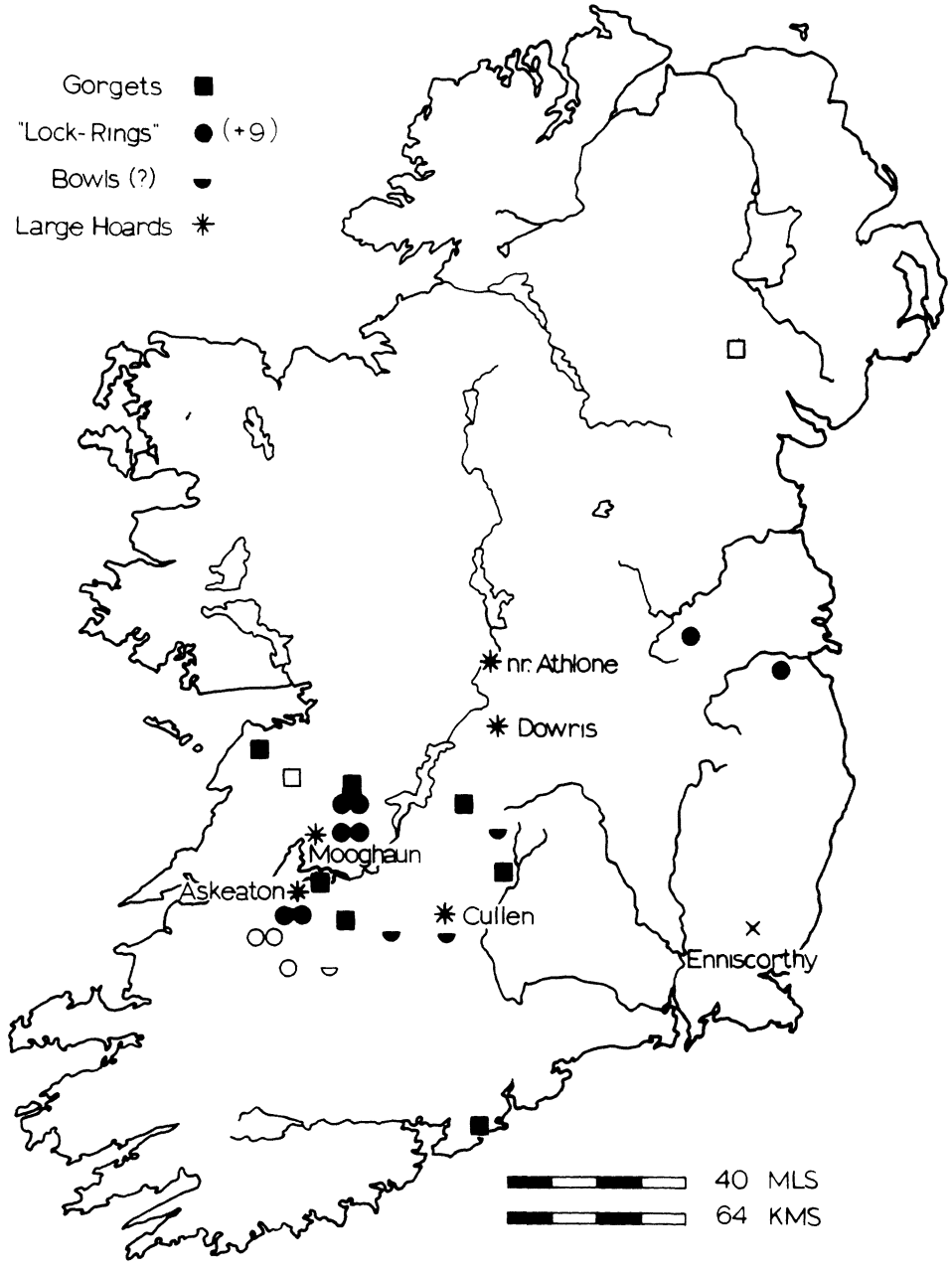
FIGURE 9
Gold box. Ireland. Diameter 63 mm. National Museum of Ireland, W 274, 275 (photo: National Museum of Ireland)

may have been made in north Munster is a gold box (Figure 9) (Armstrong 1933, pp. 88–89, nos. 371–375). Precisely where any of the boxes have been found is not known, but in form and technique the decoration on the "lids" is close to that on the outer face of gorget terminals. In addition, the method of attaching the "lid" and "base" to the sides by lapping over the edge is also found on some gorget terminals. Gold bowls (?) also have a north Munster distribution. As yet there is no evidence for the occurrence of gold naturally in north Munster, so the material used must have been acquired from another part or parts of the country. The gorgets and "lock-rings" are the most outstanding pieces of craftsmanship known from any area for any part of the Bronze Age. It therefore seems that skilled and versatile goldsmiths were working in the lower Shannon valley of north Munster during the Dowris Phase. Indeed, we must consider that there was a "school" of goldworking in that region. But the artist-craftsman could hardly have worked without patrons. At present it is not possible to say if these were wealthy and powerful chieftains or if they were religious leaders. While it is clear that there was a plenitude of gold ornaments in north Munster during the Dowris Phase, it is not clear how the industry emerged. Definite prototypes for the leading types—gorgets, "lock-rings," boxes, and bowls (?)—are not known. The decoration, especially the conical and rounded bosses with multiple concentric circles, occurs widely, particularly in central Europe during Urnfield times (for boss decoration, von Merhart 1969b, pp. 335–344) and northern Europe during Periods IV and V. Indeed, from the point of view of elaborateness of decoration a good comparison for the Enniscorthy discs and the terminals of gorgets is the gold diadem from Velemszentvid, Hungary (Mozsolics 1950, p. 8, pl. 1). The technique of making the face plates of "lock-rings" by soldering the individual wires together suggests Mediterranean influence. However, it should not be forgotten that Urnfield goldsmiths were also skilled workers in fine wire (Mozsolics 1950, pp. 31–32, pl. 9). Bronze neck-rings, boxes, and bowls were used in northern Europe during the later stages of the Bronze Age (Sprockhoff 1956, pp. 132–164, 241–248; Baudou 1960, pp. 54–59, 69–71). On the other hand, the limited Munster distribution suggests contacts with Atlantic Europe.

The indication is that the Enniscorthy discs were made in north Munster by goldsmiths of the north Munster "school," or by craftsmen trained in that school. If, however, they were made in the Enniscorthy

region, they were made not far from county Wicklow, an important gold-producing area. In this regard it is relevant that in 1970 James Brennan found gold while panning in the Slaney River near Enniscorthy (Briggs 1973, p. 18). It may also be noted that there was an important Dowris Phase industrial site at Rathgall in southwest county Wicklow where bronzework was carried out (B. Raftery 1970, 1971).

These discs from Enniscorthy are some of the great treasures of Ireland's past and they stand out as a testimony to the devotion, skill, and competence of an anonymous artist-craftsman nearly three thousand years ago. But they should also be seen against the wider background of a period when Ireland's gold production and manufacture reached its peak and when its produce was welcomed in other lands (see bracelet from Jahlsdorf, northwest Germany, Hawkes and Clarke 1963).



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Amore e Virtù: Two Salvers Depicting Boccaccio's "Comedia delle Ninfe Fiorentine" in the Metropolitan Museum

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IN THE new catalogue of Florentine paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Federico Zeri and Elizabeth Gardner convincingly argue that two birth salvers previously assigned to the limbo reserved for anonymous Florentines of the early quattrocento be given to the shop of Lorenzo di Niccolò (Figures 1, 2). Their attribution neatly resolves long-standing questions of authorship and dating.[1] It also suggests fruitful ways to decipher the subjects of the paintings and to understand their content.

The salvers are consistent with what is known of the artistic personality of Lorenzo di Niccolò. They range from Giottesque stolidity to aspirations after Gothic grace to awkward attempts at action. A similar flavor, uneven but oddly appealing, distinguishes panel paintings attributed to Lorenzo di Niccolò. First recorded in 1392, he died between 1411 and 1422.[2] He seems to have specialized in painting altarpieces for the churches of Florence—two still survive in S. Croce—and for the towns of western Tuscany, including Prato and San Gimignano. His career was marked by artistic alliances with several masters of the late trecento, including Spinello Aretino and Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, who was Lorenzo's first partner and probably his teacher, though not his father as is commonly believed.[3]

Zeri and Gardner base their attribution of the salvers

1. Federico Zeri with the assistance of Elizabeth E. Gardner, *Italian Paintings: A Catalogue of the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Florentine School* (New York, 1971) pp. 54–56.

2. The basic studies are by Oswald Sirén: "Di alcuni pittori fiorentini che subirono l'influenza di Lorenzo Monaco," *L'Arte* 7 (1904) pp. 338–342; "Gli affreschi nel Paradiso degli Alberti: Lorenzo di Niccolò e Mariotto di Nardo," *L'Arte* 11 (1908) pp. 190–192; "Lorenzo di Niccolò," *Burlington Magazine* 36 (1920) pp. 72–78; and "Gerini, Lorenzo di Niccolò," *Thieme-Becker* XIII (1920) pp. 464–465. See also Raimond Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting* 3 (The Hague, 1924) pp. 632–636.

3. Lorenzo's father, Niccolò di Martino, died sometime before 1402, according to the contract of 25 January 1401/02 for the high altarpiece of S. Marco, Florence, now in S. Domenico, Cortona; Gaetano Milanesi, *Nuovi documenti per la storia dell'arte toscana* (Florence, 1901) pp. 70–71. Lorenzo's true identity has been recognized by Sir Dominic Ellis Colnaghi, *A Dictionary of Florentine Painters*, ed. P. G. Konody and Selwyn Brinton (London, 1928) pp. 162–163; Renato Piattoli, "Un mercante del Trecento e gli artisti del tempo suo," *Rivista d'arte* 11 (1929) pp. 563–564, note 5, and p. 565, note 2; and Bruce Cole, "A New Work by the Master of the Arte della Lana *Coronation*," *Burlington Magazine* 110 (1968) p. 215, note 9.

FIGURE 1

Lorenzo di Niccolò, Episodes from the *Comedia delle Ninfe Fioretine*, about 1406. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 26.287.2

to Lorenzo di Niccolò on a polyptych in S. Croce (Figure 3). The stylistic kinship between the paintings in Florence and New York is evident. Some of the women in Figure 1 have the same sloping heads and long straight noses as the music-making angels who witness the coronation of the Virgin: a man and a woman in Figure 2 share the firm profile of the Virgin herself; in both salvers women stare out at the viewer in the same grave fashion as Saint Lucy in the altarpiece. The panel in S. Croce suggests something of Lorenzo's abrupt variations in type and quality.[4] Most important,

4. Zeri and Gardner, p. 55. Another useful parallel lies in the predella to Lorenzo's Coronation of the Virgin, in Cortona, see Note 3. The salvers resemble the central panel, an Epiphany, in several individual figures, the types of the dogs, and the movements. A photograph is in *L'Arte* 11 (1908) p. 194.

FIGURE 2
Lorenzo di Niccoló, An Eclogue from the *Comedia delle Ninfe Fiorentine*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 26.287.1

the altarpiece helps to date the salvers because it is dated by inscription 1410, toward the end of Lorenzo di Niccolò's recorded activity.[5]

Other evidence favors an early dating. The tight-fitting, high-necked costumes worn by one or two figures in the salvers follow a fashion popular during the first decade of the quattrocento. Perhaps the best-known contemporary instance is the gown worn by Ilaria del Carretto in her funerary effigy, which was

5. On the front steps of the throne in the central panel is the inscription MCCCCX. The date was correctly noted by Crowe and Cavalcaselle in 1864, who also gave the altarpiece to Lorenzo. The erroneous date of 1408 appears in Sirén's article in *Thieme-Becker*, p. 465. We are indebted to Gino Corti, who examined the Coronation of the Virgin at the restoration institute in the Fortezza del Basso, Florence, and confirmed the date of 1410.

FIGURE 3
Lorenzo di Niccolò, Coronation of the Virgin, 1410. S. Croce, Florence (photo: Alinari)

carved in Lucca by Jacopo della Quercia around 1406.[6]

Heraldic research indicates that the right-hand escutcheon in Figure 2, a wolf ascending a mountain, belongs to a Pisan family, Di Lupo Parra.[7] Their arms occupy the position in heraldry customarily reserved for the bride in a marriage alliance. It may be assumed, therefore, that the salvers were commissioned by the Lupo family sometime after Pisa was acquired by Florence in 1406.[8]

Dating the paintings around 1410 helps to clarify the nature of the scenes Lorenzo di Niccolò depicted. It is usually believed, and sometimes rapturously proclaimed, that the paintings celebrate the joys of life in the country, and that Figure 1 represents a hunting scene, Figure 2 a rustic concert. But genre scenes in

6. Photographs are in Charles Seymour, Jr., *Jacopo della Quercia, Sculptor* (New Haven, 1973), pls. 10–14. In a fresco depicting the nuptials of St. Cecilia, in the sacristy of S. Maria del Carmine, Florence, servingmen wear costumes like that sported by the youth in Figure 2. The frescoes are dated shortly after 1394 by Walter and Elizabeth Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz* III (Frankfort am Main, 1952) pp. 210, 272, note 122.

7. Vittorio Spreti, ed., *Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare italiana* IX (1931) p. 180. The field of the Lupo Parra device, however, is gold, not black as on the salver. Examination of the salver reveals that the black pigment is much abraded, particularly toward the left of the wolf, and that it does not seem to be the same as the well-preserved black pigment used for the shepherds. It is possible that Lorenzo used an unstable yellow pigment as a substitute for gold, such as orpiment, which turns black when exposed to air. See Cennino Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook*, tr. and ed. Daniel V. Thompson (New Haven, 1933) pp. 28–29, and Daniel V. Thompson, *The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting* (New York, 1956) pp. 176–178.

8. The other escutcheon resembles the arms of a Florentine family, Da Fortuna; Luigi Passerini, *Gli Alberti di Firenze* II (Florence, 1869) pl. IX; G. B. di Crollanza, *Dizionario storico blasonico* I (Bologna, 1886) p. 425. The chief difficulty, however, is that the

contemporary secular art do not resemble the events shown here. An instructive instance is the hunting scene adorning the so-called guest room of the Palazzo Datini in Prato, frescoed in 1409, in which the hunters are nondescript, their prey includes many varieties of animals, and the chase has neither beginning nor end.[9] Furthermore, genre scenes are rare in Florentine cassone painting at the beginning of the fifteenth century.[10]

The costumes of the salvers show that Lorenzo di Niccolò painted a narrative. Prominent in Figure 2 is a curly-headed young man, wearing a high-necked red tunic over a jerkin and hose of green. The same blond youth strides across the right foreground of Figure 1 as a hunter carrying his quarry on a stick and displaying a knotty club. He appears twice more in the background scenes. Turned toward the viewer in Figure 2 is a comely blond maiden dressed in a loose low-necked gown of pinkish purple. A similar figure looks outward from Figure 1. She stands barefoot in the left foreground, wearing a pink gown over a gray tunic, and holding an arrow and a bow. Her prey, a brace of brown beasts smeared with blood, lies in the tall grass at her feet. The women are huntresses whose costumes, loosely cut and girdled twice in an antique fashion, are those of sylvan nymphs, such as Diana and her followers.[11] The salvers, therefore, form a narrative continuous in Figure 1, unitary in Figure 2. The story concerns a hunter who shares with a band of huntresses their pastimes, including a chase and a concert.

It is our contention that Lorenzo di Niccolò depicted events from the *Comedia delle Ninfe Fiorentine*, an amatory allegory written around 1342 by Giovanni Boccaccio. The hero, Ameto, is a youthful hunter dwelling in primitive Tuscany who discovers by chance a band of nymphs who teach him the ways of love. The *Comedia*'s narrative structure, expositions in elaborate prose interrupted at key points by song, reflects Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* and Dante's *Vita Nuova*. Like these models it ultimately is a discourse on the virtuous life.[12] The story, structure, and aims of Boccaccio's book all find expression in Lorenzo's salvers.

Perhaps the best way to prove our identification is to let Boccaccio tell the tale of Ameto and the nymphs. In the woods by the steep banks of the river Mugnone lived Ameto, a simple lad whose closest companions were fauns and dryads, natives of that place, whom he honored with sacrifices. Ameto was a mighty hunter:

> And rare were those [timid beasts] that his eye discerned which, owing to his swiftness in running and clever tracking, were not wounded by his bow or cornered by his dogs or ultimately vanquished by his snares; and once they had become tangled in his nets he quickly overtook them; thus it was that he often returned to his dwelling laden with prey.[13]

But once, after an unusually rewarding day of hunting, as he was heading homeward through a pleasant plain near the spot where the Mugnone flows into the Arno, he stopped to rest beneath a lofty oak. Idleness was succeeded by frolic when Ameto, newly refreshed, began to play and cavort with his dogs:

> But while he was enjoying himself in this unusual manner, as the sun was very hot, suddenly from the nearby shore there came to his ears a charming voice raised in a song never before heard.[14]

Fortuna greyhound bears no sword. The suggestion made by Paul Schubring, "Two New 'Deschi' in the Metropolitan Museum," *Apollo* 6 (1927) p. 107, that the left-hand shield is that of the Canigiani is not correct; A. M. G. Scorza, *Enciclopedia araldica italiana* VII (Genoa, n.d.) p. 85.

9. Bruce Cole, "The Interior Decoration of the Palazzo Datini in Prato," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 13 (1967) pp. 76–80, figs. 17–20; the frescoes are by Arrigo di Niccolò. Lorenzo di Niccolò's work at the Palazzo Datini is discussed by Piattoli, pp. 563–567.

10. Apart from scenes of childbirth, such as the painting illustrated in our Figure 6, the only genre scenes in Florentine cassone painting before 1430 are three panels now attributed to Giovanni Toscani; Paul Schubring, *Cassoni*, 2nd. ed. (Leipzig, 1923) pls. c., no. 427; ix, no. 24; cxci, no. 904.

11. Costumes similar to those worn by the women in Lorenzo's salvers are worn by Diana and her nymphs in a manuscript of Boccaccio's *Ninfale Fiesolano* illustrated early in the 1420s; Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Ms. B.R.47 (II.II.66), see Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen 1300–1450: Süd-und Mittelitalien* IV (Berlin, 1968) pl. 211a. Similar costumes appear in a cassone panel of the same subject painted in Florence around 1430; Paul F. Watson, "Boccaccio's *Ninfale Fiesolano* in Early Florentine Cassone Painting," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971) pp. 331–333, pls. 55a, b.

12. The text from which we quote and upon which our translations are based is edited by Antonio Enzo Quaglio in *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. Vittore Branca, II (Milan, 1967). A good recent introduction to the *Comedia* is in Carlo Muscetta, *Giovanni Boccaccio* (Bari, 1972) pp. 99–107.

13. *Comedia delle Ninfe Fioretine* III, 5.

14. *Comedia* III, 9.

It filled Ameto with wonder and caused him to conclude that the gods had come down to earth. Ameto reasoned:

They, being wearied by the heat like me, are pausing near here, and are partaking of celestial delights, perhaps reviling the worldly ones with their voices. Never have I seen a single god, and being desirous to see if they are as beautiful as people say, now I shall go and see them, guided in my steps by the sun; and in order that they may be benevolent to me, if I see them bereft of prey I shall make them bountiful with mine, should it please them.[15]

After subduing and tying his noisy dogs Ameto, carrying his heavy load on a knotty club slung over his shoulder, set off in the direction of the sweet tune. And

as soon as he came upon the clear waters of the little stream, in the shadows of a pleasant thicket amongst the flowers and deep grass upon the clear shore he saw a group of young women; some, displaying their white feet in the shallow ripples, were slowly wading through them this way and that; others, who had laid down their sylvan bows and arrows, held their hot faces suspended above the stream, and having tucked up their sleeves, were renewing their beauty with their fair hands and the cool waters; and some, having loosened their clothing to let in the breezes, were sitting attentive to what one of them, more joyous than the others, sat singing; it was from her, he realized, that the song before had come to his ears. The moment he saw them, imagining that they must be goddesses, he drew back timidly, fell to his knees, and stricken with awe, knew not what he should say.[16]

Ameto's silent discovery of the nymphs soon created a flurry of activity:

The recumbent dogs of the resting nymphs, aroused by the sight of him and thinking perhaps that he was a wild beast, quickly fell on him with loud baying. And since flight availed him not, once they had overtaken him, as best he could, with his club, with his hands, with retreat, and with rough words, he tried to ward off their bites; but as such words were unfamiliar to ears accustomed to receiving womanly sounds, the dogs followed him more fiercely, and he, who was by then more dead than alive from fright, recalling Actaeon, searched with his hands for the antlers on his forehead, cursing himself for having had the audacity to want to look upon holy goddesses. The nymphs, however, whose recreation had been disturbed by canine fury, arose and with loud voices managed to subdue their swift dogs; then with pleasant laughter, having recognized his true nature, they consoled and reassured him; and once they had returned to their place, after happily welcoming Ameto, the singer thus began again her song.[17]

This nymph is called Lia, and her lyric is a celebration of selfless love. Ameto is so rustic that he does not understand what god this "Amore" is, but he is human enough to feel the stirrings of a new passion. The hot day comes to an end, the nymphs disperse, and Ameto departs, "bound with a new chain."[18]

The foreground episodes of the hunting scene (Figure 1) represent Ameto's discovery of the nymphs. The red-clad youth striding toward a stream is Ameto, identified by his prey slung over his shoulder, and especially by the club, Boccaccio's "rozzo bastone." Above and behind this figure is a rocky slope, almost chocolate in color, where several white dogs sleep under a tree. In front of them another blond youth in a red tunic with green undersleeves peers over a ridge. Since he, too, bears a heavy load slung over a stick, he must be Ameto searching for the source of the sweet tune. On the river bank are the nymphs. In the foreground two women, dressed alike in robes of a *changeant* yellow and pink, refresh themselves in the green ripples. One splashes water at her companion, who washes a foot with one hand and tugs idly at her hair with the other, as if to renew her beauty with fair hands and cool waters. In a flowery meadow to the left sits a cluster of nymphs in pink, gray, and green, attentive to one, perhaps more joyous than the others, whose mouth is opened in song. She is Lia. Like Ameto, she is dressed in red.

The narrative that Lorenzo di Niccolò painted is not only continuous but also simultaneous. Beside Lia and her three companions are their hunting dogs, as Boccaccio specified. One sleeps as the other stirs, sniffing the air. On the barren side of the stream three more dogs snarl and bark at Ameto who stiffly wards them off with his club. The canine fury is quelled by two nymphs who wade through the Mugnone. One, dressed

15. *Comedia* III, 11.
16. *Comedia* III, 13–17.
17. *Comedia* III, 17–19.
18. *Comedia* VI, 1.

in a scarlet gown with green sleeves, is again Lia; her companion wears gray. The nymph in gray beats a hound with a switch while Lia orders the others, with firm gestures of command, to desist.

Behind these scenes of encounter another event unfolds. Ameto's curly locks and red tunic appear again at the extreme left in a valley tucked behind the garden where Lia sings. Here he has joined five nymphs who hunt over steep brown and gray slopes. Lia appears for a third time as the nymph who rams her hunting spear into the breast of a black boar. This episode is based on Chapter VI of the *Comedia delle Ninfe Fiorentine*. After listening to Lia's song, Ameto returns home where

he consumes all his time thinking only of the beautiful nymph; the nights that formerly had seemed brief after the heavy labors undertaken by Ameto in the high woods are now deemed exceedingly long because of his fiery desires. Pressed by cares that are new to him, Ameto curses the shadows for being too long, and as soon as the light enters his wakeful eyes, he arises to search the forest with his dogs; and there he either goes about seeking the beautiful nymphs, or finds or awaits them, and once he has found them again, he happily follows them in the hunts they have begun; and with his mind intent on the things he knows will please them, he eagerly serves them; no task seems burdensome to him, no danger causes him to be afraid. Having almost become swifter than his dogs, whenever Lia is watching him, he himself takes the fiercest animals single-handedly.[19]

As Boccaccio implies, the chase served to educate Ameto further in the ways of love.

While resting with them in the hot hours in cool meadows beneath welcome shadows alongside the clear bank of the little stream, he feels supreme consolation of mind and is pleased with himself for having been daring, because he finds that all of the nymphs have befriended him and that he is especially dear to Lia.[20]

The second salver illustrates another key moment in Ameto's amatory education. After the hot summer comes a winter of unprecedented severity, relieved finally by a verdant spring. On the feast day of Venus, when all the people of Tuscany rejoice, Ameto meets Lia, who takes him to a secluded part of the forest where four more nymphs assemble, garbed in a variety of costume and all extraordinarily beautiful. The company is entertained by Teogapen, a shepherd, who sings to Ameto and the nymphs. He introduces two more shepherds, Alcesto of Arcadia and Acaten of Academia, who engage in a musical competition. Acaten sings of the pleasures of wealth and ease, Alcesto of the virtues of a frugal and industrious life. Their contest is the theme of the so-called rustic concert (Figure 2). Ameto sits between two nymphs, who listen to a shepherd playing on a pipe, to whom a second rustic defers. Since the latter wears a bulging wallet, he must be Acaten of Academia, who boasts to the nymphs:

I do not care, while keeping watch, to linger or to play the pipe . . . nor does it matter to me if they [my sheep] do not immediately obey my voice at all, as long as I can use them to stuff my purse and throat.[21]

The piper is Alcesto. Like the first salver, this panel presents a simultaneous narrative. Ameto and a nymph point to Alcesto, indicating that he has won the contest.

Alcesto had finished speaking, and Acaten, being angered, was about to answer, when the women, almost in unison, bade him be silent and rebuking him for his error, gave the promised garlands to the victor.[22]

After the competition Ameto and the nymphs retire to a meadow shaded by a laurel tree where two more huntresses join them. The ladies sit in a circle and tell Ameto what love is. These are no ordinary nymphs; some who have been married, for example, entertain the hunter with tales of their extramarital affairs. When the nymphs finish, Venus herself appears. The women then transform Ameto from an ignorant rustic into a rational man. In his new state of enlightenment Ameto realizes that the nymphs are really the virtues; chief among them is Lia, who represents Faith. Ameto's understanding flows from the goddess of love, "not that Venus which foolish folk call goddess of their disordered concupiscence, but the one from whom true and just and holy loves descend among mortals."[23]

It may seem strange that Lorenzo di Niccolò or his patrons chose to represent events leading up to the

19. *Comedia* VI, 1–3.
20. *Comedia* VI, 4.
21. *Comedia* XIV, 67–72.
22. *Comedia* XV, 1.
23. *Comedia* XLII, 1.

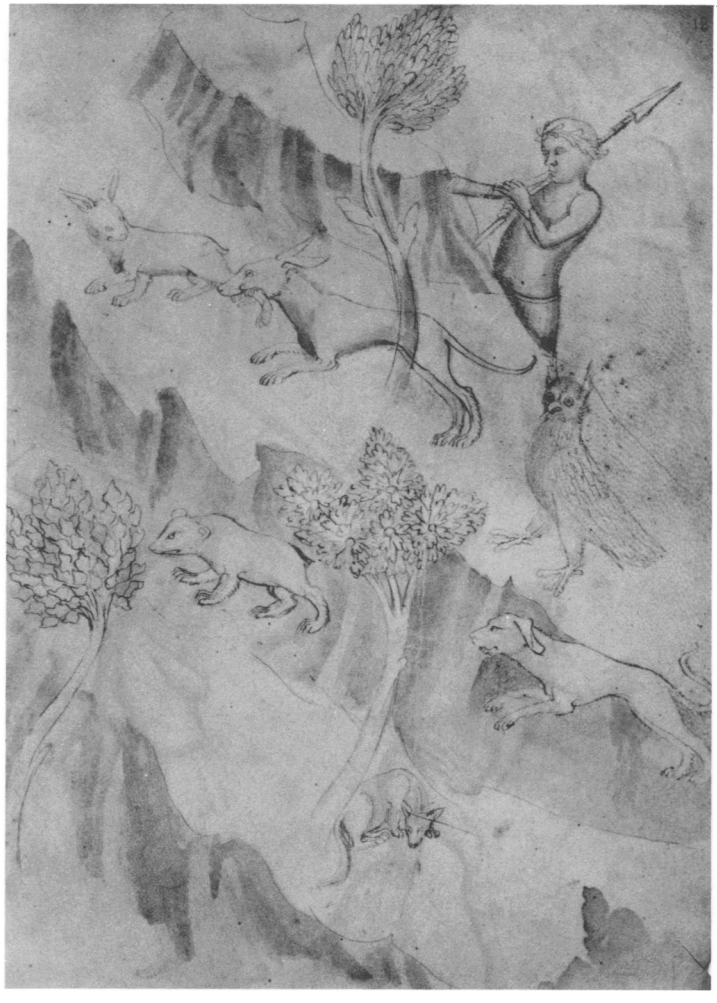


FIGURE 4
Page from a model book, about 1350. Tuscan (?). Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, II, fol. 12[r] (photo: Pierpont Morgan Library)

amatory symposium, rather than the symposium itself, which occupies much of Boccaccio's book, or the epiphany of Venus.[24] The painter's selection, however, is justified by the poet's text. Purified, Ameto reflects on the changes in his life:

Making an inner comparison between his primitive life and the present one, he recalls what he was with scorn, and reviles the way he wasted himself along with his time by hunting through the woods among the fauns and the satyrs. And here the fear that he had rightfully felt on account of the women's dogs brings terror to his mind again; next he laughs at himself for having dared desire that laudable love, and with serene insight truly understands the first song he heard, the one by his Lia. Then he realizes with a supreme sense of reward how much the shepherd's songs, which had only delighted his ear, may profit the heart. Similarly, he sees what the nymphs are, they who had been more pleasing to his eye than to his intellect and who are now more pleasing to his intellect than to his eye . . . and in short, it seems to him that he has been made from a brute animal into a man.[25]

Our identification raises several new problems, including Lorenzo di Niccolò's detailed treatment of the encounter in the first salver and the seemingly casual representation of the eclogue in the second. It becomes necessary to understand how the painter coped with the complicated text that his patron assigned him. Since no other illustrations of the *Comedia delle Ninfe Fiorentine* are known, it is probable that Lorenzo had no familiar iconographic patterns to rely on, as he had in the case of the altarpiece of 1410. He must have fallen back on a wide array of pictorial formulas. The hunting scenes of the first salver, for example, were adapted from common model-book patterns. An instructive instance is a leaf from an album produced in Tuscany around 1350 (Figure 4), in which a chase after rabbits and deer fleeing over rocky ridges spreads across the pictorial surface in a manner that anticipates Lorenzo's chase.[26] Another precedent appears in a fresco in S. Croce painted around 1400 and variously attributed to Lorenzo's partners, Spinello Aretino and Niccolò di Pietro Gerini (Figure 5).[27] Here the convention of a background figure peeping over a boulder to witness

24. In contrast to the salvers is the incipit page of British Museum Add. Ms. 10, 299, a *Comedia delle Ninfe Fiorentine* copied in Milan around 1440. A badly damaged initial depicts Ameto standing before the seven nymphs, who sit in a flowery meadow shaded by trees. This is the only scene in the manuscript, though portraits of four of the nymphs adorn the text. See *List of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years* MDCCCXXXVI–MDCCCXL (London, 1843), p. 98.

25. *Comedia* XLVI, 2–5.

26. The model book is dated around 1350 and given to a central Italian draughtsman by R. W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books* (Haarlem, 1963) pp. 137–142. A hunting scene like those of the pattern book and the first salver is in a fresco depicting a miracle of St. Benedict in the sacristy of S. Miniato al Monte, Florence. It was painted by Spinello Aretino, one of Lorenzo di Niccolò's partners, around 1387; Paatz, *Kirchen von Florenz* IV, pp. 236–237.

27. The fresco is usually dated around 1400; summary of opinion in Paatz, *Kirchen von Florenz* I, pp. 563, 654–655, note 336.

FIGURE 5 Spinello Aretino, Christ Led to Calvary, S. Croce, Florence (photo: Alinari)

Christ lead to Calvary may have served as a model for Ameto's first appearance when he searches for "the gods."

Sometimes Lorenzo di Niccolò seems to ignore Boccaccio's text. Although Ameto is characterized as a prodigious hunter unafraid of the fiercest beasts, in the first salver he brings to the nymphs only a pair of harmless rabbits.[28] Further inspection reveals a preponderance of rabbits in primitive Tuscany. In the chase Ameto holloas after a hare, while the admonitory nymph standing beside the stream has a brace of them at her feet. Even in the shepherds' contest rabbits lurk. Two crouch at piping Alcesto's feet; another pair, less clearly leporine, peers over the cliff behind him. However, Lorenzo di Niccolò's preoccupation with rabbits can easily be explained, because they pertain to Venus, the goddess of love—and thus telegraph the symbolic import of Boccaccio's text.[29]

Another purposeful departure from the literary narrative is the figure of Ameto himself. Boccaccio describes his hero as a bearded rustic whose attire is shabby, torn, and dirty.[30] Lorenzo transforms him into a Florentine dandy. In so doing the painter makes him into a contemporary figure, unlike the nymphs, so that Ameto becomes a surrogate for the bridegroom whose arms appear on the second salver.[31] Presumably the youth to whom these paintings belonged would be encouraged to follow Ameto's example and seek out a virtuous love consistent with the marriage bond. The idea of love appears in an even more obvious fashion, because Ameto and his beloved Lia are in red, the hue of "fiery desires," in the quattrocento the color of love both sacred and profane.[32]

FIGURE 6
Bartolomeo di Fruosino, salver: Scene of Birth, 1428. New-York Historical Society, New York (photo: courtesy the New-York Historical Society)

The landscape settings of the salvers reflect a similar concern for literal representation combined with symbolic allusion. In the initial painting, a wilderness of mountains gives way to a distant view of coastal plain, green sea, and cloud-filled sky. The background shows

28. In the *Comedia* (VIII, 98–100), Ameto begs Lia to leave off her hunting and join him in a shady meadow, promising that when she comes, he will give her "due leprettini/pur testé tolti alla madre piagata/dall'arco mio." However, he tempts her with many other offerings of animals, all of which were meant to be delivered alive.

29. In a coffer painted in Siena in 1421, rabbits are associated with Venus; Frank J. Mather, "A Quattrocento Toilet Box in the Louvre," *Art in America* 11, 1 (December 1921) pp. 45–51. The association goes back to Ovid, *Metamorphoses* X, 538. Leporine symbolism plays an important part in illuminated manuscripts of the *Comedia delle Ninfe Fiorentine*. Rabbits are in the borders of folio 2^{r} of Ms. Ital. 1106 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, which was produced in 1431; G. Mazzatinti, *Inventario dei manoscritti italiani delle biblioteche di Francia* 1 (Rome, 1886) p. 190. Rabbits also abound in the borders of the incipit page of British Museum Add. Ms. 10, 298, produced in 1460, described briefly in *List of Additions* (1843) p. 28.

30. *Comedia* III, 8; V, 1; V, 21.

31. The red-clad figure whom we identify as Ameto was called a bridegroom by Schubring, p. 107, and Bryson Burroughs, "Two Italian Marriage Salvers," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (1927) p. 121. The marital implications of the panels were also stressed by Frederick Antal, *Florentine Painting and Its Social Background* (London, 1948) p. 365. It is amusing to note that Ameto's sleeping dogs in Figure 1 are white and have dark green collars, like the heraldic dog in the husband's coat-of-arms in Figure 2.

32. Charity, designed in 1470 by Antonio Pollaiuolo and executed by his brother Piero (Uffizi, Florence), wears a red gown. Scarlet is the dress of Luxury in the Exaltation of St. Francis painted between 1437 and 1444 by Sassetta (Berenson Coll., I

signs of civilization: sailing ships, castles with towers, tiny walled towns. Tapestrylike panoramas of this sort can often be found in cassone painting of the early quattrocento, for example (Figure 6); but in Lorenzo's salver the landscape probably served the purposes of the literary text. Its features coincide remarkably well with the panorama that Boccaccio describes in Chapter III of the *Comedia:*

> In Italy, the special splendor of worldly realms, there abides Etruria, its chief member, as I believe, and singular beauty . . . rich in cities, full of noble peoples, adorned with infinite castles, made delightful by charming country towns, and abounding in fruitful fields.[33]

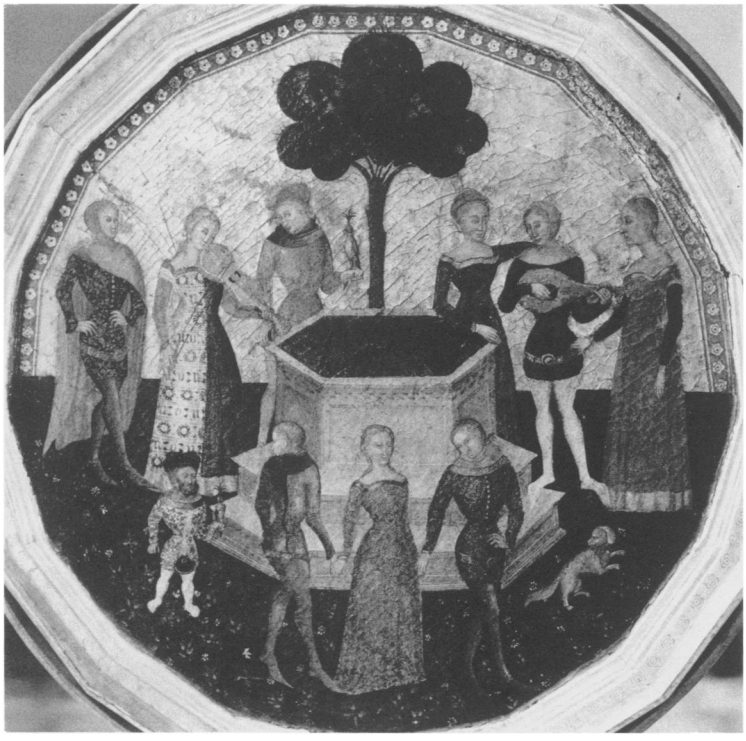
Though Lorenzo's fields can hardly be called fruitful, the background shows white and gray *castella*, or fortified settlements, and gray, white, and red *ville*, or small country towns. The civilized aspects of Tuscany agreeably frame its sylvan ones, represented by the river Mugnone in the foreground.

Less directly dependent on the text, and more overtly symbolic, is the setting of the foreground episodes. Boccaccio describes the place where Ameto first sees the nymphs as a meadow beside a stream. Lorenzo provides a meadow softened by tufts of grass and weedy plants, enlivened by tiny red flowers, and watered by an elaborate fountain. The landscape is of a familiar iconographic type—the Garden of Love. A charming Florentine salver painted in the 1370s depicts the Garden of Love in a manner very close to that of our salver (Figure 7).[34] The world here consists of a flowery meadow, a shady tree, and a fountain, "une sorte de rêve du pays d'amour," to cite Raimond Van Marle's apt formulation.[35] In Lia's place of repose, as in the Garden of Love, music is a governing motif. Her nymphs recline in amorous attitudes: one plucks flowers, a second toys with a dog, a third is embraced by the singer herself. Lorenzo uses the Garden of Love to epitomize the fate awaiting Ameto.

The garden also accords well with the sweet tune Lia sings, in which she describes herself as a generous woman well versed in the arts of love:

> I have dominion over this place, far more worthy of my beauty than any other, as I am kindled with that fire which burns all of Mount Cytherea, and it moves me to be joyfully merry, and to serve the amorous goddess.[36]

FIGURE 7
Garden of Love, about 1375. Florentine. Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai (photo: Musée de la Chartreuse)



Tatti); Enzo Carli, *Sassetta e il Maestro dell'Osservanza* (Milan, 1957) pl. XXI.

33. *Comedia* III, 1.

34. The panel is usually assigned to a Florentine follower of Giotto active in the trecento: *Catalogue des ouvrages . . . legués au Musée de Douai par M. Amadée Foucques de Wagonville* (Douai, 1877) p. 7; Umberto Gnoli, "L'arte italiana in alcune gallerie francesi di provincia. Note di viaggio," *Rassegna d'arte* 8 (1908) p. 157; Pierre Bautier, "Le opere d'arte italiana nella Francia invasa," *Rassegna d'arte* 19 (1919) pp. 157–158; S. Leroy, *Catalogue des peintures . . . dans les galeries du Musée de Douai* (Douai, 1937) p. 9. According to the records of the Frick Art Reference Library, Richard Offner orally attributed the panel to a follower of Nardo and Jacopo di Cione.

35. Raimond Van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane* II (The Hague, 1932) pp. 426–431, cites our Figure 1 as a prime instance of the type. The significance of the fountain and lawn were recognized also by Lionello Venturi, *The Rabinowitz Collection* (New York, 1932) p. 20. Once more Lorenzo di Niccolò seems to have set a precedent for illuminators to follow: flowery meadows appear in the borders adorning the incipit pages of two manuscripts of the *Comedia*, Ms. Ital. 1106, dated 1431, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and British Museum Add. Ms. 10, 298, made in 1460. Both are cited in Note 29, above.

36. *Comedia* IV, 62–67.

FIGURE 8
Diana and Actaeon, detail of a cassone. Florentine. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of George Blumenthal, 41.190.129

The flowery meadow where Lia sits may be interpreted, therefore, as a symbol of her ardent devotion to the cause of love.

Lia's song also explains a puzzling detail of the first salver. Two of her nymphs seem to take an inordinate interest in the fountain beside her garden. One garbed in gray crouches awkwardly to peer up at its topmost basin, as if to see rainbows in the splashing water. This nymph is the same as the girl who runs with Lia across the river to succor Ameto. Standing behind the fountain is a blond nymph clad all in red, who appears also in the hunting scene. She gently caresses the still water of the lowest basin in an act of pure narcissism. Actually, Lia says that her brother was none other than Narcissus, the hunter who fell fatally in love with his own reflected image.

A second mythological allusion brings out the significance of the first. One of the nymphs crouching beside the stream leans forward to splash her companion, who washes herself. Her act recalls a famous aquatic gesture with dire consequences, seen on a cassone painted quite early in the quattrocento by an unknown Florentine (Figure 8).[37] Diana splashes Actaeon:

> So raught she water in hir hande and for to wreake the spight
> Besprinkled all the hands and face of this unluckie knight.[38]

The splashing nymph emulates Diana, but without malice. The allusion is delightfully appropriate, because when the dogs attack Ameto he fears that he will suffer unlucky Actaeon's transformation. The painter turns Diana's angry gesture into a harmless one to indicate that these nymphs pursue love, not chastity, in their pleasant garden. In similar fashion, the narcissistic gesture may suggest the distinction between ignoble and noble love. What emerges in Lorenzo's painting is a subtle pattern of allusions, giving visual formulation to the complicated doctrines of Boccaccio's *Comedia*.[39]

Lia's garden also corresponds closely to the place Boccaccio describes in Chapter XV, a "meadow, beneath a most beautiful laurel, filled with blossoms, beside a clear fountain,"[40] where the nymphs discourse on love and where Ameto is transformed. Though it would be rash to insist on the painter's botanical skills, the little tree above Lia does possess long laurel-like leaves.[41] The landscape literally serves as the stage for Ameto's introduction to love.

The marble fountain, which Lorenzo makes so prominent, may also symbolize Ameto's ultimate fate.

37. Zeri and Gardner, pp. 73–74. The inscription reads "Como Diana fece diventare/Cervio Antheon."

38. *Metamorphoses* III, 189–190.

