

Volume 12 / 1977

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The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is published once a year; price per copy \$15. Managing editor, Leon Wilson, Editor in Chief, Editorial Department.

ISSN 0077-8958
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 68-28799
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Designed by Peter Oldenburg. Composition by The Press of A. Colish, Inc.; printed by The Meriden Gravure Company; bound by Publishers Book Bindery

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HELMUT NICKEL

The Evolution of Composite Hieroglyphs in Ancient Egypt

HENRY G. FISCHER

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§1. THE CLASSICAL TRADITION. Among the more striking characteristics of hieroglyphic writing is the separateness or discreteness of its elements. In the first place, the phonetic and ideographic components are usually presented as individual signs; secondly, if the constituent parts of the signs sometimes combine diverse elements or points of view, they are generally fitted together in an appropriate fashion, even if it does not always respect the nature of whatever is represented. In inscriptions dating to the classical period of the Old Kingdom the exceptions to the first rule bear out the second, but in other periods the second rule was also infringed to a greater or lesser degree. This question may be examined by following the evolution of composite forms—those combining two or more hieroglyphs in a single monogram. Given the close interrelationship of art and writing in ancient Egypt, one may anticipate that such a survey will provide further insight into the aesthetic taste of that civilization.

§2. CLASSIFICATION OF COMPOSITE FORMS.

1. For an example of this date see Goedicke, *ÄZ* 81 (1956) p. 22.
2. *Pyr. à degrés* IV, p. 37 and pl. 16 (76).
3. From Petrie, *RT* I, pl. 20. The reading *šhnw-ḥ* “who embraces the spirit” is given by the dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus (K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu alt-ägyptischen Mysterienspielen* [Leipzig, 1928] p. 193).
4. One example as early as the last reign of Dyn. I is recorded by Klasens in Emery, *Great Tombs* III, pl. 37 (13) and p. 35. The next earliest, at the very beginning of Dyn. IV, occurs in the reliefs

The most common type of composite form in every period is that in which one or more signs are enclosed within another. Thus, from the beginning of the First Dynasty onward, the Horus name of the king was framed by the so-called “palace-facade” or serekh () while, from the end of the Third Dynasty onward, the round “cartouche” () enclosed another of the royal names.¹ Buttressed walls may surround the name of a city, and the ground plan of a building may enclose its designation either completely () or in part (). The sign  partially encloses  less meaningfully in the compound  (*pri hrw*), which was used at least as early as Dynasty II,² and a pair of arms is apt to embrace a second element as in Archaic  and Old Kingdom .³ A distinction must be made, however, between the first and second of these examples, both of them meaning “funerary priest”; in the first case the uppermost sign does indeed mean “embrace,” and the combination is meaningful—“one who embraces the spirit”—while the second composite, although influ-

of *šhty-r* in the Louvre (R. Weill, *La II^e et la III^e Dynasties* [Paris, 1908] pl. 6). Later Dyn. IV examples: G. A. Reisner, *History of the Giza Necropolis I* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942) figs. 241, 242, 257; D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Boston, 1974) figs. 3b, 7, 12.

5. *Hk*: “magic”: *Urk.* I, p. 202 (2); Capart, *Rue*, pl. 20; Drioton, *ASAE* 43 (1943) fig. 67, p. 500; etc. In the last two examples  is attached to .

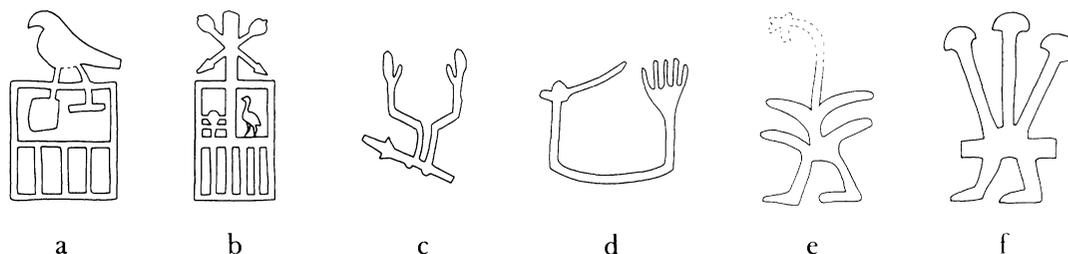


FIGURE 1 Protodynastic composites

enced by the first, is not; it is simply a combination of the two elements of *hm-k*, “servant of the spirit,”⁶ and the third is similarly a calligraphic combination of two phonetic signs in the word *hk*, “magic.” Some further mechanical combinations of the last kind came into use only later: \rightarrow (U₄, instead of \rightarrow)⁷ does not seem to have been used until Dynasty XII,⁸ and did not become common until the second half of that dynasty; \rightarrow (U₃ for \rightarrow) is earliest known from the Second Intermediate Period,⁹ and only became common in the reign of Tuthmosis III.¹⁰

Except for a few early First Dynasty examples, where the frame is penetrated by an external hieroglyph (Figure 1a,¹¹ b¹²), the elements of the enclosed com-

posite signs are usually quite separate. In other types of composites, however, a pair of signs are more immediately connected, and it is these that will be examined more closely, from one period to another, in the following pages, with particular attention to the appropriateness of the combination and the discreteness of the fusion. The second consideration calls for a further distinction between two categories: the cases where the signs simply impinge on one another and those in which one sign is traversed by a second.

§3. THE ARCHAIC PERIOD. Emblematic writings of names are particularly characteristic of the early First Dynasty. They are well exemplified by the serekh of the Horus Aha and Queen Hetepw(y)-Neith¹³ (Fig-

6. J. Spiegel (*ÄZ* 75 [1939] p. 118) has argued that the reading of the uppermost sign is similarly *shnw*, and Pierre Montet had already come to much the same conclusion some years earlier (*Scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien empire* [Strasbourg, 1925] p. 403). This interpretation is disproved by a Fourth Dynasty writing of the plural as $\square \parallel \parallel \parallel$ (Cairo CG 1384), showing that *hmw* refers to the priests, while \square is the object of their attentions, which can only be *kt*. Compare Edel, *Alläg. Gramm.* I, §99, who does not mention this evidence but cites the variant writing $\square \parallel$, subsequently published by A.-M. Abu Bakr, *Excavations at Giza 1949-1950* (Cairo, 1953) fig. 38.

7. Here, as in the following pages, I refer to Gardiner's Sign List (*Grammar*, pp. 438-548) wherever a composite form is represented in his hieroglyphic font.

8. E.g. *Sinai*, pl. 21 (71, temp. Sesostri I); BM 574 (Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 61 [42.2], temp. Amenemhet II); BM 569 (same reign, *HT* II, pl. 20); BM 557 (Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 39 [26.1]; Boeser, *Beschreibung* II, pl. 7 (both temp. Amenemhet III). Note, however, that an isolated example is known from an Eighth Dynasty decree at Coptos (*Urk.* I, p. 296 [15]) and \rightarrow (*sm*) also occurs in this decree as well as two others of the same series (*Urk.* I, p. 300 [8], wrongly transcribed \rightarrow ; compare H. Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem alten Reich* [Wiesbaden, 1967] fig. 17); *Urk.* I, p. 302 (12).

9. J. J. Tylor, *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab: Tomb of Sebeknekt* (London, 1896) pl. 10. The date may be later than the Thirteenth Dynasty; compare Smither, *JEA* 25 (1939) p. 35.

10. E.g. *Urk.* IV, pp. 72 (15), 75 (14), 611 (16), 620 (6), 751 (16), 860 (3), etc. (all temp. Tuthmosis III or only slightly earlier); *Rekh-mi-Rêr*, pls. 68, 107 (temp. Amenophis II).

11. From Petrie, *RT* II, pl. 14 (98). The serekh of King *rh*'s successor is often similar, in that the name *Dr* (\square , a sheaf) is placed at the top, so that the falcon stands upon it (*RT* II, pl. 15 [105, 106]).

12. From J. de Morgan, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte* II (Paris, 1897) fig. 559, p. 169. In addition to these royal names there is the list of besieged towns of the Libyan Palette, Cairo CG 14238, each of which is being pierced by a hoe, as well as the breached hieroglyphic fortress of the Asiatics on the Narmer Palette (W. M. F. Petrie, *Ceremonial Slate Palettes* [London, 1953] pls. G [19] and K).