39. It is possible that the boar being killed in the background forms part of the pattern of allusion. In Ovid's account of the Calydonian boar hunt, the beast is sent by Diana (*Metamorphoses* VIII, 271–283). Perhaps more attuned to the purposes of the *Comedia*, however, is an early quattrocento tradition that boars symbolize vice; Anna Spychalska-Boczkowska, "Diana with Meleagros and Actaeon. Some Remarks on a XV Century Italian Cassone," *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 9, 2 (1968) pp. 29–36. In Sassetta's Exaltation of St. Francis, mentioned in Note 32, the boar is an attribute of Luxury. If Lorenzo di Niccolò intended a similar connotation here, Lia's dispatch of the boar implies the triumph of noble over ignoble love.

40. *Comedia* XV, 2. The text implies that the symposium takes place in a different part of the meadow described in *Comedia* III, when Ameto encounters the nymphs.

41. Three types of trees are shown: an unknown species made up of circular clusters of leaves; a tree with clumps of four broad leaves, like those of an oak; and the laurel-like species above Lia. All three appear in more developed form in a Resurrection frescoed around 1400 by Lorenzo's partner, Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, in the sacristy of S. Croce near the Way to Calvary (Figure 5).

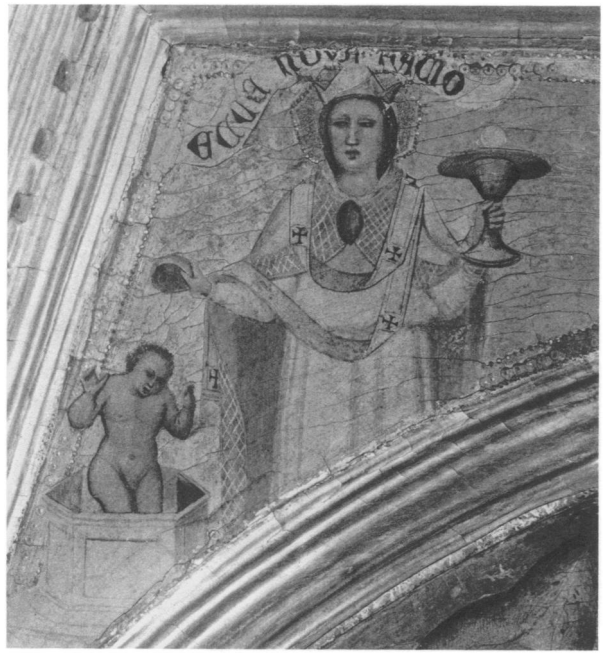


FIGURE 9
Giovanni del Biondo, Baptism, around 1370, detail of an altarpiece. Jarves Collection, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (photo: Yale University Art Gallery)

When Venus descended to enlighten him, the nymphs stripped off his coarse clothes, and immersed him in the clear fountain. From it Ameto emerged transformed. It is no accident that the hexagonal basin in the first salver and the centerpiece of the Garden of Love (Figure 7) resemble a baptismal font.[42] A similar font appears in an altarpiece painted by Giovanni del Biondo around 1370 (Figure 9). The inscription accompanying this allegory of Baptism, "Ecce nova facio," might apply equally well to the concluding events of the *Comedia delle Ninfe* itself.[43] The familiarity of this image in the late trecento is proven by the fresco illustrated in Figure 5, where a baptismal font appears in the right border. Allusions to the rite of baptism not only enrich the significance of Boccaccio's text, they also suit perfectly the purposes of a birth salver, a *desco di donna da parto*.

Contrasting with the varied landscapes of the first salver is the stony setting of the second. A simple wellhead filled with green water defines the locale as a rustic wilderness.[44] Ameto and the nymphs listen to the shepherds' songs amid brown and tan rocks, whose severity is relieved only by tiny flowers, straggling plants, and diminutive laurels and oaks. Here Lorenzo parts company with Boccaccio, who specifies that the eclogue was staged in "a most beautiful meadow, lush with grass and flowers, sheltered by many branches covered with new leaves, beside a clear fountain."[45] This is not the least of the liberties taken with the text. Two nymphs accompany Ameto, not five; Teogapen, the master of ceremonies, is nowhere to be seen; and the painter ignores the elaborate descriptions of nymphean costume and coiffure to which Boccaccio devotes considerable space.[46]

But in a way the second panel does justice to the significance of the musical competition. Its landscape setting is the austere world that the victor, Alcesto of Arcadia, celebrates in his song—high mountains, where only tufts of grass grow amid the rocks, and clear fountains are carved from the stone.[47] Just as the garden in the first salver symbolizes Ameto's discovery of love, so the mountains here allude to Alcesto's victory over Acaten.

The solemnity of the eclogue is further underlined by the figures' simple gestures. The nymph turned toward the viewer soberly indicates the victor. The second nymph, clad in a high-necked green gown, touches her breast in a pose of wonder and awe that is usually found in religious narratives of the utmost solemnity. An instructive instance is a small panel painted by Jacopo di Cione (Figure 9) in which five

42. It anticipates the design of the baptismal font in S. Giovanni, Siena; in Seymour, pl. 61.

43. The inscription is from Rev. 21:5. See Richard Offner and Klara Steinweg, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting* (New York, 1967) sect. 4, vol. IV, p. ix, note 56, pp. 84–85. Offner and Steinweg date the panel around 1367. A dating around 1370 is proposed by Charles Seymour, Jr., *Early Italian Paintings in the Yale University Art Gallery* (New Haven, 1970) pp. 43–45.

44. The wellhead is not an empty tomb as suggested by Spychalska-Boczkowska, p. 32. Wellheads symbolize wilderness in the illustration of Boccaccio's *Ninfale Fiesolano* cited in Note 11, and in the episode of the sacrifice of Isaac in the Abraham relief of Ghiberti's Gates of Paradise.

45. *Comedia* IX, 11. The upper portion of the panel near the escutcheons and the border has been repainted.

46. Lorenzo's practice contrasts with the textual fidelity of the Lombard illuminator of British Museum Add. Ms. 10, 299 cited in Note 24, who on folio 94^{r}, for example, depicts Lia as a lady of high fashion clad in gold, as Boccaccio specifies.

47. *Comedia* XIV, 2–3, 5–6, 37–38.

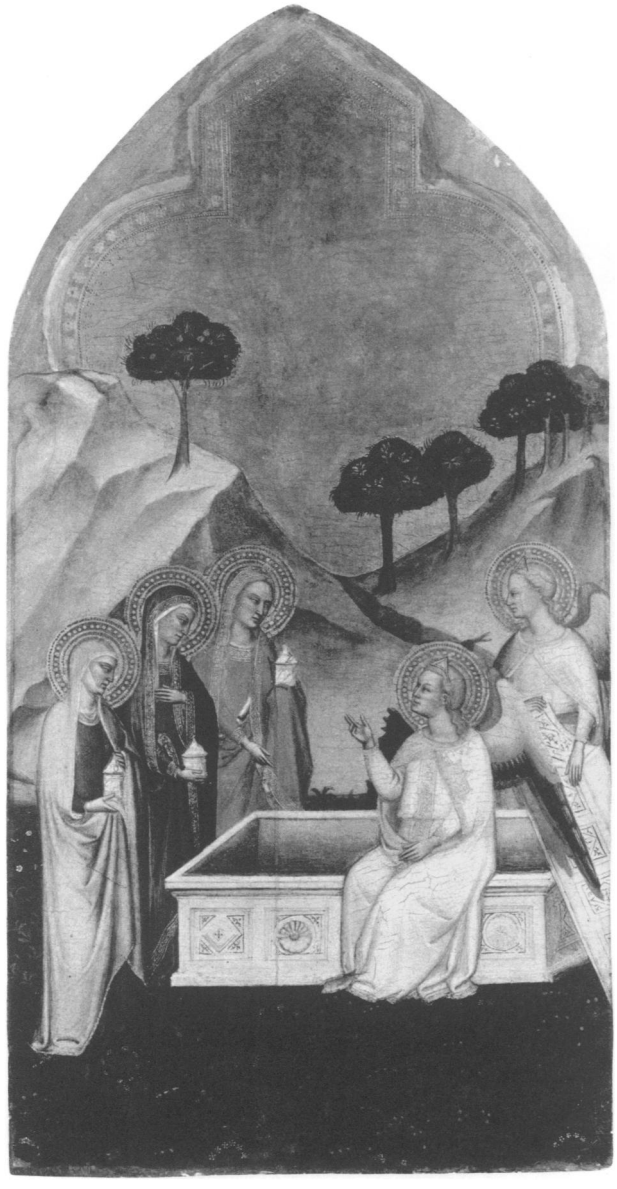


FIGURE 10
Jacopo di Cione, Three Maries at the Sepulcher, 1370–1371. National Gallery, London (photo: courtesy of the Trustees, The National Gallery)

figures assemble in a meadow where the Virgin bears witness to news of the Resurrection in the same motion as the nymph's.[48]

Landscape and gesture once more bring out Boccaccio's moral aims. Far from being a carefree depiction of the joys of country life, the scene is an exhortation to a life of virtue. The victor is Alcesto, whose name in Boccaccio's slightly macaronic Greek signifies a fervor for *virtù*. In his song this shepherd attacks his rival's evil ways and justifies the appropriateness of his own virtuous name:

> Your speech is false and not sincere. . . . You have twisted our song to the question of who is richer and has more in his flock, whereas it was decided that we should sing about what makes the better shepherd; whoever considers that with an eye illuminated by reason will see which one argues the better case.[49]

The musical debate is between pleasure and usefulness —that is, between the indulgence of self-love and the generosity of unselfish love. The spectator sees that brisk debate enacted by the shepherds, one poor, one rich, symbolized by the austere landscape, and perhaps even extended to the contrasting costumes, one simple, one ornate, of the nymphs accompanying Ameto. The viewer should look on, like Ameto, "con occhio alluminato di ragione."

A visual narrative verging on literal representation in the first salver becomes tersely emblematic in the second. One way to understand this shift is implied in a suggestion made by Federico Zeri in the Florentine paintings catalogue. Arguing against the usual assumption that the panels were originally separate, he surmised that they were the obverse and reverse of a single salver that has been sawn apart. Presumably the eclogue was the reverse, since escutcheons appear there.[50] Zeri's suggestion is open to question, both because it is highly unusual to find narratives painted on both sides of a birth salver, and because the placement of heraldic devices was not uniform in the fifteenth century. The customary practice is represented by a *desco da parto* by Bartolomeo di Fruosino. The front (Figure 6) depicts in detail a scene of birth (with spaces readied for painted escutcheons), the back (Figure 11)

48. For this panel, Martin Davies, *The Earlier Italian Schools*, 2nd ed., revised (London, 1961) pp. 391–396; Offner and Steinweg, sect. 4, vol. III (1965) pp. 31–47. The Virgin's gesture occurs frequently in Florentine painting of the late trecento. Examples include St. Peter in an Ascension frescoed in the sacristy of S. Croce by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini around 1400, forming part of the same complex as our Figure 5, and a Virgin Annunciate by Lorenzo di Niccolò himself in the polyptych of 1402 that is now in Cortona.

49. *Comedia* XIV, 82–90. The etymology of "Alcesto" is explained by Quaglio in his commentary on the *Comedia* XIII, note 5. Some of the implications of Alcesto's song are discussed by Erwin Panofsky, "*Et in Arcadia Ego:* Poussin and the Elegiac Tradition," *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Garden City, 1952) pp. 302, 303.

a putto who, according to the inscription, promises fecundity, easy childbirth, and riches.

Bartolomeo's salver, when considered with Zeri's interpretation, does unravel the final mystery of Lorenzo di Niccolò's panels. The visual relationship between the two sides of Bartolomeo's salver depends on contrasts of scale and imagery. Nevertheless, both sides present a common theme, childbirth, given narrative expression on one side and symbolic presentation on the other.[51] An identical treatment can be found in other salvers from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[52] In analogous fashion, the eclogue in Lorenzo's version of the *Comedia* formed an emblematic conclusion to the initial scenes of discovery. A reasonable inference is that Boccaccio's pastoral was edited, so to speak, for salver consumption.

Lorenzo di Niccolò's treatment of the *Comedia delle Ninfe Fiorentine* is consistent with the fortunes of the book in the quattrocento. Though never as popular as the *Decameron*, it enjoyed a steady readership, as two printed editions of 1478 and 1479 and twenty-eight manuscripts attest. Three codices, copied in 1400, 1414, and 1417, are roughly contemporary with Lorenzo's salvers.[53] In some manuscripts the scribes or their employers appended their own observations on Boccaccio's elaborate allegory. Thus one manuscript, which, to judge from the author portrait adorning its incipit page, dates from the second decade of the fifteenth century, bears on the flyleaf a gloss on the nymphs who instruct Ameto. They are identified as the Virtues, chief amongst which is Faith, whom Lia represents.[54] Even more telling are the exegeses accompanying a codex in the Biblioteca Riccardiana. Its first owner, Giovanni di Antonio Minertetti, noted at the

50. Zeri and Gardner, pp. 54–55. Katherine Baetjer, Assistant Curator of European Paintings, has informed us that the heavy cradles at the backs of both panels have never been removed.

51. Paul F. Watson, "A *Desco da Parto* by Bartolomeo da Fruosino," *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974) pp. 4–9, with further references. The inscription on the back states that the putto literally showers gold and silver, and that women are promised childbirth "sanza noia." In the scene of childbirth on the front, a serving woman at the right commends a small kneeling figure to the mother in her childbed, just as a donor is commended to a saint. One inference is that the kneeling figure is a surrogate for the original patrons. The convention relates both paintings to each other as quasi-magical auguries of fecundity. See also Antal, pp. 355–356, and E. H. Gombrich, "Apollonio di Giovanni," reprinted in *Norm and Form*, 2nd ed. (London and New York, 1971) pp. 21, 142, note 35.

52. An important example is a salver painted by an unknown Florentine around 1400, formerly in a private collection in New York. On the obverse are episodes from the myth of Diana and Actaeon; on the reverse Justice sits enthroned. The allegorical figure raises the same question as the narrative on the other side, namely whether Diana's punishment was just; see *Metamorphoses* III, 253–255. Photographs of the panels are in the Frick Art Reference Library. Another example, pointed out to us by Katharine Baetjer, is a *desco da parto* painted in Ferrara around 1475 and now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (17.198); the obverse represents the meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and the reverse shows a putto with a cornucopia. The link connecting the two paintings is a union made ideal by wisdom and wealth. See further, Paul F. Watson, "The Christian Tradition," in *Solomon and Sheba*, ed. James B. Pritchard (London, 1974) pp. 127–128.

53. The dated manuscripts are Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Cod. Ashburnham. 1346 (1400); Florence, Bibl. Nazionale, Magl. II.II.17 (1414); and Bibl. Laur., XC sup. 102 (1417). The manuscript tradition is studied in N. Bruscoli, ed., *L'Ameto, Lettere, Il Corbaccio* (Bari, 1940) pp. 267–274; Vittore Branca, *Tradizione delle opere di Giovanni Boccaccio* (Rome, 1958) pp. 13–15; and Quaglio's edition of the *Comedia*, pp. 900–901.

54. The manuscript is Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, XLI.35, cited by Bruscoli, p. 269. The author portrait on fol. 1^{r} is discussed by Paolo D'Ancona, *La miniatura fiorentina* I (Florence, 1914) p. 245.

FIGURE 11

Reverse of salver, Figure 6 (photo: New-York Historical Society)

outset that "this book is entitled the *Nifale* [sic] *d'amore*,"[55] in other words, that it is a tale about nymphs and love. At the end of the manuscript, however, Giovanni observed: "This book, compiled by Giovanni Boccaccio, is not a book about nymphs, as it is entitled, but is instead a book about *virtù*."[56] The same awareness that *amore* becomes *virtù* governs the ordering of Lorenzo di Niccolò's salvers.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We wish to thank Katharine Baetjer, Cynthia Carter, and Christina Rizzo of the Department of European Paintings for their assistance.

55. Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 1051, cited by Bruscoli, p. 271.

56. Cited by Bruscoli, pp. 271–272. Boccaccio's ideas on virtuous love have been recently explored by Victoria Kirkham, "Reckoning with Boccaccio's *Questioni d'amore*," *Modern Language Notes* 89 (1974) pp. 47–59.

Two Unpolychromed Riemenschneiders at The Cloisters

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THE CLOISTERS possesses two linden-wood sculptures by the Würzburg master Tilman Riemenschneider, the illustrious exponent of German Late Gothic unpolychromed wooden sculpture. It is my belief that both the Three Helpers, SS. Christopher, Eustace, and Erasmus (Figure 1), acquired in 1961, and the Seated Bishop, perhaps either St. Kilian or St. Erasmus (Figure 2), acquired in 1970, were originally unpolychromed.[1] Justus Bier has already published the history and iconography of the Three Helpers,[2] which was probably from the altarpiece of the Fourteen Helper Saints in Need, a work commissioned for the Würzburg Hofspital chapel by Johann von Allendorf in 1494.[3] The group to which our three figures belonged may have represented all fourteen saints within the predella of an unpolychromed retable.

When the group was shown to specialists at the Victoria and Albert Museum nearly twenty-five years ago by George Saint, an English private collector, it was covered with a recent heavy layer of brown paint; this was subsequently removed at the Victoria and Albert Museum. The horizontal worm galleries running along the surface beneath the paint indicated that the sculpture had at one time been painted. Upon its purchase by The Cloisters, Mojmir Frinta removed a recent application of linseed oil that gave the surface an unpleasant, hard shine. From the time of its acquisition there was some disagreement concerning the original nature of its surface finish,[4] but a systematic analysis of Riemenschneider's surviving sculpture and available documentary records shows quite clearly that the sculptor created many of his pieces with the intention that

1. This is not to say that their surfaces were not treated in another manner. In general, efforts to determine the original appearance of Late Gothic sculpture have been made difficult because during the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries in particular much of this sculpture was "abgelaugt" (ruthlessly cleaned) and repainted. Although the nineteenth-century restorers sometimes correctly removed post-Gothic paint from retables that were originally unpolychromed, in some cases they mistakenly removed the original and/or subsequent paint in the belief that the surface was originally unpolychromed. This happened to the celebrated late fifteenth-century Kefermarkt Retable, which was originally polychromed. The most important literature concerning late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century South German unpolychromed sculpture includes Walter Paatz, *Süddeutsche Schnitzaltäre der Spätgotik* (Heidelberg, 1936) pp. 81–82; Marlene Benkö *Ungefasste Schnitzaltäre der Spätgotik in Süddeutschland*, unpublished dissertation, Munich, 1969; Johannes Taubert, "Zur Oberflächengestalt der sog. ungefassten Holzplastik," *Städel Jahrbuch* (1967, N.F. 1) pp. 119–139. Benkö's dissertation presents a comprehensive bank of data but relies too little on first-hand information. Her closing observations on the origins of this phenomenon are not conclusively warranted and largely reiterate Paatz's earlier hypothetical observations.

2. In the catalogue for the Riemenschneider exhibition in the North Carolina Museum of Art (Raleigh, 1962), also in "Riemenschneider's Helpers in Need," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 21 (1962–63) pp. 317–326. Formerly in the collections of Lord Delamere and Mrs. Mary Saint, the Three Helpers was on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum 1951–56.

3. A later Fourteen Helpers relief for the outside wall of the Hofspital chapel was mistakenly identified with this commission for quite some time. The figures of this second relief, dated 1514, now in the Mainfränkisches Museum, Würzburg, show a blend of Gothic and Renaissance characteristics and were carved by one of Riemenschneider's pupils. Representations of the Fourteen Helper Saints in wall paintings and retables became most popular in Bavaria after Hermann Leicht's vision of 1446, in which the Fourteen Helpers instructed him to build a chapel where the Upper Franconian church of Vierzehnheiligen now stands.

4. G. Schoenberger, T. Hoving, and C. Gómez-Moreno believed that it was originally unpolychromed; J. Rorimer believed that it was originally polychromed.

FIGURE 1
Three Helper Saints, by Tilman Riemenschneider. Probably commissioned in 1494. Linden wood, height about 21 inches. The Cloisters Collection, 61.86

they were to remain unpolychromed. Riemenschneider often completed his figures by highlighting certain physiognomic details, and he sometimes applied a pigmented glaze over the surface of the wood. On the basis of the refined subtleties in its carving, the details which would have been obscured by polychromy, and the faint traces of paint on the eyes, it can be assumed that this piece was to remain unpolychromed also.

The decorative details include the incised strip and scallops that border Erasmus' cope and the ornamental design on the band holding it together, and the crosshatching on the triangular cap of the sudarium attached to the crozier. The remaining fragments of Erasmus' miter lappets reveal a simple pattern of dotted diamonds, as on the Seated Bishop's miter lappets. However, the imitation of fur on Eustace's tunic is perhaps the most instructive, since even a single coat of paint would obscure its texture.[5]

Without documentation it is impossible to determine the precise identity of the Seated Bishop. Kilian, the patron saint of Würzburg Cathedral, is often identified by a sword and crozier, whereas Erasmus frequently bears a crozier and a windlass wound with intestines. By the time of a restoration in the eighteenth-century the bishop had already lost the attribute or instrument he had borne in his right hand, since the missing or broken hand was then replaced, and the hole above the

5. Riemenschneider, unlike other sculptors, Hans Leinberger in particular, only rarely imitated textures.

6. The poorly carved flat hand, removed in the 1971 restoration, dates to the time of the eighteenth-century paint. The original right hand must have been raised at an angle. The eighteenth-century restorer had to cut a piece from the protruding garment fold in order to place the hand in a horizontal position. The hole above the knees, presumably securing the bishop's other attribute, was not filled in with paint, indicating that the left hand and attribute were still intact. On the basis of the photographs in the 1904 and 1908 publications of the Seated Bishop, it can also be determined that the twentieth-century restorations predating the acquisition by The Cloisters included the addition of a new base, since removed, and the filling of the deteriorated wood at the bottom of the piece.

FIGURE 2
Seated Bishop, by Tilman Riemenschneider. About 1495. Linden wood. Height 35 inches. The Cloisters Collection, 1970.137.1

FIGURE 3
The Evangelist Matthew, by Tilman Riemenschneider. From the predella of the Münnerstadt Retable, 1490–92. Linden wood. Height about 30 inches. Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen (photo: Staatliche Museen)

FIGURE 4
Seated Bishop, detail

right knee, which presumably secured the attribute, was filled with paint.[6]

If doubt ever existed as to whether the Seated Bishop was carved by the master himself, the recent removal of paint by Rudolf Meyer at The Cloisters again facilitates an appreciation of the fine carving and points directly to the master's own hand.[7] Stylistically, the Seated Bishop is closest to the Münnerstadt Retable predella figures of 1490–92 (Figure 3). Riemenschneider created his own medieval vocabulary of types, each an idealized yet highly individual identity depicted with graphic realism. The facial type with which the Seated Bishop might best be identified was already used for Erasmus in The Cloisters' Three Helpers in 1494 (Figures 4, 5). If the figure of Erasmus resembles Rie-

FIGURE 5
Erasmus, detail of Three Helper Saints

FIGURE 6
Prince-Bishop Rudolph von Scherenberg, by Tilman Riemenschneider. 1496–99. Marble. Würzburg Cathedral (Foto Marburg)

menschneider's effigy of Prince-Bishop Rudolf von Scherenberg, carved on his Würzburg Cathedral tomb monument between 1496 and 1499, how much closer our Seated Bishop is to the ninety-three-year-old Rudolf (Figure 6). Riemenschneider may have carved it while completing the Scherenberg monument. Another figure, the standing St. Kilian (?) in the Mainfränkisches Museum, Würzburg, probably carved by Riemenschneider about 1500,[8] is likewise strikingly similar to the figures of Erasmus, the Seated Bishop, and Rudolf von Scherenberg, although the open lips and firmer

7. The piece is considered to be by Riemenschneider's own hand by Bier, an opinion shared by Alfred Schädler, director of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum. It was published early in this century, at which time it was still covered with eighteenth-century paint. The Seated Bishop was first published with the notation "attributed to Riemenschneider" in the *Offizieller Katalogue der Ausstellung von Meisterwerken der Renaissance aus Privatbesitz*, veranstaltet vom Verein bildender Künstler Münchens "Secession" e. V. vom 3. Juni bis 30. September 1901 in kgl. Kunstausstellungsgebäude am Königsplatz, II. Auflage, ausgeben am 29. Juni 1901 (Munich, 1901) p. 26, no. 194. Three years later it was published and illustrated as "attributed to" Riemenschneider in the *Album de l'exposition d'objets d'art de 1904, St.-Pétersbourg* (St. Petersburg, 1907) p. 227, fig. 110. It was last published with the notation "Art des Tilman Riemenschneider" in Julius Leisching *Figurale Holzplastik* I (Vienna, 1908) pl. LV, no. 116. The second reference was given me by J. L. Schrader and V. Ostoia, the first and third by J. Bier.

8. *Weltkunst* XX (1950) Heft 19, p. 3; *Franconia Sacra*, Jubiläums-Ausstellung, Mainfränkisches Museum Würzburg (Munich, 1952) p. 34, A22; Mainfränkisches Museum Würzburg, Neuerwerbungen, 1946–1956, *Mainfränkisches Jahrbuch*, Band 8 (1956) Sonderdruck.

FIGURE 7
St. Kilian, by Tilman Riemenschneider. 1508–10. Linden wood. (After Max von Freeden, *Tilman Riemenschneider* [Munich, 1965] pl. 74)

flesh do not indicate the same age as the other figures. Riemenschneider's lifesize bust of St. Kilian (Figure 7), which was created for the Würzburg Cathedral high altar and burned in the Würzburg Neumünsterkirche in 1945, whence it was brought about 1700, can also be compared with The Cloisters' Seated Bishop. The same hair style is shared by the Seated Bishop, and also the Erasmus, and the two center fields of the miters borne by the Seated Bishop and St. Kilian are adorned with similar ornaments. In the case of the Seated Bishop, the ornaments have almost all disappeared, since they were originally applied with glue. Of the fifty-three pearls, stones, and beads that once decorated the miter, only

FIGURE 8
The Gerolzhofen Retable, by Tilman Riemenschneider and workshop. About 1515. Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (photo: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum)

fifteen pieces and fragments remain. Likewise, as determined from the remains of glue, two roundels that once helped to hold the cope together are now missing. A further comparison between the decorative elements on Riemenschneider's Seated Bishop and his other pieces provides only inconclusive evidence for the dating of the bishop since these same elements were employed by Riemenschneider throughout his career.

The height of the Seated Bishop, 35 inches, makes it questionable whether it belonged within the main body of a retable. It actually may have rested in the superstructure above the main body, as Gerstenberg suggested of a comparably sized seated figure of St. Stephen in the Mainfränkisches Museum.[9] Our Seated Bishop may have belonged to a retable similar to either Riemenschneider's retable for the Gramschatz parish church (Lkr. Karlstadt) or the Johanneskapelle in Gerolzhofen (Figure 8), both dating about 1515 or slightly earlier.[10] However, these two retables may have been painted immediately upon their completion.

Before the Seated Bishop was covered with oil paint and varnished in the eighteenth century, it was covered with a half-opaque varnish consisting primarily of linseed oil and a resinous material in order to prevent the paint from being absorbed into the wood.[11] An original coat of varnish, applied by Riemenschneider, seems to have existed beneath everything else. Upon removal of the eighteenth-century polychromy the original brown irises and pupils of the eyes emerged in this coat of varnish.

Now that the paint has been removed, the construction of the figure is more easily visible. It was carved from a single linden trunk to which a separate piece of wood was glued after the figure had been roughly carved and hollowed out. Apparently, the main trunk was too small for the conceptions of the sculptor. This second piece, doweled near the right elbow, runs vertically from the bishop's right shoulder and includes part of the chair. The part of the base directly below may have belonged to the second piece of wood. Another small piece of wood was applied to the piece of drapery extending over the bishop's left knee, and this too is secured by glue and a dowel. A large block of linden was inserted under each arm, probably in an attempt to substitute the knotty or irregular wood lying directly beneath the arms (Figure 9). From the front, the block

FIGURE 9
Seated Bishop, back view

9. The St. Stephen measures about 30 inches high. The Seated Bishop is nearly the same size, except that it wears a high miter. For the St. Stephen, Kurt Gerstenberg, *Tilman Riemenschneider* (Munich, 1950) p. 194, fig. 125; Max von Freeden, *Tilman Riemenschneider* (Munich, 1965) p. 47, no. 86, fig. 86.

10. Riemenschneider himself probably participated in carving both retables, though they are largely workshop productions. The Gerolzhofen Retable was composed of a central body, housing standing figures of John the Baptist, the Virgin and Child, and formerly St. Wolfgang, now lost. The wings are divided into two panels with reliefs depicting scenes from the life of John the Baptist. Above the body, the missing figures of SS. George and Kilian once flanked a Crucifixion.

11. It can be determined that the paint did not date to the early sixteenth century. No gesso existed beneath the painted surface, which exhibited colors customarily used in the eighteenth century, including the light blue lining of the cope.

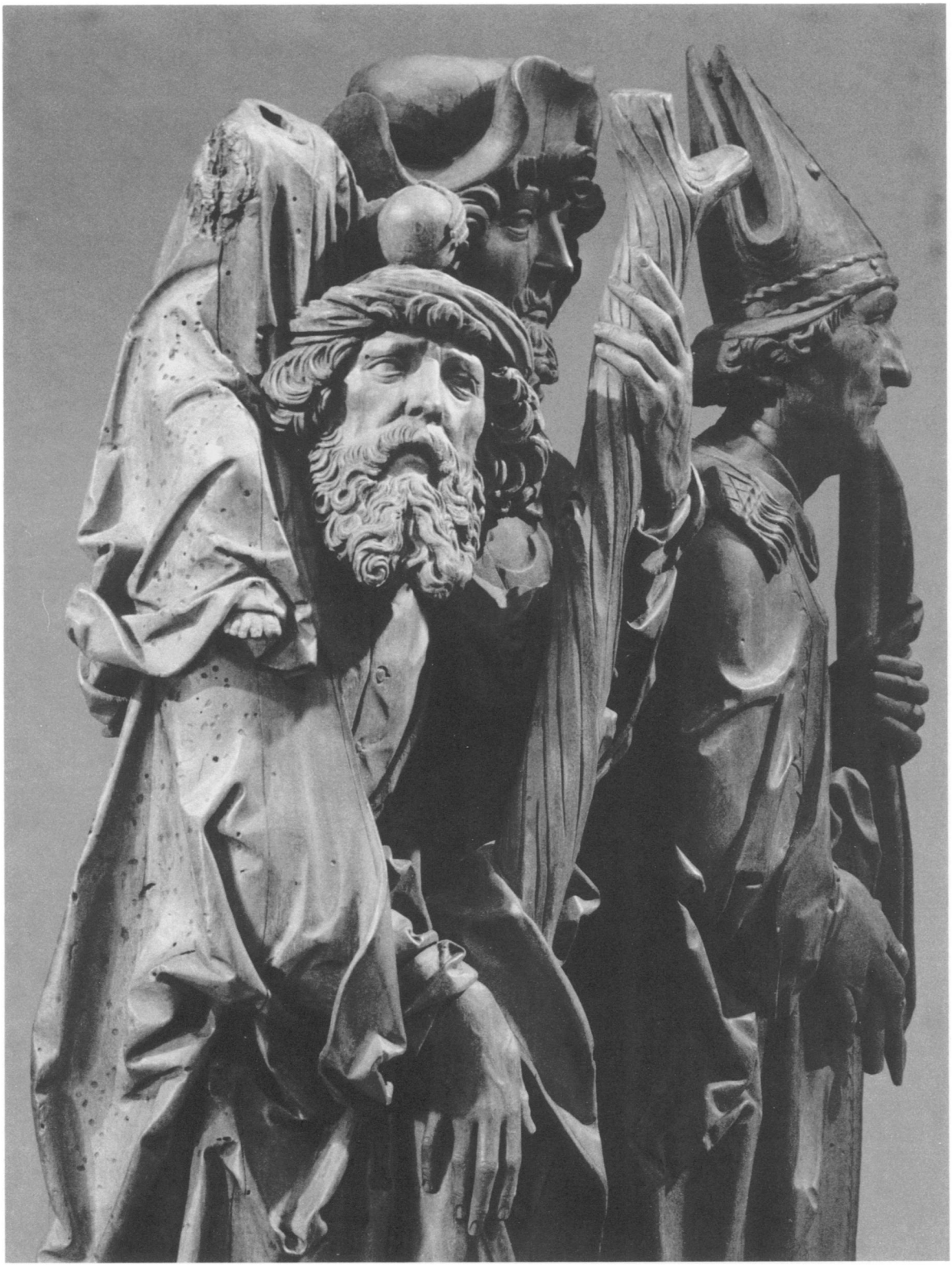

FIGURE 10 Christopher, detail of Three Helper Saints

beneath the bishop's left arm constitutes a sizable part of the cope and alb. In addition to the two large blocks and the six chips that were applied from behind whenever the sculptor accidentally cut through the wood, several wedges were added, particularly among the knotty areas, indicating Riemenschneider's concern for a harmonious surface without gesso and polychromy. This method of replacing irregularities in the surface of the wood is evidenced in many of Riemenschneider's other pieces and varies from the customary manner of filling small holes with tanning bark, flour, and size (glue). The latter procedure, far simpler, was used in anticipation of linen, gesso, and paint.[12]

In reference to The Cloisters' Helper Saints it should be noted that the long piece of wood constituting the far right side of Christopher's garment and the length of the Christ Child's right side (Figure 10) is not a modern attachment, but instead is typical of other Riemenschneider figures including the Seated Bishop. We cannot be absolutely sure of Riemenschneider's reasons for adding the piece, but it may have been due to irregularities in the wood rather than to the fact that the original block proved to be too small. An inconspicuous attachment forming the continuation of Christopher's garment behind his right foot is also typical of Riemenschneider's sculpture.

Within the context of the Late Gothic wooden retable the term "unpolychromed" is quite unspecific. Taubert has demonstrated that the ambiguity of this term is perhaps best clarified through a more elaborate system of classification into three groups of retables.[13] Riemenschneider's sculpture falls within Taubert's first class, which is best deserving of the appellation "unpolychromed" because usually only details such as the eyes, eyebrows, lips, and nostrils were tinted. A second class, characterized by a slightly less restricted use of color, might best be called "partially painted." A third class derives its name from the "half-painted" figures rendered in flesh tones and white garments with gold highlighting. However, Taubert's "unpolychromed" retable may have been varnished, as was much of Riemenschneider's retable sculpture, although not the Creglingen Marienaltar, about 1505–10, which exhibits an unusual amount of detail and variety of effects.[14]

A recent restoration of Riemenschneider's Rothenburg Heiligblutaltar of 1501–04 revealed the existence of an original glaze consisting of egg white and oils pigmented with ocher, black gypsum, and white lead.[15] The glaze must have been applied by the workshop immediately after Riemenschneider tinted the isolated features, since no dust is traceable beneath it. The glaze not only protects the sculpture but also imbues the wood with a richer sense of depth and life and heightens the refraction of light upon its surface. Its pigmentation disguises the minor irregularities and discrepancies of tone in the linden wood, and likewise obscures the color disparity between the white linden wood figures and the red fir framework.[16] Fir was invariably used in the construction of the framework of South German polychromed retables, and in the Marienaltar Riemenschneider made no attempt to mitigate the differences in the color of the unglazed framework and figures.

Paatz suggests that Riemenschneider's technique of highlighting facial details and drapery borders may reflect his training as a stone sculptor or may be the result of a division of labor between the sculptor and the Fassmaler (painter of the sculpture), who was to be separately contracted by the patron.[17] However, this division was more unusual than Paatz indicates. Moreover, his first suggestion is unjustified because Riemenschneider's technique of painting stone was far more decorative than his method of highlighting wooden sculpture. The appearance of various forms of unpolychromed wooden sculpture and choir stalls in the late

12. For a further explanation of the preparatory procedures for polychromed wood sculpture, H. Huth, *Künstler und Werkstatt der Spätgotik* (Darmstadt, 1957) pp. 55–61.

13. Taubert, "Ungefasste Holzplastik."

14. Benkö, *Ungefasste Schnitzaltäre*, p. 28, reports that she was informed by Herr Hammer, who restored the retable after 1959, that the hair of the figures was soaked in vinegar to achieve a variation in the tone of the wood.

15. The constitution of the glaze was determined by the Doerner Institut during the restoration undertaken from 1962 to 1965 under the direction of J. Taubert of the Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege. The earliest recorded restoration of the Heiligblutaltar was undertaken between 1854 and 1857; Anton Ress, *Die Kunstdenmäler von Franken, Stadt Rothenburg o. d. T.* (Munich, 1959) p. 91.

16. E. Oellermann, "Die Restaurierung des Heiligblutaltares von Tilman Riemenschneider," *24. Amtsbericht des Bayerisches Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege* (Munich, 1966) p. 81. Oellermann has observed remains of a similar original pigmented glaze on other important works by Riemenschneider, including the right wing of the Heiligkreuzaltar in Dettwang and on the Münnerstadt Retable Evangelist figures.

17. Paatz, *Süddeutsche Schnitzaltäre*, p. 82.

fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries should not force us to search for this kind of solution. Even if Riemenschneider's wooden sculpture is among the earliest unpolychromed retable sculpture, he was nonetheless familiar with Jörg Syrlin the Elder's Ulm Minster choir stalls, begun in 1469, and probably also the Constance choir stalls by Nicolaus Gerhaerts van Leyden in 1461.

Riemenschneider's earliest documented retable, the Münnerstadt Retable, dismantled in 1831, was unpolychromed when delivered to the Münnerstadt parish church.[18] In 1502, approximately ten years after its completion, Veit Stoss was contracted "zu vassen, zu malen, vergulden und auszubereyten" (to make the proper arrangements for polychroming and gilding the retable) while he was in Münnerstadt.[19] Stoss also painted the unornamented wing exteriors. The members of the Münnerstadt town council may have become dissatisfied with the appearance of the retable after it was delivered by Riemenschneider and requested that the work be painted.

It can easily be determined that the Rothenburg Heiligblutaltar, the Creglingen Marienaltar, and the Dettwang Kreuzigungsaltar were never painted at any date. Of three further works created by Riemenschneider for the Windsheim parish church, the first two were painted at a date considerably later than the time of their completion by the sculptor. The choir screen group of Christ, John the Evangelist, and the Virgin, dated 1494–1500,[20] was painted in 1520–22 by Hans Hertenstein, and the Crucifixion choir retable figures of 1494–97[21] as well as the unadorned wing exterior were likewise painted in 1520–22 by Hertenstein. Riemenschneider delivered both works unpolychromed. Since the payment to Hertenstein for the Crucifixion group was only 8 ½ guilders, compared to 250 guilders to Hertenstein for the retable, the three Crucifixion figures must not have been fully polychromed. After the three figures were installed on the high choir screen, where they were poorly visible, the patrons may have discovered the need for painted accents to bring the figures to life. Both Windsheim works burned in the fire of 1730, but the most important pieces of the Zwölfbotenaltar (now in Heidelberg), the figures of the central body, carved in part by Riemenschneider himself, and the wings, primarily workshop productions, must have been ripped from the altarpiece and thrown into the streets where they were spared from the flames. Eventually, in 1840, they were brought to Würzburg, at which time they were restored.[22]

The same woman who donated Riemenschneider's Zwölfbotenaltar of 1509–11 was responsible for the payments of 105 guilders for the painting of the sculpture in 1512 by Jacob Mühlholtzer of Windsheim.[23] The retable depicted six standing disciples with the Salvator Mundi in the central body and three disciples in relief on the interior of each of two wings. Again, Riemenschneider may have preferred that his retable remain unpolychromed; however, the main body and the figures were painted shortly after Riemenschneider delivered the work. At the time of the 1950 restoration, the 1617 paint applied by Johann Weidner was removed, revealing fragments of a light ocher-colored ground on all but the faces, hands, feet, hair, and beards. Perhaps Riemenschneider, who must have known Mühlholtzer, instructed him to preserve as much of the fine carving as possible. This could be done by eliminating gesso on features or by using an unusually thin layer of gesso. Bier suggests that Johann Wagenknecht was the painter of many of Riemenschneider's

18. The main body of the retable depicted the Assumption of Mary Magdalen flanked by SS. Kilian and Elizabeth, the predella housed four Evangelist busts, and the superstructure held a Throne of Grace and figures of Mary and John the Evangelist, crowned by the topmost figure of John the Baptist. The wings depicted four scenes from the life of Mary Magdalen. The Münnerstadt Retable underwent other changes before it was dismantled; J. Bier, *Tilman Riemenschneider, Die Frühen Werke* (Würzburg, 1925) p. 16. For complete bibliography, Paatz, *Süddeutsche Schnitzaltäre*, p. 78, note 245.

19. The contract is in Bier, *Riemenschneider, Frühe Werke*, p. 96. In 1504 Stoss received 220 guilders, whereas Riemenschneider received only 145 guilders. In 1954 the last vestiges of the original and later paint were removed from the sculpture, once housed within the central body of the retable.

20. For documentary sources, J. Bier, *Tilman Riemenschneider, Die Reifen Werke* (Augsburg, 1930) pp. 165–166.

21. For documentary sources, ibid., pp. 160–165. Although Riemenschneider's contract indicated that the exterior of the wings should display figures in relief, "steende pild," he left the exterior unadorned.

22. For lengthy bibliography of the Zwölfbotenaltar, Paatz, *Süddeutsche Schnitzaltäre*, p. 89, note 288. The retable was created for the altar of the side chapel dedicated to the twelve Apostles and St. Nikolaus, a figure of whom was doubtless represented within the superstructure.

23. The widow Elizabeth Paknapenn (Backnapp) paid Riemenschneider 80 guilders for the Zwölfbotenaltar. The wing exteriors bear painted representations of SS. Luke and Mark dating to 1617. Unlike Riemenschneider's other retables, the wings depict standing Apostles rather than numerous narrative reliefs.

other works.[24] Riemenschneider may have instructed him as well to preserve as much of the fine carving as possible. In describing sculpture with an unusually thin application of paint, Hubert Wilm coined the term "Bildwerke mit Meisterfassung."[25]

Riemenschneider preferred to conceive his open retables in terms of a monochromatic tableau and preferred to leave the exterior of the wings altogether unadorned. The exterior of the Ulm Minster high altar, 1473–80, by Jörg Syrlin the Elder and Michael Erhart, may also have been unornamented,[26] as was the exterior of the first of two pairs of wings of Veit Stoss's Cracow Retable of 1477–89. The flexibility of the Wandelaltar (retable with movable wings) and its ramifications was thereby drastically reduced and replaced by something altogether different. The effect is rather like that of a rock which, when split in two, reveals an incrustation of fine crystals, all the more beautiful because they are mysteriously concealed within so unassuming a vessel. The autonomy of the sculpture contained within the unadorned retable is thereby strengthened, especially when the sculpture housed within the retable is unpolychromed.