13. A. H. Gardiner interprets this as “The Neith Hetepu” (*Egypt of the Pharaohs* [Oxford, 1961] pp. 411, 412), but the two principal elements of the name are elsewhere presented normally, without the framing serekh. Furthermore the likeliest explanation of the terminal \rightarrow is that it represents the intensive ending *-wy* (as in the name $\rightarrow \parallel$ “How gracious she is,” as interpreted by Edel, *Alläg. Gramm.* II, §946).

ure 1a, b), as well as by two nonroyal names (Figure 1c, d) that are evidently to be read *Dsr-kꜣ(.i)*¹⁴ and *ḥꜣ-kꜣ(.i)*,¹⁵ both of them being paralleled by normal writings in later archaic inscriptions from Djoser's Step Pyramid.¹⁶ In addition to these, there are other equally early combinations of words such as those shown in Figure 1e, f, where the emblems of Upper¹⁷ and Lower Egypt¹⁸ are mounted upon legs and feet; the last are very probably patterned on the hieroglyph 𓆎 (W25) which is evidenced from the First Dynasty,¹⁹ referring to the "produce" that is brought from these two regions, as in a Second Dynasty inscription that has 𓆎 𓆎 "produce of Lower Egypt."²⁰ A similar interpretation is possibly to be applied to 𓆎 , which occurs among First Dynasty potmarks.²¹ Such emblematic combinations of words were scarcely ever again employed in the writing of names before the later years of Dynasty XVIII (see §8).²²

Another meaningful composite seems to occur in the later archaic writing 𓆎 𓆎 ,²³ the first sign combining phonetic 𓆎 and ideographic 𓆎 , and the whole phrase perhaps referring to *šnu-wr* "the great round," a term for the sea, although the ideograph 𓆎 is not otherwise

known to be attested for the stem *šni* earlier than Dynasty XVIII. Its use here is not an arbitrary transverse combination but a descriptive "encirclement" of 𓆎 .

In addition to 𓆎 , the First Dynasty provides evidence for at least one more of the familiar series of composites that mount a phonetic sign upon a pair of legs: 𓆎 (M18);²⁴ and 𓆎 (N40) is known from the Second Dynasty.²⁵ It remains uncertain whether 𓆎 and 𓆎 (V15, T32) were added only in the Old Kingdom.²⁶ An equally familiar series of composites, showing a small hieroglyph at the base of some form of plant, is attested by a Second Dynasty example of 𓆎 *mš-nšwt* "royal child(ren)."²⁷

Several composites of the Archaic Period append a geographical term to the ideograph for land, as in 𓆎 *Thnw* "Libya."²⁸ A less common combination, dating to the reign of Narmer, oddly attaches the sign for *wr* to its phonetic complement, 𓆎 ,²⁹ so that the bird is perched on a human mouth. This degree of incongruity is avoided in later inscriptions—at least until those of the Eighteenth Dynasty.³⁰

§4. THE OLD KINGDOM. From this period there are many examples of the most usual type of enclosed

14. Emery, *Great Tombs* III, pl. 37 (9). On p. 34 Klasens suggests the reading *Šhm-kꜣ(.y?)*, while Kaplony, *Inscr. äg. Frühzeit* I, p. 448, reads *Hrp-kꜣ*. The same form of *dšr* appears in the name *Dšr-Nbwꜣ* (or *Dšr-Nbty?*), Petrie, *RT* I, pl. 4 (3).

15. Emery, *Great Tombs* III, pl. 78 (2); II, fig. 198 on p. 127 and fig. 229 on p. 170; Petrie, *RT* II, pl. 16 (121); Kaplony, *Inscr. äg. Frühzeit* III, pl. 68 (242). The earliest of these examples dates to Wadjj, the latest to Den. This is read by Kaplony (I, p. 448) as *cm-kꜣ* "Mein Ka ist mein Wurfholz."

16. For 𓆎 𓆎 see *Pyr. à degrés* V, fig. 98, p. 61; for 𓆎 𓆎 (var. 𓆎 𓆎) see index, p. 103.

17. W. B. Emery, *Excavations at Saqqara 1937-1938: Hor-Aha* (Cairo, 1939) fig. 25, p. 28.

18. Emery, *Hor-Aha*, fig. 24, p. 27; fig. 26, p. 28.

19. Petrie, *RT* I, pl. 15 (16). The hieroglyph 𓆎 is itself prefigured by Naqada I bowls equipped with feet: Keimer, *ASAE* 35 (1935) pp. 162 ff., and MMA 10.176.113.

20. Petrie, *RT* II, pl. 22 (184), which is correctly interpreted by Godron, *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale* (Cairo) 57 (1958) pp. 150-155; compare also 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 "the produce . . . that Lower Egypt yields," "the produce . . . that Upper Egypt yields" (Davies, *Ptahhetep* II, pls. 13, 14).

21. Emery, *Great Tombs* II, fig. 102, p. 80; Petrie, *RT* II, pl. 55 (27, 28).

22. Here one may also take note of the similar way in which emblems administer to the king in ritual scenes of all periods: e.g. 𓆎 and 𓆎 , equipped with human arms, wielding fans in reliefs of

Djoser: C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara: The Step Pyramid* (2 vols. [Cairo, 1935/1936]), pls. 40-42. Later such devices were sometimes used in private tombs: W. M. F. Petrie, *Antaeopolis* (London, 1930) pl. 28 (Dyn. XII); N. de G. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* (London, 1913) pl. 3 (Dyn. XVIII).

23. *Pyr. à degrés* V, fig. 140, p. 74; on p. 116 this is read " 𓆎 hr?."

24. The sign 𓆎 in Petrie, *RT* I, pl. 15 (18); the sign 𓆎 in the same volume, pl. 15 (16).

25. Petrie, *RT* II, pl. 24 (213).

26. Note also an anomalous occurrence of 𓆎 in the Dyn. IV place name 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 (Rowe, *ASAE* 38 (1938) pp. 393-395 and pl. 55 [1]; A. Vigneau, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art: Le Musée du Caire* [Paris, 1949] pl. 20); this is preceded by the cartouche of Cheops which may be part of the name, as in the similar names of estates (Helen Jacquet-Gordon, *Les Noms des domaines funéraires sous l'ancien empire égyptien* [Cairo, 1962] pp. 133, 226, 228).

27. Petrie, *RT* II, pl. 24 (210).

28. Cairo CG 14238: E. L. B. Terrace and H. G. Fischer, *Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Cairo Museum* (London, 1970) p. 22.

29. Petrie, *RT* II, pl. 13 (96). This also reappears in a potmark: *RT* I, pl. 39 (2).

30. If the same fusion occurred in later times, it was surely only by inadvertence; see, for example, a Thirteenth Dynasty example on an Edfu stela published by Barsanti, *ASAE* 9 (1908) pp. 1-2 and plate (line 11). One might compare Old Kingdom writings of 𓆎 , which sometimes show the arms attached to 𓆎 rather than 𓆎 , but this is a secondary deformation of the original idea; see the reference to Junker in note 51 below.

composite, in which the identification of a structure is framed by its walls, as well as the more unusual case of , containing the suffix-pronoun of *inb.f* in the epithet of Ptah who is “south of his wall.”³¹ Probably  (O8) should also be assigned to this same category. The horizontal position of  is not arbitrary, but is evidently usual in Third Dynasty hieratic,³² where it sometimes appears above  instead of within it.³³ The earliest carefully executed hieroglyphic examples of the Old Kingdom show the ends of  barely projecting on either side (Figures 2a, b),³⁴ and the amount of overlap may be compared with the slight overlapping of margins that occurs in hieroglyphic inscriptions and figurative representations alike from this time onward, notably in the case of long-tailed birds and mammals.³⁵ The best parallel is provided by some examples of the enclosed composite hieroglyph for *hwt wrt* “great mansion” or

“tribunal” (Figure 2c).³⁶ The same considerations apply to , a knife on a chopping block (*nmt*); in *kbh nmt*, a title of butchers; this is frequently written , which may be influenced more directly by .

Among the few emblematic combinations of two words there are two that are literally based on *hrt* “that which is under,” the sign  being placed at the bottom in each case, even though it is read first: *hrt-ntr* “necropolis” (Figure 3a-i)³⁸ and *hrt-hrw* “course of the day” (Figure 3j-k).³⁹ And there are some further combinations of two words that follow the pattern of , mentioned earlier:  (M28) in the title “greatest of the tens of Upper Egypt” (*mdw šmꜣw*) and the problematic .⁴⁰ In other cases of this kind the lower element is a phonetic complement or the feminine ending:  (M5),  (M6),  (M7),  (M24) and  (for  “king”).⁴¹ Although these plant-composites are less meaningful

31. Palermo Stone, recto 4 (8), as pointed out by T. G. H. James, *Ḥekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents* (New York, 1962) p. 123.

32. J. Garstang, *Mahāsna and Bêt Khalláf* (London, 1903) pl. 28 (2) and p. 27.

33. *Pyr. à degrés* V, pls. 27 (4), 31 (9), and p. 9.

34. Example a is from the reliefs of *šty-ꜣꜣ* in the Louvre (A. Vignéau, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art: Louvre I* [Paris, 1935] pl. 8, and R. Weill, *La II^e et la III^e Dynasties*, pl. 6); example b is from the chapel of *Mtn* in Berlin (Goedicke, *MDIK* 21 [1966] pl. 2); some other examples from this source show no projection whatever (pls. 5, 7, 8). An example on the base of a statue of Djoser conversely shows slightly more projection than this (Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, pl. 58), but other Old Kingdom examples show very little (e.g. Cairo J. 72201 [ASAE 40 (1941) pl. 73]; A. Fakhry, *Sept tombeaux à l'est de la grande pyramide de Guizeh* [Cairo, 1935] fig. 10, p. 19; Junker, *Giza III*, figs. 27, 28, foll. p. 166). It should also be noted that some Dyn. IV inscriptions combined  in the same manner: A. Fakhry, *Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II*, pt. 2 (Cairo, 1961) p. 5; H. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies I: Varia* (New York, 1976) pl. 7 (fig. 4).

35. Good examples in Hassan, *Giza V*, figs. 128–135, pp. 272–273.

36. Cairo T. 6/4/49/1 (*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* [Berlin] 7 [1960] p. 303); a similar example in Hassan, *Giza V*, fig. 122, p. 266.

37. For various writings of this title see *Orientalia* (Rome) 29 (1960) pp. 171–174; Kaplony, *Inscr. äg. Frühzeit II*, p. 1054, incorrectly reverses the sequence of the signs.

38. In each case the first example is illustrated: (a) Margaret Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I* (London, 1904) pl. 20; Junker, *Giza VII*, fig. 101; (b) Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 18; IX, fig. 72; (c) Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 8; Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 36; (d) Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 28; (e) Junker, *Giza VIII*, figs. 32, 34; Capart, *Rue*, pl. 95; (f) Cairo CG 1457; *Urk.* I, pp. 120 (11), 122 (12),

123 (6), 263 (14); (g) *HT I*², pl. 3 (2); *Urk.* I, p. 164 (3); (h) Cairo J. 43371 (*Urk.* I, p. 253 [3]); (i) *HT I*², pl. 19; *Urk.* I, pp. 23 (8), 139 (1), 217 (12, 17), etc.

39. (j) MFA 21.3081 (Reisner, *History of the Giza Necropolis I*, pl. 65b); (k) Davies, *Ptahhetep I*, pl. 18 (403) (and II, pl. 17, probably same); Capart, *Rue*, pls. 52, 58, 61, 83. In some cases  or  is written below , but there is no link between the signs: *Urk.* I, p. 37 (14); Junker, *Giza XI*, fig. 76.

40. A possible example as early as Dyn. III: *Pyr. à degrés* V, fig. 167, p. 81; this might, however, be a writing of  in *pr-nswt*, as in the case of no. 117 on p. 53 (pl. 32 [5]). Old Kingdom examples may be found in Borchardt, *Grabd. Šašhu-ꜣꜣ* II, pl. 1; G. Jéquier, *Le Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, II (Cairo, 1936) pl. 13. In the Middle Kingdom  was sometimes employed as a succinct writing of the title *rh nswt* “acquaintance of the king” (e.g. *Beni Hasan I*, pp. 41, 43), but it is difficult to believe that it was originally read the same way; if the original reading was not *try h(t) nswt* (for which question see, most recently, Fischer, *Egyptian Studies I: Varia*, p. 8, note 15), it may perhaps have been *h(nmš) nswt* “friend of the king,” as suggested by the writings shown in *JNES* 18 (1959) p. 258 (3). A sign resembling  is also known from the Late Period (Dyn. XXVI onward), but this represents the Memphite title *šm*: H. De Meulenaere, *Mélanges Mariette* (Cairo, 1961) pp. 285–290. The last also takes the form , which is once attested in an Eighth Dynasty writing of      , the place-name *šmnw* (Turin coffin, Suppl. 13.268: E. Brovanski, in *Studies in Honor of George Hughes* [Chicago, 1976] p. 34). But in the isolated Eighth Dynasty occurrence it probably derives from a hieratic version of , representing phonetic *zmn*, although  did not normally appear in the name of *šmnw* prior to the New Kingdom.

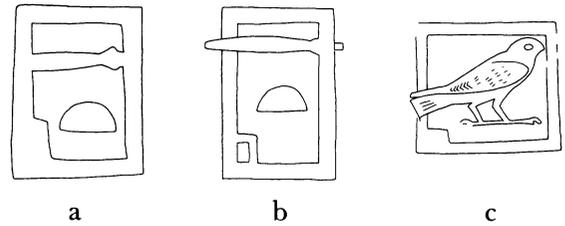
41. Some examples at least as early as Dyn. III, mostly in the phrase *pr-nswt* “king’s domain”: *Pyr. à degrés* V, figs. 156, 161, 162, 164, pp. 78–90, pls. 9 (1), 22 (9), 32 (5); probably also fig. 123, p. 69, fig. 147a, p. 76.

than those compounded with \mathbb{M} , they are nonetheless appropriate in that each shows a plant “rooted” in a smaller sign at its base.

At least nine more Old Kingdom composites of two elements, both of them phonetic, or one phonetic and the other ideographic, bring these elements together in the meaningful way that is sometimes called “sportive”: a seated man lifts the first sign of *fʿi* “lift up” (Figure 4a);⁴² a standing man beats the initial sign of *hwi* “beat” (Figure 4b);⁴³ a man bears the sign *hm* in

42. The example is from Wild, *Ti* III, pl. 155. Other examples in Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 21, p. 155; Davies, *Ptahhetep* I, pl. 4 (9); *Urk.* I, pp. 282 (17), 283 (2), etc.

43. This example is from Davies, *Ptahhetep* II, pl. 7; see also vol. I, pl. 4, and Wild, *Ti* III, pls. 170, 174. A relatively early example (Dyn. III?) appears in *Pyr. à degrés* V, fig. 86, p. 58.



FIGURES 2 (above), 3, 4
Old Kingdom composites

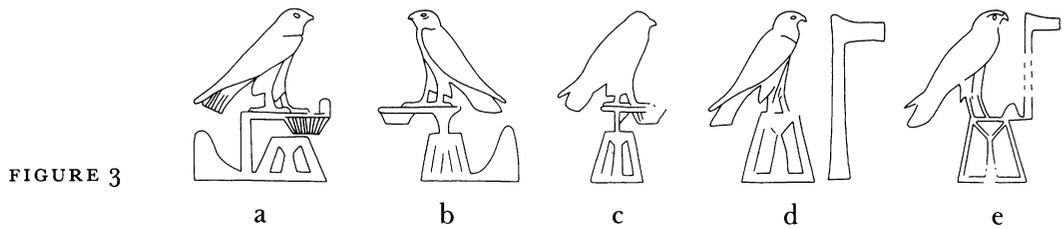


FIGURE 3

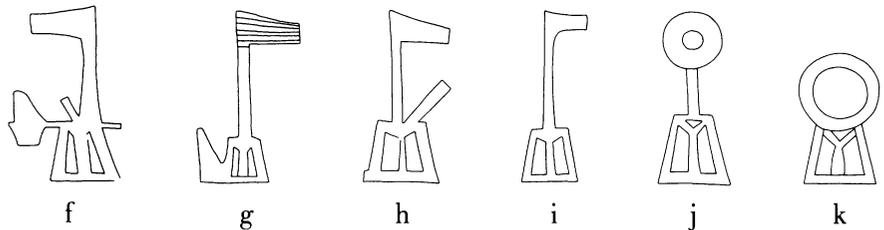
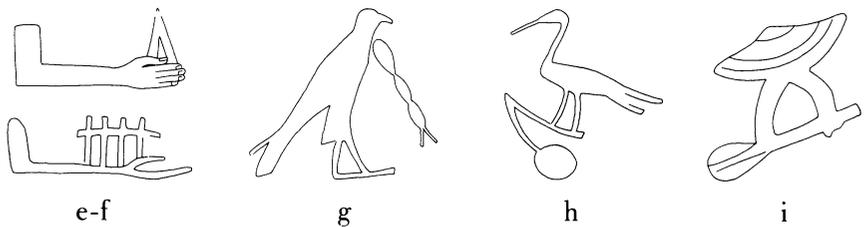
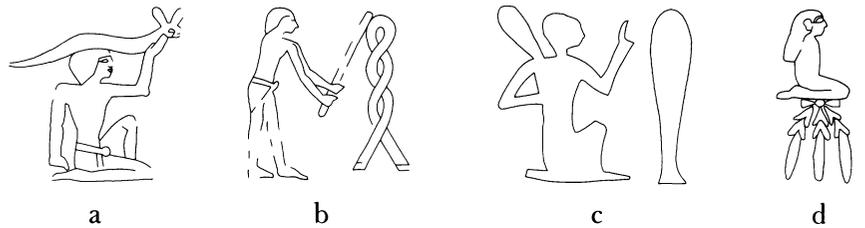


FIGURE 4



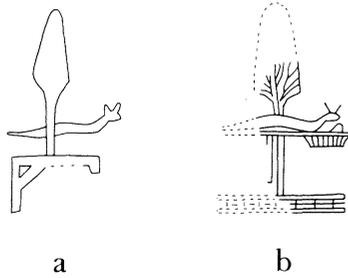


FIGURE 5
Old Kingdom writings of Upper Egyptian Nome
13–14

hm “servant” (Figure 4c);⁴⁴ a woman gives birth to the biliteral sign *ms* of *msi* “give birth” (Figure 4d);⁴⁵ a hand presents the biliteral sign *di* (itself a loaf)⁴⁶ of the verb “give” (Figure 4e);⁴⁷ or receives the trilateral sign *šsp* of the verb “receive” (Figure 4f);⁴⁸ the pendant wattle of the biliteral sign *nh* is replaced by the phonetic complement *h* (Figure 4g);⁴⁹ the jabiru stork (*bs*) strikes the sign *h* with a hoe to write the verb *hb* “hack” (Figure 4h);⁵⁰ a fire fan (*r-hnw*) wields an oar in the hieroglyph for *hni* “row” (Figure 4i).⁵¹

44. From *MDIK* 16 (1958) p. 131; another example on p. 136 (fig. 2).

45. From Abu Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 29, p. 34; see also Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 28, foll. p. 166; Hassan, *Giza* V, fig. 101, p. 241; CG 1431 (H. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* II [New York, 1977] fig. 58, facing p. 56).