The highly modulated surface of the sculpture, influenced by Netherlandish art, particularly the sculpture of Nicolaus Gerhaerts, and in part by contemporary German prints, especially those of Schongauer, was one of several indispensable elements constituting Riemenschneider's successful unpolychromed retables. Riemenschneider's unification of interacting figures, inconceivable without the crowded groupings first proliferated in Netherlandish retables, was as important as his widespread use of a chapel-like setting which he applied to the entire central body of the retable conceived as one single unit. He may have referred to any of the Master W's preparatory prints for sculptors and joiners illustrating the Netherlandish loggia. Perhaps his most significant achievement was the synthesis of actual windows with an illusionistic chapel-like room, most effectively exploited in the Heiligblutaltar and the Marienaltar.[27]

Although the dismantled Münnerstadt Retable, 1490–92, is the earliest known South German unpolychromed retable, Riemenschneider was not necessarily the originator of the movement. He did, perhaps, take the greatest advantage of the unpolychromed retable. As mentioned earlier, several varieties of retables with surface finishes ranging from unpolychromed to "half painted" appeared almost simultaneously. Two Swabian reliefs in the Ottobeuren monastery museum depicting Christ Appearing to His Mother and the Noli Me Tangere, about 1530, exemplify the "partially painted" sculpture. As with Riemenschneider's figural sculpture, the eyes and lips are tinted.[28] However, paint also ornaments Mary's red book cover and borders of the garments, and a pomegranate pattern on the baldachino behind Mary is likewise painted. In the same relief a wall composed of blocks is articulated with white joints, and in the other relief the landscape is accentuated with green paint. All of the paint lies directly on the surface of the wood without gesso, and a glaze covers the figures just as a glaze originally covered the surface of Riemenschneider's Heiligblutaltar. The paint on Master H.L.'s 1526 Breisach "half painted" retable is also applied directly on the surface of the wood.[29] The flesh parts of the central figures are characteristically painted and isolated details are emphasized with color. Likewise, the flesh parts of the

24. Bier mentioned this to me in a recent discussion; see also J. Bier, *Tilman Riemenschneider, Ein Gedenkbuch* (Vienna, 1948) p. 36, pl. 101.

25. H. Wilm, *Die Gotische Holzfigur, Ihr Wesen und ihre Enstehung* (Stuttgart, 1944) p. 130.

26. Paatz, *Süddeutsche Schnitzaltäre*, p. 81.

27. Nikolaus von Hagenau's Strasbourg Fronaltar of 1501, the Lautenbach Retable, about 1491–94, and Gerhaert's Constance Retable of 1465–66 expanded upon the chapel-like niches, and among extant German retables the earliest example of one single chapel-like construction composing the body of the corpus occurs in Michael Pacher's St. Wolfgangaltar, 1471–71, where the blind tracery is all but obscured by the angels and drapery surrounding the Crowning of the Virgin; H. Schrade, *Tilman Riemenschneider* (Heidelberg, 1927) pp. 20, 121. The development of the stage-like retable setting is anticipated at an early date in a limestone construction dated to the second quarter of the fifteenth century from the church of St. Quentin in Tournai (now in the Musée St. Luc); K. Gerstenberg, "Riemenschneiders Kreuzaltar in Dettwang," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* VII (1938) p. 210, fig. 6.

28. Taubert, "Ungefasste Holzplastik," pp. 132–133, figs. 14, 15.

29. The blue back wall, emphasizing the figures, was borrowed from the fully polychromed retable. See Grieshaber, "Der Hochaltar im Münster zu Breisach, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte altdeutscher Kunst," *Kunstblatt* (1833) no. 9, pp. 33 ff.; Grüneisen, "Der Hochaltar im Münster zu Alt Breisach, Von Dr. M. Rosenberg, Buchbesprechung," *Christliche Kunstblatt* (1878); J. Sauer, "Der Hochaltar des Breisacher Münsters," *Pantheon* XXIX (1942) p. 12; W. Noack, *Der Breisacher Altar*, Langewiesche-Bücherei, p. 4; Benkö, *Ungefasste Schnitzaltäre*, pp. 88–93; Taubert, "Ungefasste Holzplastik," p. 127.

figures of Jörg Syrlin the Younger's high altar for the Alpirsbach monastery church, about 1520, were painted and the altarpiece exhibits other painted ornamentation.[30] The Alpirsbach Retable is particularly significant because the glaze covering the wood matches the brown grisaille of the wings, which in terms of color does not detract from the wings. Whereas Riemenschneider preferred the combination of unpolychromed wooden sculpture and carved wooden wings, here Syrlin preferred unpolychromed sculpture and wings painted in a neutral color.

Nicolaus Gerhaerts' activity in southern Germany was the single most important determinant in the development of late fifteenth-century South German sculpture, but it is difficult to prove whether he renounced color in his influential Constance Retable of 1465–66 and thereby should be credited with the introduction of this Netherlandish practice to southern Germany. The appearance of unpolychromed retables elsewhere in Germany does seem to indicate that the sources may lie in the Netherlands, or at least that the stronghold of unpolychromed sculpture was not focused exclusively in southern Germany. Riemenschneider may have been inspired either by Lower Rhenish or South German sculpture, or perhaps by both. As a journeyman he worked in Ulm and must have traveled down the Rhine, though how far cannot be said for sure. His monochromatic tableaux do not stand alone at the end of an era. They belonged to a particular Late Gothic aesthetic paralleled best in the numerous variations of grisaille painting, in monochromatic stone sculpture, and in the black and white graphics so popular in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Whatever Riemenschneider's source of inspiration, the success of his sculpture frequently depended upon the renunciation of polychromy. The lyricism of his tormented faces is so subtle that even the thinnest layer of paint could obscure its intensity. It is fortunate that The Cloisters owns two Riemenschneiders that exhibit these characteristics.

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30. Paul Keppler, *Württembergs kirchliche Kunstalterthümer* (Rottenburg a.N., 1888) p. 259; Marie Schuette, *Der Schwäbische Schnitzaltar* (Strasbourg, 1907) p. 193; Gertrud Otto, *Die Ulmer Plastik der Spätgotik* (Reutlingen, 1927) pp. 191–192; Richard Schmidt, *Kloster Alpirsbach* (Königstein im Taunus, 1965) p. 14; Benkö, *Ungefasste Schnitzaltäre*, pp. 120–124; Taubert, "Ungefasste Holzplastik," pp. 126–128.

Sculptures by Domenico Poggini

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THREE FLORENTINE ARTISTS—Bandinelli, Cellini, and Poggini—learned in their youth the goldsmith's and medalist's craft and later on became sculptors and created works that merit our consideration. Baccio Bandinelli (1488–1560) carved his first marble statue when he was less than thirty years old, the St. Peter for the cathedral of Florence (1515). Thereafter he made marble figures, reliefs, and bronzes, instead of jewelry. About 1530 he opened an "Academy" and began to teach the "art of drawing" in the evenings. Numerous pupils frequented his workshop and learned, as they learned drawing, to copy antique models and their master's style. Bandinelli proposed to Duke Cosimo I numerous projects, after his return from Rome to Florence, and he was asked to work on important commissions. As he was favored by the court and surrounded by disciples, he held a powerful influence on Florentine art during his lifetime. Benvenuto Cellini (1500–71) began, during his stay at the French court, to model full-scale figures for bronze-casting; at this time he was about forty years old. After his return to Florence Duke Cosimo gave him a commission to do a statue of Perseus. He cast the over-life-size bronze of Perseus and Medusa (1545–54). Thanks to this work he was accepted as a sculptor of rank, and in the following years he even carved marble statues. Nevertheless, he continued to make jewelry and medals throughout his life. Domenico Poggini (1520–90) was more than thirty years of age when he began to make full-scale sculpture. In 1554 he carved his marble Bacchus. In the following years, he contributed reliefs and figures of terracotta to enterprises being carried on by the Accademia del Disegno. For Duke Cosimo he carved marble statues, and he did beautiful portraits. Besides this, he struck and cast medals, was the duke's die-cutter (1556), and master of the Florentine mint. He even wrote poems, as did many in his time; some of them have come down to us.

Vasari's *Vite* include extensive descriptions of Bandinelli's and Cellini's works.[1] Moreover, both sculptors wrote their autobiographies, which add further information. Poggini's case is different. Vasari mentioned him, in the 1568 edition, as a member of the Accademia del Disegno and recorded, without a detailed description, sculptures in marble and bronze as well as beautiful medals. It is only from contemporary sources that we know about Poggini's share of the 1564 funeral decorations for Cosimo I and, further, his part of the 1565 wedding decorations for Francesco de' Medici. The clay figures he contributed are lost. Finally, Raffaello Borghini left no description at all concerning Poggini in his *Riposo* of 1584.

1. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite* . . ., ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence, 1878–85); V, p. 391; VII, pp. 305, 640; VIII, pp. 618, 620.

STATE OF RESEARCH

Poggini's medals had been known[2] before Weinberger, in the twenties, studied the Muse (Figure 10), which is signed and dated "DOMENICO POGGINI F[lorentinus]. F[ecit]. 1579," and the bust of Virginia Pucci Ridolfi.[3] With Rubinstein-Bloch's catalogue, the handsome Bacchus reappeared (Figure 2), a marble statue signed and dated 1554,[4] now in the Metropolitan Museum. Middeldorf and Kriegbaum published the Apollo (Figures 4, 5), which is signed and dated 1559, the bust of Francesco de' Medici, the Lex (Figure 7), and the signed bronze statuette of Pluto (Figure 9).[5] The bronze of a Dancing Youth (Figure 1) was identified by Hackenbroch.[6] Finally, the painted terracotta St. Peter (Figure 8) has been rightly given back to Poggini by Summers.[7]

At the present stage of research former erroneous attributions can be rejected without discussion.[8] Our own re-examination is based on signed sculptures and sound attributions, and an analysis of Poggini's personal style will allow us to make some additions. Moreover, documented information on Poggini will be reviewed and newly found material will be added (see Appendix).

DOCUMENTED INFORMATION

Cellini gave us the earliest information on the Poggini brothers, Domenico and Gian Paolo (1518–ca. 1582). In his autobiography he mentioned them working as goldsmiths together with himself in Duke Cosimo's wardrobe.[9] His information refers to the years 1545 and 1546. He described as works made at this time a golden goblet with reliefs, a golden girdle with precious stones, and a perforated pouch made for Duchess Eleonora. In a record of August 25, 1545, he repeated that the invention and design of the pieces were his and that he shared the enterprise, except for a time when he was indisposed.[10] It appears from the context that he, as is known, prepared the Perseus during this time (see Appendix, no. 1, for additional payments).[11]

The next information dates from the last days of October 1548. In an autograph letter to the duke,

2. Alfred Armand, *Les Médailleurs italiens des XVe et XVIe siècles* I (Paris, 1883) pp. 254–261; Alois Heiss, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance, Florence II* (Paris, 1892) pp. 41–56; Igino Benvenuto Supino, *Il medagliere mediceo nel R. Museo Nazionale di Firenze* (Florence, 1899) pp. 147–154; Cornelius von Fabriczy, *Medaillen der italienischen Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1903) pp. 88–89; G. F. Hill, *Portrait Medals of Italian Artists of the Renaissance* (London, 1912) p. 79; Idem, *Medals of the Renaissance* (London, 1923) p. 39.

3. Martin Weinberger, "Marmorskulpturen von Domenico Poggini," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 58 (1924/25) pp. 233–235: the reading of the signature contains an error: cf. further Corrado Ricci, "Ritratti di Virginia Pucci Ridolfi," *Bolletino d'arte* 9 (1915) pp. 374–376.

4. Stella Rubinstein-Bloch, *Collection George and Florence Blumenthal New York* II (Paris, 1925) pl. xliii.

5. Ulrich Middeldorf and Friedrich Kriegbaum, "Forgotten Sculpture by Domenico Poggini," *Burlington Magazine* 53 (1928) pp. 9–17. A better Pluto photo is published by Walter Vitzthum, *Lo Studiolo di Francesco I* (Milan, n.d.); the Pluto payments published by Herbert Keutner, "The Palazzo Pitti 'Venus' and Other Works by Vincenzo Danti," *Burlington Magazine* 100 (1958) p. 428, note 10.

6. Yvonne Hackenbroch, *Bronzes, Other Metalwork and Sculptures in the Irwin Untermyer Collection* (New York, 1962) pl. 54, p. 18; height of the statuette 17.8 cm.

7. Former attribution to Giovanni Bandini by Ulrich Middeldorf, "Giovanni Bandini, detto Giovanni dell'Opera," *Rivista d'arte* 11 (1929) p. 496, fig. 10, pp. 502–503, corrected by David Summers, "The Sculptural Program of the Cappella di San Luca in the Santissima Annunziata," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts Florenz* 14 (1969) p. 76.

8. Frieda Schottmüller, "Tonbildwerke des Domenico Poggini," *Berliner Museen* 52/53 (1931/32) pp. 112–115: former attribution of the stucco Bust of a Man rejected by John Pope-Hennessy, assisted by Ronald Lightbown, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1964) p. 491, no. 519; the other attribution by Schottmüller, a terracotta fragment of a woman's head in the former Bode-Museum, is characterized by nineteenth-century heroism and has nothing to do with Poggini. Wilhelm von Bode, *Die italienischen Bronzestatuetten der Renaissance* II (Berlin, 1906) pl. 141: the so-called David, or Pluto, formerly in the Salting collection, meanwhile obtained by the Victoria and Albert Museum; according to Pope-Hennessy and Lightbown, *Catalogue*, p. 449, no. 480, it is a nineteenth-century bronze cast; further, the bronze named Europa by Bode is identified as Ammannati's Ops (Terra) for Prince Francesco's Studiolo; see Keutner, "Works by Vincenzo Danti," p. 428, note 10, fig. 27.

9. *La vita di Benvenuto Cellini orefice e scultore scritta da lui medesimo*, ed. Francesco Tassi, II (Florence, 1829) pp. 339–340, 349, 368–372; further: *Leben des Benvenuto Cellini florentinischen Goldschmieds und Bildhauers von ihm selbst geschrieben; Übersetzt und mit einem Anhange herausgegeben von Goethe* (1st ed. 1803, 2nd ed. 1818) ed. Herbert Keutner (Wiesbaden, 1965) pp. 392–393, 398, 405, 407–408, 571, 620.

10. *Cellini*, ed. Tassi, III, p. 14.

11. *Cellini*, ed. Tassi, III, pp. 160–161: other payments to Cellini from May 1, 1556, to February 1563, of 1,400 scudi and an additional payment of 3,750 scudi for the Perseus recorded on May 17, 1567.

Domenico Poggini comments on the late delivery of a sword; he has made the hilt; at the same time he begs to have the reverse of a medal returned to him.[12] The fact that we are dealing with a written letter suggests that Poggini, at this time, no longer worked in the duke's wardrobe. His request, however, implies that he made medals in 1548; dated medals are known between 1552 and 1590.[13]

From newly found account book entries it appears that Domenico and his brother Gian Paolo were paid on March 1, 1553, the considerable sum of 980 scudi (see Appendix, no. 2); double entries refer to the Cellini entries with the yet higher sum of 12,558 scudi, recorded two years after the latter's death, and to the duke's accounts with the once-more increased sum of 13,538 scudi. The entries refer, further, to account books of the duke's paymaster, Michele di Zanobi Ruberti, as well as to white and yellow personal account books; as the latter account books could not be investigated in the State Archives, we do not know definitely for which objects the payments were made. As they are combined with remainder payments for Cellini, we can, therefore, deduce that they dealt with objects made together with the latter. Once more, this suggestion is confirmed by the reference to the duke's accounts. Hence they may be remainder payments for the goblet, the girdle, and the pouch recorded by Cellini as made in the years 1545–46. Perhaps the payments refer to additional objects, too. The entry made on March 1, 1553, can be explained by Gian Paolo Poggini's departure; he traveled to the Netherlands and was recorded, in 1555, as being in Brussels in the service of Philip II; after 1559 he stayed in Spain. Both brothers worked together as goldsmiths until Gian Paolo left Florence.

In 1554 Domenico Poggini made a pair of silver candlesticks for the duke.[14] In 1556 he was appointed die-cutter of the Florentine mint.[15] A description, in a newly found autograph letter of April 10, 1563, implies that Poggini handed the dies to the workers with the order to stamp the coins (see Appendix, no. 3). Furthermore, it appears from this letter that he was rivaled, in spring of 1563, by the goldsmith Bernardo Baldini, and that the latter had accused him of having reused a die.

An undated autograph letter was, perhaps, written in 1563 or 1564.[16] It is addressed to the Consuls of the Academy and deals with the iconography and significance of symbols for a seal of the Accademia del Disegno.

The marble Bacchus was carved as early as 1554. Only ten years later we have the description of Poggini's share in the decoration for Michelangelo's funeral. He modeled a seated Poetry of terracotta,[17] placed before July 14, 1564, under the catafalque with the allegories of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture. In a letter of December 29, 1564, to Duke Cosimo I, Vincenzo Borghini mentioned Domenico Poggini for the third figure of the tomb project for Michelangelo in Santa Croce;[18] at this time two of the seated figures had been entrusted, one to Battista Lorenzi and the other to Giovanni Bandini; later, the third figure was given to Valerio Cioli. In another letter to the duke, April 5, 1565—this time dealing with the plans for the Francesco–Giovanna wedding—Don Vincenzo named Poggini as a sculptor whose services could be obtained.[19] The temporary decorations were made and installed until the entrance of the bride took place, on December 16, 1565.[20] The description of Poggini's share reads:

Delle statue degli archi da'Tornaquinci furono i maestri Domenico Poggini, il quale fece quella di Alberto Secondo e di Federigo imperadori, mostrandosi di quest'arte cosi maestro famoso, com' è si sia del fare ritratti, e figure di basso rilievo di stucco. Fece ancora le statue della Vita Contemplativa e dell'Attiva, poste

12. State Archives, Florence, Medicee, filza 390 a, c. 731; the letter is undated but bound among others with dates of the last days of October 1548; it is signed "Domenico orefice" and shows Poggini's calligraphy; text published by Giovanni Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti . . .*, II (Florence, 1840) pp. 373–374.

13. Armand, *Médailleurs*, p. 254; recently, Graham Pollard, *Renaissance Medals from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the National Gallery of Art* (London, 1967) p. 63.

14. Luciano Berti, *Il principe dello Studiolo Francesco I dei Medici e la fine del Rinascimento fiorentino* (Florence, 1967) p. 267.

15. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, V, p. 391, note 2.

16. Giovanni Botarri and Stefano Ticozzi, *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura, ed architettura* I (Milan, 1822) pp. 265–266. According to Herman-Walther Frey, *Neue Briefe von Giorgio Vasari* (Burg bei Magdeburg, 1940) p. 205, the first Consuls of the Academy were in charge from October 18, 1563, to April 1564.

17. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, VII, p. 305. The funeral took place on July 14, 1564.

18. Gaye, *Carteggio* III, pp. 163–164.

19. Bottari and Ticozzi, *Raccolta* I, p. 198.

20. For the entry of the bride in Florence, see Agostino Lapini, *Diario fiorentino dal 252 al 1596*, ed. Odoardo Corazzini (Florence, 1900) pp. 147–148.

all'arco della Religione, e il quadro della Natività di Nostra Donna, che era alla porta di Santa Maria del Fiore; per le quali cose, come per il suo bello e svegliato ingegno, egli merita d'essere avuto in pregio, onorato e tenuto caro.[21]

On November 15, 1568, Poggini was one of the sculptors who signed the price estimate for Cellini's Perseus (see, in addition, Appendix, no. 1).[22] On the occasion of its unveiling, in 1554, he dedicated a sonnet to the Perseus:

Siccome 'l ciel di vaghe stelle adorno,
Delle quai più l'una dell'altra splende,
Con maggior forza sua virtù discende
A quello amico suo mortale intorno;
E fa per lui la notte chiara e 'l giorno,
E coll' immortali alme al Ciel l'ascende,
Ed in sè propria il trasferisce, e rende
Un altro spirto a far poi qui soggiorno:
Cosi voi qui, Cellin, la propria stella,
Che co' bei rai di virtù mostrate
Quanta abbia forza la Natura e l'Arte,
Nel grande statuar leggiadra e bella
Opra, che Dio serbò a questa etate;
Ed a voi serba il Ciel la destra parte.[23]

Poggini's poem reflects his admiration for the Perseus and his esteem for Cellini, whom he called his friend. What we know about the Renaissance fashion of commenting on events via a sonnet does not diminish the documentary value of such a poem. Poggini was, approximately at the same time that he wrote the quoted verses, the subject of a sonnet by Benedetto Varchi (1503–65):

Voi, che seguendo del mio gran CELLINO
Per si stretto sentier l'orme honorate,
Ori, e Argenti, e gemme Altrui lasciate
Per bronzi, e marmi, e creta alto POGGINO,
E la bell'opra del buono ARETINO
Non colla lingua pur tanto lodate,
Ma colla mente ancor sempre ammirate
Certo, e meco di lei uero indouino,
Tal gloria all'Arno accrescerete, e tanto
A metalli splendor, che DONATELLO
Se non minor, sarà certo men bello,
E Flora al quarto, e forse al quinto uanto
Giugnerà il sesto, ond'io di pensieri egro,
E d'anni graue à trista età m'allegro.[24]

From this it appears that Varchi classed Poggini as an artist following in Cellini's steps. In 1545–46 they had been in close working contact; during this time Cellini may have communicated to the younger artist his theoretical and practical views on sculpture, perhaps exemplifying them in the Perseus, which was in preparation. It can be imagined that the younger man learned what he could learn. The circumstances suggest that Poggini became, when they worked together, Cellini's disciple and then his follower. Varchi, the writer of the sonnet, was Cellini's close friend and the one to whom the latter gave the manuscript of his autobiography for correction. Hence Poggini belonged to the Cellini–Varchi circle, too. We have, in addition, Poggini's medal with the Varchi portrait, signed with the former's initials "DP"; it is mentioned in Annibal Caro's letter of April 20, 1561, and has been, therefore, dated in spring 1561.[25] In Florence one belonged either to the Cellini "party" or to that of Giorgio Vasari and Vincenzo Borghini. The former criticized the latter. Varchi mentioned, in his sonnet, "the beautiful work of the good Aretino." The circumstances suggest that the name of "the courts' scourge," Pietro Aretino, was used for a play on words meaning the other Aretino: Giorgio Vasari, born at Arezzo. The latter's "beautiful work" was the 1550 *Lives of the Artists*, the second edition of which had not yet been written. Concerning this point, Varchi said in his sonnet that Poggini's tongue did not always praise this "work," whereas he truly admired its intention. This means, in simple terms, that Poggini criticized Vasari's *Vite*. Since we have this information, it is no longer astonishing that precise descriptions by Vasari are missing in the 1568 edition. Attention must be drawn to Poggini's temperament and character, which shows in his letters (see, for instance, Appendix, no. 3); some peculiar features were not unlike those of Cellini, known from the latter's autobiography: both discussed their opinions openly, and both persisted in certain cases until they received satisfaction; both had, in addition, a good deal of self-sufficiency. Varchi knew his

21. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, VIII, p. 618.
22. *Cellini*, ed. Tassi, III, p. 161; see also note 11 above.
23. *Cellini*, ed. Tassi, III, p. 471.
24. *De sonetti di M. Benedetto Varchi, Parte prima* (Florence, 1555) p. 264. Lodovico Dolce's dialogue *L'Aretino* was not published until 1557 in Venice, whereas the first edition of Vasari's *Vite* was published in 1550, that is, five years before Varchi's *Sonetti* of 1555.
25. Pollard, *Renaissance Medals*, p. 64, no. 346.

friends very well: in his sonnet he flattered the young Poggini by comparing him with Donatello and, obviously in jest, completed his praise with the prophecy that Florence would add him as the fourth, fifth, or sixth of her glories.

THE SCULPTURES

In 1554 Poggini signed his earliest known marble statue "DOMENICVS POGINVS FLORENT[INUS]. AVRIFEX FACIEBAT MDLIIII" (Figure 2). His Bacchus is under life-size. In the 1560 inventory of Duke Cosimo's wardrobe "A Bacchus . . . by the hand of Poggini" of the same size is recorded.[26]

We may surmise that Vasari had this particular statue in mind when he wrote about his fellow critic Poggini: "He worked marble statues imitating as far as he could the most rare and excellent men who ever had made rare things in this profession." With these words he alluded to the Florentine series of variations on the Bacchus theme, contributed by the best sculptors. Before the beginning of the century Michelangelo had begun the series with his Bacchus, followed by Jacopo Sansovino and Baccio Bandinelli. Pierino da Vinci was the first of the next generation to carve a Bacchus; it has not yet come to light. Poggini followed with his statue. The series was carried on by Giambologna with his bronze for Lattanzio Cortesi and by Vincenzo de' Rossi with his marble group.[27] Piero di Giovanni Fiammingo, a Giambologna pupil, carved the Bargello Bacchus with a Panther.[28]

Antique models showed the way for these statues only in a generic sense, and the chronology of their execution is not a sequence of derivations: essential details of iconography differ as well as the stages of representation. Each sculptor born after Michelangelo gave his best, and each of them tried to surpass his great predecessor. As a result of this ambitious competition we have a scarcely equaled series of masterpieces.

In 1560 Poggini's marble Bacchus stood, according to the inventory notice quoted above, in the wardrobe of Duke Cosimo I. Therefore, it is likely that it had been either offered as a present—a frequent practice to introduce a sculptor, as we know from analogous cases—or acquired by the duke. In any event the latter showed his respect for the work by placing it in his wardrobe.

In this statue Poggini used the principle of classical contrapposto, extending the scheme to a momentary pose by placing the free leg on a rock. Instead of creating a counterbalance between the arms, the free leg and the supporting one, he weighted evenly the bent arm with a bunch of grapes and the stretched one with a wine cup. He thus intensified the classical equilibrium of the pose and transformed it into the image of a transitory stage. He depicted Bacchus in His Epiphany, that is Bacchus appearing as the dispenser of grapes and wine.

The surface of the statue is handled with particular delicacy. The bones, muscles, and veins are carved with precision, but they are not stressed at the cost of a pleasing formal unity. Poggini gave to his subject the likeness of a fifteen-year-old boy. He carved a solid and fleshy body with sturdy limbs, and he balanced the representation of the nude with a correspondingly youthful head. He expressed the divinity of his subject by means of radiant eyes and handsome features, in a very happy way. The hair-calotte with the minutely rolled curls instantly recalls the locks of Cellini's Perseus. But deeper than this exterior motif lies the Cellinesque ideal of sound, robust beauty, as represented by the solid and handsome Perseus, an ideal that also marks Poggini's debut. The statue appears as another "model" illustrating the humanist proverb *mens sana in corpore sano*.

Poggini repeated, in the bronze statuette of a Dancing Youth (Figure 1), the pose of Cellini's Mercury[29] in one of the tabernacles of the Perseus pedestal. The scheme remained, in Poggini's bronze, rigid and without animation. The latter made his Youth unlike the too-slender Mercury. He absorbed the scheme of the posture, but he rejected the proportions of his model as well as its too-mannered movement. This manner of selecting shows that the young Poggini did anything but slavishly follow the steps of his mentor, Cellini. He gave his Dancing Youth a solid body closely related to that of his Bacchus. The surface of the statuette corre-

26. State Archives, Florence, Medicee, Guardaroba 45 ("Inventario delle robe della Guardaroba"), dated July 1, 1560; c. 67v: "un bacco d[']altezza di b[raccia] 2 1/3 incirca di man del poggino." The height corresponds to ca. 140 cm.

27. First published in 1966; see my recent study "The Labors of Hercules and Other Works by Vincenzo de' Rossi," *Art Bulletin* 53 (1971) pp. 344–366, fig. 2.

28. First published in my article in *Paragone* 22 (1971) pp. 80–83, pls. 64–65.

29. Hackenbroch, *Bronzes*, p. 18.

sponds in each detail to that of the marble statue. Presumably we deal, in the Dancing Youth, with a small-scale study that preceded the execution of large-scale figures. *Bozzetti* of this kind were rarely cast in bronze. Poggini, who was used to casting medals, had the means to cast bronze statuettes without great cost. He may have practiced small-scale casts before he tried to carve the marble. The Dancing Youth's stiffness points, too, to its early origin.

The Cellinesque influence runs out in Poggini's Apollo of 1559 (Figures 4, 5), signed "DOMENICVS POGGINVS FLOR[entinus]. AVRIFEX. F[ecit]. MDLIX." The statue has stood, at least since July 1818, in the Boboli Gardens.[30] Its surface has suffered from weathering, especially the front view. The rear remained more intact and—one imagines—more like the original surface of the whole. The pose is the reverse of that of the Bacchus. Even in this figure, carved five years later than the Bacchus, the free leg is set upon a rock. The momentary stance is less emphasized. The sculpture shows an equilibrium studied from antique models. The proportions are unaltered from those of the Bacchus, and the position of the arms has scarcely changed. The height has grown to life-size. The facial expression has changed to a dreamy and distant glance that is no longer radiant.

The three sculptures we have discussed represent Poggini's youthful oeuvre. By coincidence, each piece increases in scale. As compositions, they go from a still, unanimated pose, to a depiction of a transitory moment, to a figure in equilibrium, with corresponding facial expressions. Each step, from the Dancing Youth to the Bacchus to the Apollo, is intelligible as a separation from Cellini's influence and a step toward the formation of Poggini's own style.

The sculpture has been widely recognized as an Apollo,[31] thanks to a medal by Poggini that shows Cosimo's portrait on the obverse and a reproduction of the statue on the reverse, and also to a sonnet by Poggini, which compares Cosimo to the Sun God. The Capricorn at Apollo's side has been identified as Cosimo's personal emblem.[32] Its meaning, as part of the Apollo group, remains enigmatic. In one of his autograph letters the sculptor himself pointed out its meaning:

Avendosi a fare il Sigillo per questa onoratissima Accademia del Disegno, e considerando quanta e quale sia la cortesia e benignità dell'Ill. et Ecc. sig. Duca, unico signore e padron nostro, e come egli ne sia fautore a benefattore, mi pare a proposito, seconde il mio debol giudizio, trovare una invenzione, la quale esprima che queste tre arti sono sostenute, favorite e difese da S. E. Illustrissima. Però ho finto che Minerva, Dea delle scienze, abbracci queste tre Arti, le quali, benchè il Disegno sia un solo nome, è però necessario sprimerle e significarle con tre modi e nomi. E perchè tutte e tre si partono da un solo gambo e da una sola scienza, figuro ch'ella si riposi e regga sul Capricorno, come virtù di S. E. Ill.; e nello scudo, che Minerva tiene nel braccio sinistro, forme l'arme di S. E. Ill., col quale scudo ella si difende, e guarda da chi volesse offenderla, siccome questa compagnia si regge, si guarda e si difende con la virtù, forza e favore di S. E. Ill. Questo è, quanto al suggetto, che a me pare che sia a proposito, rimettendomi però al molto giudizio, che in ciascuno de'vostri eccellentissimi ingegni si trova. E quello, ch'è finto a modo di vaso colle tre Arti sopra, e preso da me per S. E. Ill., la quale dà e porge vigore, forza e nutrimento colle sue sustanze a queste arti, come chiaramente per ognuno s'intende e conosce.[33]

30. Middeldorf and Kriegbaum, "Forgotten Sculpture," p. 11, note 5, without quotation. The Boboli Gardens inventory is dated July 18, 1818. The entry in the State Archives, Florence, Medicee, Fabbriche 3066, c. 11, reads: "Altra Statua di marmo rappresentante uno Zodiaco con caprone marino di piedi e Scimitarra; Scultura di Domenico Poggini Fiorentino; detta Statua è grande al Naturale." Height 174 cm, incl. flat base 182 cm, width 45 cm, greatest depth 47 cm.

31. Middeldorf and Kriegbaum, "Forgotten Sculpture," pp. 11–12. Concerning the medal of Cosimo I with the Apollo statue on the reverse, I wish to draw attention to a contemporaneous source, Sebastiano Erizzo, *Discorso sopra le medaglie degli antichi* (Venice, 4th ed., 1559) p. 67, with description of the Augustus medal with Apollo on the reverse; Erizzo added, following Suetonius, the legend that Augustus was believed to be Apollo's son, conceived by Accia during an annual nocturnal feast in Apollo's temple, from Apollo in the guise of a dragon. Hence the Cosimo-Apollo medal is to be considered an imitation supporting the duke's claim to be the successor of the Roman emperor. Similar pretenses are discussed in *Art Bulletin* 53 (1971) pp. 356–360, as well as by Kurt W. Forster, "Metaphors of Rule. Political Ideology and History in the Portraits of Cosimo I de' Medici," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts Florenz* 15 (1971) pp. 65–104.

32. Recently discussed by Utz, "Labors of Hercules," pp. 357–358. In his section on Cosimo I, Gerolamo Ruscelli, *Le imprese illustri*, ed. Vincenzo Ruscelli (Venice, 1584) p. 133, added that the emperor Charles V (1500–56) had the Capricorn, too, in ascendancy.

33. Bottari and Ticozzi, *Raccolta* I, pp. 265–266. For similar interpretations of the "nuovo Apollo Toscano," see Vincenzo Borghini's letter of April 5, 1565, to Cosimo I, Bottari and Ticozzi, *Raccolta* I, pp. 147–148.

Hence the Capricorn symbolized, in Poggini's iconology, the *Disegno* as the generator of the three arts: Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting; the latter agrees with cinquecento art-theoretical expositions. In addition it symbolized Duke Cosimo I, respectively his virtue, force, and patronage of the fine arts. In Poggini's sonnet the Sun God, mythological patron of the fine arts, signified Duke Cosimo I, too.

In the marble group, Apollo is shown placing a circlet upon the Capricorn's head. The sculpted balls above the circlet allude to the Medici arms, the *palle*, and, arranged above the circlet in this way, they suggest a crown. The circlet bears, additionally, the twelve signs of the zodiac, done in relief, in alternation with stars. Cartari's 1556 exegesis of the "twelve signs of the zodiac through which The Sun moves in the course of the year" included the likening of the sovereign to "Time who conquers and subdues everything."[34] Hence the zodiac was symbolic of the reign of the Sun God as well as of the government of Cosimo I. The circlet or crown is again a symbol of the ruler.

In the Apollo with the Capricorn, superimposed allusions can be read on four levels: on the mythological level, Cosimo appears as Apollo, actually as Neos Apollon; on the astrological level, the Capricorn stands for Cosimo, actually for Cosimo as Augustus' successor by fate and destiny; on the aesthetic one, the Capricorn appears as the generator of the fine arts or, conversely, Cosimo as the patron of the fine arts; finally, on the political level, the crownlike circlet with the Medici arms and the zodiac appears as the symbol of Cosimo, the sovereign. This sophisticated Allegory on Duke Cosimo I de' Medici of 1559 is rather exhaustive. Since it was carved side by side with similarly ambitious manifestations in sculptures and paintings, projected and executed about the same time to glorify Duke Cosimo I through a veil of pretenses, attention must be drawn to its political overtones. The allegory discussed here must be considered as one of the forerunners of the Apollo manifestations that recur a century later in France, in the age of absolutism.

The number of Poggini's life-size figures can, furthermore, be increased by an interesting marble Jason (Figure 6), characterized by its well-balanced proportions, studied from antique models, and by the subtle modeling of its surfaces. Several attempted attributions have proven to be inconclusive, and we have rejected them,[35] since these characteristics could not be found in the works of other sculptors, and single features did not correspond to those in their work. On the other hand, the well-balanced composition and carefully carved surface relief are qualities like those of Poggini's Apollo, the statue done after the formation of the sculptor's style. Jason's head (Figure 6), that of the Lex (Figure 7), and that of the Pluto (Figure 9) display several analogies of shape and of single features; furthermore, one may note the close relationship between parts of the faces, such as the great planes of the cheeks and those of the foreheads. Concerning the cut of the eyes, with an engraved iris, all three figures show the same workmanship. The glowing stare in the eyes corresponds in all the Poggini figures of this phase (Figures 6–9). The proportions of the limbs and the unifying outline of the Jason are closely related to those of the Pluto. The build of the body, which shows, on the free side, the shoulder strongly projecting and the head turned, is repeated in reverse in the Pluto; in the latter the position of the arms is modified, and the "free" leg is tense in a walking position. The posture of the Jason is reflected in that of Lex;[36] this is clearly to be seen when one looks at the piece itself (the viewpoint of the photograph gives a false impression), which reveals a left supporting leg and a right free one under the garments. The left retracted shoulder is literally repeated, and analogous is the turning of the head toward that side. The position of the arms echoes that of the Bacchus (compare Figures 2, 6). Poggini worked with few compositional schemes and a small repertoire of limb positions; repetitions are frequent. The Jason, grouped with the Lex, the St. Peter (Figure 8) and the Pluto, should be recognized, we believe, as the first statue of the sculptor's middle period.

34. Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini con la sposizione de i dei de gli antichi* (Venice, 1556) pp. 57v, 58. My following discussion continues the extensive one of the "Labors of Hercules," pp. 356–360.

35. Pope-Hennessy and Lightbown, *Catalogue*, pp. 485–487, no. 514, with the former literature. Holderbaum's tentative naming of Calamech cannot be supported by stylistic or documented evidence. I wish to note that the rear side of the Jason statue, personally inspected, corresponds in every detail of surface relief with that of Poggini's Apollo, here Figure 4. Height of the Jason 182.9 cm, incl. flat base.

36. Middeldorf and Kriegbaum, "Forgotten Sculpture," pp. 9–17. Height of the Lex 174 cm; 181 cm incl. flat base; width 46 cm; greatest depth 47 cm.

Originally the Jason held a spear in his right hand. The golden fleece that hangs down from his left hand has a ram's head resting on the ground. The latter appears similar in execution to the Capricorn of Poggini's Apollo. In the course of a nineteenth-century restoration, locks of hair over Jason's forehead were added, as were other incorporated pieces. The original hair curls remain visible under the nineteenth-century periwig, and are similar to those of the Pluto. Hence a similar hair-calotte must be imagined as originally being on the Jason (compare Figures 6, 9). The nail on the thumb of the left hand is carved similarly to the nails on both hands of St. Peter as well as on the visible hand of the Pluto (compare Figures 8, 9), and the distinctive form of the feet on these same figures is also similar.

The Lex is the next statue (Figure 7) executed by Poggini. She is shown in a double garment with broad and heavy folds. The drapery and the veil on her head underline her static quality. The phase of equilibrium, already announced in the Apollo group of 1559, was achieved in the Jason and the Lex. It can be assumed that both statues were sculpted in the late 1560s.

The seated figure of St. Peter (Figure 8) was modeled before April 30, 1570, when payment was made for its transportation to the chapel of St. Luke.[37] Small and large folds of the drapery are similar to those on the garment of the Lex, but they appear less pedantic. We are dealing with a terracotta figure on which the sculptor's impact remains fresh instead of suffering in the process of transfer to the marble. The parts that are unadorned by folds show a carefully executed anatomy beneath. The poses of all seated figures in the niches in the Painters' Chapel are, in a generic way, indebted to Michelangelo's dukes in the Medici Chapel. Specifically, Poggini repeated in the figure of St. Peter the upper part of Duke Giuliano, especially the posture and the position of the arms. On the lower part, he balanced, instead of repeating the opposed movement in the twisted legs, according to the contrapposto scheme of a *statua*; that is, he showed the left leg as the "supporting" one and the right leg as the "free" one. Thus he achieved the pose of a figure seated in equilibrium. By turning the head toward the "supporting" leg, he heightened the effect of a transitory moment caught by the sculptor. Concerning hair and beard, Poggini followed the traditional iconography. The gesture of the right hand cannot be explained without an attribute; presumably it held keys that have been lost.

Between February 1572 and July 1573, Poggini is recorded as having worked on the bronze statuette of Pluto (Figure 9), commissioned for the Studiolo of Francesco de' Medici.[38] The eight Studiolo bronzes were ordered about 1570. Since we have this information, we must admit that the Pluto was perhaps prepared in 1570. The neck shows muscles and veins modeled like those on the seated figure (compare Figure 8); the great veins on both figures' hands are stressed in a rather naturalistic way. The momentary state is common to both: St. Peter is shown turning his head as if ready to rise, and Pluto is shown stepping vigorously forward. These transitory stages may be the fruit of Poggini's close contact with his colleagues, who also contributed figures to the Painters' Chapel and the Prince's study. About 1570, the tendency to depict figures in more or less continuous motion emerged, and nearly all working sculptors participated in their personal way in developing this novelty. Poggini may have felt the need to share this trend in order to withstand the competition. Thus he was free to absorb influences in the second phase of his middle period—comparable to his starting point in the Cellinesque vein (Figures 1, 2), which was a transistory phase too.

The margin of the base under the Muse (Figure 10) bears Poggini's name and the year 1579 in engraved characters.[39] It is the latest of his known marble statues. The contrapposto principle has been abandoned. Both legs rest on the ground. The head is turned to the left side where the shoulder projects. The arms are posed in a way similar to those of the Apollo of 1559 (Figure 5); the strands of hair as well as the peculiarly Poggin-esque features in the face recall traits in the statue carved twenty years earlier. Expression is concentrated in the large eyes that gaze into the distance. The clinging, veil-like garment reveals, in the parts without folds,

37. Summers, "Cappella di San Luca," pp. 76–78.

38. Keutner, "Works by Vincenzo Danti," p. 428, note 10 referring to State Archives, Florence, Fabbriche Medicee, filza 5, c. 30r; filza 11, c. 21v.

39. Weinberger, "Marmorskulpturen," pp. 233–235. Height of the Muse 174 cm; width 47 cm; greatest depth 45 cm; the very flat base has plaster repair of about 5 cm; presumably it was damaged when it was moved from some socle; the present pedestal was made recently.

the female nude. Poggini's passion for surface treatment drove him in this statue to play with folded drapery and exaggerated marble polishing. Even grace and beauty of outline are abandoned. The statue is heavy and blocklike. We may draw a parallel with Michelangelo's late statues of Leah and Rachel on the tomb of Julius II in Rome and wonder if we are faced here with a personal development that appears also in Michelangelo's mature work. It demonstrates the neglect of the constructive principles and the aesthetic ideals that Poggini had admired in his youth, and that he had shown in the work of his early and his middle period.

Poggini's marble statues that we have analyzed are all carved in the plane. He never used a marble block turned to the corner to develop great depth. He did not try to conquer space by showing marble figures twisted twice, but preferred simple torsion according to antique models. He limited himself to well-balanced poses and to heightening them in momentary effects. He did not share in the contemporary trends toward the depiction of figures in continuous movement. Similar tendencies can be observed in the marbles carved by Bandinelli as well as by Cellini. Lack of understanding or skill can hardly be the reason for this procedure; but it seems likely that all three sculptors, as goldsmiths or medalists early accustomed to working in the plane, never felt the stimulus to visualize space embraced by deeply built and tensely moved marble figures.

A DRAWING BY POGGINI (?)

Finally, I wish to draw attention to a pen drawing representing a Bacchus (Figure 3) listed under the name of Bandinelli in the Dyce collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum.[40] Bandinelli's pupils can be excluded. We are dealing here with a sculptor's drawing whose style is closely related to that of Cellini.

The reader will note the assurance of the fine crosshatchings as well as the neat outlines without *pentimenti*. The nude is carefully depicted. It is, indeed, more like an anatomical study than a preparatory drawing. The upright posture, however, is stiff, and the attempts to show a momentary pose are confined to the raised arm and the turned head. Thus in spite of the experienced draftsmanship no satisfying pose is achieved.

The drawing is based upon an antique Satyr with Panther; two excellent examples of this frequent type are in the Pitti Palace. But the satyr's horns upon the forehead are missing here. The model has been transformed into a Bacchus with a Panther. The graphic execution of the head recalls immediately that of Poggini's Bacchus of 1554 and that of his Apollo of 1559 (Figures 2, 4) in shape, location of eyes, in the form of the nose, lips, and ears. The features are peculiarly Pogginesque. The position of the outstretched left arm in the drawing is precisely repeated in the Jason (Figure 6). Scarcely turned in position, it can be observed, too, in the Bacchus and the Apollo statues. Thus characteristics as well as motifs frequently used by Poggini appear to be united in this drawing.