46. Compare Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 533 (X8).

47. From Wild, *Ti* III, pl. 174. For other Old Kingdom examples see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* I, terminal pp. 14*–15*.

48. From Junker, *Giza* X, fig. 53, facing p. 144; see also *Urk.* I, pp. 282 (4), 285 (13); *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* (Princeton) 13 (1976) fig. 4, p. 11. The first and last examples appear in the word “šspi-cloth.” A later example (Dyn. XII, temp. Sesostris I) occurs in Louvre C 3 (Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 15 [6.3], line 20).

49. From CG 41491 (R. Weill, *Les Décrets royaux de l’ancien empire égyptien* [Paris, 1912] pls. 2, 6; *Urk.* I, p. 284 [12]); also *Urk.* I, pp. 276 (11), 282 (9), 283 (4, 9, 17), 286 (1), 287 (2, 12). For the form of the wattle, which hangs down the side of the neck, see Nina Davies, *JEA* 26 (1941) p. 79.

50. A hand-copy from the tomb of *Ppy-nht* at Aswan (cf. *Urk.* I, p. 133 [10], which is inaccurate); also *Pyr.* 1837; compare *Urk.* I, p. 978; *Pyr.* 1880, *Urk.* I, p. 103 (8).

51. From Wild, *Ti* II, pl. 111; explained by Junker, *Giza* IX, pp. 44, 45. As Junker points out, this sign (D33) was often replaced by the meaningless form *h*, probably influenced by hieratic (for which see P. Posener-Kriéger and J. L. de Cenival, *Hieratic Papyri*

It is, of course, difficult to say how many of the foregoing combinations were invented in the Old Kingdom, more particularly in the classical period of the Fourth Dynasty and later, and how many are survivals from earlier times. The inscriptional evidence from the first dynasties is far too incomplete to resolve this question.

Finally there are some meaningful composites that are entirely ideographic: *hsk*, an owl being decapitated, occurs as a determinative for *hsk* “cut off” in the Pyramid Texts;⁵² *T29*, a knife on a chopping block, in the word *nm* “slaughtering place” is a variant of the form *h* mentioned earlier, replacing an earlier writing that shows the knife well above the block;⁵³ *h*, a Fifth Dynasty sun temple, adds a solar disk to the tip of the obelisk;⁵⁴ the sign *M19* apparently represents an assemblage of offerings.⁵⁵

The remaining composites are few. A fusion of two phonetic signs occurs in at least two examples of *hkh* “magic,” which is essentially an enclosed composite (see note 5). The early Old Kingdom monogram *h* remains unexplained, although it evidently refers to a “master builder.”⁵⁶ In the late Old Kingdom the two elements of the name of Osiris are inexplicably con-

in the *British Museum*, Fifth Series: *The Abu Sir Papyri* [London, 1968] Pl. 2 [D 33]). This form is not uncommon in Old Kingdom inscriptions (see also, for example, Oriental Institute, *Mastaba of Mereruka* I [Chicago, 1938] pl. 21; Davies, *Ptahhetep* I, pl. 5 [53]) or in those of the Middle Kingdom (including N. de G. Davies, *Tomb of Antefoker* [London, 1920] pl. 18; *Beni Hasan* I, pls. 24, 25 [98]; Siut tomb I [Montet, *Kèmi* (Paris) 3 (1930) p. 56 (276) and pl. 8 (21)]; CG 20476; etc.), but was little used in the New Kingdom (examples in *ASAE* 56 [1959] pls. to p. 140 ff., first line at bottom; N. de G. Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê* II [New York, 1922] pl. 67 [35] as opposed to normal *h* in I, pl. 20 [5]).

52. *Pyr.* 635c (M), 962b, 963a (P, M); 227a (W) shows the knife above the head of the owl. Compare the remarks of F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieroglyphs* (London, 1898) and Newberry, *JEA* 37 (1951) p. 73.

53. For the early examples, showing the knife above the block, see *Pyr. à degrés* IV, pls. 9 (46), 14 (68). For the Old Kingdom monogram see *Orientalia* 29 (1960) pp. 171–172.

54. BM 1156A (*HT* I², pl. 27 [1]); BM 1143 (*HT* I², pl. 18 [2]).

55. Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 481, explains the center of this sign as “heaped conical cakes” on the basis of Davies’ remarks in *Rekmi-Rêr*, p. 44, note 5, but fails to mention that Margaret Murray made the same observation some years earlier (*Ancient Egypt* [London] 1929, pp. 43–45); she also plausibly suggests that *h* represents a stylized half-loaf of bread and that the apparent *h* is a jar.

56. For examples see G. Godron, *RdE* 8 (1951) pp. 91–98.

nected () , and this form may have influenced a monogram of similar appearance, the title  *iri-is* “tomb maker.”⁵⁷ A Sixth Dynasty writing of *wndw*-cattle as  is also difficult to explain as a meaningful combination.⁵⁸ “Silver” and “electrum” are sometimes written ,⁵⁹ ,⁶⁰ both of which may have been influenced by the traditional presentation of the “Golden Horus” name as it appears in Dynasty IV and after. A hieratic writing of “Hatnub” is rather similar: .⁶¹ At the very end of the Old Kingdom, in the Eighth Dynasty Coptos Decrees, the group  is ligatured in the reversed phrase *wḏ nṣwt* “royal decree,” evidently in order to clarify the reversal.⁶²

To the best of my knowledge, the only clear Old Kingdom example of a transverse combination occurs in two Sixth Dynasty writings of the emblem for Upper Egyptian Nomes 13–14 at Meir (Figure 5a),⁶³ where the final *f* of *ndf* (*t*) crosses the stem of the tree; other Old Kingdom examples of this emblem show the tree above  (Figure 5b).⁶⁴

§5. HERACLEOPOLITAN PERIOD. Apart from the exception that has just been mentioned, the first examples of arbitrarily crisscrossed monograms appear on an Upper Egyptian stela, where  is traversed by a recumbent gazelle in an unusual writing of *šrh* “official” (Figure 6a);⁶⁵ on an Eleventh Dynasty stela from Dendera, which shows an early version of  , combin-

ing two determinatives (Figure 6b);⁶⁶ and on a pair of Theban stelae dating to the end of the reign of *Wḥ-ṛnh* Intef, both of which show a composite writing of  “interpreter” (Figure 6c),⁶⁷ although other composite forms of this title more often take the form shown in Figure 6d.⁶⁸ Another Theban stela, dating to the early years of *Nb-ḥpt-Rc* Mentuhotpe, shows a combination of  and  (Figure 6e)⁶⁹ that is closer to  than  (P7), both of which become common in inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom. A similar type of composite appears in an Eleventh Dynasty inscription that places the sign for *wḥ* “column” upon the determinative  (Figure 6f).⁷⁰ The same inscription also writes *tr* “span” with the sign  on the back of the determinative, an ox (Figure 6g). A ligature resembling Eighth Dynasty  is known from Moalla and from false doors at Saqqara, combining  and  (Figure 6h).⁷¹ And another composite form links phonetic *tm* and the ideograph  (Figure 6i).⁷²

§6. MIDDLE KINGDOM. Many other arbitrary composites make their appearance in inscriptions of the late Eleventh Dynasty and of the Twelfth Dynasty. One of the Eleventh Dynasty examples resembles the Old Kingdom *ḥšk*-sign (Figure 7); in this case, however, it does not represent a decapitated owl but shows an ideographic use of *dm* () with the owl serving as a phonetic complement (*m*).⁷³ In another case  shows

57. *ÄZ* 93 (1966) pp. 56–69.

58. *Meir* V, pl. 30. For a later (Dyn. XII) occurrence, see A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* I (Chicago, 1935) p. 129.

59. Borchardt, *Grabd. Šaḥu-rc* II, pl. 18; F. W. von Bissing, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re* III (Leipzig, 1928) pl. 11.

60. *Urk.* I, p. 272 (10).

61. Anthes, *Hatnub*, pl. 12 (7), reign of Pepy II.

62. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Vienna) 57 (1961) pp. 65–66, and Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* II, §22.

63. *Meir* V, pls. 26, 27; similarly *Meir* II, pl. 12 (temp. Sesostris I).

64. The example shown here is from L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-rc* (Leipzig, 1907) pl. 15; similar examples: A. Fakhry, *Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur* II, pt. 1 (Cairo, 1961) fig. 12, foll. p. 24; Junker, *Giza* I, fig. 51, p. 221; Borchardt, *Grabd. Šaḥu-rc* I, fig. 51.

65. J. J. Clère in *Miscellanea Gregoriana* (Rome, 1941) pp. 455–466.

66. From W. M. F. Petrie, *Denderah* (London, 1898) pl. 7A (bottom right). For Dyn. XII examples see Cairo CG 20751 (in the name *Nfr-šndt*) and Louvre C 166 (in the name *Nht-nft*); cf. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen* I (Glückstadt, 1935) pp. 200 (14), 206 (24).

67. Clère-Vandier, *TPPI*, §§18–19.

68. Clère-Vandier, *TPPI*, §11; J. Vandier, *Moalla* (Cairo, 1950) pp. 162 (I, α 1), 185 (II, α 1), 256 (VII, 1); MMA 65.107 (Goedicke, *JNES* 19 [1960] p. 288); Cleveland 14.543 (to be published in H. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* III).

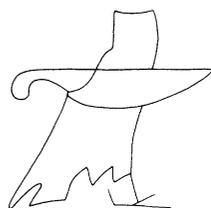
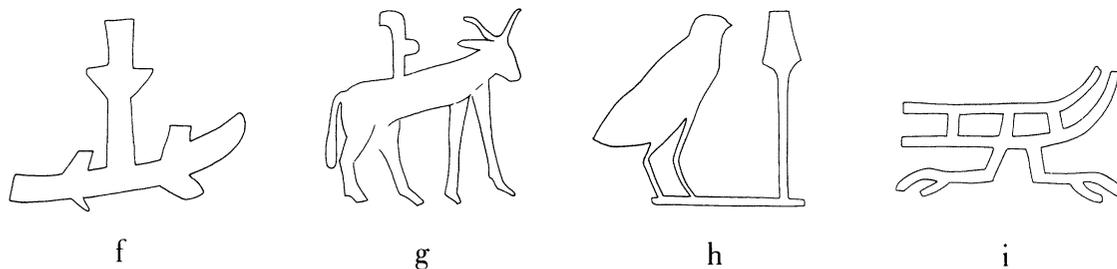
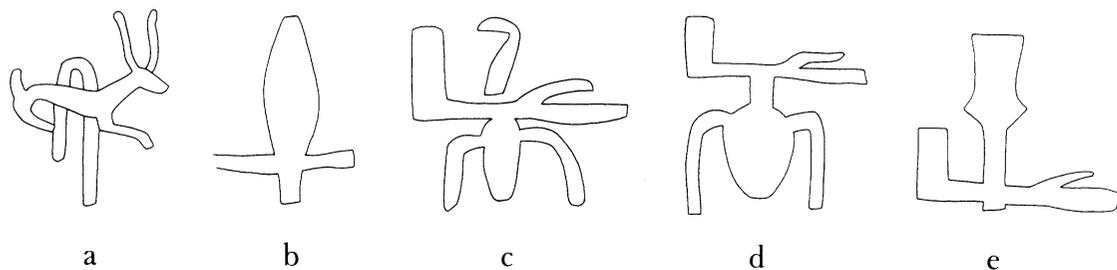
69. Clère-Vandier, *TPPI*, §26. Note that  actually shows  above  in the three passages quoted in H. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1968) p. 158, but in one case (D 842) the two signs are brought together and may represent another early example of .

70. Cairo J. 46048, from C. Fisher’s excavations at Dendera (D 3128).

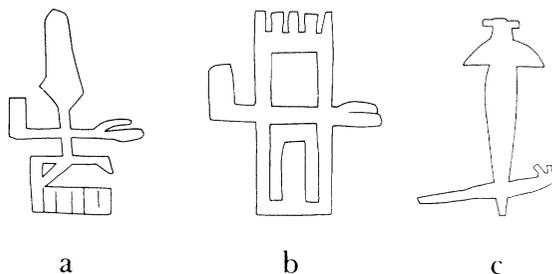
71. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 57 (1961) pp. 65–66; an additional example in Leiden F 1970/5.1 (H. D. Schneider, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* [Leiden] 52 [1971] fig. 1, p. 10).

72. Clère-Vandier, *TPPI*, §16 (5) and perhaps also H. Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome* (Rome, 1964) fig. 16, p. 113 (with note *n* on p. 116). Many other examples are to be found in A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Chicago, 1938–1954) II, pp. 1, 37, 129, 291; III, pp. 27, 45, 102; V, p. 261; etc.

73. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, fig. 16, p. 113, and pp. 116–117 (q). For the Dyn. XVIII use of this monogram, preceded by , see *Urk.* IV, p. 194 (17).



FIGURES 6, 7 (left), 8 (right)
Composites of the Heracleopolitan
Period and Eleventh Dynasty



phonetic \cup ideographically located on top of wpt “crown” (of the head).⁷⁴ Two other combinations of the same period are among the first to exemplify the transverse imposition of — , one of them in the emblem of Upper Egyptian Nome 22 (Figure 8a),⁷⁵ the other in — (O12), rh “palace” (Figure 8b).⁷⁶ The first of these is not altogether arbitrary, however, since — not only supplies a phonetic element of the name Ncrt , but also recalls the hand that emerges from the tree extending its flower in earlier examples of the emblem; that meaning is confirmed by examples on the Karnak shrine of Sesostri I, which show — in the hand of — .⁷⁷ And the sign — was quite possibly suggested by the earlier — , in which — had become narrower, so that — projected more conspicuously on either side. The same pattern may be seen in — ⁷⁸ for older (?) — (Og)⁷⁹ and hieratic — ⁸⁰ for older — . Similarly another composite sign, the determinative — , was perhaps influenced by older — (N7).⁸¹ This period also supplies early examples of —

74. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies I: Varia*, pp. 57, 58.

75. MMA 57.95 (*JNES* 19 [1960], fig. 1, opp. p. 258, and p. 262).

76. Same, lines 6 and 7.

77. Same, p. 262.

78. Known a little earlier, on the sarcophagi of the minor queens of Nb-hpt-Rc Mentuhotpe: Cairo J. 47267 (interior of foot end, not shown in Clère-Vandier, *TPPI*, §27e); MMA 07.230.1 (same, §277). Sesostri I: Hayes, *Se'n-Wosret-ankh*, pl. 10 (cols. 486, 488, but not 485); G. A. Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma IV-V* (Cambridge, Mass., 1923) p. 509 (32e). Amemenhet II: Munich Gl. W. A. F. 35 (Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 30 [20.2]). Another example at least this early occurs on Turin stela Cat. 1534.

79. Compare archaic — (nbt hut-chn), Petrie, *RT I*, pl. 7 (4) (with II, pl. 7 [10]).

80. Anthes, *Hatnub*, pls. 13 (10) and 17 (14).

81. Clère-Vandier, *TPPI*, §32 (line 2). An example in *JEA* 4 (1917) pl. 8 (line 10), may also be earlier than the end of Dyn. XI. Dyn. XII examples are frequent: e.g. Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 12; Louvre C 168; *Meir III*, pl. 16. Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 488, thinks this may derive from — in words for “tomorrow” and “yesterday,” but it more likely stems from Old Kingdom — (CG 1482, 1485; Reisner, *ÄZ* 64 [1929] pl. 3, etc.).

(U35), although in one case 𓆎 is located almost at the bottom of 𓆏 (Figure 8c),⁸² recalling the example of 𓆏 mentioned in §5.