The sheet, measuring 26 by 42.5 cm., is strikingly large. Comparable large sheets were in fashion among the artists of Poggini's generation.[41] In addition, the analogies mentioned above are unlike drawings, or related works of other Florentine sculptors of this time.[42] Hence I propose the tentative attribution of the drawing to Domenico Poggini, hoping that additional sheets will come to light which will illustrate Poggini's draftsmanship more extensively.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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40. DG 33, Victoria and Albert Museum, Prints and Drawings Dyce 158. Unpublished. Pen and ink. Former collections: Padre Resta, Pierre-Jean Mariette, Moriz von Fries (Lugt 2903). Grouped as "Bandinelli, Baccio, Filius" by G. W. Reid (1819–87), the curator of the Print Room in the British Museum who compiled, after 1842, his notes on the Dyce collection. The nineteenth-century attribution cannot be sustained.

41. See the measures in the recent catalogue by Simona Lecchini Giovannoni, *Mostra di disegni di Alessandro Allori* (Florence, 1970), and the ones of the drawings in Utz, "Labors of Hercules," pp. 353–359.

42. On another sculptor of the Cellini circle see my article "Drawings and a Letter by Vincenzo Danti," *Master Drawings* 13 (1975), pp. 8–12.

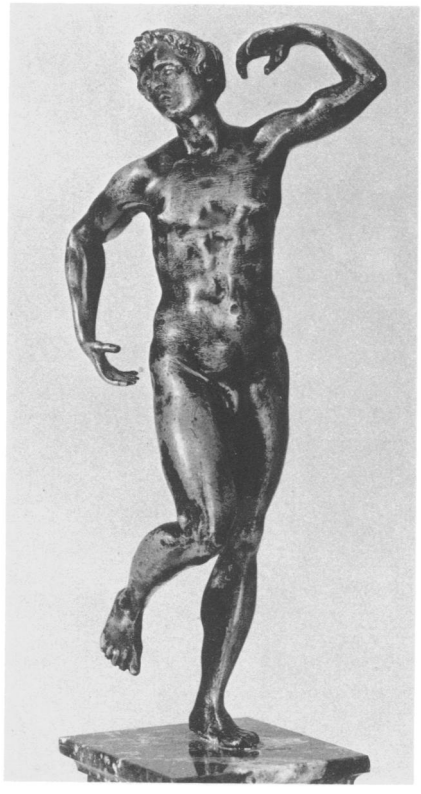


FIGURE 1
Dancing Youth, by Domenico Poggini. Bronze. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Irwin Untermyer, 64.101.1447

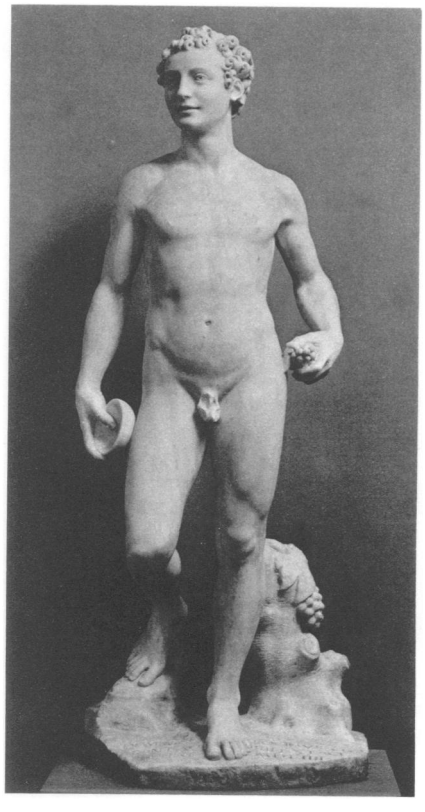


FIGURE 2
Bacchus, by Domenico Poggini. Marble. 1554. Height 142 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of George Blumenthal, 41.190.269

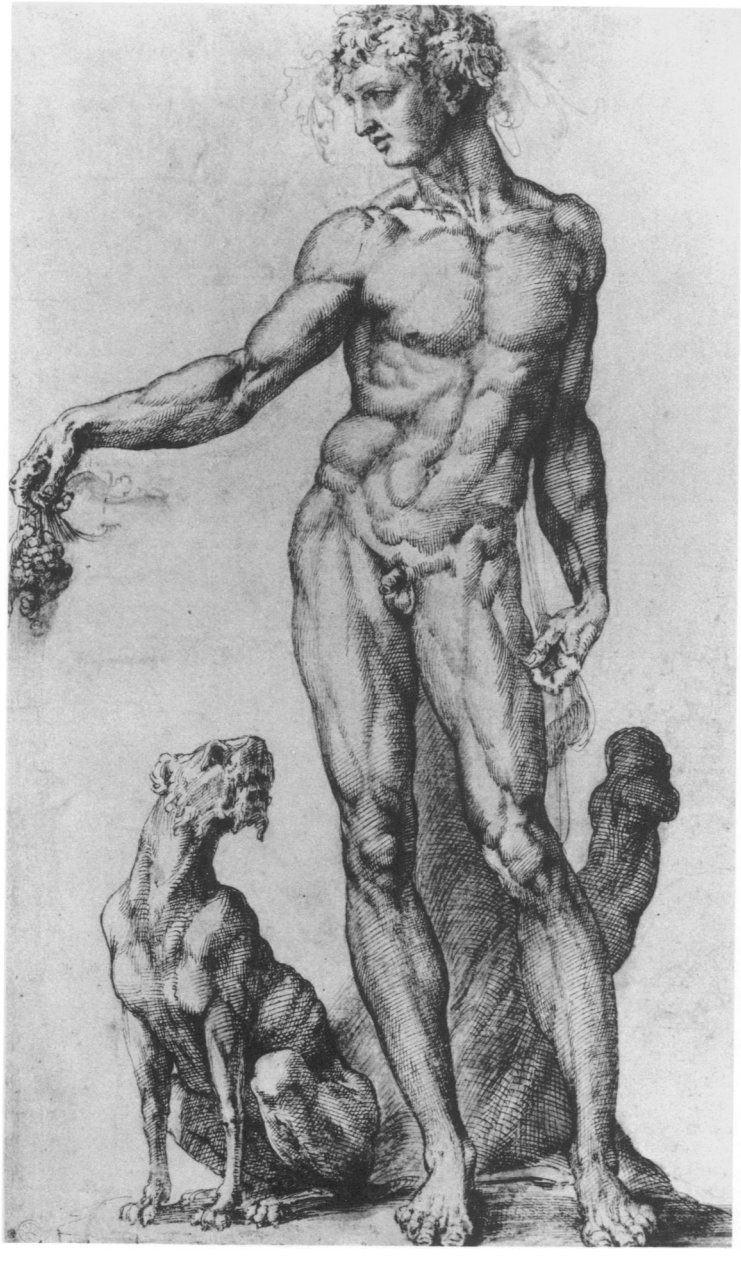
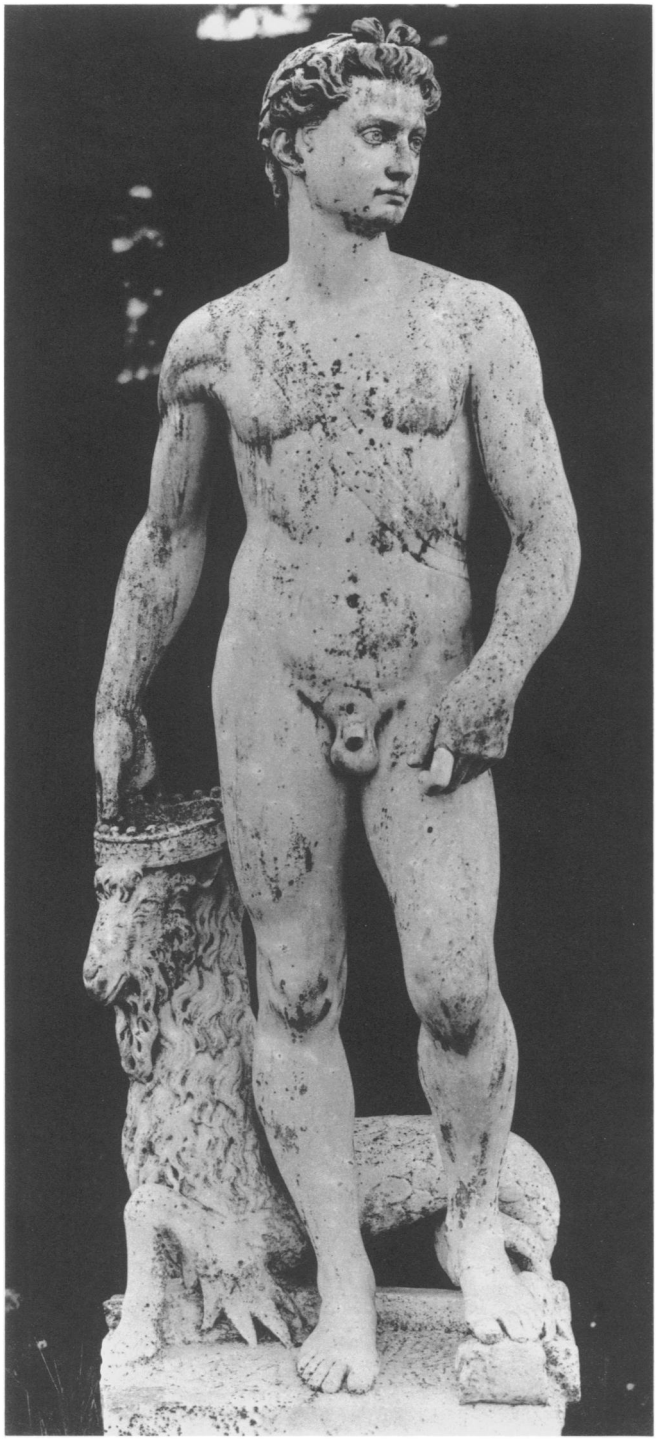
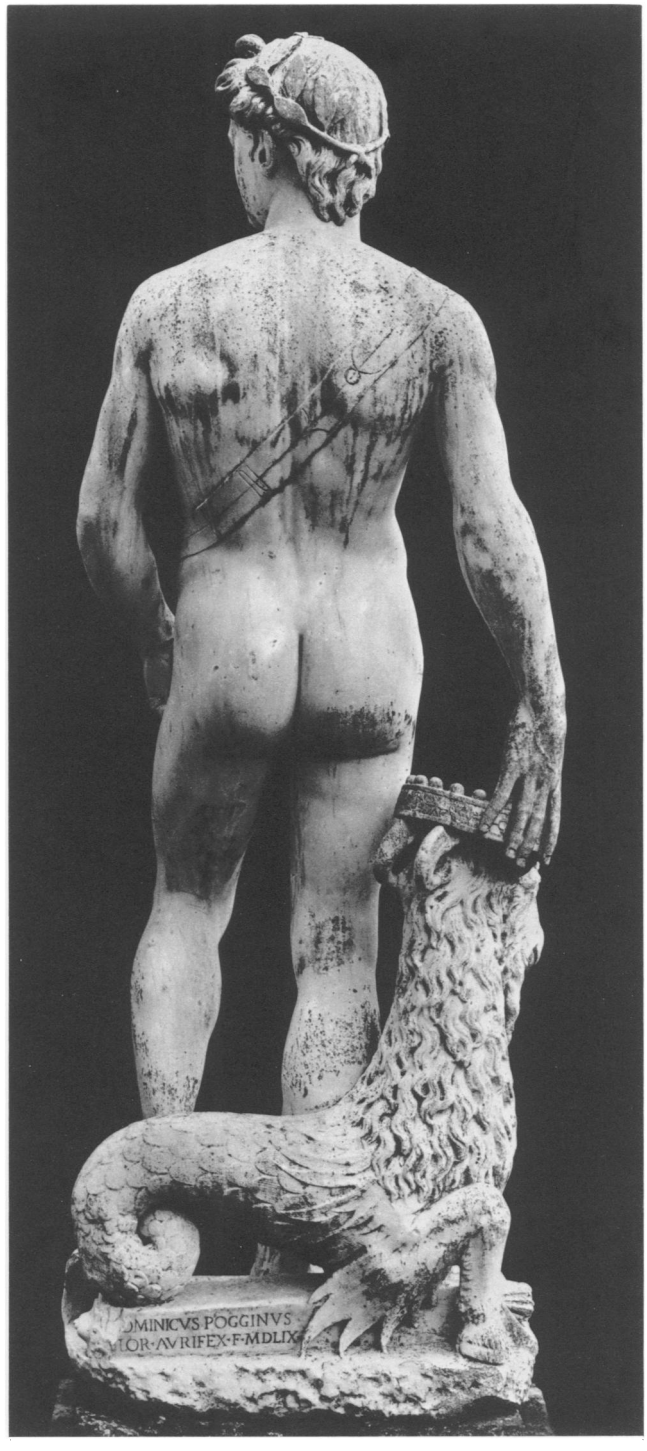


FIGURE 3
Bacchus, by Domenico Poggini(?). Pen drawing. Victoria and Albert Museum, Dyce collection, DG 33 (158)





FIGURES 4, 5
Apollo with Capricorn, by Domenico Poggini. Marble. 1559. The rear view shows the signature. Boboli Gardens, Florence (photos: Brogi)

FIGURE 6
Jason, here attributed to Domenico Poggini. Marble. Victoria and Albert Museum

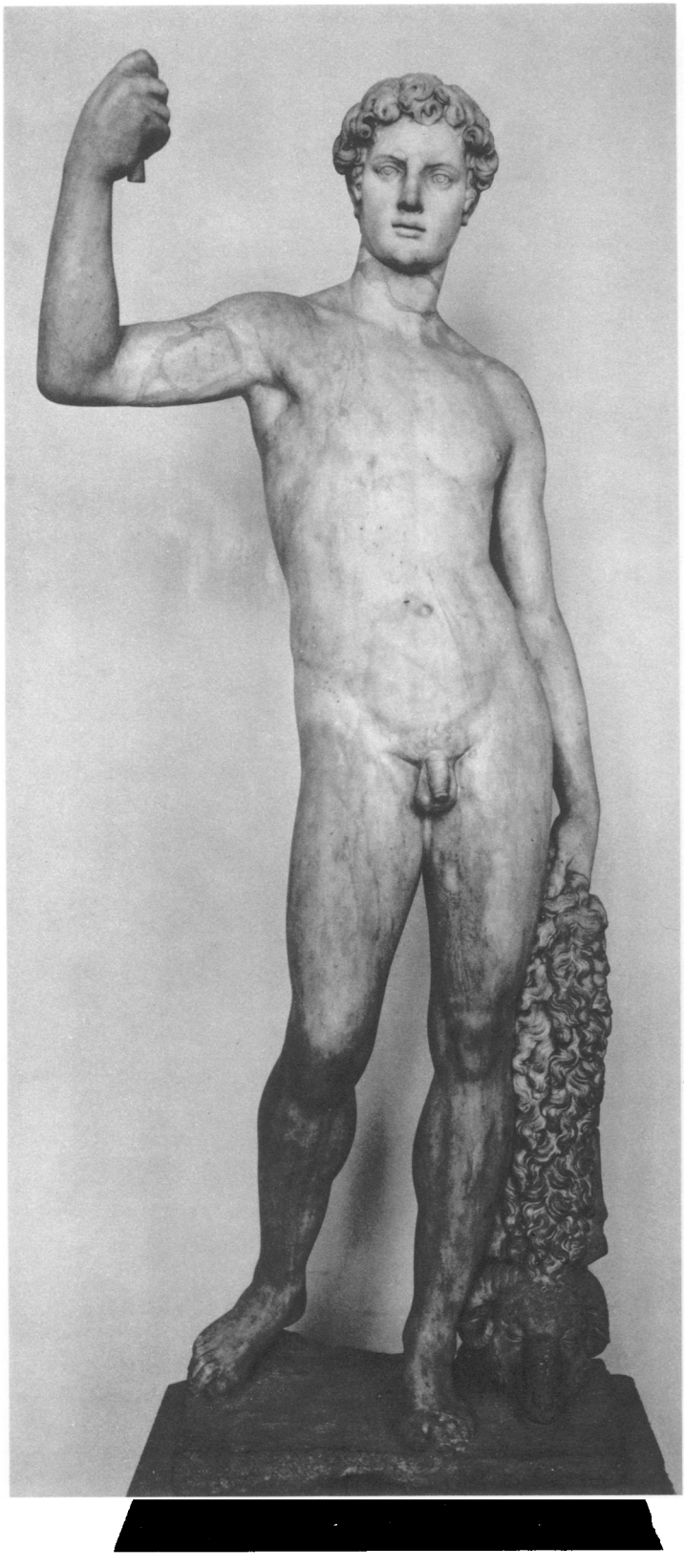


FIGURE 7
Lex, by Domenico Poggini. Marble. Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence (photo: Brogi)

FIGURE 8
St. Peter, by Domenico Poggini. Painted terracotta. 1570. Santissima Annunziata, Chapel of the Painters, Florence (photo: Brogi)

FIGURE 9
Pluto, by Domenico Poggini. Bronze. 1570–1573. Palazzo Vecchio, Studiolo of Francesco I, Florence (photo: Alinari)

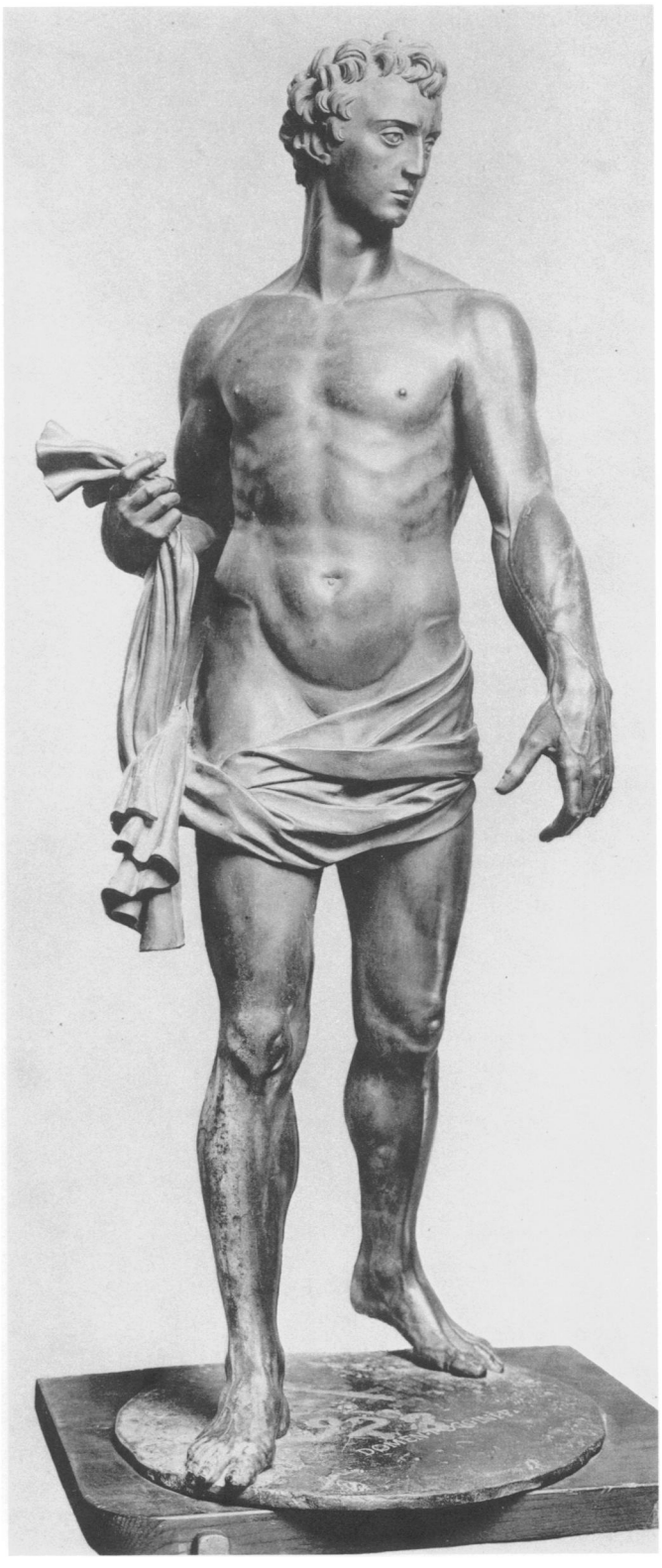


FIGURE 10
Muse, by Domenico Poggini. Marble. 1579. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (photo: Alinari)

Appendix

1 Payments for Cellini's Perseus.

State Archives, Florence, Fabbriche Medicee, filza 2.

c. 3; p[ri]mo dj marzo 1552 [1553 new style]; Ill.mo et ecc.mo s[ignor] D[on] Cosimo del s. giouannj de medicj in c. 7 – sc 34265 fj 4.6.2

c.7; Ill.mo et e.s.D. Cosimo de medicj di contro de dare addj 31 dj maggio 1554 sc undicj dj m[one]ta & xviii p[iccoli] si fanno buonj a benuenuto dj m[aest]ro g[iovann]j cellinj orefice che tantj a ordinato detta s.e.Ill.ma p[er] una supl icha diretta a Carlo marucellj sotto di 30 detto e qualj sono p[er] [tu]tte 78 ½ dj cera g[i]alla che n[']eri to debit[o]r detto benuenuto a lib[r]o g[i]allo s[egre]to B 17 la quale p[er] essere s[er]uita p[er] gi[tt]are il perseo s.e. no[n] uole che ne sia debito alla 212 auere in c.34 – sc 11 fj 18–[double-entry on c. 23 repeating the same without adding information]

c. 34; Benuenuto dj m.ro giouannj cellinj oreficie dj contro de auere addj 31 dj maggio 1554 fj undicj dj m[one]ta & xviii & si li fanno buonj che tantj a ordinato s.e.Ill.ma p[er] una suplicha diritta a Carlo marucellj sotto dj 30 detto e qualj sono p[er] [tu]tte 78 ½ di c[er]a g[i]alla che n[']eri to debit[o]r detto benuenuto a libro g[i]allo s[egre]to B 17 la qual cera p[er] esere quita p[er] l[']opera del perseo s.e. a uoluto si metta a suo co[n]to in c.7– fj 11.18– [on the other side double-entry with repetition]

c. 77; [June 8, 1553] . . . p[er] la monta d[']una porta et un uscio messe ala stanza sotto la loggia doue sta a lauorare benuenuto il perseo . . .; c. 7; & addj p[rim]o dj luglio [1553] sc dodicj dj m[one] ta si fanno buonj a mariotto dj fra[n]co dipintore p[er] auere messo d[et]ta coperta del perseo dj piazza alle sua spese che cosi si patui seco alle 213 in c. 16 – sc 12– [detailed double-entry on the other side and on c. 16 without new information]

c. 34; [Benvenuto Cellini] E de hauere addi vij di marzo 1571 [1572] sc trecentosettanta dua di m[one]ta e fj xij p[icco]li assegnatolo p[er] debitore al libro bianco seg[re]to f. 218 dare la rag[ion]e di detto in q[ues]to c. 184 – sc 372.12– [double-entries of the final payment for the Perseus, without further explanations, on c. 184 with the analogous sum of Scudi 372 Fiorini 12, and on c. 34 including the wax costs Scudi 383 Fiorini 1.10].

2 Payments to the brothers Gian Paolo and Domenico Poggini

State Archives, Florence, Fabbriche Medicee, filza 2.

c. 12; [March 1, 1553, new style]; Michele dj zanobj rub[er]ti dj Ceteo de dare sc noueciento otanta dj m[one]ta fj iiij & x p[ic]c[oli] sono ch[e] di tantj n[']a fatto debitj tal somma a sua lib[r]i gianpagolo e dom[eni]co pogginj oreficj de qualj n[']erono debit[o]r a q[uest]o lib[r]o e pero eso persin darlj n[']ano fatto c[redito]re dettj in c. 38 – sc 980 fj 4.10– [double-entry on the other side]

c. 38; [March 1, 1553]; Gianpagolo et domenicho fratellj et figliuolj dj michele pogginj oreficj di contro de[v]ono auere sc nouecento ottanta di m[one]ta e fj iiij x p[er]che di tantj ne sono andati debitori in piu partite a piu libri di michele ruberti e gulelmo porzita a libro di detto mjchele 5 p[agina] 154 sc 659 e 4 e x d[ett]o di m[one]ta la quale ra[gio]na come sono andate debitore de & el tanto a detti sua libri datolj riscontro in c. 12 – sc 980 fj 4.10– double-entry on the other side and on c. 23 with Scudi 980 Fiorini 4.10]

c. 12; E de dare addi vij di marzo 1572 [1573, new style] sc dodicimilacinquecento cinquanta otto di m[one]ta e fj dua & j° dj m[onet]a p[icco]li p[er] altanti assegnatolo p[er] cred[itor]e al libro biancho seg[re]to f. 223 auere le ragione di detto libro in q[ues]to c. 184 – sc 12558fj 2.1.4–

c. 184; Michele di zanobi Ruberti pagato in q[ues]to c. 12 sc 12558 fj 2.1.4–

c. 12; Michele dj zanobj rub[er]ti pagatore dj sua e[ccellenza] Ill[ustrissi]ma de auere addj p[rim]o dj marzo 1552 [1553] sc tredicimilacinquecento trentotto dj m[one]ta fj sei & xj dj m[one]ta p[iccola] tantj consegniatocelo p[er] creditore e lib[r]o giallo s[egre]to B 126 dare la ragione di detto lib[r]o in q[uest]o c. 38 – sc 13538 fj 6.11.4–.

3 Autograph letter by Domenico Poggini to Duke Cosimo I de' Medici "In mano propria"; April 4, 1563

State Archives, Florence, Fabbriche Medicee, filza 499, c. 184.

Ill[ustri]s[si]mo et ecc[ellent]j[ssi]mo S[ignor] Duca, Unico S[igno]r e padron mio Mando a V.E.I dua monete le quale sono tutte l[']opposito delle dua p[ri]me p[er]-ch[e] lunedi santo ch[e] fumo alli 5 del presente Bernardo Baldini[1] mi dette comessiona ch[e] io facessi de ferri, p[er]ch[e] quelli 4 torsegli e u[n]a pila ch[e] p[er] ciascuna moneta tengono gli stampatori, erano chi consumato, e chi sfondato nel mezo come nelle monete si dimostraua, allora io subito gli intagliai e gli detti alli stampatori, con e quali anno fatto la piu bella cosa di moneta in questa Settimana Santa ch[e] si sia fatto da parechi anni in qua, ch[e] se da marzo in qua io hauessi possuto fare come era il solito, di schambiare e ferri p[er] acomodarsi secondo ch[e] sono tirate le monete, quando con ferri colmi, e quando con piani secondo ch[e] occorre, no[n] si sarebbe condotto e otto o dieci sorte firibaldamente come si condussono. E p[er]ch[e] io desid ero ch[e] V.E.I. uegga il uero dj quello ch[e] ò detto, no[n] p[er] far male ne dirne di Bernardo ma p[er] scarico mio, la pregho strettamente ch[e] uoglia comettere a ch[e] sia quella piace da Bernardo, in furore, p[er] essere u[n]a della parte, ch[e] uega di trouarne il uero allo inprouiso, collo esaminare tutti questi lauoranti di zecha p[er]ch[e] quando mi disse ch[e] io no[n] dessi ferri a nessuno senza sua licenzia, lo disse tanto forte ch[e] senti ogni homo, e se V.Ecc.tia truoua ch[e] sia al contrario, all'hora quella mi gastigi. E p[er]ch[e] io ch[e] il detto Bern[ar]do cerchera ogni uia, ch[e] e potra p[er] farmi restare della uerita, in bugia, p[er] scaricarsi dello errore fatto, di nuouo pregerò V.E.J. ch[e] no[n] uoglia credere ne alle mia, ne alle sua parole, ch[e] l[']uno, o l[']altro possa p[er] sua scusa dire, ma uoglia trouarne il uero, come è il solito di V.E.I. p[er]ch[e] se Bern[ar]do no[n] mi uolesse male come e uuola no[n] arebbe forse fatto questo, p[er]ch[e] se no[n] mi uolessi male, no[n] harebbe detto a V.E.I. ch[e] io auessi adoperato la testa de 4 carlini p[er] la moneta de 5 Δ di [scudi] come il piombo ch[e] e qui incluso ne fa uera fede, fe la una testa medesima o nò. E anchora no[n] harebbe fatto l[']amformatione [=informatione] dallo Strettoio come fece ch[e] è tutta contraria al uero, come a luogo, e tempo, masterô [=mostrerò] a V.E.I. e depulzoni delle teste, e dello Strettoio, e di poi [h]a lla informatione, uisto l[']animo di V. Ecc.tia I. mi hauerebbe pagato, o nò ni traterebbe come fà, et tutto è comportato con patientia, ma hora ch[e] son forzato no[n] posso piu. E cosi in mentre ch[e] V.E.I. mi tera in questo luogo, andro comportando doue nò si progiudici all'honor mio,[2] p[er] seruitio di V.E.I. la quale prego ch[e] mi tenga in sua buona gratia, ch[e] iddio n[ost]ro s[ignore] la mantenga sano e felice, di fiorenza adi 10 d[']aprile 1563– Di V.E.I. suo affetion[is]-s[i]mo Seruitore Dom[eni]co Poggini

1. As far as I see, Bernardo Baldini was active in Florence as a goldsmith (G. degli Azzi, Thieme—Becker, II [Leipzig, 1908] p. 395 with reference to Milanesi's note); on May 23, 1548, Baldini gave notice that he was about to send two crystal goblets to Cosimo I de' Medici.

2. There is as yet no documented evidence that Poggini left Florence in the spring of 1563; he had gone to Rome by 1585 and stayed in the service of Pope Sixtus V until the end of his life.

New Documents and Drawings Concerning Lost Statues from the Château of Marly

BETSY ROSASCO

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La durée éternelle n'est pas plus
promise aux oeuvres qu'aux hommes.
MARCEL PROUST

In 1697 construction was begun on the Rivière, a grandiose cascade behind the château of Marly.[1] In 1698 the Abreuvoir, a body of water prolonging the gardens in the opposite direction, was executed.[2] In 1699 the Doubles Nappes, a cascade and basin, were joined to form les Nappes (Figure 1).[3] With these decisive additions, the gardens were given a new axial emphasis; from a villagelike cluster of buildings about a central basin, the grounds grew to resemble a new Versailles, as if by magic the Allée Royale were replaced by water. From the royal pavilion, the views to south and north encompassed a river and a lake (Figure 2.)[4]

This period of activity saw an acceleration of royal visits to and interest in the domain. The sweeping changes in the main axis of the garden called for a sculptural program commensurate with the ambitious new topography. The interaction between sculpture and garden architecture and the relations among the persons concerned with both are worth examining in order to define the character of the ensemble created at that time.

First, however, it is necessary to establish the chronology of the work, and the terms in which it was envisioned. Fortunately we are exceptionally well in-

1. "Vendredi 14 (décembre 1696) à Marly—Le roi a résolu de faire ici une nouvelle cascade qui viendra tomber dans la pièce où étoit le grand jet; elle sera d'une bien plus grande dépense qu'aucune des fontaines qui sont ici." Eudoxe Soulié, Louis Dussieux, eds., *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau*, VI (Paris, 1854–60) p. 42. "Mercredi 30 (octobre 1697) à Versailles—Le Roi, Monseigneur, et la princesse allèrent dîner à Marly, et virent aller la rivière, dont ils furent très contents." Dangeau, VI, pp. 218–219.

2. "Samedi 10 (mai 1698) à Marly—On travaille depuis quelques jours à une pièce d'eau magnifique par delà le jardin." Dangeau, VI, p. 344. "Vendredi 21 (novembre 1698) à Marly— . . . il lui fit voir le magnifique abreuvoir qu'il a fait faire en bas de ses jardins en dehors." Dangeau, VI, p. 463.

3. "Du 7 février (1699) Le Roy a reglé que l'on feroit une augmentation aux nappes de la Cascade du bout du Jardin, et a dit à M. le SurIntendant de faire un projet et dessein de ladite Cascade." *Registre où sont écrits par dattes les Ordres que le Roy a donnez à Monsieur Mansart SurIntendant des Bâtimens de sa Majesté, pour tout ce qui est à faire à changer, ou à reparer aux Châteaux et Jardins de Marly, St Germain, Noisy, et leurs Dépendances*, Arch. Nat., O[1]1474, fol. 8.

4. Martin Lister visited Marly on May 15, 1698, and pointed out the analogy between the Rivière and a river: "Du côté du château qui lui fait face, on croiroit que c'est une grande rivière qui glisse paisiblement du haut de la colline; mais quand j'en approchai, je vis que c'étoient cinquante-deux grands bassins carrés, peu profonds, étagés successivement, à angles droits, non pas en pente, mais se déversant de l'un dans l'autre." Société des Bibliophiles François, ed., *Voyage de Lister à Paris en MDCXCVIII*, (Paris, 1873) p. 187.

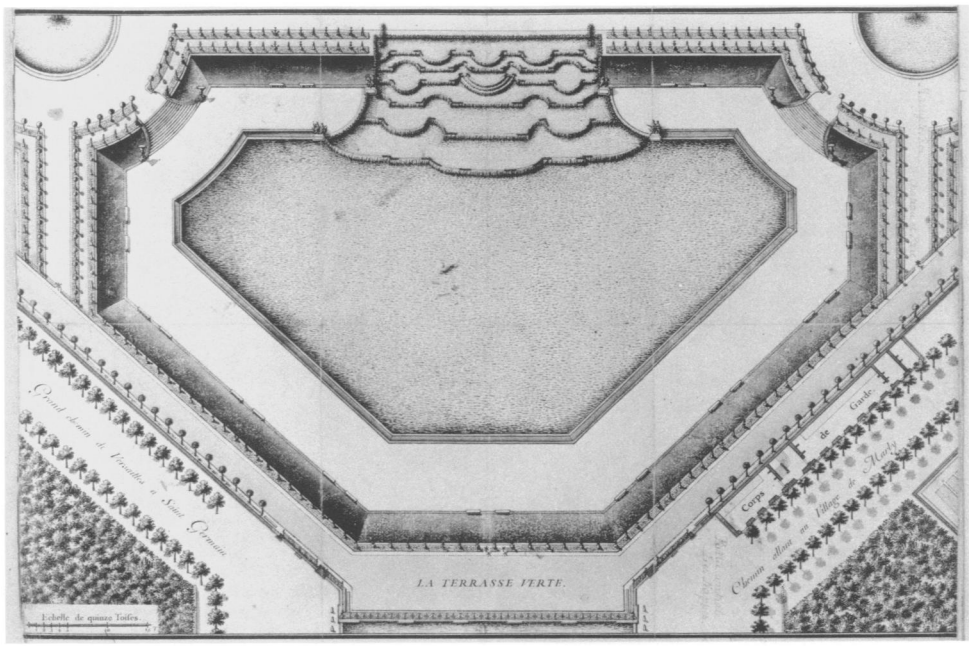


FIGURE 1
The lower garden of Marly: les Nappes and la Terrasse Verte. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes Va 78a, vol. 5

formed about the years from 1699 to 1702; special registers in which were noted orders for work to be done in the château and gardens have survived intact. In addition, the usual sources—payments recorded in the *Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi*, inventories, guides, and the evidence furnished by contemporary writers, complete our knowledge of this fertile period.

On Wednesday, May 13, 1699, Louis XIV arrived at Marly for an eleven-day stay. The Marquis de Dangeau wrote, "Le roi a trouvé en arrivant ici sa grande cascade achevée, dont il est fort content"; the reference was to "les grandes nappes."[5] Even before this last great basin was completed, however, orders had been given for sculptural decorations for the lower gardens of Marly.

In a list compiled in January 1699 of work to be done at the château during the next year, there was a reference to the groups of Fame and of Mercury by Antoine Coysevox:

Les modeles sur les pieds destaux du bas du jardin, ne pourront être finis qu'a la fin de mars, à cause des études importantes. Le S[r] Coisvox demande à les finir de stuc pour les mieux étudier. il assure qu'ils dureront 4. ou 5. années sans y rien faire, en attendant que le marbre se fasse. ledit S[r] Coisvox donnera des panneaux exacts sur des cartons des grosseurs des blocs de marbre qu'il faut pour lesdits groupes, pour les donner aux Entrepreneurs des marbres, afin de les faire dégrossir sur les carrieres et épargner la voiture, lesdits modèles pourront couter à finir . . . . . 2000[tt6]

Apparently ideas for four marble groups to decorate les Nappes were discussed even before the basin was completed, but only on May 17, the Sunday after Louis XIV saw the finished Nappes, were orders for the models entered in the records of the *Surintendant des Bâtiments du Roi*, Jules Hardouin-Mansart. Four additional groups were commissioned for the central basin, or Grande Pièce d'Eau:

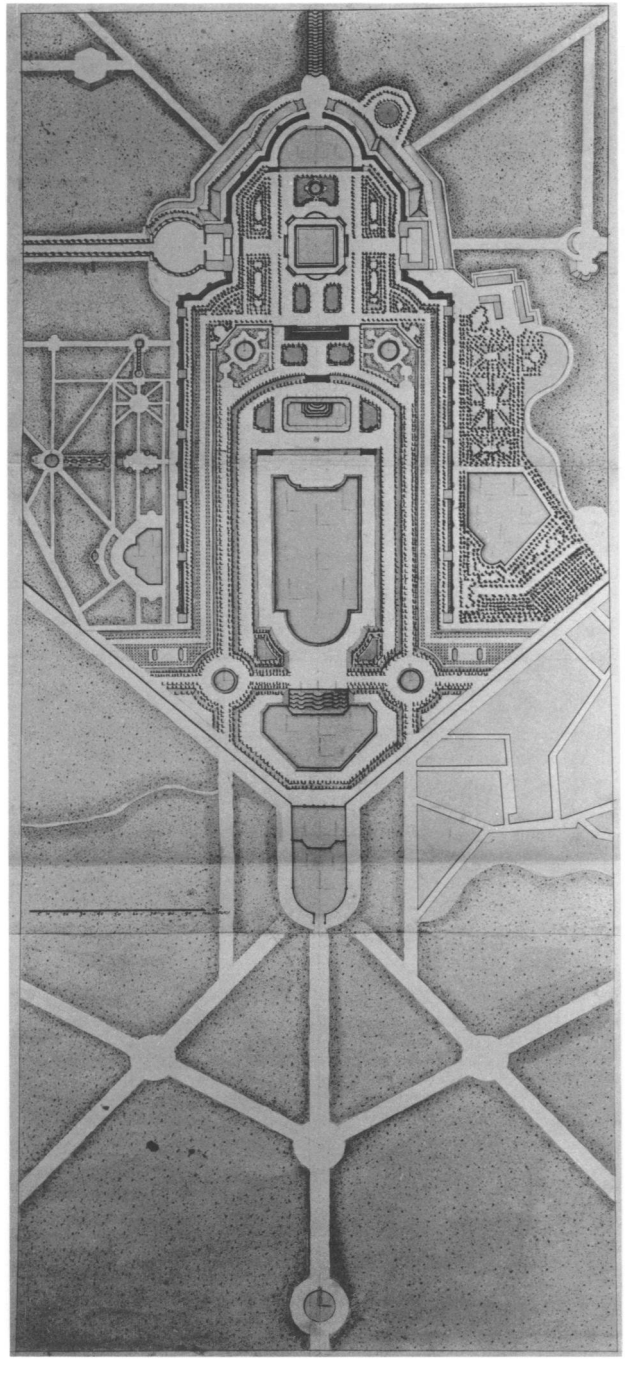
Du 17 may
Le Roy a ordonné de faire quatre groupes de figures de marbre pour mettre aux quatre coins de lapiece du grand jet a la place des vases qui y sont, sçavoir un representant Vertumne et Pommone, un representant Baccus et Ariane, un representant Zephire et Flore, Et le quatrième representant Apollon et Daphne.

Le Roy a ordonné que les modèles desdits quatre groupes de la Cascade du bout du jardin, et les modèles

5. Dangeau, VII, pp. 83–84: "la grande cascade, qu'on appellera présentement les grandes nappes."

6. "Mémoire Gñal des Ouvrages et Réparations à faire aux Bâtimens, Jardins, et Dépendances du Château de Marly en la présente année 1699," in O[1]1473. This passage is erroneously cited by Georges Keller-Dorian (*Antoine Coysevox*, II [Paris, 1920] p. 46) in reference to the groups for the Rivière.

FIGURE 2
Plan of Marly. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, THC 7929



des quatre vases du bas des escaliers de ladite Cascade seroient faits sur leurs pieds d'estaux en plâtre recouverts de stuc pour servir en attendant que l'on fasse les marbres.[7]

The groups meant to decorate les Nappes—Nicolas Coustou's Seine and Marne, Corneille van Clève's Loire and Loiret, and Anselme Flamen and Simon Hurtrelle's Nymphs—thus occupy an intermediate position between Coysevox's Fame and Mercury (for which marble was already ordered on July 22)[8] and the four groups of paired gods and goddesses for the Grande Pièce d'Eau, whose subject matter was decided only on May 17.

On August 31, 1699, a contract was signed charging workmen with the execution of plaster casts after the models, to be set in the places the finished marble versions would one day occupy (see Appendix 1). The function of these plaster casts is clearly indicated in the orders given on September 3, 1699:

Mémoire des ouvrages et réparations à faire au château de Marly, jardins et ses dependances pendant le voyage de Fontainebleau et le restant de la présente année 1699:

91. finir les 4 modèles de platre des groupes que l'on fait sur les piedestaux de la pièce du grand Jet.
92. Mouler les 4: groupes de la grande cascade et les 4: groupes cy dessus de la piece du grand jet pour servir de modeles dans les ateliers des sculpteurs qui travailleront au marbre, et jetter d'autres groupes en platre dans les moules qui viennent, d'une seule piece pour estre reposées sur les dits piedestaux a la place des modeles que l'on a fait afin qu'ils durent d'avantage en place en attendant les marbres, etant jettez d'une seule piece et passer deux ou trois couches de blanc a huille dessus.
93. Mouler pareillement les 2: groupes de chevaux du S.r coixvos pour servir de modeles a travailler les marbres.[9]

The technical procedure was detailed in the orders so that the King could be kept informed of the progress in periodic reports during his stay at Fontainebleau from September 3 to October 21. On September 12 he was informed that:

91. On a redoublé les Sculpteurs. ils pourront être en état de mouler le 22. de ce mois.

7. o¹1474, fols. 17–18.
8. Keller-Dorian, II, p. 34.
9. o¹1473. This passage is also connected by Keller-Dorian to the groups for the Rivière (II, p. 46).

FIGURE 3
Drawing after Vertumnus and Pomona by Sébastien Slodtz. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, THC 5128

92. Les mouleurs sont apres.
93. Idem.[10]

A week later work had begun on the figures that took precedence, the Fame and Mercury:

91. On commencera à les moûler la semaine prochaine.
92. Seront moûlez tous quatre a la fin de la semaine prochaine.
93. On les moûle tous les deux.[11]

Two weeks later, on October 3, molds were being made of all ten statues:

91. Les 4. modeles des groupes de ladite piece du grand jet sont finis. on en moule deux.
92 et 93. Les moulures avancent fort, les 4. groupes des napes, et ceux des chevaux de la terrasse.[12]

That autumn, payment was made for the mold of at least one of the groupes for les Nappes; the final payments were made only in February and April 1700.[13]

Still, there was no indication of difficulties in the execution of the commissions. Upon his return from Fontainebleau, the King visited Marly, "où il eut le plaisir de voir que tout ce qu'il avoit ordonné étoit achevé; il en fut content au dernier point."[14] As late as December 21, 1699, there was every intention of executing all the groups in marble immediately, and funds were set aside for the purpose:

faire venir les marbres pour les groupes du Jardin montant à vingt deux mil livres
Commencer à travailler a la sculpture des groupes de chevaux, le fonds pour cette année, dix mil livres
Commencer la sculpture des quatre groupes des nappes, seize mil livres
Commencer la Sculpture des quatre groupes du tour de la piece du grand jet, le fonds pour cette année est de douze mil livres.[15]

But on January 11, 1700, the execution in marble of all but the equestrian groups of Coysevox was postponed:

Le 11 Janvier 1700
Sa Majesté a retranché des ouvrages quelle avoit ordonnez pour la presente année 1700
Et a remis en 1701 les quatre grouppes des nappes, les quatre groupes du tour du grand jet, les quatre vases des Escalliers circulaires et La Cascade du bois de la Princesse dont la dépense montoit a quatre vingt onze mil six cens livres.