In the inscriptions of the Twelfth Dynasty there is more abundant evidence for the use of 𓆏 ,⁸³ and 𓆏 ,⁸⁴ as well as for the new composite forms 𓆏 (M27)⁸⁵ and 𓆏 (Aa22),⁸⁶ and for 𓆏 ⁸⁷ as well as 𓆏 (S30).⁸⁸ The form 𓆏 is known from early Middle Kingdom letters in hieratic,⁸⁹ but also occurs in hieroglyphic texts of the late Middle Kingdom,⁹⁰ and it is significant that the

sign 𓆏 traverses 𓆏 instead of being placed within it, as in Old Kingdom 𓆏 . A Twelfth Dynasty example of 𓆏 similarly contains the suffix-pronoun in *tr. f.*⁹¹ Two other transverse compounds in the Gardiner Sign List are likewise attested: 𓆏 (M14)⁹² and 𓆏 (V21).⁹³

The Middle Kingdom also favored new combinations on the pattern of 𓆏 (Figure 9a), which is itself the most common example.⁹⁴ Others include a combination of 𓆏 and 𓆏 in *inr hꜥ* “white stone” (Figure 9b);⁹⁵ 𓆏 and 𓆏 in the title *imꜥ-r* (Figure 9c);⁹⁶ a variant of 𓆏

82. Clère-Vandier, *TPPI*, §32 (line 7); a more normal example in *Hammāmât*, pl. 31 (114).

83. Amenemhet I: *Bersheh* II, pl. 13 (21). Sesostri I: BM 581 (Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 12); Berlin 1199 (Schäfer, *ÄZ* 42 [1905] p. 125). Amenemhet II: BM 574 (Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 61 [42.2]). Amenemhet III: Basel stela (Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 3 [1.8]).

84. Sesostri I: BM 1177 (*HT* IV, pl. 3); CG 20539 (verso, 7, 15); Aswan tomb (Gardiner, *ÄZ* 45 [1908] pp. 123 ff. and pls. 6, 8). Amenemhet II: Munich Gl. W. A. F. 35 (Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 30 [20.2]); BM 574 (*TGG*, pl. 61 [42.2]). Sesostri III: BM 101 (Blackman, *JEA* 21 [1935], pl. 1 facing p. 1). Sesostri III-Amenemhet III: Berlin 1204 (*Aeg. Inschr.* I, p. 172 [7]). Amenemhet III: *Hammāmât*, pl. 13 (43).

85. Hieroglyphic examples of the reign of Sesostri I: Louvre C 1 (Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 14 [6.2]); BM 572 (Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 12 [5.1]); A. Fakhry, *Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries at Wadi el Hudi* (Cairo, 1952) fig. 27, p. 34. See also note 156 below.

86. Attested in the reign of Sesostri I: CG 20539 (verso, line 3).

87. Temp. Sesostri I: BM 581; Hayes, *S'en-Wosret-cankh*, pls. 7 (376), 8 (406), etc.; Alnwick 1932 (Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 48). Sesostri III-Amenemhet III: Berlin 1204 (*Aeg. Inschr.* I, pp. 173 [18], 209).

88. Temp. Sesostri I: Louvre C 168 (*Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* [London, 1932] pl. 48 [b]). Amenemhet II: BM 574 (Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 61 [42.2]).

89. James, *Hekanakhte Papers*, p. 123.

90. BM 905 (*HT* III, pl. 41); W. M. F. Petrie, *A Season in Egypt* (London, 1888), pl. 11 (295); CG 20476.

91. *Bersheh* II, pl. 8 (7).

92. Temp. Sesostri III: CG 20538 (recto, 12). Amenemhet III: *Sinai*, pl. 38 (114). Also Rifeh tomb 7 (Montet, *Kèmi* 6 [1936] pp. 160–162).

93. *Meir* VI, pl. 18, temp. Sesostri III.

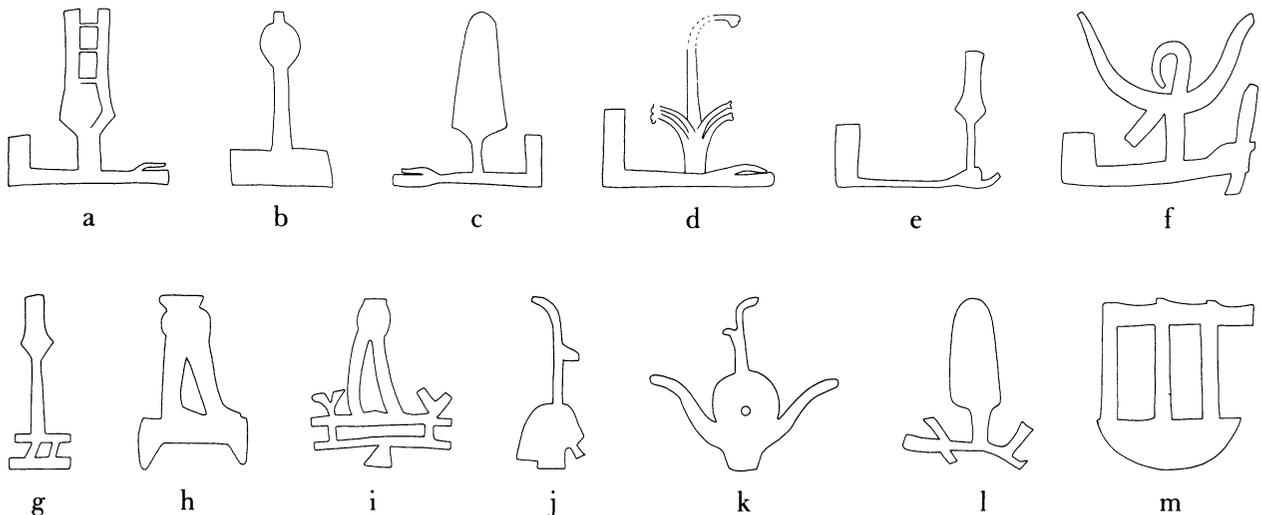
94. Amenemhet I (or slightly later): *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 44 (5, 6). Sesostri I: CG 20539 (recto, 5, shown in figure); CG 20542; Louvre C 168 (*Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, pl. 48b); Los Angeles County Mus. A 5141.50–876 (Faulkner, *JEA* 38 [1952] pl. 1); Hayes, *S'en-Wosret-cankh*, pl. 7 (374), rare in these texts. Amenemhet II: CG 20541. Amenemhet III: CG 20538 (recto, 10, 23).

95. Late Dyn. XI: Clère-Vandier, *TPPI*, §32 (12).

96. *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 44 (1), temp. Amenemhet I or slightly later; pls. 7, 9 (shown in figure), 12–15, 17, end of reign of Sesostri I.

FIGURE 9

Abutted composites of the Middle Kingdom



(Figure 9d);⁹⁷ a variant of  (D44, Figure 9e);⁹⁸ an unusual writing of *whr* “loosen” (Figure 9f);⁹⁹  on π in *hrp* “district” (Figure 9g);¹⁰⁰  and  or  in *Inhrt* “Onuris” (Figure 9h-i);¹⁰¹  and  in *tp mpt* “first of the year” (Figure 9j),¹⁰² following the pattern of , , etc.;  and  in *wpt mpt* “opening of the (seasonal) year” (F15: Figure 9k);¹⁰³  on π , like the earlier Dynasty XI compound mentioned previously (Figure 9l);¹⁰⁴ the plural of  on π in *ntrw nbw* “all the gods” (Figure 9m).¹⁰⁵

Virtually the only new composite form of a meaningful kind is , which adds legs to  *šms* “follow” on the pattern of ; this is first attested on stelae dating to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty¹⁰⁶ and otherwise seems to have been restricted to Dynasties XII and XIII.¹⁰⁷ An isolated occurrence of  *špr* “arrive” is also known, but it may be fortuitous.¹⁰⁸

§7. SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD. By the

97. *Meir* III, pl. 9, temp. Amenemhet II.

98. *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 25 (11), temp. Sesostri II.

99. Leiden V 4 (Boeser, *Beschreibung* II, pl. 4 [11] = K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke* [Leipzig, 1928] p. 73 [2]).

100. CG 20539 (verso, 2), temp. Sesostri I (shown in figure), and probably Berlin 1204 (*Aeg. Inschr.* I, p. 174 [20]), temp. Sesostri III-Amenemhet III.

101. With , Sesostri I: BM 572 (Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 12 [5.1]) and Leiden V 3 (Boeser, *Beschreibung* II, pl. 2, shown in figure). With  well before the end of Dyn. XI: Louvre C 15, shown in figure (Drioton, *RdE* I [1933] pl. 9). Amenemhet III: BM 557 (Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 39 [26.1]); Boston MFA 13.3844 (D. Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dér Stelae of the First Intermediate Period* [London, 1937] pl. 5 [1]).

102. BM 237 (*HT* IV, pl. 38).

103. *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 33, temp. Sesostri II (shown in figure); similarly Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. 14, as corrected on p. 17, temp. Sesostri I, and Leiden V 73 (Boeser, *Beschreibung* II, pl. 19 [28]).

104. Florence 6365 (Schiaparelli Cat. 1774: *RdE* 24 [1972] pl. 7 [A]).

105. CG 20515, temp. Sesostri I (shown in figure); BM 573 (*HT* II, pl. 6), temp. Sesostri II; BM 829 (*HT* IV, pl. 5) Amenemhet II.

106. *Hamamât*, pl. 37 (192); Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. 32; Louvre C 15 (Drioton, *RdE* I [1933] pl. 9).

107. Sesostri I: Louvre C 3 (Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 15 [6.3]). Amenemhet II: BM 567 (lines 5, 17, Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 22 [13.2]). Sesostri II: BM 573 (lines 5, 10, *HT* II, pl. 6). Amenemhet IV: *Sinai*, pl. 41 (118). Khendjer, Dyn. XIII: Louvre C 11 (Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 80 [58.1]).

108. *Bersheh* I, pl. 15 (right edge), but the two signs are apparently separated in pl. 18.

109. BM 250 (*HT* IV, pl. 40), Louvre C 40 (E. Gayet, *Stèles de la XII^e dynastie* [Paris, 1886] pl. 23).

Thirteenth Dynasty the transverse combination  (F50)¹⁰⁹ was in use, as well as , a new writing of the old title *šmsw hꜣyt* “elder of the hall,”¹¹⁰ and  (W5), a new writing for *hꜣry-hbt* “lector priest.”¹¹¹ In the last case the position of  does not enhance the meaning as it does in  (§4), since it is not placed below the other sign but on top, where it produces a neater connection.

The inscriptions of this period are particularly apt to show overlapping in the groups , , although a few examples of the latter group are known from the Twelfth Dynasty.¹¹²

§8. NEW KINGDOM. The new combinations of Dynasty XVIII are arbitrary, rather than meaningful, and are nearly all transverse, rather than simply abutted. The Middle Kingdom form  disappeared almost entirely;¹¹³ the combination of  and  regularly took the form ;¹¹⁴  was gradually replaced by  (S14);¹¹⁵ and the last form was accompanied by the

110. The examples are Cairo stelae illustrated by Lange and Schäfer and are all this late: CG 20035, 20056, 20311, 20434.

111. CG 20335, Florence 2561 (*TGG*, pl. 50 [32.2]), Florence 2590 (*TGG*, pl. 63 [44.2]), Berlin 7311 (*TGG*, pl. 32 [22.3]).

112. CG 20100 (Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 29 [19.2], *dfw*), 20520 (*TGG*, pl. 50 [32.1], *dfw*), Stuttgart stela (Steindorff, *AZ* 39 [1901] p. 117); MMA 63.154 (*TGG*, pl. 81, *dfw*), T. E. Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos* II (London, 1914), pl. 23 (5); J. Monnet Saleh, *Les Antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb* (Paris, 1970) no. 9, pp. 24, 25; Fakhry, *Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur* II, pt. 2, fig. 387, p. 66 (the Dyn. XII royal name discussed on p. 64 occurs in an offering formula and does not date the monument); Moscow I 1a 5608 (S. I. Hodjash and O. D. Berlev, *Altorientalische Forschungen* [Berlin] 3 [1975] pl. 1, foll. p. 18). For Twelfth Dynasty examples see *Bersheh* II, pls. 8 (7), 9 (2); BM 202 (Simpson, *TGG*, pl. 3 [1.6]); *Meir* VI, pl. 18.

113. An example as late as Dyn. XXII: Oriental Institute, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak III: Bubastite Portal* (Chicago, 1954) pl. 18 (23). Perhaps a new compound of the abutted type might be recognized in  *wꜣ mꜣst* “who judges truth”: *Rekh-mi-Rꜣr*, pl. 74. A composite of similar structure, combining  and , was also used as a monogram for *wꜣwty nꜣwt* in the New Kingdom: M. Valloggia, *Recherche sur les “messagers”* (Geneva, 1976) p. 206.

114. Amosis: CG 34001 (line 31). Tuthmosis III: *Urk.* IV, pp. 73 (9, 14), 705 (10), 891 (3). See also on a Dyn. XIII stela, Florence 2553 (S. Bosticco, *Le Stele egiziane dall'antico al Nuovo Regno. Museo Archeologico di Firenze* [Rome, 1959] no. 34).

115. Temp. Amenophis I: *Urk.* IV, p. 45 (14). Tuthmosis III: *Urk.* IV, p. 1046 (8–9), Brooklyn 61.196 (Sauneron, *Kēmi* 18 [1968] pl. 7). Tuthmosis IV: N. de G. Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis IV* (London, 1923) pl. 8. Amenophis III: *Ramose*, pls. 12, 19. The form  is said to occur on a Dyn. XII stela, Berlin 1204 (*Aeg. Inschr.* I, p. 173 [12]), but since the surface is damaged, it may be doubted that the stem of  appears below .

comparable ¹¹⁶ and an analogous form  (S13),¹¹⁷ all of which seem to have come into use shortly before the New Kingdom.¹¹⁸ On the other hand, the transverse combinations of the Middle Kingdom continued and were supplemented by many others:  (G3),¹¹⁹  (G20),¹²⁰  (G45),¹²²  (G46),¹²³  (D59),¹²⁴  (S31),¹²⁶  (T5),¹²⁹  (T5),¹²⁹ ¹³⁰, ¹³¹, ¹³², ¹³³, ¹³⁴ all attested in inscriptions that antedate the Amarna Period. In addition there was some further use of transverse combinations involving the suffix-pronoun *f*, as in Middle Kingdom ; the new combinations include  *rh.f* “his palace,”¹³⁵  *ks.f* “his spirit,”¹³⁶ and  *sh.m.f* “his might.”¹³⁷

Among the abutted combinations there are some

116. Tuthmosis III: CG 34011 (15). Amenophis III: W. M. F. Petrie, G. A. Wainwright and A. H. Gardiner, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V* (London, 1913) pl. 79 (16).

117. For S13 Gardiner cites BM 826 (temp. Amenophis III), subsequently published by I. E. S. Edwards in *HT VIII*, p. 24 (3, 12) and pl. 21. An example dating to Amenophis I is to be found in the relief as assembled by Winlock in *JEA* 4 (1911) pl. 4.

118. The sign  on an offering table from Edfu: Engelbach, *ASAE* 22 (1922) p. 123. Also, apparently,  at the end of line 4 of the stela published by Barsanti, *ASAE* 9 (1908) pl. 1 to pp. 1–2.

119. Tuthmosis III: *Urk.* IV, pp. 896 (12), 894 (17), 1199 (9). Amenophis II: *Rekh-mi-Rêr*, pl. 72. Tuthmosis IV: M. Aly et al., *Le Temple d'Amada IV* (Cairo, 1967) C 6; *Private Tombs IV*, pl. 2. Amenophis III: CG 34025 (lines 17, 23).

120. Tuthmosis III: *Urk.* IV, p. 568 (17). Tuthmosis IV: *Le Temple d'Amada IV*, C 1–2; Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, pl. 36. Amenophis III: W. C. Hayes, *Burial Chamber of the Treasurer Sobk-mosē* (New York, 1939) pl. 5; Ahmad Badawi, *ASAE* 42 (1943) pl. 1 to pp. 1–23 (line 22); CG 34054; *Two Sculptors*, pl. 15; *Ramose*, pls. 7, 16.

121. *Urk.* IV, p. 1640 (7), temp. Tuthmosis IV.

122. Tuthmosis I: *Urk.* IV, p. 32 (9). Amenophis III: CG 34025 (5, 22, 27). Note, however, that there is no basis for the odd group  as transcribed by W. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1975) p. 105; this is , with  touching the head of  but not traversing it.

123. Tuthmosis III: CG 34013 (5), *Urk.* IV, pp. 766 (2), 879 (2), 880 (1, 2). Tuthmosis IV: *Private Tombs IV*, pl. 10.

124. Tuthmosis IV: *Private Tombs IV*, pl. 4. Amenophis III: CG 34025 (11); Petrie, Wainwright, Gardiner, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, pl. 79 (16).

125. Early Dyn. XVIII: CG 34039 as well as  *hm.f*, temp. Amosis (Harari, *ASAE* 56 [1959] pls. to pp. 140 ff., col. 5). Hatshepsut: *Urk.* IV, p. 237 (4), 259 (7, 12). Amenophis II: N. de G. Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amūn* (New York, 1930) pl. 9. Amenophis III: *Ramose*, pl. 21.

126. Tuthmosis I: *Urk.* IV, p. 6 (13).

that recall those of the Archaic Period, namely  “Upper and Lower Egypt” and . It was not until the Amarna Period that the heraldic plants were actually fused with , however, and in this form the sign for Upper Egypt was assimilated to that of Lower Egypt:¹³⁸ ; examples are not very common before the end of the New Kingdom, in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties.¹³⁹ Some of the Eighteenth Dynasty examples bring the upper and lower elements of  close together, but there is almost always at least a slight separation.¹⁴⁰ In the other combination¹⁴¹ the resemblance to First Dynasty  “Libya” is more apparent than real, for both  and  are generic determinatives for “foreign land.”

127. Tuthmosis III: Louvre C 26 (*Urk.* IV, p. 974 [4, 7, 10]): a writing of *šsm*.

128. *Ramose*, pl. 41.