10. "Estat où sont les Ouvrages de Marly le 12 septembre 1699," in o[1]1473.
11. "Estat auquel sont les ouvrages de Marly le 19 Septembre 1699," in o[1]1473.
12. o[1]1473, fol. 138.
13. "20 septembre–15 novembre (1699): à Jean LePileur, Sculpteur, sur le moule qu'il a fait en plâtre du groupe du côté gauche des napes du jardin de Marly (5 p.) . . . . . 1300[tt]." Jules Guiffrey, ed., *Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi sous le règne de Louis XIV*, IV (Paris, 1881–1901) col. 517; "20 septembre–30 decembre (1699): à Pierre Varin, Jacques Desjardins, Pierre Langlois, Jean Thierry, et Jean Robert, sculpteurs, à compte des modelles de groupes qu'ils moulent en plâtre dans le jardin de Marly (7 p.) . . . . . 5600[tt]," *Comptes*, IV, col. 517; "4 avril (1700): à Jean LePilleur, sculpteur, parfait payement de 1800[tt] pour deux modelles de groupe en plâtre qu'il a moulez dans le jardin de Marly en 1699 . . . . . 500[tt]," *Comptes*, IV, col. 651; "7 février (1700): aux nommez Varin, Desjardins, Langlois, Thierry et Robert, sculpteurs, parfait payement de 6000[tt] à quoi montent les modelles de six groupes qu'ils ont moulé en plâtre dans le jardin du château de Marly en 1699 . . . . . 400[tt]," *Comptes*, IV, cols. 651–652.
14. 23 October 1699. Dangeau, VII, p. 174.
15. This and the following quote are from o[1]1474, fol. 41.

FIGURE 4
Drawing after The Loire and Loiret by Corneille van Clève. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, THC 5127

On September 17, 1700, the Swedish architect Daniel Cronström listed in a letter to Nicodème Tessin the Younger a group of plans and elevations of the château of Marly; these drawings have been identified in the collection of the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.[16] In the same letter, Cronström mentioned "plusieurs desseins de statues de Versailles, etc.," that are also in the Nationalmuseum.[17] They are by the same hand as a group of drawings that I believe must have been made after statues at the Marly of 1700.

The Stockholm drawing THC 5128 (Figure 3) is inscribed in pencil on the verso in an eighteenth-century hand, "Groupes de pommone Et Vertumne fait par C Solst." According to the 1701 edition of Piganiol de la Force's guide to Versailles and Marly, the pairs of gods and goddesses seen around the Grande Pièce d'Eau were Zephyr and Flora by Poirier, Vertumnus and Pomona by Slodtz, Bacchus and Ariadne by Prou, and Apollo and Daphne by Pouletier.[18] This drawing must represent the group by Slodtz.

THC 5127 (Figure 4) is a view of the Loire and Loiret of Corneille van Clève, a group now in the Tuileries Gardens. In this drawing the group is seen from the short side of the rectangular base, rather than from the long side, as both it and its pendant, Nicolas Coustou's Seine and Marne, usually appear in photographs.[19]

THC 5126 (Figure 5) is inscribed in an eighteenth-

16. Ragnar Josephson, "Le Plan primitif de Marly," *Revue de l'Histoire de Versailles* (1928) pp. 27–44.

17. Roger-Armand Weigert and Carl Hernmarck, *Les Relations Artistiques entre la France et la Suède, 1693–1718* (Stockholm, 1964) p. 280. The statues of Versailles are portrayed in drawings THC 3720 to 3764.

18. Piganiol de la Force, *Nouvelle Description des Chasteaux et Parcs de Versailles et de Marly* (Paris, 1701) p. 381.

19. Jeanne and Alfred Marie, *Marly* (Paris, 1947) figs. 125, 127.

FIGURE 5
Drawing after Nymphs by Simon Hurtrelle. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, THC 5126

FIGURE 6
Drawing after Nymphs by Anselme Flamen. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, THC 5129

century hand "Groupes de Nimphe fait par hutrel," and THC 5129 (Figure 6) is inscribed "Groupes de Nimphe faits par flamen." The statues represented correspond almost perfectly to the inventory descriptions of the two lost groups from les Nappes (see Appendix 2). The nymph on the left in Hurtrelle's composition holds up a bouquet of flowers, while the inventories describe her raised arm as being entwined by a lamprey; undoubtedly this detail was changed when the marble version was executed.

The plaster models of the groups for les Nappes, the Grande Pièce d'Eau, and the terrace over the Abreuvoir were thus in place by the winter of 1700. The casts of two of the four groups for the Grande Piece d'Eau were made over the summer of 1701, in conformity to the contract of August 31, 1699.[20] But on August 21, 1701, the commissions of Slodtz (Vertumnus and Pomona) and Prou (Bacchus and Ariadne) were transferred to Coustou and van Clève.[21] On August 31, 1701, money was appropriated for:

fonds pour les 2 groupes de chevaux 6000ᵗᵗ
Nouveaux modelles pour les groupes de bacchus et de vertumne 1200ᵗᵗ
Entretien des modeles de platre du jardin .....400ᵗᵗ[22]

Then, on September 15, 1701, money was once again set aside to execute all the groups in marble during the coming year.[23]

Only the marble equestrian groups were anywhere near completion. The King was so eager to see them in place that he ordered the marble versions placed on the terrace, even if they were not quite finished.[24] On August 2, 1702, Fame was finally set up on its pedestal in the King's presence; Mercury followed on August 8.[25]

During the following week, there was uncertainty about the fate of the rest of the commission. The expenses and difficulties of executing yet eight more complicated marble groups must have been painfully evident. The

20. "3 juillet (1701): à Poultier, sculpteur, pour avoir réparé un groupe en plâtre, représentant *Apollon et Daphné*, placé au jardin des Thuilleries ..... 85ᵗᵗ," *Comptes*, IV, col. 734; "19 juin–3 juillet (1701): à luy [Robert], sur un groupe qu'il a moulé et posé dans le jardin des Thuilleries, représentant *Apollon et Daphné* (2 p.) ..... 240ᵗᵗ," *Comptes*, IV, col. 736; "3 juillet (1701): à Poirier, sculpteur, pour avoir réparé le groupe en plâtre, représentant *Zéphire et Flore*, placé au jardin des Thuilleries, en 1701 ..... 85ᵗᵗ," *Comptes*, IV, col. 734; "16 juin (1701): à la veuve et héritiers du Sr Le Pilleur, fondeur, pour un groupe qu'il a moulé, représentant *Zéphire et Flore*, qu'il a posé au jardin des Thuilleries en 1701 ..... 240ᵗᵗ," *Comptes*, IV, col. 735; "6 may (1703): à Langlois, mouleur, pour la figure de *Zéphire* et partie de celle de *Flore*, qu'il a moulé et livré au jardin de Marly ..... 155ᵗᵗ," *Comptes*, IV, col. 994; "25 février–6 may (1703): à Desjardins et à Thierry, Varin et Langlois, sur un deuxième plâtre des quatre modèles de groupes qu'ils ont livrés à Marly (2 p.) ..... 500ᵗᵗ," *Comptes*, IV, col. 994.

21. François Souchal, *Les Slodtz* (Paris, 1967) p. 596.

22. O¹1474, fol. 144.

23. "1701. Le 15. 7ᵇʳᵉ Sa Majesté a reglé et signé de sa main le mémoire des ouvrages quelle a projetté de faire en laditte année pour laditte Dépendance dans lesquels sont compris, sçavoir ... Le fonds en ladite année pour travailler aux groupes de figures et vases de marbre dont les modèles sont en platre dans le jardin trente quatre mil livres, sçavoir, pour les groupes de chevaux 6000ᵗᵗ pour les quatre groupes des napes 12000ᵗᵗ pour les quatre groupes de la grande piece 8000ᵗᵗ et pour les quatre vases des escaliers circulaires des napes 8000ᵗᵗ cy ..... 34000ᵗᵗ," O¹1474, fol. 115.

24. O¹1474, fols. 155–156; quoted in Keller-Dorian, II, p. 37.

25. Dangeau, VIII, p. 466; p. 473.

day the Mercury was set in place, new orders were given:

Le 8. aout sa majesté a ordonné de peindre en couleur de bronze les modelles de groupes qui sont a la piece des napes, et que l'on fonderoit lesd. groupes l'année prochaine en plomb et étain au lieu de les faire de marbre.[26]

One imagines a new version of the Parterre d'Eau of Versailles. The experiment must have been considered a success, and was repeated on the other groups two days later:

FIGURE 7
Corneille van Clève, Bacchus and Ariadne. California Palace of the Legion of Honor, 1931.154 (photo: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco)

Du 10: dud. Sa majesté a ordonné de peindre aussy couleur de bronze Les modelles de groupes qui sont autour de la grande piece, et que l'on fonderoit lesd. groupes en plomb et étain l'année prochaine.

For some reason, there was soon a return to the original plan:

Le 14. dudit Sa Majesté a ordonné de repeindre en beau blanc de trois couches les groupes des nappes et du tour de la grande piece qui avoient été peints en jaune par son ordre pour être bronzes.

Sometime before 1707, the groups at the Grande Pièce d'Eau were removed.[27] Only the figures of rivers and nymphs at les Nappes were executed in marble, and then with a notable delay. In the eighteenth-century inventories of the royal sculptures, the works of Coustou, van Clève, Flamen, and Hurtrelle are listed as works of 1705 and 1707. In the *Comptes des Bâtiments*, the payments to the sculptors extend from 1703 to 1712.[28] But this dating is misleading, for the works were conceived as part of the ensemble of 1699. A comparison of the plaster model of the Loire and Loiret, as recorded in THC 5127, and the marble version now in the Tuileries shows the 1699 compositions were reproduced with no important changes.[29]

The four groups for the Grande Pièce d'Eau that were never executed in marble seem to have had an afterlife only as bronze reductions; van Clève's Bacchus and Ariadne (Figure 7), shown in the Salon of 1704 with a pendant of Diana and Endymion, has been identified.[30] In the same Salon, Pouletier exhibited an

26. This and the following two quotations are from $O^{1}1474$, fol. 164.

27. Souchal, *Les Slodtz*, p. 596.

28. A payment was made to Nicolas Coustou for the wax model of his river, said to have been made in 1699, on December 4, 1701. The other payments date between 1705 and 1712 (*Comptes*, IV, cols. 882, 1184; V, cols. 40, 143, 510, 609). The payments to Corneille van Clève date between 1703 and 1711 (*Comptes*, IV, cols. 964, 1183; V, cols. 40, 143, 525). The payments to Flamen date from 1703 to 1711 (*Comptes*, IV, cols. 963, 1184; V, cols. 36, 40, 538), as do those to Hurtrelle (*Comptes*, IV, cols. 964, 1184; V, cols. 40, 143, 538).

29. The original gesture of the nymph holding up a bouquet of flowers was preserved in a small bronze statuette, in which Hurtrelle's nymph and the child beside her have been transposed to represent Flora and a putto (see the exhibition catalogue *French Painting and Sculptures of the 18th Century* [Heim Gallery, London, 1968] no. 46).

30. Souchal suggested the group of Bacchus and Ariadne exhibited by van Clève at the Salon of 1704 reflected the artist's composition for the Marly commission (*Les Slodtz*, p. 138, note 1),

Apollo and Daphne that we can assume was closely related to his composition for Marly.[31] Thus in a different medium and scale than was originally intended, these compositions became accessible to a wider public than that which saw them during the brief time they were at Marly.

In 1701, while the statues for the lower section of the garden were being executed, an order was given for sculptures of sphinxes to decorate the terrace of the château:

Le 15 (avril, 1701) Sa Majesté a reglé de faire des Sphinx sur les huit gros pieds d'estaux des perrons.qui montent au milieu des terrasses du pourtour du château et des groupes d'enfants sur les 8 autres pieds d'estaux des rampes des encoignûres desdites terrasses et a ordonné d'en faire incessament des modèles en plâtre sur tous lesdits pieds destaux.[32]

On May 20, two additional groups to flank the steps leading to the groves of clipped hedges known as the appartements verts were ordered:

Le même jour sa Majesté a ordonné de faire deux groupes de figures sur les deux gros pieds d'estaux a la tête du perron qui descend de la terrasse au dessus des appartemens verds.[33]

On August 31, it was specified that these figures, called shepherds, as well as the ornaments for the terrace, should be of lead:

Les sphinx, groupes d'enfans et de bergers a faire en plomb et étain . . . . . 20400ᵗᵗ[34]

Orders were left to cast the lead versions during the autumn while the court was at Fontainebleau, but apparently this was not done:

2500ᵗᵗ Mouler incessamment les Sphinx, et les petits groupes denfans au pourtour du chateau pour
Neant les jetter en plomb
800ᵗᵗ pareillement les deux groupes de bergers et bergeres qui sont sur les piedestaux du grand peron.[35]

Payments for the lead versions were made to Coustou, Lespingola, and Hardy only between 1702 and 1704.[36]

Descriptions in eighteenth-century inventories indicate that the so-called "shepherds" were in reality a group representing Mercury and Argus, with a group of shepherdesses as a pendant.[37] Through inventory descriptions I was able to recognize the sphinxes in three drawings in the Nationalmuseum; this identification was corroborated by an engraving by Blondel of the royal pavilion in which the sphinxes appear in silhouette against the façade.[38]

Four of the eight sphinxes are depicted in THC 7137 (Figure 8). In THC 8612 (Figure 9), by a different hand, the sphinx seen at the lower left of THC 7137 is shown from two angles. THC 8613 (Figure 10) shows yet another sphinx.[39]

while James I. Rambo identified the bronze Bacchus and Ariadne and Diana and Endymion in the California Palace of the Legion of Honor as van Clève's entries in that Salon through a second, documented Diana and Endymion in Dresden ("A Note on Two Bronze Groups by Corneille van Clève," *Bulletin of the California Palace of the Legion of Honor* 1 (1968). I would like to thank Mrs. S. DeRenne Coerr for this reference.) In a lecture on "Florentine Baroque Bronzes," given March 30, 1974 at the Frick Collection, Dr. Jennifer Montagu accepted the documentary value of the bronze Bacchus and Ariadne as an indication of the lost Marly composition.

31. The famous and puzzling late seventeenth-century bronze version of this subject, variously attributed to Coysevox or an Italian artist (for previous literature, see M. Knoedler and Co., *The French Bronze 1500–1800* [New York, 1968] no. 33) seems to be excluded from consideration; the example in the Green Vaults in Dresden was already bought by Leplat in 1699 (Walter Holzhausen, "Die Bronzen Augusts des Starken," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 60 [1939] p. 176). In addition, in the *Inventaire après décès* of Jean Poultier, made on December 12, 1719, partially published by Mireille Rambaud in *Documents du Minutier Central Concernant l'Histoire de l'Art [1700–1750]* II [Paris 1971] p. 1037) are an "*Apollon et Daphné*, modèles en plâtre" said to have been made for and to belong to the Crown, and another "*Apollon et Daphné*, groupe en marbre d'un pied de haut . . . . . 15 l[ivres]." The latter could be the group shown in the Salon of 1704; a bronze version may never have existed.

32. o¹1474, fol. 129. On April 27, Dangeau reported, "Le roi a fait mettre ici à l'entour des terrasses du château une balustrade de fer parfaitement belle, et fait faire des sphinx et de beaux groupes d'enfants pour mettre dans les angles." Dangeau, VIII, p. 88.

33. o¹1474, fol. 133.

34. o¹1474, fol. 144.

35. o¹1460, piece no. 169, fol. 6.

36. *Comptes*, IV, cols. 852, 965, 1073.

37. o¹1968, piece no. 5 (see Appendix 3). These groups are visible in the watercolor illustrations of the garden of Marly, o¹1472, fols. 25, 26.

38. Marie, *Marly*, fig. 1.

39. o¹1968, piece no. 5 (see Appendix 4). It would seem that the first sphinx corresponds to that at the upper left of Figure 5; the third, to Figure 7; the fifth, to that at the upper right of Figure 5; the sixth, to that at the lower right of Figure 5; and the eighth, to that at the lower left of Figure 5 and in Figure 6.

The same hand responsible for THC 7137 also copied groups of children. THC 7151 (Figure 11) corresponds perfectly with the inventory description of one of the groups of children that occupied the corner pillars of the terrace. THC 7138 (Figure 12) shows two groups of children that are more difficult to relate to the written descriptions.[40] However, corroboration that they should show statues from Marly is provided by three other drawings by the same hand on identical tracing paper—THC 7136, which shows the bronze cast of Magnier's Aurora; THC 7150, which shows Barrois' copy after the ancient Venus Callipygos; and THC 7153, which shows Pouletier's Companion of Diana—all of which were at Marly.[41]

On July 23, 1701, Louis XIV spent the entire day enjoying the gardens of Marly. Dangeau wrote, "il nous dit à sa promenade qu'il n'imaginoit plus de pouvoir faire aucun embellissement à Marly, le lieu étant fort petit et aussi orné qu'il est." One phase of the decoration had ended.[42]

From this examination, certain facts stand out clearly. First, the statues discussed were conceived, designed, and meant to be executed together, whatever vicissitudes may have intervened. The statues of Neptune, Amphitrite, the Seine, and the Marne made by Coysevox for the Rivière may have been foreseen in 1699, or even 1697, but since the plaster models could only be begun after the sculptor had finished Fame and Mercury, and figure nowhere among the documents to which we have referred, they represent a later phase of the garden decoration. Thus the statues made to decorate the three lower basins, and, in a subsidiary manner, those for the terraces of the château, were part of a single program.

Second, during this phase Mansart had decisive power over the sculptural decoration. He became *Surintendant des Bâtiments du Roi* on January 8, 1699, and while he had previously exercised a powerful artistic control over the royal architectural projects, there is some evidence that his accession to his new post affected not only the sculpture of Marly, but also the sculptors active there.

A clue to the changes between 1699 and 1702 is found in another affair related to Marly. On October 10, 1699, the Marquis de Sourches wrote:

> Le 10, on apprit que Ruzé, contrôleur des bâtiments, qui faisoit cette charge à Marly et à Saint-Germain depuis dix-sept ans, avec l'approbation de toute la cour, avoit été renvoyé à Saint-Germain, avec les appointements qu'il avoit à Marly, et que le Roi avoit mis à sa place un nommé Dujardin, parent de Mansard.[43]

In reality, it was Mansart who replaced Ruzé with his nephew, Jacques Desjardins, the son of Martin Desjardins. The following week it was reported of Ruzé's interview with Louis XIV:

40. o¹1968, piece no. 5 (see Appendix 5). Figure 8 is identical with the fourth group described. The two groups shown in Figure 9 are less easy to read; the lower group might correspond with the sixth group. Another record of the appearance of the Marly groups is provided by the groups of children decorating the terrace of La Granja in Spain; a clue to the closeness of the relationship between the French and Spanish groups is the virtual reproduction of the children with the fawn (Figure 8; compare Jeanne Digard, *Les Jardins de la Granja et leurs sculptures décoratives* [Paris, 1934] pl. XXIII, fig. 3, and Yves Bottineau, *L'Art de Cour dans l'Espagne de Philippe V, 1700–1746*, [Bordeaux n.d.] fig. LVI-A). The copyist, René Frémin, misinterpreted the gesture of the little girl who, in the Marly inventory and in Figure 8, was about to chastise the little boy for teasing the animal; at La Granja, her gesture is unmotivated. Others among the Spanish groups correspond to the descriptions of the Marly groups: the children with the dogs (Digard, *Les Jardins*, pl. XXIII, fig. 1) seem to be related to the eighth group at Marly, while the children with the eagle (Figure 2) seem to be inspired by the fifth Marly group. The use of compositions closely patterned on those at Marly, and serving the same function, is not at all surprising since Jean Thierry worked in the circle of Coysevox, and René Frémin was active at Marly before their departure for Spain in 1721. The groups of children decorating the terraces of the two châteaux reinforce Bottineau's observation about the deliberate choice of Marly as a model (*L'Art de Cour*, p. 419).

41. There is evidence to argue that the Aurora of Magnier shown in this group of drawings was the bronze version at the Marly Belvedere. The copy after the Venus Callipygos can only be that of Barrois, as it alone had the extra piece of drapery that is clearly visible on the drawing, and which was added to it by Jean Thierry (Dargenville, *Vie des Fameux Sculpteurs* II [Paris, 1787] p. 242). The Companion of Diana by Pouletier was placed at Marly in 1714 (Furcy-Raynaud, "Les Statues du Jardin Public de Bolbec," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* [1909] p. 87). The bases seen in the drawings of the Aurora and Venus Callipygos correspond in style to those visible in the illustration of the *Place du Bas d'Agrippine* as it was in 1714 in the watercolor illustration in the album o¹1471, fol. 30; the base seen in the drawing of Pouletier's Companion of Diana is that which it still occupies.

42. Dangeau, VIII, p. 155.

43. Gabriel-Jules de Cosnac, Edouard Pontal, eds., *Mémoires du Marquis de Sourches*, VI (Paris, 1882–1893) p. 192.

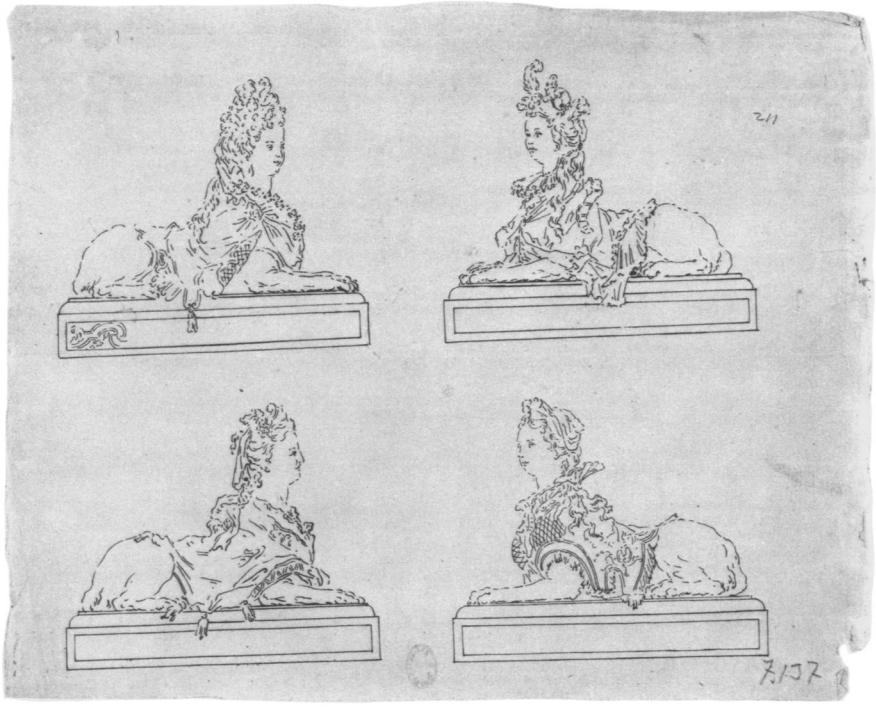


FIGURE 8
Drawing after sphinxes by N. Coustou, F. Lespingola, and J. Hardy. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, THC 7137

FIGURE 9
Drawing after a sphinx. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, THC 8612

FIGURE 10
Drawing after a sphinx. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, THC 8613

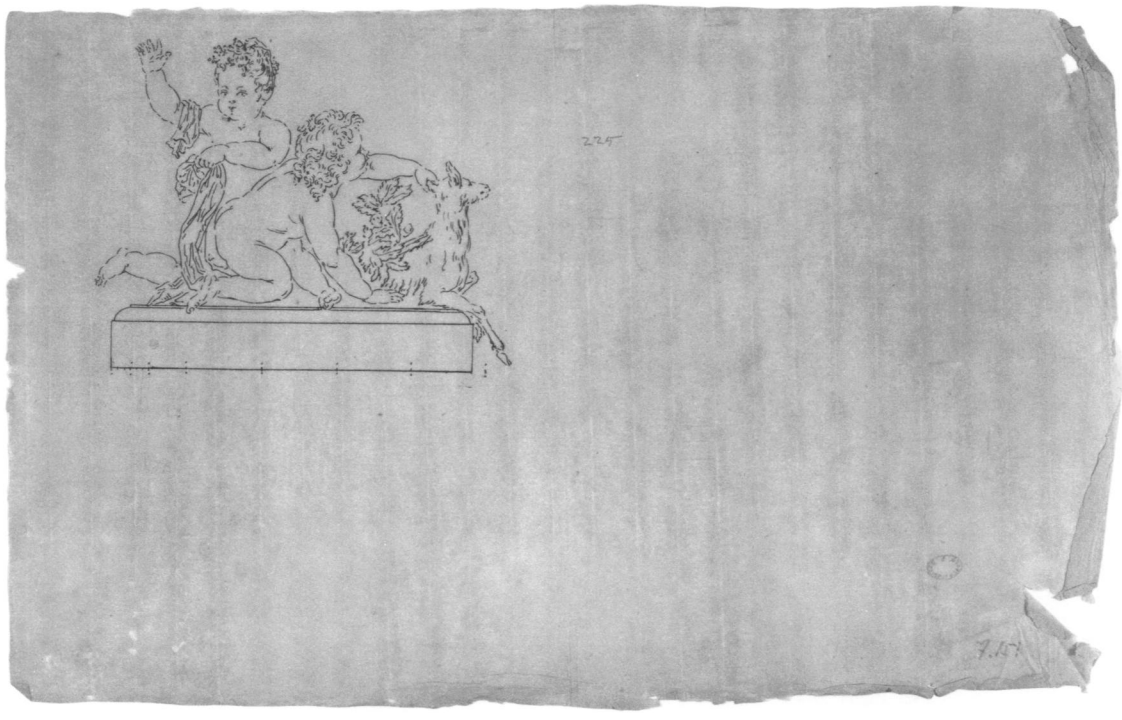


FIGURE 11
Drawing after a group of children by N. Coustou, F. Lespingola, and F. Hardy. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, THC 7151

Le Roi lui mit les mains sur les deux épaules, et lui dit qu'il étoit très content de ses services, et que, s'il en avoit mis un autre à Marly, ce n'étoit que pour empêcher qu'on ne le chagrinât.[44]

Louis XIV himself seems to have understood the futility of opposing the faction of Mansart, who, "habile et heureux courtisan,"[45] knew the importance of placing members of his family in key positions,[46] and of surrounding himself with people loyal to himself and his ideas.

44. *Sourches*, VI, p. 196.

45. Louis de Rouvroy, Duc de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, I (Paris, 1947–1961) p. 604.

46. After 1699, Robert de Cotte, the brother-in-law of Mansart, and Gabriel, his cousin, held important administrative positions in the *Direction des Bâtiments du Roi*. See Louis Hautecoeur, *Histoire de l'Architecture Classique en France* II (Paris, 1948) part 2, pp. 650–652;

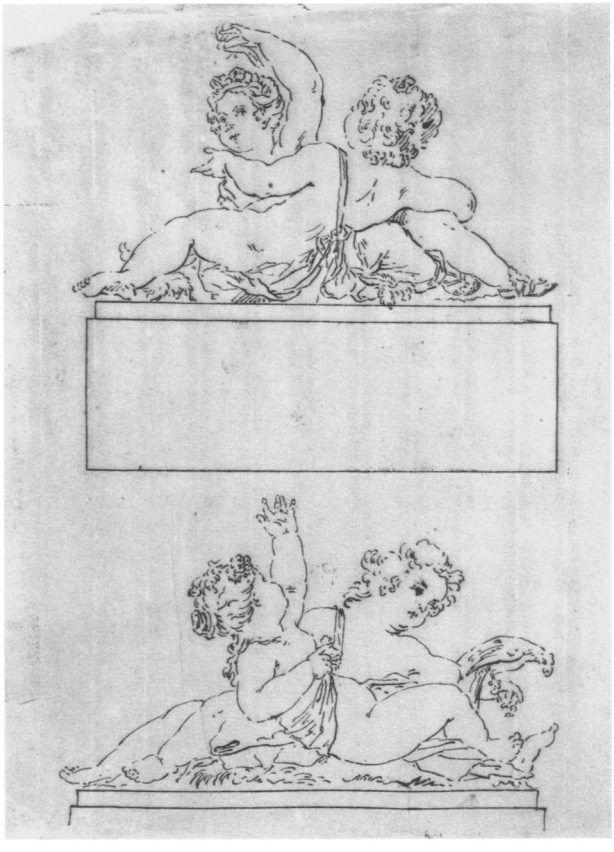


FIGURE 12
Drawing after two groups of children. Stockholm. Nationalmuseum, THC 7138

The Fame and Mercury of Coysevox were considered prodigious feats of virtuosity by his contemporaries, and called forth the same sort of comparisons with the sculpture of Antiquity as had Girardon's Baths of Apollo.[47] Each of these masterpieces occupied a prominent position and served as the sculptor's artistic manifesto. The elevation of Coysevox to a position of this pre-eminence, after a lifetime spent as a member of a royal team largely dominated by Girardon, was surely due to Mansart's intervention. It can be no accident that during his tenure as *Surintendant*, Coysevox and his nephews Nicolas and Guillaume Coustou were closely allied with the great projects at the Invalides, the altar of Notre-Dame, and Marly; Coysevox even executed Mansart's tomb.[48]

It has been suggested the replacement of Sébastien Slodtz and Jacques Prou by Nicolas Coustou and Corneille van Clève for two groups at the Grande Pièce d'Eau of Marly had political overtones.[49] Coustou and van Clève had already been favored with the second-best groups of the commission, the Seine and Marne and the Loire and Loiret; by concentrating the commissions in the hands of the Coysevox circle, it could be argued, Mansart attempted to consolidate his control of the sculptural activity, and thereby totally dominate both the design of the gardens and their sculptural decorations.[50]

In the career of Nicolas Coustou during these years, the pattern of favoritism is unmistakable. On July 27, 1700, the painter René Houasse, the director of the French Academy in Rome appointed by Mansart, wrote to the *Surintendant:*

for Robert de Cotte, see Bertrand Jestaz, *Le Voyage d'Italie de Robert de Cotte* (Paris, 1966). For the ennoblement of de Cotte and Gabriel in 1702 and 1704, as well as that of Jacques Desjardins in 1704, see Jules Guiffrey, *Lettres de noblesse accordées aux artistes français (XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles)* (Paris, 1873) pp. 9–15. Desjardins is called Mansart's nephew in his *lettres-patentes*, but in reality he was the husband of Mansart's niece, Marie-Julie-Radegonde Hardouin (Lorenz Seelig, "L'Inventaire après décès de Martin van Den Bogaert dit Desjardins, sculpteur ordinaire du roi (7 août 1694)," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* [1972] p. 163, note 7). Florent LeComte wrote in his notice on Martin Desjardins, 'Il a laissé un fils fort habile dans la Peinture, d'un esprit enjoüé, d'un genie éclairé, et qui est des plus entendus dans les Bâtimens." (*Cabinet des Singularitez* III [Paris, 1700] p. 135). This Jacques Desjardins, then, should not be confused with his cousin and homonym, Jacques Desjardins "sculpteur et mouleur" (for his career, see Seelig, "L'Inventaire de Martin Desjardins," p. 167, note 1); it is the latter who has been mentioned in connection with a series of bronzes representing the Seasons, but for a dissenting opinion, see Lorenz Seelig in the exhibition catalogue *Europäische Barockplastik am Niederrhein: Grupello und seine Zeit* (Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, 1971) nos. 365, 366.

47. See Fremel'huis, *Eloge de Coysevox* (Paris, 1720) p. 21. In his description, Fremel'huis emphasizes the tour de force of the sculptor who carved each figure from a single block of marble. The Baths of Apollo were admired by Dézallier d'Argenville (*Vies des Fameux Sculpteurs*, II, p. 216) for the number of figures combined in one composition, and evoked comparisons with the Farnese Bull and the Niobid Group.

48. Keller-Dorian, *Coysevox*, II, pp. 55–56, and François Souchal, "Notes sur les monuments funéraires du duc d'Angoulême à La Guiche et d'Hardouin-Mansart en l'église de Saint-Paul à Paris," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1972) pp. 158–159.

49. Souchal, *Les Slodtz*, p. 139.

50. The question of Le Nôtre's possible participation in the garden designs of Marly has been discussed by Runar Strandberg, "André LeNôtre et son école, dessins inédits ou peu connus dans la Collection Tessin-Harleman au Musée National de Stockholm," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1960) pp. 109–128; Liliane Chatelet-Lange, "LeNôtre et ses Jardins," *Art de France*, 4 (1964) pp. 302–304; and Gerold Weber, "Ein Kaskadenprojekt für Versailles, Zur Frage J. H. Mansart—A. Le Nôtre," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 37 (1974) pp. 248–268. Whatever may have been the case earlier, by the late 1690s Le Nôtre's position as garden designer had so eroded that Mansart should be considered the garden architect at Marly. Chatelet-Lange cites Florent-LeComte's inclusion in the list of works by Mansart "Le Palais de Marly avec tous les jardins" (p. 303, and LeComte, *Cabinet des Singularitez* I [Paris, 1699] p. aaij), which was probably more than mere flattery in a book dedicated to Mansart. It is true that Claude Desgotz, a nephew of Le Nôtre, was granted a continuation of his uncle's charge, which was considered an extraordinary honor, on January 14, 1699, six days after Mansart became *Surintendant* (*Sources*, VI, p. 110). However, his field of activity seems to have lain in private commissions and lesser royal châteaux. For an account of his career, see Runar Strandberg, "Claude Desgots und sein Projekt für den Garten in Schleissheim," *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 15 (1964) pp. 177–194, and, by the same author, "The French Formal Garden after Le Nostre," Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture III, *The French Formal Garden* (Washington, D.C., 1974) pp. 41–67. The 1694 statement of Cronström that Mansart had taken over the garden design at Marly (Weigert, Hernmarck, *L'Art en France et en Suède*, p. 44), the 1741 statement by Gabriel that at Marly "tous bâtiments, jardins, et fontaines ont été faits par les dessins et par les soins de M. Mansart" (cited by Chatelet-Lange as well as Pierre Bourget and Georges Cattaui, *Jules Hardouin-Mansart* [Paris, 1956] p. 19), and the stylistic evidence support this view. Finally, Le Nôtre's visit to the gardens of Marly upon the invitation of Louis XIV, about a month before his death in September 1700, makes sense only if he was unfamiliar with the new embellishments (Dangeau, VII, p. 373, and repeated by Saint-Simon, I, p. 755).

Le S[r] Coustou, mon gendre, m'a annouscé les bontés et l'estime dont vous l'honnorez et luy donnez des marques continuelles, et, ressamment, la grâce que vous luy avez faite de luy donner l'ouvrage et l'atelier de M. Girardon. Je ne peux, Monsieur, vous exprimer les sentiments de notre recognoissance; toutte ma famille ressent les effets de votre bonté.[51]

The "ouvrage" referred to may be the statue of Saint Louis for the façade of the Invalides, given to Coustou sometime before 1701, and which he finished after Girardon's model.[52] Meanwhile, Sébastien Slodtz, whose career had begun auspiciously due to his association with Girardon, was being denied the opportunities to distinguish himself. At the Invalides, while Coustou finished the statue of Saint Louis, Slodtz worked on interior reliefs. While Coustou executed the monumental Pietà for the altar of Notre-Dame, Slodtz's religious works for the Crown were made as part of the team at the Chapel of Versailles, or for *pompes funèbres*. While Coustou created his three famous seated figures for the *fer à cheval* of Marly, Slodtz was assigned one of a group of six figures for the Cascade Champêtre. LeLorain, another disciple of Girardon, and also the author of one of these figures, had enough sense of the situation to direct his career toward private commissions. Likewise, Jacques Prou, who was replaced at Marly by van Clève in 1701, worked only marginally for the royal projects directed by Mansart.[53]

If political reasons were definitely present, it is more difficult to judge if there was an aesthetic basis for the dismissal of Slodtz's model for Vertumnus and Pomona. Out of a total of six models made for the commission, only the drawing after Slodtz's composition and the small bronze version of van Clève's Bacchus and Ariadne remain. Yet, taking into account different media and scales, we can make certain observations. The most obvious is the different attitude toward the interrelationship of the two figures. Slodtz utilizes standing figures on a single plane; van Clève makes use of a floating figure that curves in a circular motion to confront a solidly anchored, seated figure. In illustrating a dramatic moment, the two artists betray totally different sensibilities. In Slodtz's composition, Vertumnus lowers his mask and reveals himself as the handsome suitor of the nymph Pomona, identified by her pruning hook, who leans on the stump of one of her fruit trees. The artist strives to reduce the narrative to the simplest elements. The van Clève group, on the other hand, exploits the divergence of the two figures to convey an erotically charged atmosphere and a sense of the mingled attraction and recoil in Ariadne's reaction to the sudden apparition of Bacchus. The origin of such a composition can be traced to Bernini's Ecstasy of Saint Theresa, either through a Genoese group of Time Unveiling Truth that was bought by the Crown in this period,[54] or, more probably, through van Clève's

51. Anatole de Montaiglon, ed., *Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les Surintendants des Bâtiments*, III (Paris, 1857–1908) p. 57. It is difficult to substantiate this transaction. It is known that in 1703 Nicolas Coustou replaced the geographer Guillaume Sanson in lodgings beneath the Grande Galerie ("Brevets de Logement dans la Galerie du Louvre," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 2 [1873] pp. 82, 116). Only in the 1706 edition of Germain Brice's *Description de Paris* is Coustou said to have an atelier in the courtyard, next to that of Girardon (see "Artistes occupant les ateliers du Louvre cités par Germain Brice," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 2 (1873) p. 118, and the concordance table of Germain Brice in Pierre Codet, ed., *Description de la Ville de Paris* [Paris, 1971] p. 35).

52. François Souchal, "Les Coustou aux Invalides," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 83 (1974) p. 258. The precise moment when the statue was given to Coustou is not known. But Girardon's eclipse could be dated in 1700, when his pension was reduced by half (Pierre Francastel, *Girardon* [Paris, 1928] p. 35, and Ragnar Josephson, "Les projets pour la Place Vendôme," *L'Architecture* 41 [1928] p. 91).

53. Little is known of the career of Prou. His *morceau de reception* at the Academy (1682) seems to have been devised as a tribute to Le Brun, to show the superiority of painting over sculpture and architecture (see "Jacques Prou, par Guillet de Saint-Georges," Louis Dussieux, Louis Soulié, eds., *Mémoires Inédits sur la Vie et les Ouvrages des Membres de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture* II [Paris, 1854] pp. 80–85). In at least two documents, Prou was called "sculpteur ord[re] du Roy et valet de chambre de Monsieur, frère unique de S.M." (1691) and "feu Jacques Prou, écuyer et valet de chambre de S.A.R. feu Monsieur" (1707), (Henri Herluison, *Actes d'état-civil d'artistes français* [Paris, 1873] p. 363), from which one might infer that he passed into the service of the Orléans branch of the royal family, perhaps after the death of Le Brun. At the end of his life, after a lengthy absence from the *Comptes des Bâtiments*, however, Prou appears in 1704 as the author of "une Nimphe, pour le bassin des carpes de Marly" (*Comptes*, IV, col. 1184; V, col. 41); this statue was acquired by the Louvre in 1974 (*Revue du Louvre* [1975] p. 58).

54. The payment to Jérôme Derbais was made December 20, 1702 (*Comptes*, IV, col. 853). Piganiol de la Force reports the work was brought from Genoa (*Nouvelle description des châteaux de Versailles et de Marly* [Paris, 1713] pp. 257–258); one inventory says "on le tient de l'écolle de Puget" (o[1]1968, piece no. 4, fols. 55–56); an inventory of 1788 calls it a "grouppe qui paroit avoir été fabriqué a Carare" (o[1]1965, fol. 3). See Furcy-Raynaud, "Les Statues du Jardin Public de Bolbec," p. 87.

own study of Bernini in Rome.[55] In his will to master the idiom of the Baroque group in his Bacchus and Ariadne, then, van Clève shares the preoccupations of the Coysevox circle.

Not the least important aspect of the commission of 1699, as reconstructed here, is the predominance of *groupes*, as opposed to single figures. This generic distinction was observed in eighteenth-century terms of classification, but the proper modern designation for the statues of les Nappes would be multifigure groups.[56] The size of these groups is indeed noteworthy. By 1702, when the Rivière was being decorated, the groups used consisted of only one adult accompanied by children, with the addition, in the case of Neptune and Amphitrite, of a hippocamp and dolphin respectively. This smaller format was subsequently exploited in the figures of Coysevox and Coustou for the *fer à cheval*, where the anecdotal relationship between the adult and single child was developed.

The commission of 1699 was distinctive in its use of four multifigure groups, and in the subtlety with which the figures were formally linked. The paired rivers of Coustou and van Clève differ from the paired gods and goddesses on the pillars of the Versailles Orangerie,[57] where little attempt was made to vary the pattern of two figures seated laterally, meant to be seen from either the front or the back. The Coustou and van Clève groups, on the contrary, are carefully disposed on their bases to form pleasing pendants when seen from their main points of view (an angle or the short side of their bases, as seen in Figure 4, rather than from their long sides). THC 5127 thus provides a valuable clue to the effect these ingeniously composed groups were meant to convey in their original site. Now, when they can be circumambulated, it is useful to recall how the vantage points from which one saw them were further controlled by the system of terraces and narrow walkways around the water (Figure 2).

The extent to which the intended site influenced the formal solutions of Coysevox's Fame and Mercury has also been insufficiently emphasized. The preternatural lightness of the riders and their strange sliding postures have attracted more attention. In fact, these qualities are functions of the skillful compositions, which must have accorded perfectly with the converging diagonals leading to the terrace above the Abreuvoir.[58] Once again, the visitor was channeled along a path circumscribed by a basin of water on one side and a steep precipice bounded by a wall on the other. There was only one angle from which he could first approach the statues. While the winged horses seemed to precede the viewer on a course parallel to his path, the equestrian figures, operating on an independent axis, turned back to address themselves to him. The subtle interplay of axes could only be adjusted at the site itself and on a full-scale model. The delay requested by Coysevox, from January or February 1699, to March 1699, to finish the large models on the terrace was said to be required by "des études importantes." Most likely it was this problem he was attempting to resolve.[59]

In my opinion, the figure of Fame should be seen ideally from a 135° angle, and Mercury from a 45° angle. This observation marks the gulf that divides them from Girardon's pictorial Aristaeus and Proteus and Ino and Melicerte, which, set against a background of clipped hedges, can be viewed from any point between 45° and 135°, although 90° is perhaps the most satisfactory. The late Girardon groups are tableaux, rivaling paintings, and like paintings, can be appreciated against virtually any neutral background. The Marly statues, on the contrary, suffer when removed from their original setting.

A greater tragedy than the loss of any part of Marly was the loss of the whole. A unity was achieved there between the sculpture and its setting that we can now perceive only in a fragmentary way. The main characteristic of the lower garden of Marly was precisely its openness.[60] After the 1699 reform of les Nappes, when

55. Describing van Clève's stay in Rome, the Comte de Caylus wrote, "Il y demeura six ans, et s'occupa principalement de l'étude du Bernin." *Mémoires Inédits* II, p. 74.

56. This term was used in connection with Florentine and French late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century bronze statuettes by Dr. Jennifer Montagu in her lecture on Florentine baroque bronzes.

57. Simon Thomassin, *Receuil de figures, groupes, termes, fontaines, vases et autres ornemens tels qu'ils se voyent à présent dans le château et le parc de Versailles* (Paris, 1694) nos. 72–75.

58. The same section of the garden represented in Figure 1 appears in the watercolor album $o^{1}1472$, fol. 35 (reproduced in Charles Maurichéau-Beaupré, "Le Château de Marly," *La Gazette Illustrée des Amateurs de Jardins* (1926–1927) pl. XIII).

59. $o^{1}1474$, fols. 17–18.

60. In relating an incident that took place in the spring of 1708, Saint-Simon characterized the lower garden: "M. de Beauvillier,

upper and lower basins were conflated into a vast, architectural paraphrase of shallow rapids leading to a lake,[61] Mansart designated sites for statuary groups where their vertical accents would emphasize the essential points of articulation.[62] The 1701 decoration of the terrace of the château of Marly was also the product of an architectural imagination: the lead sphinxes and groups of children, and also the shepherds and shepherdesses flanking the staircases by which one passed from one level of the terraces to another, were also three-dimensional counterparts to the ornaments painted in trompe-l'oeil frescoes, or false *stucchi*, on the façade of the royal pavilion. The progression from feigned sculpture to real, the distinction between the masculine Seine and Loire who, with scepterlike rudders seemed to loom over the rushing rapids, while the gentle river nymphs presided over the still waters of the lower level of les Nappes,[63] the ingenious exploitation of the terrace site of Fame and Mercury, such that in the *contre-jour* the supporting trophies appeared to dematerialize and the wings of the horses seemed to blend with the sky in a simulated apotheosis[64]—all these effects could be realized only because in 1699 the responsibilities for architecture, garden design, and sculpture were united under one hegemony.

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qui avoit envie de causer avec moi, me mena dans le bas du jardin vers l'Abreuvoir, où tout est à découvert, et où on ne peut être entendu de personne." Saint-Simon, II, p. 1013.

61. Mansart's use of rocaille work is a discreet reference to the natural motifs of rustication he otherwise represses. It is confined to carefully defined areas of his basins, and recalls Bernini's remark after visiting Antoine LePautre's cascade at Saint-Cloud: "il faut cacher l'art davantage et chercher de donner aux choses une apparence plus naturelle, mais qu'en France généralement en tout on fait le contraire," in Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Journal du voyage en France du cavalier Bernin* (Paris, 1930) p. 100.

62. Mansart's use of statuary with bodies of water has been lucidly characterized by Weber ("Ein Kaskadenprojekt für Versailles," pp. 264–265).

63. Curiously, the groups represented in the views of o¹1472, fol. 35 and in Figure 1 do not seem to be identical; one can only conclude they are free interpretations by the painters. I base my contention that the Rivers occupied the upper positions on the description of Piganiol, who lists them before the Nymphs, and on Rigaud's later, engraved "Vue du Chateau de Marli Prise de bas du grand parterre," in which, although the Rivers have already been removed and transported to the Tuileries, the Nymphs are seen in the positions I believe they had always occupied.

64. Fremel'huis, *Eloge*, p. 22.

Appendix 1

31 aout 99
Devis des ouvrages que le Roy veut faire faire a Marly pour mouler les groupes de figures qui sont autour de la grande piece deau, aux napes et a la teste du mur de Terrasse proche la breuvoir le tout pour estre fait a la fin du mois doctobre mil six cent quatre Vingt dix neuf suivant Les conditions cy apres declarées
Premierement
Les Entrepreneurs seront obligez de fournir de tous materiaux Ustancils et fers pour rendre lesdits ouvrages d'ans lentiere perfection, feront les voiturer de Marly a paris
Les deux groupes faites par monsieur Coisvox seront moulez et les moules voiturez a paris avec un platre livrez audit sieur Coisvox dans son astelier et les creux mis dans la salle des antiques ou aux Endroits qui seront marquez et si en Moulant les dittes groupes il se detruisoit quelque partie les mouleurs seront obligez de faire restablir a le. frais sous la conduitte dud. Sieur Coisvox
Les autres groupes aux nappes et au Tour de la grande piece d'eau seront moulés et un platre jetté sur le lieu pour remplacer sur les pieds d'Etaux au lieu et place des figures qui ont esté moulez et les dits platres seront reparez par les sculpteurs qui auront fait les groupes comme'aussy sera fourny a chaque sculpteur un platre des groupes qu'ils ont faits les dits mouleurs seront obligez de leur fournir le dit plâtre dans leur atelier et le creux aux endroits qui seront aussy marquez a paris
Tous Lesquels ouvrages seront bien et deum. faits et parfaits en sorte que monsieur Le surintendant en soit contant les Entrepreneurs seront obligez de fournir de Tous materiaux de plastre pur en pierre cuitte batue, passé au sacs le plus fin non Evanté, tous les fers necessaires et assés fortes les huilles et mastic, cordes ficelles ustancilles equipages et tout ce qu'il conviendra pour rendre les dits ouvrages faits et parfaits dans le vingt du mois D'octobre prochain moyennant le prix et somme cy apres declarées
Sçavoir
Pour chacun creux avec un plastre des groupes faits par le sieur Coisvox le creux voituré a paris et le plastre dans lastelier du sieur Coisvox la somme de Douze Cens Livres
Pour Chacun Creux et deux platres des groupes autour des nappes et au Tour de la piece d'Eau La somme de neuf cent Livres
Pardevant Les conseillers du Roy notaire gardenottes au Chastelet de Paris soussignez furent presens Jean le pilleur moule. demeurant rue champfleury au Louvre, Pierre Langlois demeurant rue neuve saint denis paroisse S^{t} Laurent, jacques Desjardins demeurant au Louvre, Pierre Varin demeurant sus dites Rüe Saint Denis, Jean Thiery demeurant au vieux Louvre et jean Robert Tous sculpteurs demeurant au dit Vieux Louvre les quels ont promis et se sont obligez sollidairement l'un pour Lautre un seul pour le tout sans discusion et fidejussion renonceans auxdits benefices Envers Sa Majesté acceptant par Messire Julles Hardouin Mansart conseiller du Roy en ses conseils surintendant Et ordonnateur general des Bastimens jardins arts Et manufactures de Sa Majesté Chevalier de lordre de saint Michele Conte de Sagonne a ce presan de faire bien et deuement comme il appartient Et a la satisfaction de Mon dit Seigneur surintendant, Tous les Ouvrages mentionnez au devis de lautre part et de la miere qu'ils y sont speciffiez moyennant les prix y declarez les quels prix mon dit seigneur surintenda. Promet faire payer aux dits entrepreneurs au fur et a meisure de la perfection des dits Ouvrages par les sieurs Tresoriers Generaux des Bastimens de Sa Majesté Et pour Lexecu'on des presentes les dits Entrepreneurs ont esleus leur Domicilles a paris ou ils sont demeurants aux quels lieux Nonob'tant. Promettant. Obligeant. Lesdits Entrepreneurs sollidairement Renonceans. fait Et Passé a Paris En lhotel de Mon dit Seigneur surintendant scis rüe des tournelles Le dernier Jour du mois Daoust Mil Six Cent Quatre Vingt dix neuf Et Ont signé ainsy signé hardouin Mansart, J. Lepileur, Langlois, P. Varin Dejardin, Thierry Jean Robert, Bailly, Sainfray
Lan mil sept Cent le douze Mars la presente Colla'on Acte faite par Les Conseillers du Roy Notaires gardenotes et gardescelles au Chastelet de paris soussignez sur la minutte originalle dudit Devis et marché est a. en la possession de De Mahault L'un des dits notaires co'e subrogé a loffice et pratique de Maitre Charles Sainfray cy devant notaire/.
Scellé lesd Maln'igne D Mahault
J^{o} jan

(o^{1}1465, piece no. 337)

Appendix 2

Un Grand Grouppe de deux figures de femmes assises sur un Rocher repn'tant deux Rivieres assises une desquelles est appuyée sur le Roc où elle est assise, tenant de la main gauche qu'elle a elevée, une Lamproye entortillée autour de son bras, sur la plinte est un Enfant couché qui luy présente un raiseau, lequel a plusieurs poissons derriére luy. L'autre figure de femme aussi presque nuë est en action de prendre de ses deux mains une grappe de raisin dans une Corbeille remplie de melons, grenades, et autres fruits et feuilles. sur le Roc est couché un Amour dont les aîles sont de Zephir, lequel de la main gauche luy presente du raisin, la droite appuyée sur son Carquois et à ses pieds son Arc, un grand aviron, des roseaux et Coquilles ornent le Roc et accompagnent la plinte qui a 8 pi. 3 po. de long sur 6 pi. 4 po. de large, les figures sont de la proportion de 8 pi. par M. Urterel.

Un Grouppe de deux figures de femmes assises sur des Roches repñtant deux Riviéres, dont une tient de la main gauche un grand feston de feuilles d'eau et de la droite qu'elle a baissée une Corne d'Abondance pleine de bled et de fruits différents. Elle est coeffée de feuilles de Roseau, ayant derriere elle une petite fille couchée sur le Roc. Elle est appuyée sur la main droite et met la gauche dans l'eau qui sort de dessous le roc, sur lequel sont de grosses plantes et Coquilles. L'autre figure aussi presque nuë ayant la main droite sur l'Epaule de la premiere tient du bras gauche a baissé un Aviron et est coeffée de roseau de grandes feuilles. Derriere elle est un Enfant qui tient un poisson en attitude d'en avoir peur. Il manque cinq doigts à la main gauche et un à la droite. La plinte et proportions comme cy devant par M. flamand.

(o[1]1969[A], fols. 168–169)

Appendix 3

Marly grand peron devant le Chau	Un Groupe en plomb repn'tant deux femmes assises sur une Terrasse, Lune Tenant une guenouille de la main droite a le bras gauche appuyé sur un mouton couché aupres d'Elle, de l'autre Costé un panier remply de Fuseaux et Chamire, Lautre femme tient une Simbale antique a la main gauche, et le Coude apuyé sur une draperie posé sur un tronc d'arbre, et une houlette aupres, et tenant de la main droite une baguette qui touche la simbale, une levrette Couchée a ses pieds qui pose la patte sur sa cuisse droite; figures de huit pieds ou environ, Le tout sur une Terrasse de unze pieds deux pouces de Long.
Marly grand peron devant le Ch'au	Un Groupe en plomb representant mercure et argus assis, mercure tient de sa main gauche un hautbois, un Bouc a costé de luy qui se moue La patte de derriere, argus est couché, Le bras droit apuyé sur une roche couverte d'une draperie, Tenant le Bout de ses Cheveux de Sa main, et écoutant Mercure ayant le bras gauche alongé sur le genouil droit tenant son baton, et la jambe gauche et le genouil appuyé sur son chien couché, Figures et plinte de même que le precedent, qui sont Ceintrez par les deux Bouts a oreille.

(o[1]1968, piece no. 5.)

Appendix 4

Marly autour du Chateau	Un sphinx coeffée d'un diademe avec des plumes, couverte dune draperie avec une Campanne et des fils de perles et pierreries pendues au Col, ayant trois pieds huit pouces de haut y Compris sa plinte.
Idem	Un autre Sphinx coeffée Idem ayant une draperie sur Le Dos avec des phalbalats et une fraize au Tour du Col, ayant Trois pieds huit pouces de haut y Compris sa plinte.
Marly autour du Chateau	Un autre Sphinx coeffé d'un diademe en Coquille, une draperie brodée par le bord et des houpes tombantes de distance en distance, une chaine garnie de pierreries qui luy pend sur Lestomac, et Va sur L'epaule droite ayant de hauteur, Trois pieds, six po.

Idem — Un autre Sphinx ayant une écharpe autour de la Teste, Sa draperie fourée et une maniere de Teste avec des brandebourgues, ayant de haut trois pieds six pouces.

Idem — Un Sphinx coeffée dun diademe, dans le milieu est un Ruby, entouré de perles, une boucle de cheveux luy pend sur lepaule liée avec des perles, une Chemise sur le Col ou paroist une dantelle avec sa draperie noüée sur le devant ou pend deux houpes, ayant de hauteur trois pieds six pouces.

Marly autour du Chateau — Un sphinx Coeffé dune draperie a frange avec une houpe, une housse sur le Corps a frange et a broderie une maniere de Colleret gottique hauteur Idem.

id. — Un Sphinx Coeffé avec des fleurs et un Bandeau garny de pierreries sa housse ornée de baton rompu Ayant de hauteur, Trois pieds six pouces.

Marly autour du Chateau — Un Sphinx coeffé d'un diademe une perle entreles deux rouleaux et deux bouts d'echarpe qui luy tombe par derriere le rond de ses cheveux une housse brodé sur Le Corps avec trois houpes de chaque Costé, et un fleuron d'ornemens sur lestomac ou est attaché un ruban qui soutient sa draperie, ayant de hauteur trois pieds six pouces, Les plintes ont dix pouces de haut, et de larg^{r} quatre pieds neuf pouces, Longeur deux pieds, quatre pouces.

(O^{l}1968, piece no. 5)

Appendix 5

Idem — Un Groupe d'enfans, representant une Jeune fille (qui tient un Scept de Vignes) et un petit garçon qui se joue avec un Singe, ayant de hauteur trois pieds quatre pouces, y Compris la plinte, Les enfans de 4 pieds ou environ.

Marly autour du Chateau — Un Groupe d'enfans representant une jeune fille qui tient un Ceps de Vignes et raisins a un petit garcon qui fait manger du raisin des feuilles a un Bouc qui est entr'eux mesures Idem

Idem — Un Groupe idem representant une jeune fille qui montre de la main droite une grape de raisin a un Panterre et le Bras gauche apuyé sur un tambour de basque, Et le Garçon tient le panterre du bras droit, et a dans Le bras gauche un Cept ou est une pome de pin, entouré d'un cept de vignes id.

Marly autour du Chateau — Un Grouppe representant un jeune garçon qui tient un chevreuil par Loreille. une jeune fille qui a la main droite levée pour donner sur la fesse du garçon et Levant de la gauche un bout de draperie.

Marly autour du Chateau — Un Groupe representant (deux enfans) un garçon Tenant un arc levé ayant un Carquois attaché derriere le Dos, et Lautre est apuyé, Soutenant Laisle dun aigle, et un feston de fleurs par dessus le corps de laigle mesures Id.

idem — Un Groupe representant une jeune fille qui se joüe avec un Cigne et le garçon tient un oiseau sur le point gauche, et de la main droite Tient des filets dans lequel sont des oiseaux mesures Id.

Marly autour du Chateau — Un Groupe d'enfans representant une jeune fille coeffée ayant une draperie sur la Teste avec une plume, apuyée du bras gauche sur un Coffret remply de pierreries, et de la main droite, Tenant un diamant ou pend une perle, le garçon a une épée a sa Ceinture et montre un miroir a la fille, Mesures id.

idem — Un Groupe Idem representant une jeune fille qui tient un arc dans sa main droite, elle est coeffée avec des fleurs, le bras gauche levé regardant une levrette. Tenant de la main droite un arc et un Carquois remply de fleches a Son Costé, Le petit garçon Tenant La levrette d'une main, un faisan entre deux et un Corps de Chasse derriere sa fesse gauche mesures idem.

(O^{l}1968, piece no. 5)

The Memorable Judgment of Sancho Panza: A Gobelins Tapestry in the Metropolitan Museum

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NEW TAPESTRY DESIGNS were badly needed when the Gobelins manufactory reopened in 1699 after five years of inactivity; the splendid compositions of Le Brun must have begun to seem old-fashioned and rather heavy-handed. Certainly the first new series ordered by Jules Hardouin Mansart, who had just been made Surintendant des Bâtiments, the Portières des Dieux, is very different. Each piece shows a deity sitting gracefully on a cloud under an airy canopy, but most of the surface of the tapestry is open, providing a field for children, animals, birds, and masses of flowers. Thirty-six of these tapestries were made before 1703, as the royal palaces had an insatiable appetite for portieres; they were also eminently suitable for presents. The designs were woven throughout the eighteenth century; well over two hundred individual pieces are recorded.

The designers had, in fact, hit upon a most successful formula for tapestries: clearly delineated central figures, dominating the composition, but small in comparison with the total area, amid a wealth of delightful accessories. It is basically the same scheme that the makers of millefleurs tapestries had used two hundred years earlier.

But the designs of the Portières des Dieux could not well be enlarged to make wall hangings and only some years later was the same general idea used for wide tapestries. What was to be the most frequently repeated Gobelins series of the eighteenth century was begun about 1714 with a set of ten very narrow pieces (1.30 m. wide) and five not much larger (2.30 m.) showing scenes from *Don Quixote*; the book was at that time extremely popular in France.[1] Instead of a central figure, like the gods of the Portières, each tapestry has a small picture in the middle of an elaborate setting, the *alentour*. Charles Coypel received 200 livres for the design of each picture, but the alentour was worth 1100 to Jean Baptiste Blin de Fontenay.[2] At the top of each tapestry is a medallion with the named bust of a paladin, one of the Don's heroes, such as Amadis, Roland, and "Palmerin Dolive"; one is called, curiously, Roncevaux. The Coypel picture is in an elaborate, flower-bedecked frame and below it are piles of armor and banners, with an inscription giving the subject of the central scene. The yellow background is made up of shaded squares called a *mosaïque simple*. The fifteen

1. Maurice Bardon, "*Don Quichotte*" *en France au XVII^e at au XVIII^e Siècle*, I (Paris, 1931) p. 370.

2. Maurice Fenaille, *Etat général des Tapisseries de la Manufacture des Gobelins, Periode du dix-huitième Siècle, Première Partie* (Paris, 1904) pp. 157–282, gives an account of all the Don Quixote sets. For the value of the livre, see p. 206, where the pay earned by a weaver in a week in 1749 is given as from seven to fifteen livres.

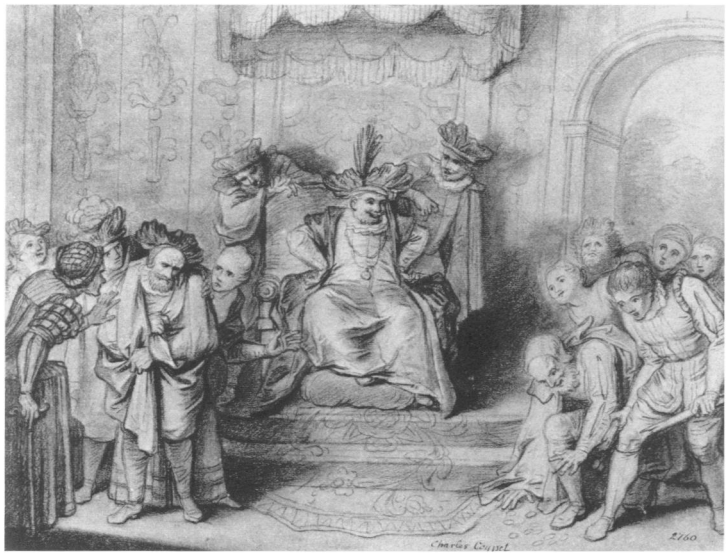


FIGURE 1
Charles Coypel, The Memorable Judgment of Sancho Panza. Black chalk on paper. National Museum, Stockholm (photo: courtesy National Museum)

FIGURE 2
F. Joullain after Charles Coypel, The Memorable Judgment of Sancho Panza. Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Helen O. Brice, 42.64.8

scenes of the first set take Don Quixote from his leaving home to his recovery from madness, but do not include a Memorable Judgment of Sancho.[3]

The series evidently pleased the then Surintendant des Bâtiments, the Duc d'Antin, as he ordered a set for himself in 1721 or 1722. He wanted all new paintings from Coypel and he wanted wide wall hangings, so a new alentour was designed, under Coypel's direction; it was the work, principally, of Claude Audran, who had some part in the first alentour, many elements of which were preserved. Some of the motifs, probably flowers, were by Fontenay the Younger, and the animals were probably added by François Desportes. Coypel himself designed the two nude children lying on top of the frame of the central scene, replacing the medallions of the paladins; these, now nameless, were moved down to hang on either side. The piles of armor and flags at the bottom were greatly enlarged; some books, presumably the knightly romances that drove Don Quixote mad, and a dog were added on one side and some of the sheep that he mistook for an army on the other. A peacock appears at the top and a monkey clings to the flower garland on either side. The yellow background was given a more elaborate pattern, called a *mosaïque d'ornements*. This alentour was expressly made "pour être alongé ou retrécy suivant la largeur," according to the description by Garnier d'Isle, director of the Gobelins, in 1749.[4]

The Memorable Judgment is included in this, the second set. Coypel's painting was made in 1727. His price had gone up; he asked 2000 livres and got 1200. The preliminary drawing is in the National Museum, Stockholm[5] (Figure 1); the *modèle*, or cartoon, is in the Château de Compiègne, unfortunately in too damaged a condition to be reproduced, but its composition is faithfully reflected, reversed, in a print by F. Joullain (Figure 2). The tapestries, when woven on *haute-lisse* looms (Figures 3, 4), are in the same direction as the cartoon. In tapestries of this type, it is important that

3. The only set of this design was in the collection of the Marquis de Venevelle, sold at the Galerie Charpentier, Paris, December 8, 1953, and that of the Antenor Patiño, Estoril, sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, June 9, 1976 ("Pièces choisies dans la collection Patiño," *Connaissance des Arts* 210 [August, 1969] pp. 58, 63).

4. Fenaille, *Etat général*, p. 174.

5. *Exposition Don Quixote*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Pau, 1955, no. 19, pl. VIII.

FIGURE 3
Workshop of Michel Audran, 1747–49, Gobelins manufactory, Paris. The Memorable Judgment of Sancho Panza. Tapestry. Palazzo Reale, Turin (photo: Aschieri)

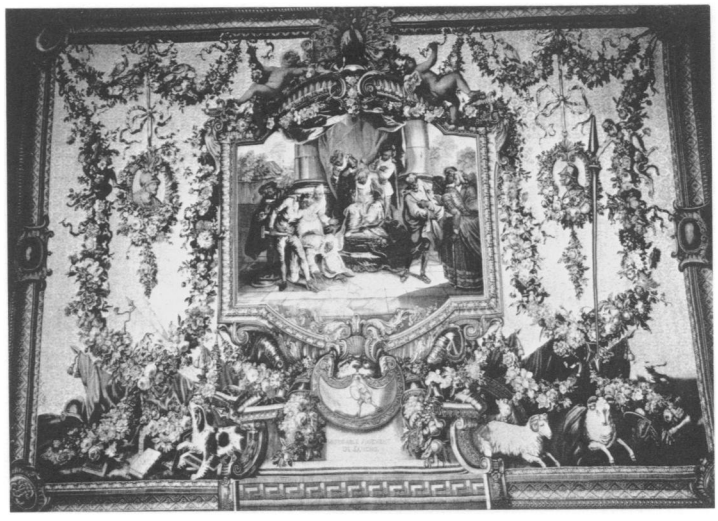
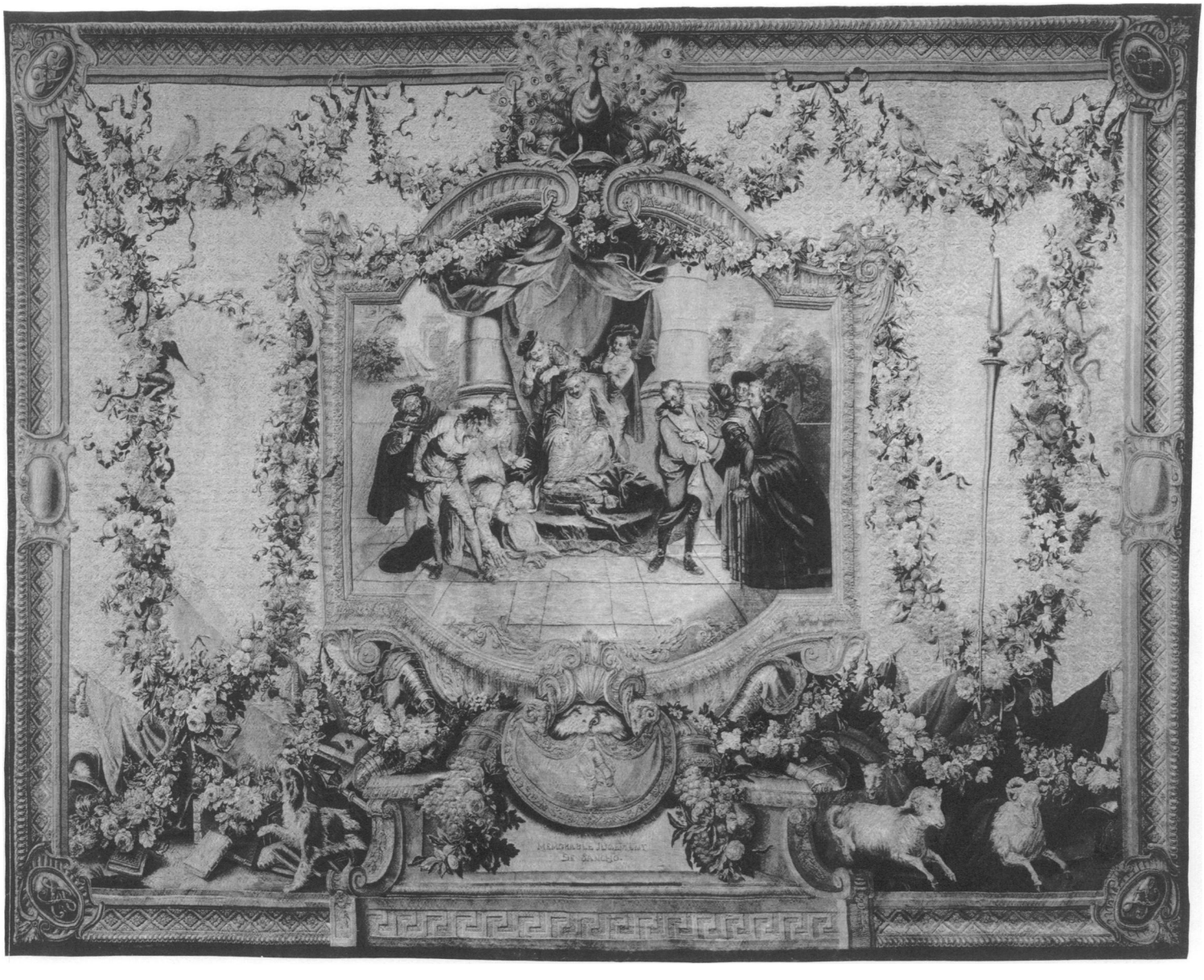


FIGURE 4
Workshop of Michel Audran, 1752–54, Gobelins manufactory, Paris. The Memorable Judgment of Sancho Panza. Tapestry. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Mrs. Nanaline H. Duke and Miss Doris Duke, 52.215



the compositions in the center be sufficiently forceful so as not to be swamped by the richness of the alentour. Comparing the drawing and the print, one sees how Coypel strengthened his design, breaking up the rather stolid masses of the figures, giving depth by putting distant landscapes on both sides and, most importantly, emphasizing Sancho by flanking him with massive columns, topped by a gigantic piece of drapery. The artist making a picture to be reproduced in tapestry in the eighteenth century knew what to aim for. Jean Baptiste Le Prince, when he showed three paintings at the Salon of 1776, wrote that they were intended to be executed in tapestry at the Beauvais manufactory; he had consequently been obliged

tant pour les effets que pour la touche, de se prêter au genre & à la possibilité de l'exécution de ces sortes d'Ouvrages, qui, faits uniquement pour amuser les yeux dans les Appartemens, semblent exiger partout de la clarté & des richesses de détail.[6]

All Coypel's paintings for this series show his tendency, often commented upon, to arrange his characters as if they were on the stage; he was, in fact, an indefatigable, though usually unsuccessful, playwright.[7] Voltaire wrote of him, unkindly,

> On dit que notre ami Coypel
> Imite Horace et Raphaël;
> A les surpasser il s'efforce
> Et nous n'avons point aujourd'hui
> De rimeur peignant de sa force,
> Ni peintre rimant comme lui.[8]

The most dramatic moment in the incident was chosen. The moneylender has just, at Sancho's command, broken the stick that has been handed to him by the borrower; the coins, which one swore he had returned and the other swore he had never received, are scattered on the ground, to the amazement of everyone, except the borrower—and Sancho. A book of prints mostly after Coypel was published in 1746 by Pierre de Hondt, who wrote in his introduction that the artist had gone to immense trouble to represent the "moeurs, coutumes, habillements et autres usages d'Espagne";[9] in the Memorable Judgment, indeed, the costume known in France as "à l'espagnole" is conspicuous, though it is more reminiscent of an earlier century than it is of Spain.

The Duc d'Antin soon decided he did not wish to pay for the set he had ordered for himself, and that it should be made for the king. Weaving continued in a leisurely way until 1735. Coypel provided a painting a year from 1719 until 1727, three more in 1731, 1732, and 1734, and a final one, the twenty-eighth, in 1751; he died the following year. The third weaving, made about 1733, was a small one, and the fourth, of 1746 to 1749, contained twelve pieces; it was sold as a whole to the Duke of Parma in 1749 and is in the Palazzo Reale, Turin. But from this time until almost the end of the century the Don Quixote tapestries were continuously on the Gobelins looms and there was no question of producing sets of a reasonable number of tapestries for a single use. There were thirty pieces in the fifth weaving, twenty-three in the sixth, fourteen in the seventh and no less than sixty-seven in the eighth. These "sets," which can be distinguished by their backgrounds or the type of loom they were woven on, often repeat subjects and include narrow *trumeaux* and portieres; sometimes there are alentours without central pictures, or pictures without alentours. It is clear that the weavers were producing a stock of popular tapestries from which suitable selections could be made by the king at any time for any purpose. As Garnier d'Isle wrote in 1752:

Cette tenture a la commodité de pouvoir estre séparée en autant et si peu de pièces que l'on veut, et d'autant plus convenable à faire des présents du Roy aux Princes ou aux Ambassadeurs.[10]

One such use is well documented.[11] A certain M. Michel (of whom more later) gave a message from the

6. Jean Seznec and Jean Adhémar, *Diderot Salons*, III (Oxford, 1963) p. 30.

7. Florence Ingersoll-Smouse, "Charles-Antoine Coypel," *Revue de l'Art* 37 (1920) p. 145.

8. J. J. Foster, ed., *French Art from Watteau to Prud'hon*, II (London, 1906) p. 45.

9. Bardon, "*Don Quichotte*," p. 497; Jean Seznec, "Don Quixote and his French illustrators," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 24 (1948) pp. 176, 177.

10. Fenaille, *Etat général*, p. 230.

11. The transaction is described and the documents published in Fenaille, *Etat général*, pp. 43, 230–233, and Jean Mondain-Monval, *Correspondance de Soufflot avec les Directeurs des Bâtiments* (Paris, 1918) pp. 92, 98–101.

Marquis de Marigny, then the Directeur des Bâtiments, to Jacques Germain Soufflot, in charge of the Gobelins manufactory, some time before August 24, 1758, the date when Soufflot wrote to Marigny:

J'ai eu l'honneur de vous dire que j'avais donné ordre de délivrer ce qui était prêt de la tenture dont est chargé M. *Michel* pour la Russie, en conséquence de ce qu'il m'en avait dit de votre part à la Muette, afin que cette partie pût arriver à temps au vaisseau qu'il fait partir; il m'a paru que vous approuviez ce que j'avais fait; cette délivrance consiste dans deux pièces de *Don Quichotte* que l'on a réunies pour faire la grande dont il avait besoin, trois *Portières des Dieux*, un écran, un sopha, et huit fauteuils à fleurs et ornements.

Marigny answered on September 2 that Soufflot would receive "incessament" the written order to deliver "la tenture de tapisserie dont M. Michel est chargé pour la Russie." The agenda for the *travail du roi* on September 17 included the item: "Au comte de Woronzow, vice-chancelier de Russie, une tenture de tapisserie des Gobelins, 12 fauteuils et 2 canapés." The set consisted of the Cowardice of Sancho, Don Quixote and Sancho on the Wooden Horse, the Judgment of Sancho and Don Quixote Given Drink through a Reed. It was the first two subjects that, as Soufflot wrote, had been joined to make a single piece; they are named in the bill submitted by the "tapissier rentrayeur," Vavoque, in 1759.[12]

Nothing more is heard of the gift until March 20, 1759, when Soufflot wrote to Marigny:

On a fini la tenture de *Don Quichotte* que vous aviez ordonnée pour M. le Comte de Woronzow, ainsi que les fauteuils, canapés et écrans. J'ai appris ces jours derniers de M. Bouffé, banquier, que M. *Michel* avait chargé de faire partir ce qui nous reste, que ce qui avait été livré l'année dernière était dans un vaisseau qui avait échoué du côté de Hambourg; il ignore encore, Monsieur, si la pièce principale et les fauteuils et sopha qui étaient de cet envoi seront perdus; il espère même qu'ayant été encaissées avec soin elles n'auront peut-être pas été gâtées, si elles n'ont pas resté longtemps dans l'eau. Je lui demandai s'il avait des ordres pour le départ de ce qui nous reste; il n'en a point, il espère que M. Michel viendra bientôt; ainsi, Monsieur, à moins qu'avant son arrivée il ne lui vienne quelque lettre pour cela, je ne vous demanderai pas vos ordres pour la délivrance, et on les mettra en magasin dans la manufacture.

M. Michel apparently did not arrive and on July 22 Marigny ordered the tapestries to be handed over to Bouffé and Dangirard; they gave a receipt for a Memorable Judgment, Don Quixote Given Drink through a Reed, and "6 pièces de trumeaux pour servir à la dite tenture . . . plus un canapé, un écran et 4 fauteuils complets" on July 28. Soufflot forwarded it to Marigny on August 22, writing:

Monsieur, j'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer la récépissé de MM. Bouffé et Dangirard des tapisseries et meubles de la manufacture royale des Gobelins qu'on leur a livrés suivant vos ordres pour envoyer à Son Excellence M. le Comte de Woronzow. Les deux premières pièces ont été réunies en une, suivant les mesures que M. *Michel* en avait données. . . . Les deux autres pièces ont aussi été rentrayées pour les ajuster aux places pour lesquelles elles étaient un peu trop grandes; c'est au moyen de ces opérations que l'on est parvenu à livrer, suivant la demande, cette tenture qui aurait exigé bien du temps pour la faire exprès, comme on a fait les six trumeaux.

The total cost of the four hangings, six trumeaux (especially designed by a painter called Boizot, and all finished by March 10, 1759), two sofas, two screens, and twelve armchairs was 31,810 livres, as recorded in the *Livre de Présents du Roi*. The payment was an interdepartmental one, made by the Affaires Etrangères to the Bâtiments du Roi for a third less than the actual cost of the material.[13]

Why did Louis XV give this expensive present to "Son Excellence M. le Comte de Woronzow," or Count Michael Illarionovich Vorontsov, as he is usually called in English? The Seven Years' War was raging in 1758 and it was important to tilt Russia to the French side. On February 9, 1758, the French Foreign Minister

12. The curious appearance of two pieces joined together is illustrated by an example of a later set in the Mobilier National (Seznec, "Don Quixote," p. 176, fig. 4). The repetition of the alentour is not attractive. But the Vorontsov order may have suggested that two pictures or more could be placed on a single tapestry with an alentour designed for the purpose, a scheme that was brilliantly carried out in the Tentures de François Boucher; Maurice Jacques's first sketch for one of these, with three pictures, was made in 1758 (Fenaille, *Etat général, Deuxième Partie* (1907) pl. facing p. 228). The Metropolitan Museum has an example with two pictures in the Croome Court tapestry set.

13. Mondain-Monval, *Correspondance*, p. 145, note 1.

wrote to the ambassador in St. Petersburg, telling him to offer money and a set of Gobelins tapestries to the Grand Chancellor, Bestuzhev, but by February 21 Vorontsov, his assistant, had become Grand Chancellor.[14] Fifty thousand rubles, or 250,000 livres, called a loan, and the Gobelins tapestries went to him instead.[15] Catherine the Great, then merely the hated wife of the heir to the throne, speaks of Vorontsov in her memoirs as a lover of France; for him, she says cattily, "Louis XV, by way of a bribe had furnished a house in Petersburg with old furniture, which had first belonged to his mistress, the Marquise de Pompadour, who, when she began to tire of it, sold it to her royal lover at a profit."[16] There is no evidence to support this unlikely tale. Vorontsov's palace, by Rastrelli, was, says his niece, Princess Dashkova, "furnished in the best and latest European style and could truly be called princely."[17]

Soufflot's letter of August 22, 1759, already quoted, shows that "M. Michel" had given the dimensions needed for all three tapestries, one to be made very wide and the other two slightly narrower than usual. One might hazard a guess that the room where these tapestries were to hang had no fireplace on the long side facing the windows, being heated by stoves, so that a single very wide piece was needed to cover this wall. "M. Michel" has been identified with a Gobelins weaver of this name,[18] but this is impossible; for one thing, the weaver, in accordance with his lowly status, was always called "sieur," not "Monsieur," which indicated a gentleman. The "M. Michel" of this transaction is certainly the same man who appears in a number of contemporary accounts, the son of a French craftsman brought to Russia by Peter the Great.[19] In 1752, the French minister at Hamburg wrote about him to the Affaires Etrangères in Paris, describing him as a "marchand de gallanterie":

since he was raised in the palace he has been favored there and the nobles buy from him in preference to others. His successes have encouraged him and made him extremely energetic. He has already made seven or eight trips to France in great secrecy to buy merchandise and make purchases for the members of the court.

As a result of this letter, presumably, Michel became a go-between for the pro-French party in Russia, especially Vorontsov, and the French government.[20]

The interior of the Vorontsov palace in St. Petersburg was destroyed by fire at the end of the eighteenth century, and the palace became the headquarters of the Knights of Malta during the reign of the Emperor Paul (1796–1801).[21] Nothing has been heard of the large Don Quixote tapestry or the furniture, if indeed they survived the shipwreck near Hamburg, mentioned by Soufflot.

Several designs for sofa covers give an idea of what the upholstery probably looked like. The earliest, for a seat, is in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 5); it is inscribed in a contemporary hand "Meuble pour Madame la Régente, 1721. La maitresse de Don Quichote." The name "Ant. Coypel" was certainly added by someone who knew that a Coypel had designed the Don Quixote tapestries, but not which. The ground of this drawing is a plain pale blue, so it is less likely to represent the design of the Vorontsov sofas than are four drawings for two sofas in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (Figures 6, 7), which have the yellow mosaïque d'ornements ground of all the tapestries from the second through the sixth sets. A tapestry sofa back formerly on the New York art market (Figure 8) reproduces one of the designs in Paris; a companion piece for the seat (Figure 9) does not seem to be in its original form. Perhaps it has been put together from two chairs. All the designs are clearly related to

14. L. Jay Oliva, *Misalliance, a Study of French Policy in Russia during the Seven Years War* (New York, 1964) pp. 86–89.

15. K. Waliszewski, *La Dernière des Romanovs, Elizabeth I^er^, Impératrice de Russie, 1741–1762* (Paris, 1902) p. 470. He also received volumes of engravings, sumptuously bound, and a valuable cabinet of medals (Tamara Talbot Rice, *Elizabeth Empress of Russia* [New York, 1970] p. 154). Oliva, *Misalliance*, p. 89, names 250,000 livres as the bribe.

16. Dominique Maroger, ed., *The Memoirs of Catherine the Great*, trans. Moura Budberg (New York, 1961) p. 253. Catherine is also quoted as saying of Vorontsov: "Hypocrite comme personne, en voilà un qui était à qui voulait le payer; pas un cour à lequelle il n'émargeât" (Grand Duke Nicolas Mikhailowitch, *Portrait russes des XVIII^e^ et XIX^e^ Siècles*, II (St. Petersburg, 1906) no. 205.

17. *The Memoirs of Princess Dashkov*, trans. & ed. Kyril Fitzlyon (London, 1958) p. 38. The editor repeats Catherine's story, but gives no reference for it.

18. Mondain-Monval, *Correspondance*, p. 92, note 1.

19. Waliszewski, *Dernière des Romanovs*, p. 395. The father is described as an "ouvrier drapier de Rouen," but Peter the Great also employed a Jean Michel, a joiner from France; he made the table at Peterhof that could be raised and lowered (Christopher Marsden, *Palmyra of the North* [London, 1942] pp. 61, 69).

20. Oliva, *Misalliance*, pp. 7, 35, 126, 131; Rice, *Elizabeth*, p. 130.

21. Rice, *Elizabeth*, p. 215. It is listed in modern guidebooks to Leningrad, but without indication of its present use.

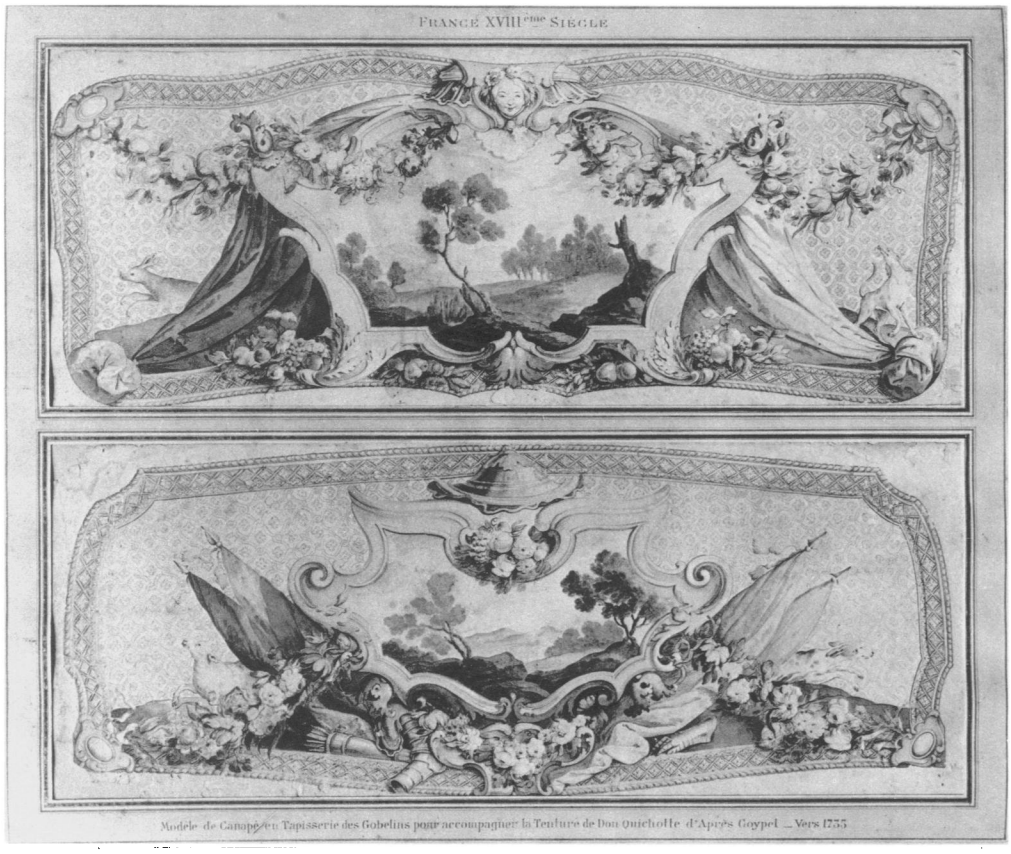
the Don Quixote alentour. The Don Quixote Given Drink through a Reed of the Vorontsov set is not known to exist, but the Memorable Judgment of this set can be identified as the tapestry in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 4).

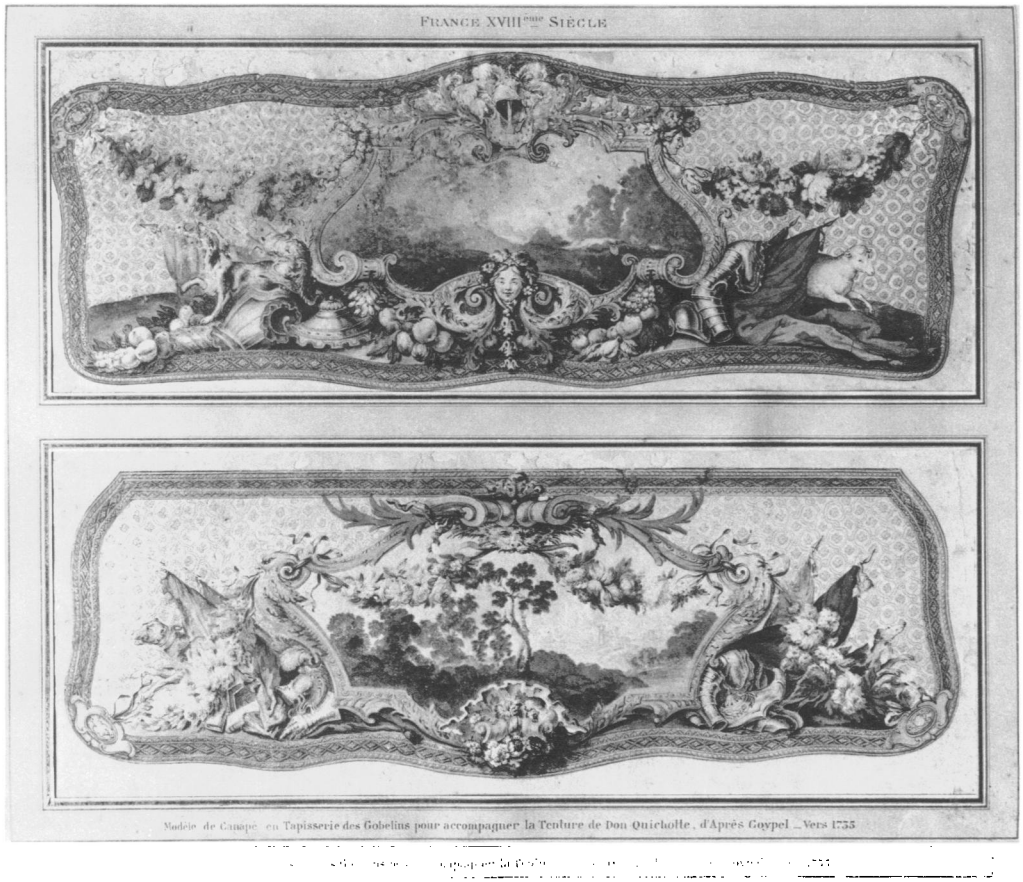
This tapestry was given by Mrs. Nanaline H. Duke and her daughter Doris Duke in 1952. Nothing was known of its history, except that it had been acquired by Benjamin Duke, probably about 1912. The ground is the yellow mosaïque d'ornements that was used for the second through the sixth weavings only. The Memorable Judgment of the second set, all twelve pieces of which were given to the Spanish ambassador in 1745, is in the Italian National Collection in Rome. The third set had a different, much simpler, alentour. The fourth was sold to the Duke of Parma in 1749; the Judgment is in the Palazzo Reale, Turin (Figure 3). The fifth set had a different alentour and the Judgment from it is in the Mobilier National, Paris. Thus the example in the Metropolitan Museum must be the one from the sixth weaving, begun in April, 1752, and finished on December 24, 1754, in the haute-lisse workshop of Michel Audran, which is known to have been the piece given to Count Vorontsov.[22]

When the tapestry came off the loom it was 3 ⅛ aunes high and 4 13/16 aunes wide. These are almost the same dimensions as those given for the piece now in Turin when it was completed. The alentour was originally the same on both, except that Coypel's two children on top of the frame were omitted in the sixth set. The other

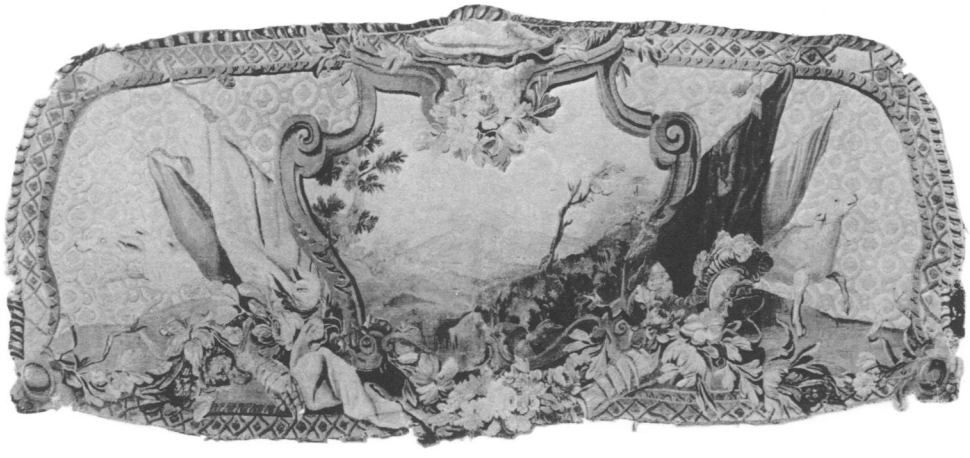
22. Fenaille, *Etat général, Première Partie*, p. 281, lists all the weavings. Some others of the twenty-three pieces of the sixth set are known to exist. Of six sold to a Treasury official, Jean Paris de Marmontel, in 1763, Don Quixote Attacking the Puppets belonged to Wildenstein & Co. in 1923 (Phyllis Ackerman, "Tapestries of five centuries, VII: The weavers of the Louis periods," *International Studio* 77 [1923] p. 61, illus.); the Theft of Sancho's Ass was in the Katharine Deere Butterworth sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, October 21–23, 1954, no. 505, illus.; the Ball at Barcelona was in the MM.X . . . sale, 19 Avenue d'Iéna, Paris, December 16, 1933, no. L, illus.; and Don Quixote Mistaking a Barber's Basin for the Helmet of Mambrino was in the Ean F. Cecil sale, Sotheby's, London, May 14, 1943, no. 134, illus. The four pieces sold to Mme Véron in 1763 were in the collections of the Marquis of Hertford, Richard Wallace, the Baron de Gunzbourg, Clarence Mackay (1926), and Mrs. Robert Z. Hawkins (Robert Cecil, "The Hertford-Wallace collection of tapestries," *Burlington Magazine* 100 [1958] p. 101). Don Quixote and the Enchanted Head, in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, is one of eight pieces given in exchange for furniture to the *marchand tapissier* Charles Henry Poussin in 1773.

FIGURE 5
Design for sofa seat with head of Dulcinea. Oil and colored wash on paper. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Wrightsman, 1970.522.1





FIGURES 6, 7
Designs for sofa backs and seats. Watercolors on paper. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (photo: courtesy Musée des Arts Décoratifs)



FIGURES 8, 9
Gobelins manufactory, Paris, eighteenth century, sofa back and seat. Tapestry. Present location unknown

differences between the two tapestries today are explained in Vavoque's bill of April 5, 1759, already mentioned:

Rentraiture faite à la piece du *Jugement de Sancho* pour former une pièce de 14 pieds 8 pouces de cours; il a fallu rapprocher les bordures, guirlandes, drapeaux et animaux et remettre des morceaux de mosaïque à la place des médaillons que l'on a levé pour ladite rentraiture 20 a (aunes) 6 s. (seizièmes) à 6 l (livres) . . . . . 122 l. 5

Ouvrage à l'aiguille pour accorder et achever la mosaïque, feuillage, branches et autres accessoires, 42 journées à 3 l. . . . . 126 l

The new width of 14 pieds 8 pouces exactly corresponds to the 15 feet 9 inches of the Metropolitan Museum tapestry. When this piece is compared with the Turin example (Figure 3), Vavoque's changes are apparent, the most conspicuous being the removal of the medallions with helmeted heads. On close study, small inconsistencies can be found. The two swags of flowers on either side at the top have somewhat awkward curves and the two birds standing on the right-hand swag are exactly alike, a solecism no Gobelins designer would perpetrate. In the lower right corner, above the helmet that is so crudely cut in two, is a meaningless piece of the sheep that dives behind the flags in the Turin tapestry. An even closer look, especially at the back, shows where the cuts were made, down the inner lines of the borders, with two more irregularly on each side to take out the medallions; the spray of leaves held by the monkey on the left originally fell from the top of the medallion. But Vavoque did his work well; it takes a forewarned eye to notice that anything was once different in this remaining portion of a very beautiful bribe.

On "le 1er vendémiare l'an 3eme de la République française une et indivisible," nine members of the jury appointed by the Comité de Salut public were at the Gobelins manufactory. The jury was composed of three painters, an architect (Percier), a sculptor, three *hommes de lettres* (one also an actor) and the directors of the Gobelins and Savonnerie manufactories. Their duty was to look at all the cartoons and decide which were sufficiently republican to be continued in use. They saw twenty-one of Coypel's Don Quixote paintings, apparently not including the Memorable Judgment, unless it was no. 17, "Donquichotte, sujet inconnu au jury," and approved them: "tous présentent un sujet qui, tournant la chevalerie en ridicule, les rend dignes d'être conservés." But they were nevertheless rejected, "comme peu avantageux à être exécutés en tapisserie parcequ'ils sont trop noirs."[23]

23. Jules Guiffrey, "Les modèles des Gobelins devant le jury des arts en septembre 1794," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art français*, 3rd ser., 13 (1897) pp. 370, 371.

Banks, Politics, Hard Cider, and Paint: The Political Origins of William Sidney Mount's Cider Making

JOSEPH B. HUDSON, JR.

THIS PAPER is concerned with politics. Specifically, it is concerned with how the play of politics in the Age of Jackson, chiefly centering over the Bank War of 1832–40, led an influential anti-Jacksonian in New York City to commission a picture: William Sidney Mount's Cider Making. It is my conclusion that this man, a merchant, banker, and literary amateur named Charles Augustus Davis, commissioned Cider Making in order to celebrate the stunning victory of the Whig party over the Jacksonians in the election of 1840. It is my further belief that the picture not only speaks directly to the event of that election, but contains symbols that were as immediately recognizable to the American electorate of the time—particularly the New York section of it—as a button reading I LIKE IKE was in the 1950s.

Overly facile conclusions with regard to Mount and the spirit of the Jacksonian era are a danger, and Alfred V. Frankenstein has warned against them:

> Devotees of . . . high-minded fictions speak of Jacksonian democracy in connection with Mount, quite oblivious of the fact that precisely the same impulses in art as those which dictated the work of the American painter were simultaneously stirring in countries that had never as much as heard of Andrew Jackson, much less of democracy in any form.[1]

But these conclusions, it is suggested, have been the claims of scholars who have neglected to consider the complexity of those same Jacksonian democratic beliefs—specifically, how they came, on the eastern seaboard, to divide the state Democratic parties in two, and this most signally over the issue of banking policy.

For Jackson's war with the Second Bank of the United States, continued by his vice-president and successor Martin Van Buren, tore the New York State Democratic Party into two factions, one "Radical" (termed "Locofoco") and the other "Conservative." It is squarely in that context, and the context of the election of 1840, that the key to Cider Making presents itself.

The story of William Sidney Mount's artistic development has been well told elsewhere;[2] there is no need to repeat it here. What is significant for our purposes is

1. Alfred V. Frankenstein, "William Sidney Mount and the Act of Painting," *The American Art Journal* 1, No. 1 (Spring, 1969) p. 34.

2. Bartlett Cowdrey and Hermann Warner Williams, Jr., *William Sidney Mount, 1807–1868: An American Painter* (New York, 1944); Alfred Frankenstein, *Painter of Rural America: William Sidney Mount, 1807–1868* (exhibition catalogue, Washington, 1968); Stuart P. Feld, "In the Midst of 'High Vintage'," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (April, 1967) pp. 292–307.

that his consistent political affiliation was with the Democratic Party. Alfred Frankenstein, Hermann W. Williams, Jr., and Jane des Grange have all referred to his "ardent" political beliefs,[3] and even the most casual reading in the Mount MSS[4] will demonstrate that Mount's involvement in Democratic politics, at both state and national levels, was intense.

What has been insufficiently pointed out, however, is the fact that Mount was a "Conservative Democrat." That is to say, he gave his allegiance to that conservative section of the New York State Democratic Party which, from 1831 to 1854, opposed Jacksonian "fiscal radicalism," opposed left-wing Democrats who supported that policy, opposed the abolitionist Free Soil Party which New York left-wing Democrats founded in 1848, and, of course, opposed that Free-Soil movement's 1856 outgrowth, the Republican Party.

This is somewhat baffling when placed next to the seemingly "liberal" sympathies in his work. As Jane des Grange has commented:

> His work, viewed in conjunction with his letters and diaries, reveals a highly complex individual, full of puzzling contradictions and inconsistencies. He was the first to give the Negro a place of dignity in American painting, but he was an ardent member of the Democratic Party, fought the Abolitionists, and called the Republicans "Lincolnpoops."[5]

Whether this seemingly contradictory conservatism arose out of Mount's own sincere convictions, or out of the support he received from his colleagues in the "Conservative" section of the New York Democracy (although he numbered among his friends *New York Post* editor William Cullen Bryant, a pillar of radical Jacksonianism), or—let us honestly face the possibility—out of an obsequious expediency to the conservative political beliefs of his patrons, it is difficult to say. Certainly its existence is an oddity; and an intriguing parallel presents itself with the other great genre painter of Mount's time, George Caleb Bingham. Bingham's choice of subject matter, like Mount's, appeared thoroughly Jacksonian; yet Bingham stood for political office in Missouri as a Whig, voted Whig, and had Whigs as his closest friends.[6]

Having remarked upon this contrast, let us consign it to future studies and turn our attention to the commissioning patron of Cider Making. "One of the most important New York merchants of the day," as Stuart Feld describes him, Charles Augustus Davis was

> a partner in the firm of Davis and Brooks, a commission house that for many years was engaged in the Mediterranean trade. It was for him that Mount painted Cider Making. . . . Davis moved in an elite social circle that included the most distinguished businessmen and literary figures of the day.[7]

But there was something else. For the "most distinguished businessmen and literary figures" with whom Davis consorted were predominantly "Conservative Democrats" or Whigs. Davis himself was a ranking New York Whig, a man intimately involved in banking circles, and a violent opponent of Jacksonian fiscal policy. Davis was, in fact, nothing less than a Director of the New York branch of the Second Bank of the United States,[8] Jackson's prime target in the Bank War

3. Frankenstein, *Painter of Rural America*, p. 51; Cowdrey and Williams, p. 7; Jane des Grange, in Frankenstein, *Painter of Rural America*, p. 8. Williams's assertion that politics "supplied subjects for Mount's brush" is clearly justified. Besides Cider Making the examples include The Herald in the Country (1853) (originally titled The Politics of 1852 or Who Let Down the Bars), Politically Dead (1867), and Dawn of Day (1867). The last two are no-holds-barred attacks on the Radical Republicans, as can be seen from the following narrative by Mount (Cowdrey and Williams, p. 31): "The design of the picture is also misrepresented as the rooster is not intended to represent the Democratic party, but such gifted politicians as the Editor of the staff who are trying to galvanize some life into the defunct nigger. He is politically dead; radical crowing will not awake him. It is the Radical Republican Rooster trying to make more capital out of the negro who is about used up for the purpose; which is glorious news for the country. The African needs a rest. . . ." See also note 40, below.

4. My mentions of Mount MSS refer to those incorporated in a work in progress on Mount by Alfred Frankenstein, whom I thank for granting me access to them.

5. In Frankenstein, *Painter of Rural America*, p. 8. In his work in progress Frankenstein also remarks on this oddity of Mount's belonging to the right wing of the New York State Democratic Party.

6. The best discussion to date of Bingham's political career is by Keith L. Bryant, "George Caleb Bingham: The Artist As A Whig Politician," *Missouri Historical Review* 59, No. 4 (July, 1965) pp. 448–463.

7. Feld, p. 296. Immediately accessible material on Davis is sparse; see James G. Wilson and John Fiske, eds., *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* II (New York, 1900) pp. 93–94; Thomas William Herringshaw, *Herringshaw's National Library of American Biography* II (Chicago, 1909) pp. 215.

8. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1945) pp. 214, 277. In 1830, as Feld notes (p. 293), Mount painted the portrait of Martin Euclid Thompson, architect of the Second Bank of the United States.

Cider Making, by William Sidney Mount. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Charles Allen Munn Bequest, 66.126

of 1832–1840, and was, in the words of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "a close friend of Nicholas Biddle."[9]

And there was something else on the literary side. Davis wrote, among other things, a series of humorous letters by "Major Jack Downing, of the Downingville Militia, Away Down East, in the State of Maine." These first appeared in the Whig *New York Daily Advertiser* on 25 June 1833. They were done in imitation of an earlier, more famous series by Seba Smith, the editor of the Maine *Portland Courier*; but there was a significant difference. Smith's "Jack Downing" letters had been politically neutral; Davis's took sides with a vengeance. And the side taken was that of the anti-Jacksonians, the "Conservative Democrats," and the Whigs.[10]

It is by investigating Davis's political and literary activities that we are provided with the major clue to understanding, not only the relationship between Davis and Mount, but the motive behind Davis's commissioning, in 1840, of Cider Making. Beyond that, we are led to a new understanding of the iconography of the picture itself. For Davis's activities—particularly the literary ones—must be seen in the context of the novel techniques used during the 1830s by the Whigs to regain power from the Jacksonians. Essentially, they were his contribution to a barrage of Whig propaganda, the straightforward purpose of which was to pull the wool over the eyes of the American electorate.

By 1833, the year in which Davis began his series of "Jack Downing" letters, the Whigs had nothing to look forward to but four more years of Jackson. Worse still, the assaults on private privileges in such areas as banking and corporate chartering laws were bidding fair to continue past Jackson for another eight years with Martin Van Buren. Something, clearly, had to be done. Thinking Whigs, however, were aware that the outspoken Federalist views of such men as James Kent and Justice Joseph Story would no longer go down easily with the expanded, populist-minded electorate.[11]

Thurlow Weed and William H. Seward, two young New York Whigs, rose to meet this challenge. "The more we fight Jacksonianism with our present weapons," Weed declared to his party, "*the more it won't die!*"[12] All true enough, his Whig colleagues had answered, but what, then, were the new Whig weapons to be? To which inquiry Weed startlingly replied: the weapons of the Jacksonians themselves.

As Weed outlined it, his policy was simple. The party, to win future elections, should (1) separate its actual policies from its political rhetoric, (2) tell the

9. Schlesinger, p. 214. Davis's friendships describe his loyalties. In 1842 he was one of the select few who dined with visiting Daniel Webster—testimony to his position in the inner circle of New York Whiggery (Feld, p. 296). The same year, indicative of his literary associations, he was Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements for a dinner in honor of Charles Dickens (Davis to Bradish, 5 February 1842, Misc. MSS, *Luther Bradish Papers*, New-York Historical Society). An invitation to this affair was sent by Davis to his friend G. C. Verplanck, who was its "Vice-President," as was Washington Irving (Davis to Verplanck, 2 February 1842, *Verplanck Papers*, New-York Historical Society). Verplanck, like Irving, was a Jacksonian Democrat who had turned against the administration because of the Bank War (Schlesinger, pp. 92, 186, 239).

10. Schlesinger, pp. 277–278; Jeannette Tandy, *Crackerbox Philosophers in American Humor and Satire* (New York, 1925) pp. 32–38. Jesse Bier (*The Rise and Fall of American Humor* [New York, 1968] p. 38) distinguishes the two creations of "Major Jack Downing": "The figure of Jack Downing demands two pertinent clarifications. Created by Seba Smith (1792–1868), his character was later appropriated by C. A. Davis for Whig attacks on Jackson. In Smith's editions (1831 and 1833 especially) of his peregrinations, Downing is confusedly both the comic fool and sage observer, but in neither case is he ever used to expose Jackson himself, only the world of political chicanery to which the President is an honest exception. Davis, in *Letters to Dwight* (1834), makes Downing over into a complete nincompoop for the Whig papers, never an ambitious comic rogue but a stupid partisan of a ruinous Jackson." And Bier goes on: "Smith himself was influenced by the scandalous new character of Davis' Downing to the extent that at a later date (1859) he viewed Downing as a far less tolerant and easygoing person than his own earlier versions had shown him."

11. Public utterance of such sentiments as Story's on the nature of government (e.g., that its task was to consider "how the property holding part of the community may be sustained against the inroads of poverty and vice") clearly had to go (Schlesinger, pp. 269, 277). It is true, as W. N. Chambers remarks, that "nearly all of the important extensions of suffrage . . . were accomplished before the sway of Jacksonian democracy. What the Jacksonians did was to build on the enlarged suffrage and profit from it in 1828, as the Whigs were to do in 1840." The democratic tide, however, had been steadily rising: "Of the thirteen new states that were admitted from 1791 through 1837 all but one (Louisiana) granted legal or virtual adult white male suffrage in their original constitutions, and by 1840 only three (Rhode Island, Virginia, and Louisiana) of the twenty-six states of the Union did not offer legal or actual white manhood suffrage" (William N. Chambers, "Election of 1840," in Fred L. Israel and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., eds., *History of American Presidential Elections, 1789–1968* I [New York, 1971] pp. 643–684, esp. 647).

12. Schlesinger, p. 284.

people only what they wanted to hear, and (3) once in office implement the policies, justifying them by the rhetoric.

Observe, now, Weed's new Whig catechism in practice. Did the Jacksonians claim to speak for the common man? Then, so did the Whigs; but they did *more*. For the Whigs were guarding the people against the threat posed to their liberties by interventionist "Big Government," by an Executive branch swollen by Jackson's personal charisma into a tool of potential despotism. By such reasoning, Weed declared, all of the Jacksonians' virtues might be turned against them; and in New York City a group of Whigs, among them Charles Augustus Davis, proceeded to put it to the test.

The first blow, using the theme of "Executive despotism," was struck in the summer of 1833, when the controversy over Jackson's proposed removal of the Federal deposits from the privately owned Second Bank of the United States was building to its height. Now "Executive despotism," in the words of Schlesinger,

provided a platform with room for all the enemies of Jackson, pro-Bank or anti-Bank, broad-construction or State-rights, North or South; and it allowed the Bank to substitute for recharter the "fresher and far more popular issue" of redressing a great wrong committed by an arbitrary and unconstitutional exercise of executive authority.[13]

Charles Davis's first "Jack Downing" letter appeared, as noted, in the Whig-owned *New York Daily Advertiser* on June 25. It not only attacked Jackson for undermining the "true interests of the common man" (which meant letting the Bank keep the deposits); it also sounded a new and, to the thinking public, somewhat curious note. For Davis had portrayed the Whigs, not as aristocratic defenders of republican interests, but as populists, as men of the people. Beneath their frock coats and high silk hats, "Major Jack Downing" averred, beat the hearts of simple, down-to-earth public watchdogs, who had, by virtue of those same frock coats and high silk hats, been grievously misunderstood.

This was the beginning of what was to be, for the next seven years, an ever-increasing "media barrage" by the Whigs. Weed and Seward may not have used the term (all too familiar today) "manipulation of image," but they had grasped the essential concept and set out to implement it. They unleashed an approach to democratic politics that is still with us, for better or worse.

Schlesinger, remarking upon the effectiveness of both the overall tactics and Davis's letters, says that

The most effective opponents of General Jackson were the cracker-box pundits, drawling to the people in their own accent, countering the fighting democracy of the Jacksonians with the homely conservatism and complacent wisdom of the village sage. Major Jack Downing, as depicted by Charles A. Davis . . . was a better advocate than all the Websters and Clays of the Senate.

Jackson, in the Downing papers, was a vain, pettish old man, played upon by those wily villains, Van Buren and Amos "Kindle," while the character of kindly Squire Biddle gave an artless picture of the benevolence of the Bank. "There is one kind of *monied aristocracy* I am plaguy afeard of," Major Jack would say, promoting the new emphasis on the dangers of bureaucracy, "—and that is when politicians manage to get hold of the money of the people, and keep turnin it to their own account." "It ain't in the natur of things, for people who have got money to lend, to do anything agin the gineral prosperity of the country. . . . Whenever they take a hand in politics, it is to prevent politicians gettings things wrong eend first." And so on; only the cynical could resist this rustic sagacity.[14]

Davis was not alone in his appeals to the people "in their own accent." Davy Crockett of Tennessee, who had been elected to Congress in 1827 on the pledge that he could, as he put it, "whip my weight in wildcats, hug a bear too close for comfort and eat any man opposed to Jackson!,"[15] had defected from the Jacksonian ranks in an argument over Indian removal and land speculation. Defeated in 1831, but re-elected in

13. Schlesinger, p. 276. See also pp. 80–114, esp. 97–102. The full flavor of the battle can be appreciated only by a reading of Schlesinger's entire book; the Bank War was merely the most visible symbol of the conflict. Jackson did not remove the deposits until 1 October 1833, but the skirmish lines had been formed early in that year. Jackson toured New York and New England in May and June; Davis's first "Jack Downing" letter appeared in June. Tandy (pp. 32–38) praises Davis's attempt to appropriate Seba Smith's character for Whig interests: "1833 . . . was a year of suspense. No one could forecast the President's next move. There was a bare possibility that cleverly placed articles in the newspapers might turn aside prejudice, and create a popular movement in favor of the Bank, which would force Jackson to keep hands off. Davis saw this opportunity and took it. If he was unable to block Jackson, his letters were undoubtedly a restraining influence. They were widely praised, reprinted in the *Quarterly Review*, London, and had a very large sale in book form."

14. Schlesinger, pp. 277–278.

15. Schlesinger, p. 278.

1833, he had been promptly and gleefully taken up by the Whigs; 1834 saw him toured around the Northeast as a showpiece of the new Whig "plain-folks" image.[16]

Although the battle over the bank deposits was lost (Jackson removed them on 1 October 1833), the Whigs were impressed with the public response to Weed's new approach. Davis's "Jack Downing" letters, published in book form as *Letters of J. Downing, Major, Downingville Militia, Second Brigade, to his old friend Mr. Dwight, of the New-York Daily Advertiser* (hereafter referred to as *Letters to Dwight*) went through ten editions in a year and proved so popular that a pirated edition appeared in Cincinnati. In 1834 Davis also published "the most famous series of Jack Downing papers,"[17] *The LIFE of Andrew Jackson, president of the United States.* Illustrated with satirical woodcuts, surpassing the *Letters to Dwight* in vituperation, these depicted Jackson as a bumbler, Van Buren as an intriguer, and, as in the *Letters to Dwight*, frequently resorted for sage advice to "Major Jack's" close friend, kindly old "Squire Biddle" down at the Bank.

In 1835, in a double-barreled blast, Davy Crockett allowed his name to be attached to a scurrilous biography of Martin Van Buren (ghostwritten by A. S. Clayton, a Georgia Whig),[18] and Davis published *Jack Downing's Song Book. Containing a Selection of About Two Hundred Songs, Many of Which are New*, which in catchy ditties and jingles pressed home the same message as the *Letters to Dwight* and the *LIFE of Jackson.* The brisk sale and widespread circulation of these works delighted the Whigs no end, for as even Jeannette Tandy (a historian sympathetic to the cause of the Second Bank of the United States) admitted, "the Bank question was the most important issue of American politics," and Davis's letters were "nicely calculated to remove the suspicions of the farmer for the money machine."[19]

But the most important event lay just ahead. By 1835 the Whigs were looking toward the Presidential election of 1836, and it was in the planning for that event that their key to total victory was found.

It happened over the selection of their candidate. Unable to agree upon a national figure, and hoping to so fragment the vote that the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives, the Whigs decided to run a number of local "favorite sons." Chief reliance was placed upon Hugh Lawson White, a senator from Jackson's own Tennessee, whose main virtue as a vote-getter, Whigs freely admitted among themselves, was that he looked a lot like Jackson. (White was also a long-term president of the State Bank of Tennessee, and his son-in-law, Samuel Jaudon, was "the cashier of the United States Bank and an influential figure in Bank activities."[20]) Daniel Webster, it was decided, would stand in his native Northeast; and John C. Calhoun's Democrats, still smarting over nullification, could be counted upon to draw away support from the Jacksonians in the Southeast. It was in the then middle of the country, however—in Cincinnati, to be exact—that an inspired find was made.

William Henry Harrison, Clerk of the Cincinnati Court of Common Pleas, was a nonentity in 1835. He had, it is true, distinguished himself as superintendent of the Northwest Indians and governor of Indiana Territory nearly a quarter of a century before, and had a small claim upon history as the hero of the Battle of Tippecanoe (7 November 1811) and the Battle of the Thames (5 October 1813). But he had long since lapsed into the backwaters of the public consciousness, and many of his fellow Whigs felt that, all things considered, he belonged there. Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts, as one example, summed up Harrison in 1835 with two words: "sheer naught."[21]

But other Whigs, notably Thurlow Weed, saw a virtue in Harrison's lack of substance. After all, Weed reasoned, where there was nothing, might not one all the more easily build anything one wished—or, more to the point, anything which others wished? Admittedly, it might result in a candidate as insubstantial as a cloud, but so long as it was an attractive cloud, a cloud believed in by the electorate, why, so much the better. One's opposition would exhaust itself in trying to grapple substantively with that which had no sub-

16. Schlesinger, p. 278. Crockett was getting housebroken by all of this association with wealth. In Lowell, Massachusetts, he was guided about by Abbott Lawrence, and in his own words: "I was very genteel and quiet, and so I suppose I disappointed some . . . who expected to see a half horse half alligator sort of fellow." He bounced back, though. After losing the 1835 congressional election he reputedly told his opponents: "You can go to hell, and as for me, I'll go to Texas."

17. Schlesinger, p. 214.

18. Schlesinger, pp. 278–279.

19. Tandy, p. 34.

20. Schlesinger, p. 211.

21. Schlesinger, p. 289, note 18.

stance; and the electorate would vote into office, in effect, something shining, something speaking, not to their reason, but to their wishes and their social myths.

Weed pushed Harrison on his party, and through his efforts, and the efforts of such allies as Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, obtained candidate status for him. In this manner the first "image candidate" in the history of American politics was born.[22]

It was vital that such a candidate avoid controversial —or even meaningful—remarks; why throw meat to the opposition? In August, therefore, Nicholas Biddle himself stepped forward and, as Schlesinger narrates, "delivered in memorable language the instructions for William Henry Harrison's campaign." The candidate, in effect, was to keep his mouth shut and let Thurlow Weed, "Major Jack Downing," Davy Crockett, et al., do the talking. Said Biddle:

> Let him say not one single word about his principles, or his creed—let him say nothing—promise nothing. Let no Committee, no convention—no town meeting ever extract from him a single word, about what he thinks now, or what he will do hereafter. Let the use of pen and ink be wholly forbidden as if he were a mad poet in Bedlam.[23]

Harrison duly went mum and allowed himself to be made out a plain man of the people. The electioneering got under way, the first clear test of Weed's new tactics. Davy Crockett, prior to his fatal departure for Texas, campaigned strenuously for the Whig ticket, proof in the flesh that the common man's interests lay elsewhere than with Jackson; and the whole of the Whig machinery hammered home this theme by cartoons, editorials, broadsides, and public meetings where the more pointed favorites from *Jack Downing's Song Book* rang out for the crowds.

Van Buren won, by 170 electoral votes to 124. For the Whigs, however, the results were mixed. Hugh Lawson White carried Tennessee, and made inroads into Jackson's western strength; Daniel Webster, by contrast, barely carried his home state of Massachusetts. But the biggest surprise was Harrison, who, having dutifully followed Biddle's directive to "say nothing —promise nothing," captured seven of the twenty-six states of the Union. With this, Weed's strategy was vindicated, and it was now virtually a certainty that the Whigs would mount a similar, stronger effort in 1840.

In the interlude from 1836 to 1840 the factional rifts within the Democratic Party widened, especially in New York State. Jackson's drastic Specie Circular of 1836, requiring that payments be made in gold for purchases of public lands, had originally been intended to put a stop to rampant land speculation at the inconvenience and expense of the government. Its immediate effect, however, was to force many banks to call in outstanding loans in order to meet their own bullion requirements.[24] When Congress reconvened in December, 1836, the Whigs, fearing the "domino effect" of these short-term economic consequences, attempted a repeal of the Specie Circular. They failed, but only by Jackson's presidential veto, and the acrimony generated by the struggle tore the Democratic Party in two. The Congressional leaders of the pro-Bank Democrats during the fight had been W. C. Rives of Virginia and N. P. Tallmadge of New York, and Tallmadge now proceeded to lead his "Conservative Democrats" out of the regular New York Democratic Party organization, and into near open alliance with the New York Whigs.[25]

The Whigs quickly exploited this split: they gained in the elections of 1837, and in 1838 elected Weed's ally William H. Seward governor of New York State. The anti-Bank Democratic faction responded to this, not with calls for a healing moderation and a closing of ranks, but by becoming even more strident and ultra, loudly adopting resolutions which proclaimed that it was

> no more disturbed at the present day, on being called 'Agrarians,' 'Loco Focos,' or 'Radicals,' than it did in the brightest days of the illustrious Jefferson, at being called 'Democrats and Jacobins.'[26]

In the meantime the economic consequences of the Specie Circular had broadened into the Panic of 1837,

22. It may be argued that this tendency began with Jackson's campaigns for the presidency in 1824 and 1828. Harrison, however, set the mold. For a summary of Weed's discovery, tactics, and political legacy, Henry Bamford Parkes, *The American Experience* (New York, 1947) pp. 163–165. For a discussion of the parallels between the 1840 campaign ("the Image Campaign") and modern "packaging" techniques for political candidates, William N. Chambers, pp. 643–684.

23. Schlesinger, p. 211.

24. Schlesinger, pp. 129–130.

25. Schlesinger, pp. 130, 257.

26. Schlesinger, p. 258.

the most severe in the nineteenth century.[27] New York's business and merchant interests, recoiling from their loss of capital, flocked outright to the Whig Party, or stayed "Conservative Democrats" and secretly hoped for a Whig victory. Speaking of this process of economic polarization, Schlesinger says:

The exodus of Tallmadge and his followers . . . established state politics more firmly than ever on class lines.[28]

As a nineteenth-century historian of New York business described the acid atmosphere in New York City:

The mass of large and little merchants . . . like a flock of sheep gathered either into the Federal, Whig, Clay, or Republican folds. The Democratic merchants could have easily been stowed away in a large Eighth avenue railroad car.[29]

On 9 October 1839 the Second Bank of the United States finally failed, "carrying down with it," in Schlesinger's words, "most of the banks of the country except those of New York and New England."[30] Shortly thereafter the Whigs, at their December convention in Harrisburg, nominated William Henry Harrison for the presidency, and in keeping with the pattern of 1836, nominated him without a platform.

The election of 1840 was a political hurricane. The Whigs struck their keynote on 14 April when Representative Charles Ogle of Pennsylvania rose in the House and delivered a speech on "The Royal Splendor of the President's Palace." Samuel Eliot Morison describes its tone and impact:

Maine lumberjacks, Buckeye farmers, and Cajuns in the bayou country were shocked to learn that under Little Van the White House had become a palace "as splendid as that of the Caesars"; that the President doused his whiskers with French *eau de cologne*, slept in a Louis XV bedstead, sipped *soupe a la reine* with a gold spoon, ate *pate de foie gras* from a silver plate, and rode abroad in a gilded British-made coach, wearing a haughty sneer on his aristocratic countenance. What a contrast to old hero Harrison, the Cincinnatus of the West, the plain dirt farmer. . . ![31]

The Democrats, reacting fast, tried to turn this to their advantage by making Harrison out to be a simpleton; and to this end a Democratic journalist in Baltimore editorialized that Harrison would prefer a log cabin to the White House, were he but given a pension and a barrel of hard cider.

This, given the tactics of the Whigs, was fatal. "Over some excellent madeira," Schlesinger narrates,

at Thomas Elder's fine mansion on the Susquehanna, Elder, a bank president, and Richard S. Elliott, a Whig editor from Harrisburg, considered how they could turn this squib to political uses. Hard cider and a log cabin? . . . Yes, the answer soon rang across the land, the Whig party *is* the party of hard cider and log cabins, and it will defend them to the end against all the sneers of the Democrats.[32]

Pandemonium ensued. At rallies and clambakes, picnics and torchlight parades, the Whigs roared out their new slogan: LOG CABIN AND HARD CIDER! The former hero of Tippecanoe now became OLD TIP, the plain man's champion, and the name of his running mate, John Tyler of Virginia (carefully chosen, as a Southerner and recent ex-Democrat, to balance the ticket) was coupled with it to form yet another slogan, one of the most famous in American political history: TIPPECANOE AND TYLER, TOO!. From this point on, as Morison states:

It . . . became the log-cabin, hard cider campaign. There were log-cabin badges and log-cabin songs, a *Log Cabin* newspaper [edited by Thurlow Weed's discovery and protégé, Horace Greeley] and log-cabin clubs, big log cabins where the thirsty were regaled with hard cider that jealous Democrats alleged to be stiffened with whisky; little log cabins borne on floats in procession, with latchstring out, cider barrel by the door, coonskin nailed up beside, and real smoke coming out of the chimney, while lusty voices bawled:

Let Van from his coolers of silver drink wine,
And lounge on his cushioned settee;
Our man on his buckeye bench can recline,
Content with hard cider is he.
Then a shout from each freeman—a shout from each State,

27. Douglass C. North, *Growth and Welfare in the American Past* (Englewood Cliffs, 1966) pp. 32, 81.

28. Schlesinger, p. 257.

29. Joseph Scoville, *The Old Merchants of New York City* (New York, 1862–64) I, p. 81; Schlesinger, p. 257, note 27.

30. Schlesinger, p. 264.

31. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York, 1965) p. 457.

32. Schlesinger, pp. 290–291.

To the plain, honest husbandman true,
And this be our motto—the motto of Fate—
"Hurrah for Old Tippecanoe!"[33]

Badges and songs, floats and free drinks: these were only a part of the Whig barrage. All of the visual media of the day were brought into play:

Wood engravers and lithographers were kept perpetually busy turning out pictures: Harrison, the Hero of Tippecanoe, astride a monumental horse; Harrison as Cincinnatus at the plow; Harrison greeting his comrades at arms at the door of his log cabin, with a long latchstring hanging down; Harrison as an Indian chief, paddling furiously toward the White House from which Van Buren ("the flying Dutchman") was fleeing; Harrison as a boxer administering a thrashing to Van Buren, with Old Hickory, as Van Buren's trainer, looking on in gloom. Brass and copper medals were struck off, with a log cabin, a flag, a barrel and cup on one side, Harrison on the other: "*He leaves the plough to save his country.*"[34]

The Democrats struggled to reason with the electorate, but their voices were drowned in the waves of mass enthusiasm. Such attempts as they made to rouse the public were woefully inadequate in the face of the political blitzkrieg mounted by Weed and Seward. "O.K."—for "Old Kinderhook," Van Buren's birthplace—came into American English (as did "booze": E. G. Booz, a pro-Whig Philadelphia distiller, sold whisky in log-cabin shaped bottles for the campaign), and there were some attempts at catchy Democratic songs, for instance, "The Paper Plague":

The Paper Plague afflicts us all,
Its pains are past enduring;
Still, we have hope in Jackson's robe,
Whilst it wraps around VAN BUREN.
Then let the working class,
As a congregated man,
Behold an insidious enemy:
For each *Banker* is a foe,
And his aim is for our woe—
He's the *canker-worm of liberty!*[35]

But to no avail. "They were baffled," as Schlesinger narrates:

by the songs and parades and bonfires. "The question is not whether Harrison drinks hard cider," said William Cullen Bryant plaintively. ". . . The question is what he and his party will do if they obtain the power." But the crowds roared back: "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too." "Are the Whigs contending for the privilege of living in log cabins?" asked one bitter Democrat. "Is there any despot in the land who prevents them from pulling down their mansions of bricks, of granite, and of marble, and putting up log cabins in their place?" The crowds replied: "Van, Van is a Used-up Man. . ." It was futile to argue against the elements.

The hard cider continued to flow, the parades continued to roll through the streets. In the end, the returns were clear. William Henry Harrison had sustained a crushing victory over Van Buren: 234 electoral votes to 60. The Whig effort of the 1830s: Crockett's touring, Seward's and Weed's extraordinary tactics, Greeley's journalism, Biddle's directives, and Davis's "Major Jack Downing" 's songs and letters had unbelievably, for the Whig Party, brought home the harvest.

Charles Augustus Davis had commissioned Catching Rabbits from William Sidney Mount in 1839. Toward the middle of November, 1840, just as it was becoming clear that the victory had gone to Harrison, he commissioned another picture.[36] "The subject," Mount wrote his friend Benjamin F. Thompson in December, "is cider making in the old way."[37] This, of course, was to be the canvas we now know as Cider Making. Few preliminary sketches are known to exist for it,[38] which fact suggests that it was completed with some degree of haste, Mount's main effort being expended directly on the canvas, and even though it bears in two places the date 1841, Mount's correspondence indicates that it was completed by mid-December, 1840.[39]

33. Morison, pp. 457–458.
34. Schlesinger, pp. 291–292.
35. This and following extract, Schlesinger, p. 298.
36. Admittedly conjectural, this appears plausible given Harrison's victory in November, the motivation behind the commissioning of the picture, and Mount's first mention of it in his letter of 5 December.
37. Frankenstein, *Painter of Rural America*, p. 31.
38. Feld, p. 300.
39. Mount wrote his friend Charles Lanman in January, 1841, that the death of his brother Henry had so depressed him that he had been unable to work for six weeks; his brother Robert appears to refer to the picture as completed in a letter of January, 1841 (Mount MSS: W. S. Mount to Lanman, 23 January 1841; R. N. Mount to W. S. Mount, 17 January 1841).

Catching Rabbits (also known as Boys Trapping)[40] had been exhibited in 1839 at the National Academy of Design. Stuart Feld has noted that "the critics were unanimous in acclaiming Mount's success," and has concluded from this that "it was undoubtedly the phenomenal popular success of Boys Trapping that prompted Davis to order another and larger picture from Mount in the following year."[41] I myself would submit that the popular success of Boys Trapping was only secondary to Davis's primary motive in commissioning Cider Making, and that motive was to celebrate the "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" campaign, with its overthrow of Jacksonian populism by William Henry Harrison, "Old Tip."

What more logical reason, one wonders, could Robert Nelson Mount have had when, on 17 January 1841, he wrote his brother:

> I think your last picture 'Cider Making' should have been painted large and placed in one of the vacant Squares at the Government House in Washington City.[42]

For the entire "Conservative Democrat"–Whig faction was triumphantly poised on the threshold of the White House, following what had been, to that time, the most extraordinary presidential campaign in the nation's history.

The objection will, of course, be made that the picture's message is not political, but is one of generalized, rural values. There is no argument on the point that Cider Making, as the catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum's centennial exhibition stated, "is a masterful celebration in detail and color of familiar rural pleasures and countryside."[43] It is. But any analysis that points this out and goes no further skirts the issue of the end for which these rural values were being celebrated.

Were they, one asks, intended as a celebration of Jacksonian Democracy? This hardly seems likely, given the political sentiments of Mount and Davis. As a nonpolitical celebration of "familiar rural pleasures"? This also seems remote, when one considers the history of Davis's involvement with the Whig struggles against Jackson; the bending, on the part of the Whigs, of "plain-folks" rural values to their own purposes (as in Davy Crockett and "Major Jack Downing"); and the timing of Davis's commissioning of Cider Making with respect to the election of 1840.

Moreover, there is the iconography of the picture itself. One must face, besides the direct political allusion of the picture's theme in 1840–41—cider making—the fact that the canvas is double-dated. In the lower left-hand corner (as well as on the back) the picture is dated 1841. And yet, directly confronting the viewer, centrally located in the foreground, is a cider barrel prominently marked 1840. According to Stuart Feld,

> The inclusion of the date 1840 on one of the cider barrels in the foreground suggests that the painting was based on sketches made during the cider-making season of the previous fall.[44]

This, it is submitted, is doubtful. Again, it seems much more likely that the date is there in commemoration of the Hard Cider campaign.

Support for this interpretation is found in a critical review of Cider Making that was published in the *New York American* on 14 April 1841. Feld termed this review "a veritable guide to Mount's painting,"[45] but he did not mean this literally. He interpreted the review, rather, as being a charming narrative, a fanciful tale spun out to suit Mount's picture and amuse the critic's readers. Alfred Frankenstein largely dismissed the review; it was, he said,

> indicative of the over-riding stress on narrative characteristic of the criticism of Mount's time (but not at all characteristic of Mount's own views and intentions) . . .[46]

40. Although the picture was not researched in the course of this paper's preparation, the likelihood exists that Catching Rabbits is tied to the success of the new Whig electioneering methods. In the review of Cider Making in the *New York American*, 14 April 1841, the expression "rabbit chaser" is italicized; it has the ring of political slang.

41. Feld, p. 297.

42. Mount MSS: R. N. Mount to W. S. Mount, 17 January 1841.

43. John K. Howat and Natalie Spassky, *19th-Century America: Paintings and Sculpture* (New York, 1970) No. 53.

44. Feld, p. 300.

45. Feld, p. 300.

46. Frankenstein, *Painter of Rural America*, p. 31. In stating that the review may not have reflected "Mount's own views and intentions," Frankenstein may have raised a complex point. Although Mount's sympathies were with the "Conservative" Democrats, who, after the splitting of the party in December, 1836, were in near open alliance with the Whigs, Mount appears to have brought himself—probably out of rock-bottom party loyalty—to support the Democratic ticket in 1840. As a basis for this we have Mount's letter to his brother Robert in 1840 in which he says, "New York

I believe, however, that the review is perfectly consistent with the politics that underlay Cider Making, and that the painting's meaning has gone unperceived simply because its political aspects have been consistently overlooked.

As Feld points out, the painting in all likelihood went to Davis's home prior to April, 1841.[47] From Davis's home, where it must have been a focus of admiring conversation for his "Conservative Democrat" and Whig associates, it was taken, in early April, to the National Academy of Design's Sixteenth Exhibition. The paper in which the review appeared, the *New York American*, was one of the leading Whig organs in New York City,[48] the critic was a Whig in his sympathies, and the date of the review, 14 April 1841, was the anniversary of Representative Ogle's speech, "The Royal Splendor of the President's Palace," which had kicked off the Log Cabin and Hard Cider campaign.

But most important, and underscoring all of the above, was the fact that William Henry Harrison had died just ten days before, of pneumonia contracted during his inauguration, and the nation was now officially in mourning for "Old Tip." Nostalgic memorials to the first American president to die in office were pouring forth from press and pulpit; he was in the forefront of the public consciousness.

The review is filled with allusions to the 1840 campaign. Set in "one of those rich and mellow days of early autumn"[49] (which would mean the autumn of 1840, in the thick of the campaign), the story tells how the narrator found himself:

> in the midst of "*high vintage,*"—and a more joyous and hilarious occupation, it has seldom fallen to my lot to witness.

"All the folks," he is informed by one "Mrs. Josslin,"

> were "down to the Cider Mill." And then she detailed to me all the incidents of the apple-gathering, and the bright prospects of a *good cider* year.

There follows what looks suspiciously like a lightly veiled allegory of the New York State or National Whig Party in victory: certain "younger ones" are being permitted to ride "on the cross beam" "as a reward for past services," the faithful wheelhorse is continuing to plug away, the bearer of "*the whip*" has settled back to enjoy "a taste of the 'pure juice' " (of victory, presumably), and so on. And presiding over the entire process of "cider making" is a character named "the Old Squire." (It will be recalled that this was Nicholas Biddle's countrified nickname in Davis's "Jack Downing" letters.) The "Old Squire," the story proceeds, has a present to make:

> A full barrel of cider stood near, just rolled from the press, to undergo the process of fermentation, or in other words, to pass from the condition of sweet to "*hard cider*"; as it was of choice quality, the old squire had marked it "1840"—a year ever famous, he said, for "hard cider," and he intended it as a present to "Old Tip."

As if this last were not enough in itself to conclusively establish the political nature of the painting, Mount's own politics are brought up. Where is Mount, who had no aversion to painting himself into his own pictures?[50] Why, the narrator speaks up, overhearing a dialogue to this effect between a young man and woman, there's "my friend Mount" over there, "in the distance . . . seated like a good *Conservative* on the fence."[51] Exactly as, in his politics, he was.

Seen in this political context, as a picture having its roots in the events of 1832–40, of the "Age of Jackson," the "Bank War," and the "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" campaign, the Metropolitan Museum's 1970 remark that:

will go for Van Buren 20 thousand notwithstanding Log Cabin & hard Cider. We are full of life here at the North" (Mount MSS: W. S. Mount to R. N. Mount, 12 July 1840). This does not, of course, alter the views of or role played by Charles Augustus Davis; neither does it alter the affinity between Mount's position and that of his Whig patron. It may, however, indicate the quality of independence in Mount—a dogged, cussed determination to remain a Democrat, even at such a time of persuasion from the other side.

47. Feld, p. 300.

48. Schlesinger, pp. 276, 539.

49. This and the following quotations, Feld, pp. 300, 302.

50. Frankenstein, *Painter of Rural America*, pp. 45, 51, discussing the paintings California News and The Herald in the Country. The latter has a strong political message, much as does Cider Making. It should be noted that newspapers figure in the compositions of all three canvases.

51. Feld, p. 304.

when [Cider Making] was exhibited in New York at the National Academy of Design, it must have had a strong nostalgic appeal for metropolitan viewers, so many of whom were country transplants[52]

appears to have been right, but for the wrong reasons. The picture most certainly "had a strong nostalgic appeal" in April, 1841, but the primary memories stirred in its viewers would have been those of the just-dead Harrison, the torchlight parades, hard cider, and log cabins rolling through the streets of his campaign, and the songs and letters of "Major Jack Downing," creation of the painting's commissioning patron, Charles Augustus Davis.

52. Howat and Spassky, No. 53.

A Russian Luminist School? Arkhip Kuindzhi's Red Sunset on the Dnepr[1]

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One of the Metropolitan Museum's recent acquisitions in European painting is a large landscape by the Russian, or, strictly speaking, Ukrainian, painter, Arkhip Ivanovich Kuindzhi (1842–1910): Red Sunset on the Dnepr (Figure 1). Despite its late date, 1905–08, the work is representative both of Kuindzhi's own artistic career and of what might be called a Russian luminist school. To those unfamiliar with the history of modern Russian art, this painting, reminiscent in its expressivity of the work of Western luminists such as Bierstadt and Feuerbach, might seem to be a curious anomaly. But in the context of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Russian painting, Red Sunset on the Dnepr is a remarkable and important work. Its presence in the Museum will help focus attention on a field of aesthetic study still neglected and misinterpreted.

A peculiar conjunction of circumstances in Western scholarship of Russian art, not least the disproportionate emphasis on the Russian avant-garde and the accepted belief that Russian painting of the later nineteenth century was totally didactic and literary, has contributed to a general ignorance, or at best, inaccurate conception of Russian Realism and Naturalism. Of course, Russian painting and literature of the second half of the nineteenth century were often tendentious and ideological; moreover, their execution tended to be mediocre, as the artists lacked the technical prowess of a Daumier or a Menzel. In addition, Russian painters were often inspired by the lesser works of the Barbizons or the mid-century German landscapists.

The emphasis on historical and socio-political relevance that is associated with a Repin canvas or a Tolstoi novel caused many of the Russian Realists to neglect the intrinsic painterly aspects of their work. Despite the tonal contrasts in Ilya Repin's Ivan the Terrible and His Son Ivan (1885, State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow; copy in the Metropolitan Museum), the Impressionist light effects in his Annual Remembrance Meeting by the Wall of the Communards at the Père Lachaise Cemetery, Paris (1883, Tretyakov Gallery), or the linear sensitivity of Aleksei Savrasov's landscapes, the work of many Russian painters of the second half of the nineteenth century was concerned more with story than technique. The Realists did not conceive of the picture as a hermetic unit, but instead always tried to place it within a social and historical framework. The pictorial devices of inserting figures pointing to or looking at something beyond the picture frame, or introducing a sequence of buildings or interiors leading from the pictorial to the external world, give such pictures a sense of movement or continuum.

1. The system of transliteration used here is that used by the University of Glasgow journal *Soviet Studies*, except in the case of hard and soft signs, which have not been rendered. The spelling of Kuindzhi as Kuindji or Kuindjii, which occurs in some Western sources, is not phonetically valid.

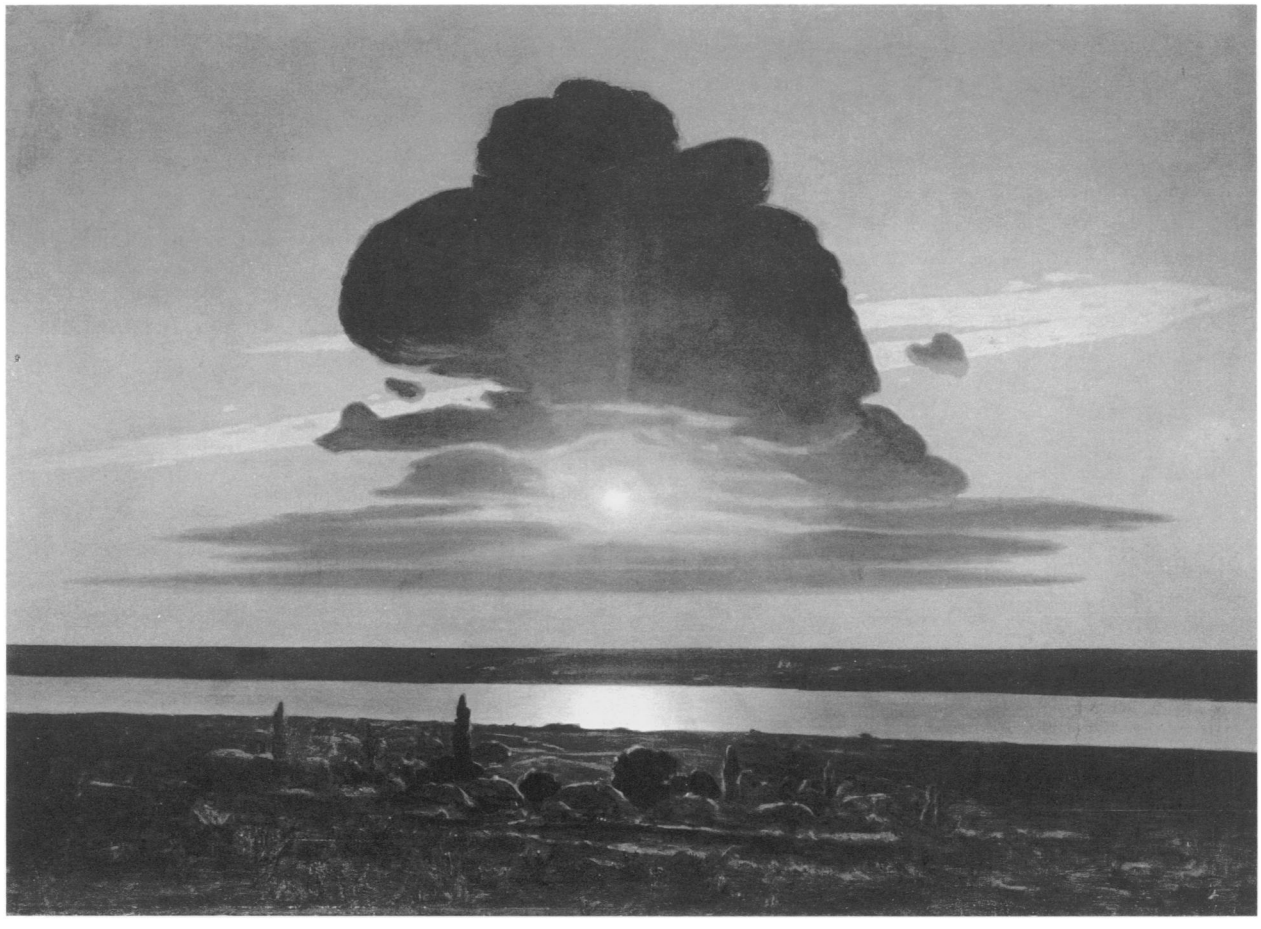


FIGURE 1
Red Sunset on the Dnepr, by Arkhip Kuindzhi. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1974.100

However, it also means that figures and objects tend to become mere parts of a narrative progression. It was because of this that many of the Realist portraits, however precise and concrete, lacked psychological depth, prompting the critic and artist Alexandre Benois to speak of their "materialism."[2] This concentration on physical appearance was stimulated in part by the Positivist ideas supported by so many intellectuals, and by the dicta of Nikolai Chernyshevsky and Nikolai Dobrolyubov. Chernyshevsky, writing about esthetics in 1855, stated that "that object is beautiful which displays life in itself or reminds us of life."[3] These literary theories are paralleled visually by the works of Vasilii Perov, Repin, Nikolai Yaroshenko, and other Realists.

From 1860 to 1880 this coincidence of views occasioned uncommon sympathy and unity between writers and artists, culminating in several memorable portraits of writers, for example, Repin's portrait of Vsevolod Garshin (Figure 2). When we examine this portrait, the Realists' weaknesses become apparent. Although the colors have faded considerably, as they have in many of the Realists' works, it is obvious that Repin was little interested in color itself. The somber browns extended the melancholy of "The Red Flower," Garshin's best-known story. Despite the energetic brushwork and the intense expression of the eyes, the value of Repin's work is now primarily historical rather than artistic.

Whatever their defects, the Russian Realists were the avant-garde of their time who decisively influenced the evolution of Russian art. Even when we place them in

2. A. Benois, *Istoriya russkoi zhivopisi v XIX veke* (St. Petersburg, 1901–02) p. 185.

3. N. Chernyshevsky, *Esteticheskie otnosheniya iskusstva k deistvitelnosti* (Moscow, 1948) p. 10.

the larger context of Western European painting and see their achievement eclipsed by the more exciting works of artists such as Daumier, Gavarni, and Menzel, we should not forget their cultural contributions in Russia. In their reaction against stagnant academic traditions, in their concern with great moments of Russia's past, and in their pictorial commentaries on the "accursed problems" of Russian society, the Russian Realists helped to awaken a new national identity.

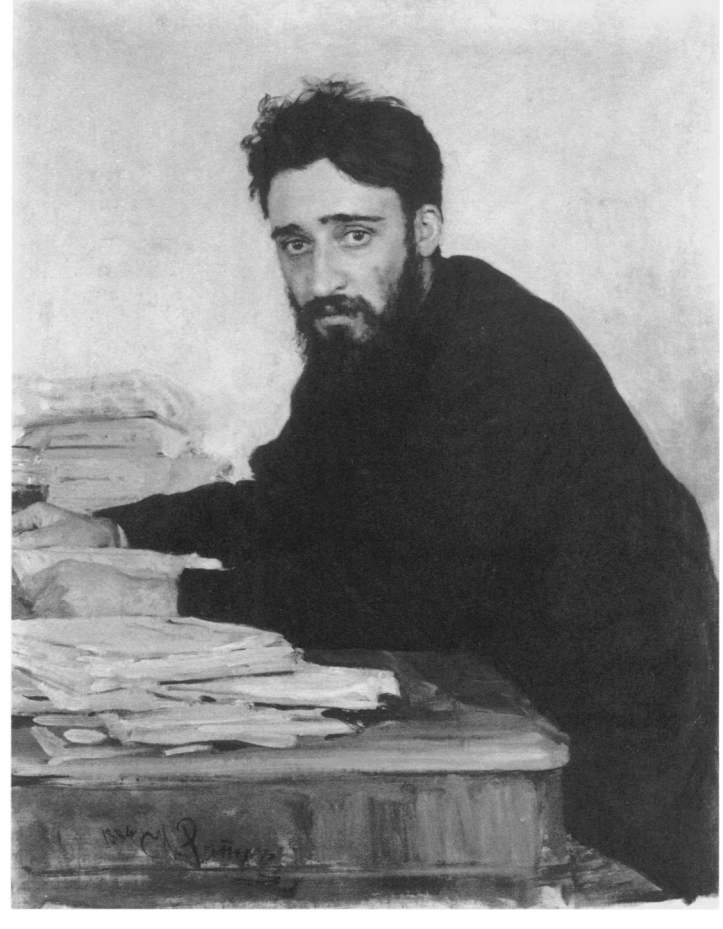
The sympathy and patronage of collectors such as Nikolai, Ivan, Fedor Tereshchenko, and Pavel Tretyakov, and of critics such as Vladimir Stasov, did much to further their cause, as did the founding of the Realist Tovarishchestvo Peredvizhnykh Khudozhestvennykh Vystavok (The Society of Wandering Art Exhibitions) in 1870. This enabled them to dominate the Russian artistic world until about 1890. The purpose of the Society was to disseminate its members' art not only in the major cities, but also in the provincial centers. Through this powerful apparatus of propagation, the works of artists such as Ivan Kramskoi, Grigorii Myasoedov, Perov, and Repin became a cultural experience no longer limited to a social élite.

But this is not to say that a "non-Realist" tendency did not also exist. Kramskoi, for example, one of the leading members of the Wanderers, painted several "philosophical" and mystical paintings such as The Sirens (1871, Tretyakov Gallery). His illustrations for the 1874 edition of Gogol's "A Terrible Vengeance"[4] are as bizarre as any by Böcklin or Redon.

Arkhip Kuindzhi, although a member of the Wanderers from 1874 to 1879, hardly concerned himself with the Realist credo and favored a more lyrical, subjective interpretation of life and art. Not surprisingly, therefore, his brief association with the Wanderers ended in a bitter quarrel with fellow-member Mikhail Klodt, and an air of distrust clouded his relationship with Repin. Because of his rejection of the Realists' beloved narrative themes and his exclusive attention to mood and sensibility, Kuindzhi occupies a distinctive position in the history of nineteenth-century Russian art.

Luminism is usually associated with the nineteenth-century American and German schools of landscape painting rather than the Russian. While there was certainly no Russian equivalent of the Hudson River School, there were, however, a few isolated artists, among them Klever (Figure 3), Shishkin (Figure 4), and above all, Kuindzhi, who demonstrated an acute sensitivity to the effects of natural light. With the exception of Shishkin, the Russian luminists did not transmit that aerial clarity and crystalline light that is associated with the work of Bierstadt, Church, Heade, and Lane; nor did they "dehumanize" the scene as, for example, Kensett tended to do. The Russian luminists expressed personal feelings through idiosyncratic composition, facture, and color combinations. However, what John

FIGURE 2
Portrait of Vsevolod Garshin, by Ilya Repin. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of the Humanities Fund, Inc.



4. This was the second of a three-part edition of Gogol's *Vechera na khutore bliz Dikanki* [*Evenings on a Farm near Dikanka*], published in Moscow by Golyashkin in 1874–76.

FIGURE 3
Landscape at Twilight near Orel, by Yurii Yurievich Klever. Oil on canvas. Raydon Gallery, New York

FIGURE 4
Rye, by Ivan Shishkin. Oil on canvas. State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow

Baur has said of the American luminist works—"we seem to be reading not the poetry of a poet about things, but the poetry of things themselves"[5]—is also true, to some extent, of the Russians, although their expressionism is less impersonal[6] than that of the American movement.

It is, of course, hazardous to attempt to establish in retrospect the existence of a Russian luminist school; many of those key elements that influenced the American luminists—the general familiarity with Western European painting, and in particular with Dutch landscapes, the influence of Emersonian transcendentalism, and the tradition of naïve painting—were all missing, or at least secondary, in the development of nineteenth-century Russian painting. On the other hand, the interest in photography in mid and late nineteenth-century Russia among both artists (for example, Ge, Kramskoi, Kuindzhi, and Repin) and the public, the very topography of the Russian landscape that contains the horizontals and planes so beloved by the American luminists, and the discoveries of Russian physicists such as Kliment Timiryazev, could not fail to affect the optical sense of the Russian artist. In painting, these factors generated qualities readily identifiable as luminist—brilliant and refractive light, strong horizontal structure, attention to detail, panoramic space—qualities manifest in the work of Kuindzhi. The audacious spectral contrasts and light effects of his epic landscapes both separate Kuindzhi from the usual tendentious work of so many of his contemporaries and at the same time anticipate the extraordinary experiments of the twentieth-century Russian avant-garde, and ultimately point to "painting as an end in itself."

Arkhip Kuindzhi[7] (Figure 5) was born in 1842 in the Ukrainian village of Mariupol. Greek by origin, with some Tartar blood, the Kuindzhi family was too poor to give their son a formal education. As an artist, therefore, he was initially self-taught. This is noticeable in his weakness in and avoidance of classical perspective and anatomy. From his youth, Kuindzhi was interested in the effects of light and space; the sweeping Ukrainian vistas that he had known as a young shepherd had a lasting influence on his art. About 1855, Kuindzhi went to Feodosiya on the Black Sea to study with the seascapist Ivan Aivazovsky, although according to some sources he was engaged merely to mix paints and received no formal instruction from the master.[8] Never-

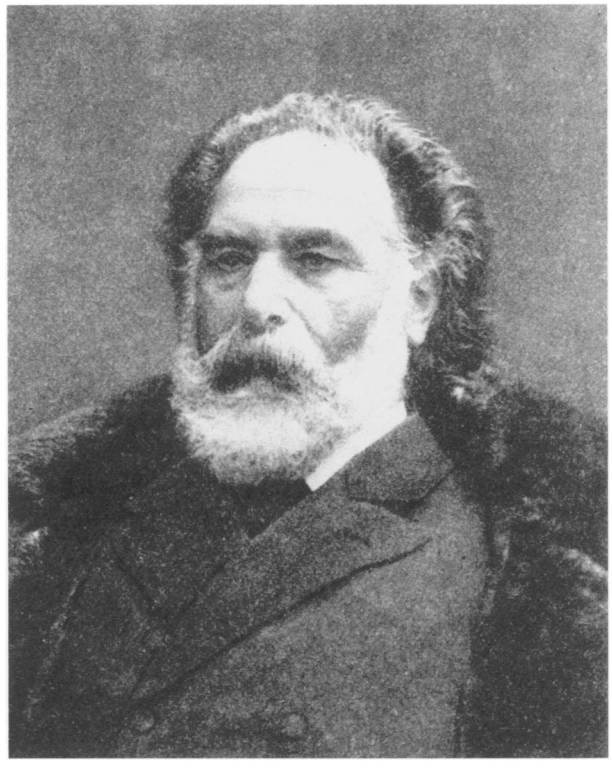


FIGURE 5
Arkhip Ivanovich Kuindzhi, photograph taken in the 1900s

5. John I. H. Baur, "American Luminism," *Perspectives USA*, no. 1 (New York, 1954) p. 98.

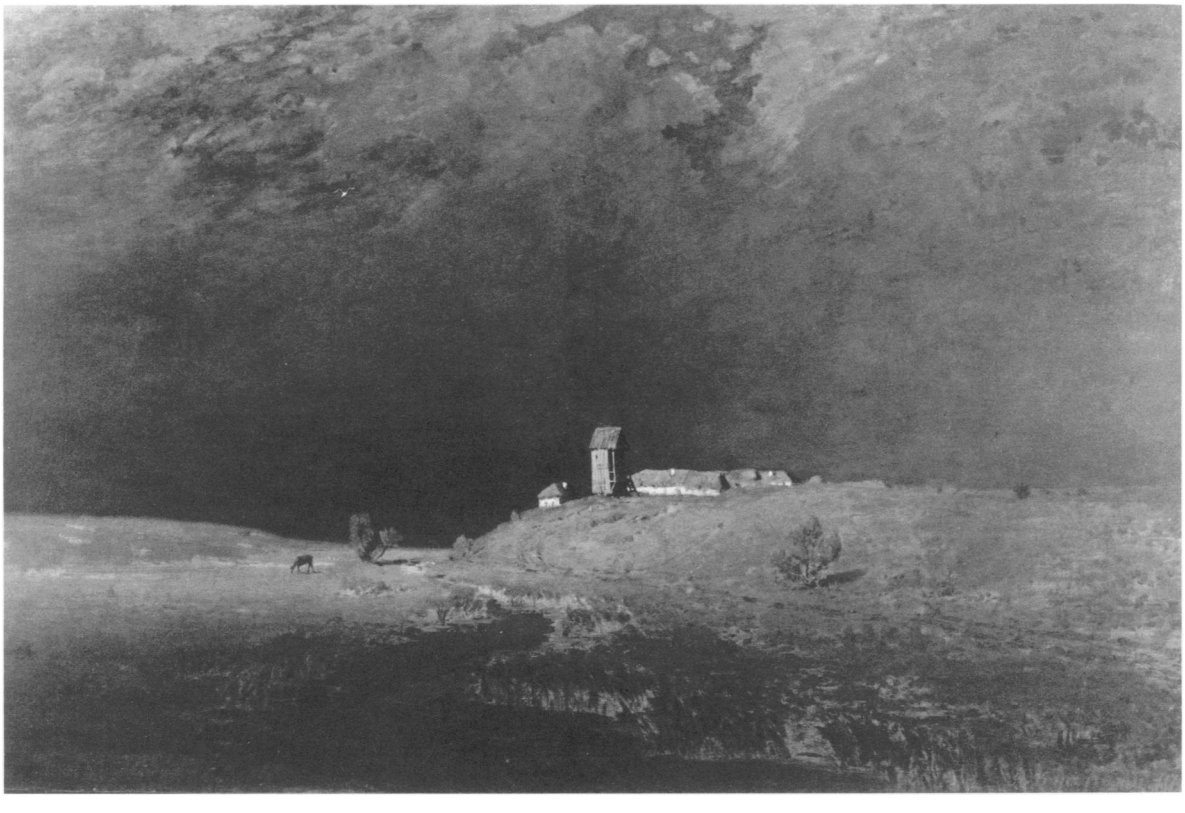
6. Barbara Novak uses the term "impersonal expressionism" in her *American Painting of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1969) p. 98.

7. Of the following publications relating directly to Kuindzhi, the two most recent are the most accurate: M. Nevedomsky and I. Repin, *Kuindzhi* (St. Petersburg, 1913); A. Rostislavov, *A. I. Kuindzhi* (St. Petersburg, 1914); M. Nevedomsky, *Kuindzhi* (Moscow, 1937); I. Repin, "Arkhip Ivanovich Kuindzhi," *Dalekoe-blizkoe* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1937) pp. 405–420; V. Zimenko, *Arkhip Ivanovich Kuindzhi* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1947); Z. Lukina, ed., *Kuindzhi i ego ucheniki* (exhibition catalogue, Academy of Arts, Leningrad, 1973); V. Manin, "Kuindzhi i 'kuindzhisty,' " *Iskusstvo*, no. 8 (Moscow, 1974) pp. 55–59. Until now nothing has been published in English devoted specifically to Kuindzhi.

8. According to Nevedomsky and Repin 1913, p. 9. A. Rylov repeats this in his memoirs, *Vospominaniya* (Leningrad, 1960) p. 41. The date of Kuindzhi's sojourn (or sojourns) in Feodosiya is given as 1855 by Nevedomsky 1937, p. 9. Manin, p. 55, indicates, however, that Kuindzhi was with Aivozovsky in 1866–67. It is possible that Kuindzhi worked under Aivozovsky both in the 1850s and 60s.

FIGURE 6 Moonlight over Capri, by Ivan Aivazovsky. Oil on canvas. State Tretyakov Gallery

FIGURE 7 After the Storm, by Arkhip Kuindzhi. Oil on canvas, State Tretyakov Gallery



theless, the elemental sense of light and form associated with Aivozovsky's sunsets, storms, and surging oceans permanently influenced the young Kuindzhi, although he would later smile at that sleight of hand that could produce a stormy seascape in under two hours (Figure 6).

On his return to Mariupol in the autumn of 1855, Kuindzhi became a photograph retoucher, a trade he plied throughout the late 1850s and 1860s in Odessa and after 1862 in St. Petersburg. As in the case of Kramskoi, and to a lesser extent, of Perov and Repin, the influence of photography on Kuindzhi's sensitivity to light was considerable. It prompted his complex manipulation of images and refractions of the spectrum as if he were extending the black/white antithesis of photography. In 1868, after several unsuccessful attempts, Kuindzhi entered the Academy of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg, concentrated on landscape, and graduated in 1872.

Although Kuindzhi joined the Society of Wandering Art Exhibitions in 1874, his artistic sensibility differed profoundly from that of his colleagues. Kuindzhi's use of contrasting primary colors—what one critic referred to as his "cosmic tones"[9]—distinguished him immediately from the somber, conservative color harmonies of Kramskoi, Repin, and Yaroshenko. Unlike the Impressionists, with whom, after his first trip to Paris in 1875, he was well acquainted, he conceived light almost as a concrete entity and endeavored to transmit to it a fullness and density quite alien to the analytical, fragmentary effects of Monet or Sisley. Benois's description of Kuindzhi as the "Russian Monet"[10] was, therefore, a misleading one, although he was right to regard them both as exponents of "paint itself."

Kuindzhi's conception of light is embodied in Ukrainian Night (1876), one of his finest and most provocative works of the 1870s. Its very material rendition of nocturnal light and its immediate evocation of mood rather than story deeply impressed spectators both at the fifth Wanderers' exhibition of 1876 and at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1878. The atmospheric quality of Ukrainian Night is also present in After the Storm (Figure 7) and Morning on the Dnepr (Figure 8), both of which are foremost examples of the nineteenth-century Russian landscape school. Ukrainian Night was followed in 1879 by the first version of perhaps Kuindzhi's best-known painting, The Birch Grove (Figure 9). This highly emotive picture, which

9. Nevedomsky and Repin 1913, p. 7.

10. Benois, p. 205.

FIGURE 8 Morning on the Dnepr, by Arkhip Kuindzhi. Oil on canvas. State Tretyakov Gallery

FIGURE 9
Birch Grove, by Arkhip Kuindzhi. Oil on canvas. State Tretyakov Gallery

caused some people to "stand open-mouthed before it and others to weep,"[11] combines a touchingly simple main theme and a complex, zig-zag composition. The progression from foreground to background through bands of shadow and light, the extreme contrasts in tone, as well as the abrupt truncation of the tree tops, invest the work with a peculiar, photographic quality —that "stereoscopic reliefness"[12] that contemporaries identified with Kuindzhi's luminism.

This development culminated in the exquisite Night on the Dnepr (1880, Russian Museum, Leningrad) a masterpiece of luminist effect, which was exhibited in 1880 at Kuindzhi's first one-man show. While including the stylistic principles of The Birch Grove—the central focus and rapid gradation of tones—Kuindzhi introduced a radical change in his construction of space, by presenting a bird's-eye view. Kuindzhi was intrigued by the notion of flying (his love of birds is legendary), and many of his later works rely on an aerial perspective similar to that of Night on the Dnepr. The picture caused a sensation; its magical charm caused "the whole of St. Petersburg . . . to besiege the premises of the exhibition."[13] It was immediately bought by Grand Prince Konstantin Konstantinovich and was given a special showing at the Galerie Sedelmeyer, Paris, later in the year. Soon oleographic reproductions of it abounded. The impact of this painting on St. Petersburg society was great:

> This is not just a move forward for painting, it is a leap, a vast leap. This painting has an unprecedented potency of colors. The impression it gives is a decidedly magical one; it is not a painting, but nature herself. . . . The moon is a real moon and it is really shining. The river is a real river, it really does glitter and gleam; you can see the ripple and you can almost guess whither, in which direction, the Dnepr is bearing its waters. The shadows and half-shadows, the lights, the air, the faint mist—everything is expressed in such a way that you wonder how paints could express it. . . . Nowhere in the world is there such a painting as this.[14]

11. Letter from Repin to I. Ostroukhov, 25 November 1901, in I. Brodsky, ed., *I. Repin. Pisma 1893–1930*, 2 (Moscow, 1969) p. 167. Repin was referring to a copy of the original Birch Grove.
12. Rylov, p. 45.
13. Rylov, p. 43.
14. Aleksei Suvorin, quoted in Rylov, p. 43.

Unfortunately, Night on the Dnepr today makes little impression on one, since, as Kramskoi predicted, the chemicals used in the paints have caused the painting to darken substantially.[15] To a considerable extent the same is true of most of Kuindzhi's luminist works. Second versions of Night on the Dnepr and Birch Grove were included in Kuindzhi's second one-man show in 1882, after which he retired from public life, never exhibiting again.

What led to Kuindzhi's sudden retreat is difficult to establish, the more so since he left almost no diaries, correspondence, or notes. Perhaps Kuindzhi was afraid of failure after the success of pictures such as The Birch Grove; perhaps he felt that his sudden fame would prove to be an encumbrance; perhaps he wished to devote himself entirely to research and experimentation. He may have also wished to avoid the suspicion and hostility of critics and artists, who had already cast aspersions on his name and had even inspired the rumor that while a shepherd in the Crimea, Kuindzhi had murdered an artist and seized all his paintings.[16]

It was not until 1892 that Kuindzhi accepted the post of professor at the Academy of Fine Arts, taking charge of the landscape studio at the so-called Higher Art School within the Academy in 1894. Kuindzhi was one of the Academy's most popular teachers, and in his studio were artists who were later to become famous: Konstantin Bogaevsky, Aleksandr Borisov, Nikolai Rerikh (Roerich), Arkadii Rylov. Borisov, in particular, proved a worthy successor to Kuindzhi and used the luminist style to good effect in his many scenes of the Arctic regions (Figure 10). Rylov, a foremost landscapist in Soviet times, recalled that Kuindzhi commanded both their affection and respect:

15. Kramskoi wrote to A. Suvorin, 15 September 1880: "The following thought worries me: will that combination of paints which the artist has discovered last for very long? Perhaps (consciously or unconsciously—it does not matter) Kuindzhi put paints together which are organically antagonistic to each other and which will either fade out or change after a certain time, and will disintegrate to the point where our descendants will shrug their shoulders, perplexed." Quoted in S. Goldshtein, ed., *Ivan Nikolaevich Kramskoi: Pisma stati v dvukh tomakh*, 2 (Moscow, 1966) p. 54.

16. According to N. Rerikh (Roerich) in "Moi vstrechi s Kuindzhi, Purvitom, Bogaevskim, i dr. slavnymi khudozhnikami," *Segodnya* 309 (Riga, 1936) p. 4.

FIGURE 10

In the Land of Eternal Ice, by Aleksandr Borisov. Oil on canvas. State Tretyakov Gallery

On Fridays Kuindzhi's studio was crowded with students: Arkhip Ivanovich would inspect the homework of anyone who wanted his advice. . . . I did not like the familiarity of certain pupils toward their professor: they would interrupt him, interfere in the discussion of my work and sometimes did not agree with Kuindzhi's opinion. At that time I was still a soldier. I found this attitude to the "boss" unusual and disturbing. Later I realized that this was not a boss with his underlings, but a father with his children.[17]

Kuindzhi's faith in his students was such that he allowed them to view his "secret" paintings of the preceding decade. He was dismissed from the teaching staff in 1897 for his sympathy with student agitators. The following year he took a group of pupils to Paris and other cities, paying all their expenses.

Although his dismissal deeply affected Kuindzhi, he did not sever his ties with the Academy, but remained a member of its Council and even made the institution a gift of 100,000 rubles in 1904. Such magnanimity, part of Kuindzhi's sincere desire to help students, culminated in his ambitious proposal to organize a benevolent society for artists. Eventually, this led to the establishment of the Kuindzhi Society in St. Petersburg, opened officially in February 1908, to render "both material and moral support to all art societies, groups, and also individual artists; to co-operate with them, to organize exhibitions both in St. Petersburg, other cities and abroad; to provide continuous support by purchasing the best works at them so as to organize a national gallery of art."[18]

Suffering from a heart condition, Kuindzhi made his will in March 1910, leaving all his remaining works and money to the Society. He died in St. Petersburg on 11 July 1910. Tribute was paid to his achievements by a large retrospective of his works in St. Petersburg the following year.

With the dissolution of the Kuindzhi Society in 1930 most of the painter's work made its way to the Russian Museum in Leningrad. Among the paintings Kuindzhi bequeathed to his society was Red Sunset on the Dnepr.[19] It contains typical Kuindzhian elements—large dimensions, low horizon, aerial perspective, and, of course, the same dramatic luminous contrasts as in his once better-known Night on the Dnepr. The success of the sunset, its gradations of light and refractions, depends very much on the central position of the light source, just as many of Kuindzhi's nocturnal landscapes rely on the presence of a full moon in the center of the canvas. Other luminists of the time tended to "avoid showing the moon itself in their paintings, or, if they do show it, then they do so by enveloping it lightly in transparent clouds."[20]

Kuindzhi's treatment of light and space was encouraged undoubtedly by his interest and experiments in the chemical ingredients of paints, and by his close friendship with the scientist Dmitrii Mendeleev.[21] But at the same time, it is tempting to suggest that Kuindzhi possessed a more innate, even national conception of space and light for, as his fellow southerner, the Armenian Georgii Yakulov, would later point out,[22] each nation tends to see the sun in a different way and thus to interpret space and light according to distinctive artistic principles. There is no doubt that the Ukraine's

17. Rylov, p. 38.

18. Rylov, p. 141.

19. The Museum purchased it in 1974 from a New York dealer who had bought it at Sotheby Parke-Bernet. It was formerly in the New York collection of Peter Tretyakov. Red Sunset on the Dnepr (in Russian, Krasnyi zakat—"on the Dnepr" was added by the Metropolitan) was painted between 1905 and 1908, and was owned by the Kuindzhi Society, according to the list of works in Nevedomsky and Repin 1913. Some twenty or thirty works were sold by the society up to 1917; probably Red Sunset was one of these. All works that were the property of the society were marked on the reverse with the society's printed label, which included a red K, with space for the handwritten title and two or three signatures of the society's officials. No such label is on the reverse of the Metropolitan's picture, but one may have been removed when the painting was relined. The painting is not signed, but this is not uncommon for Kuindzhi. Red Sunset has been reproduced twice in publications: in Nevedomsky and Repin 1913, between pp. 36 and 37 (in color) and in Nevedomsky 1937 on p. 91. A small study in oils, entitled Red Sunset, in the State Russian Museum, Leningrad.

20. A. Matushinsky in the newspaper *Golos*, quoted from Nevedomsky and Repin 1913, p. 62.

21. Kuindzhi, presumably, was therefore familiar with Mendeleev's chemical analyses of color. He also knew the scientist Fedor Petrushevsky and probably read his book *Svet i tsvet sami po sebe i po otnosheniyu k zhivopisi* [*Light and Color as Such and With Regard to Painting*] (St. Petersburg, 1883).

22. G. Yakulov, "Goluboe solntse," *Altsiona*, no. 1 (Moscow, 1914) pp. 235–239. Translated as "Le Soleil bleu" in *Notes et Documents édités par la Société des amis de Georges Yakoulov*, no. 3 (Paris, 1972) pp. 15–17.

peculiar weather and atmosphere, its aerial clarity and refractivity, flatness, and vast expanse of sky, occasions a unique perception of light. Unlike the clearly delineated light and space of, for example, large cities or of the intimate English countryside, the light of the Ukrainian steppes is curiously dense and omnipresent. Kuindzhi attempted to transmit this quality, and his Red Sunset on the Dnepr becomes a picture of space as much as of a crepuscular landscape. There is no recession of trees or buildings to provide the illusion of perspective and no definite outlines to delineate objects. Moreover, unlike a Realist work, Red Sunset makes no overt reference to the world beyond the frame; no gesture, glance, or pointed finger, no arabesque of trees, no crowds of people, no windows link the picture to the viewer's three-dimensional reality. Our attention is focused only on the interchange of color and light that achieves an almost cosmic force, a grand tension between physical and abstract, matter and spirit, "here" and "there."

Although a democrat, Kuindzhi was little concerned with the social or political dimensions of a given scene. He did, however, attempt to use the scene as an emotional and psychological stimulus. In using nature expressively rather than narratively, Kuindzhi imbued his work with a sense of timelessness. Somewhat like his contemporaries, the poets Afanasii Fet and Konstantin Fofanov, Kuindzhi anticipated the highly subjective, dreamlike tendencies of the Russian Symbolist movement of the late 1890s and early 1900s. However, there is no reason to assume that Kuindzhi went so far as to imagine, as did the Symbolists, that art could act as a medium of communication with the "essence" or the "absolute." Like the landscapist Isaak Levitan, Kuindzhi reacted against the Positivist interpretation of reality common to the Realists, and he "abstracted" or "synthesized" the natural world, so that his epic panoramas, devoid of human figures, seem to be the ultimate distillation of nature herself. Even so, Kuindzhi's juxtaposition of such abstraction with his concrete presentation of space and light invests his work, particularly Red Sunset, with a peculiar tension that is associated with so many examples of Symbolist art and literature—and which is also especially identifiable with Russian Modernism as a whole.

As one of Kuindzhi's last major works, Red Sunset on the Dnepr was a step in movement towards abstraction, just as were Monet's Haystacks or Sérusier's Talisman. It was this promise of new aesthetic principles that Kuindzhi's biographer identified with Red Sunset as early as 1913:

> This piece has already presented us with a certain new sensation, it has given us something important. . . . This painting does not gladden the eye, in my opinion, it is not at all "pretty.". . . But a kind of vastness, an elementalness dispersing into infinity, can be felt from the straight, parallel lines of the horizon, the banks of the river, the lower edge of the cloud. . . .[23]

While Kuindzhi can lay little claim to universal fame, he deserves to be remembered for two important achievements, both of which are implicit in Red Sunset on the Dnepr. On the one hand, it is clear that he stood outside those socio-political conventions of Russian Realism that we have accepted as all-encompassing for too long, and thus he offers us an alternative criterion for our study of nineteenth-century Russian art. On the other hand, Kuindzhi's attention to the intrinsic properties of painting, especially to color, anticipated some of the most exciting trends of twentieth-century Russian art, not least the color experiments of Kandinsky and Matyushin. In this respect, Kramskoi's description of Kuindzhi as "a man of the future"[24] is justified.

23. Nevedomsky and Repin 1913, p. 164.

24. Kramskoi in a letter to Repin, 5 April 1875, in Goldshtein, 1, p. 294.

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