129. One might suppose that this form, since it closely resembles the earlier , itself had an earlier beginning, and some Dyn. XIII examples, temp. Sebek-hotpe IV, are said to occur in M. Alliot, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou* (1933) (*Fouilles de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire* 10, pt. 2 [Cairo, 1935]) p. 32 (8, 11) and pl. 16 (2), lines 8, 11; also pp. 30–31; p. 36 (B, 1, a); none verifiable from the publication. Kamose: L. Habachi, *Second Stela of Kamose* (Glückstadt, 1972) pls. 6–7 (18, 32). Tuthmosis III: *Urk.* IV, p. 1058 (2). Amenophis III: Hayes, *Burial Chamber of Sobk-mosē*, pl. 5 (*hd*); *Two Sculptors*, pl. 5; *Ramose*, pl. 40.

130. Tuthmosis III: *Urk.* IV, pp. 175 (8), 854 (10), 868 (7), 879 (9), 950 (9).

131. Temp. Tuthmosis III: *Urk.* IV, p. 910 (8). Amenophis III: *Two Sculptors*, pl. 15.

132. *Urk.* IV, p. 534 (16), temp. Tuthmosis III.

133. E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari IV* (London, 1901) pl. 107.

134. *Urk.* IV, p. 1045 (10), temp. Tuthmosis III.

135. *Urk.* IV, p. 137 (16), temp. Tuthmosis II.

136. CG 34025 recto (2), temp. Amenophis III.

137. In the epithet *ttt m sh.m.f* “who conquers by his might,” Ahmad Badawi, *ASAE* 42 (1943) p. 4 and pl. 1, line 1. Temp. Amenophis II (but affected by later restorations, as noted in *Urk.* IV, p. 1301).

138. Zernik stela of Amenophis IV: Legrain *ASAE* 3 (1902) p. 261; Fakhry, *ASAE* 37 (1937) p. 31.

139. K. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions II* (Oxford, 1970) p. 186 (9); Amice Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos IV* (London, 1958) pl. 37; Oriental Institute, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak I* (Chicago, 1936) pls. 58, 63, 69, etc.

140. The example in *Urk.* IV, p. 172 (3), temp. Tuthmosis III, possibly exemplifies the fusion of plant and , but it is more likely like the one shown in M. Aly and others, *Le Temple d'Amada IV*, C 17–18.

141. E.g. *Urk.* IV, p. 809 (4, 8), temp. Tuthmosis III.

Although the details of this evolution need not be pursued beyond the reign of Amenophis III, it should be added that new combinations were continually added in later times. Thus the late New Kingdom writing of old  as  seems to occur for the first time in the Amarna inscriptions,¹⁴² and  may be even later;¹⁴³ so too, with greater probability, the composite form , which is known from the Twentieth and Twenty-second Dynasties.¹⁴⁴ The almost equally bizarre compound  is later still, apparently no earlier than Dynasty XXX.¹⁴⁵

The late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties revived (whether consciously or unconsciously) the use of monograms of First Dynasty style for the writing of royal names, and this use was subsequently applied to nonroyal names in the Libyan Period.¹⁴⁶ Something akin to this procedure is known as early as from the reign of Tuthmosis III, when the name of the king's funerary temple,    "the life (of Tuthmosis III) is offered" is at least once written   , with the -sign looped over the arm of .¹⁴⁷ In the case of personal names, the emblematic combinations usually assemble the various elements in the hands and on the head of a human being or anthropomorphic deity, and they lack the ingenuity of their ancient predecessors or of the

sportive compounds that were popular in the Old Kingdom.¹⁴⁸

§9. CONCLUSIONS. After the First Dynasty, when hieroglyphs were frequently fused in an arbitrary fashion, sometimes with little regard to their pictographic reality, combinations of signs generally respected that reality to a greater extent. A certain degree of meaning or logic is to be found in nearly all of those that are attested in Old Kingdom inscriptions. A much larger proportion of arbitrary fusions made their appearance toward the end of the Heracleopolitan Period and in the Middle Kingdom, and in several cases one sign was inappropriately imposed upon another. In the New Kingdom, transverse combinations greatly increased in number, and often at the expense of comparable alternatives that combined the same elements more discretely—abutted rather than crisscrossed—and this period tolerated the creation of particularly incompatible forms in which an arm or sickle was compounded with a bird. It is true that, in the earlier examples of the bird compounds, the incongruity was often mitigated by showing the arm or sickle behind the bird rather than imposed upon it.¹⁴⁹ The latter alternative was at least occasionally preferred before the Amarna Period, however.¹⁵⁰ And by the beginning of the Nine-

142. N. de G. Davies, *Rock Tombs of Amarna II* (London, 1905) pl. 21. See also N. de G. Davies, *Tomb of Nefer-hotep* (New York, 1933) pl. 35 (early Dyn. XIX).

143. As exemplified in Oriental Institute, *Medinet Habu II* (Chicago, 1932) pls. 86 (27), 88 (9).

144. Dyn. XX in *hwtj* "face" (*Wb.* III, p. 29): W. M. F. Petrie, *Koptos* (London, 1896) pl. 19 (bottom, temp. Ramesses VI). Dyn. XXII in the title *hwtj*: Oriental Institute, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak III: Bubastite Portal*, pl. 10 (A), and Caminos, *JEA* 38 (1952) pls. 11 (5, 7, 28), 12 (36). Compare  in W. M. F. Petrie and J. E. Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas* (London, 1896) pl. 79, dating to the Ramesside Period.

145. Clère, *RdE* 6 (1950) p. 144 (R), gives Dyn. XXX examples. So also Leiden D 61 (C. Leemans, *Monuments égyptiens II* [Leiden, 1842] pl. 15) and CG 697 (Fischer, *Egyptian Studies II*, fig. 33), the latter Ptolemaic. The imposition of  also occurred in other composite hieroglyphs from this time onward.

146. H. Fischer, "Some Emblematic Uses of Hieroglyphs," *MMJ* 5 (1972) pp. 21–22.

147. *Urk.* IV, p. 1198 (9, 10), from Theban tomb 79, (also given in pp. 1535 [3], 1536 [5], 1537 [12]); later examples from Theban tomb 72, temp. Amenophis II: pp. 1457 (16), 1459 (4, 6).

148. A new sportive writing of the older variety does seem to

occur on the wooden base of a statue, probably Dyn. XIX, which shows the name *Wsr-Sth* with the first word written . The standing man might be explained as *sr* (), echoing the final consonants of *wsr* (): Florence 7666 [sic] (A. Pellegrini, "Glanures," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 20 [1898] p. 96). At the beginning of the New Kingdom (*Urk.* IV, p. 46 [6], reign of Amenophis I) the monogram  serves as a writing of *htp dt nswt* "an offering that the king gives," but this is wholly pictographic; compare J. J. Clère in *Studi in memoria di I. Rosellini* (Pisa, 1955) pp. 35–38. The later (Dyn. XXV) monogram  for *mdd mtn* "who adheres to the way" is, on the other hand, an emblematic writing of the kind that was sometimes employed for personal names: Gunn, *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale* (Cairo) 30 (1930) p. 795, note 2.

149. Thus in the examples from *Rekh-mi-Rêr*, *Private Tombs IV*, and *Two Sculptors* cited in notes 119, 120, 123.

150. Thus in the example from *Le Temple d'Amada* cited in note 119, the one cited in note 120 being inconclusive; the first of the two examples from *Ramose* is similarly inconclusive, while the second shows the arm superimposed on . Two examples of  are shown in E. Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari III* (London, 1897) pl. 81, and V (1905) pl. 140, but these are also inconclusive since the surface is damaged in both cases.

teenth Dynasty, as illustrated by the temple of Sethos I at Abydos, forms such as ¹⁵¹ were used at least as often as ¹⁵². This distinction is, of course, scarcely recognizable in relatively small-scale incised inscriptions.

The gradual use of increasingly incongruous combinations of hieroglyphs is paralleled by other developments that similarly violated the classical propriety of the Old Kingdom. Whereas Old Kingdom statues, unlike those of the Archaic Period, normally located the identification of the owner on the base or other structural element, or else on some other logical appurtenance such as a roll of papyrus on the lap or on the belt,¹⁵³ the increasingly lengthy inscriptions of later statuary gradually spread to other clothed areas of the body until finally, toward the reign of Tuthmosis III, inscriptions began to be placed on unclothed areas of the body as well.¹⁵⁴ An even closer parallel may be seen in the treatment of the animal legs of furniture. While stretchers were placed between plain legs of chairs from the Old Kingdom onward, it was not until the reign of Amenophis III that such structural support was ever attached to legs of animal form.¹⁵⁵

151. Amice Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos* (London-Chicago, 1933–1958) I, pls. 13, 16; II, pls. 5 (bottom, second unit from left), 11; III, pls. 16, 39.

152. Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I*, I, pl. 19; II, pls. 5, 6, 7; III, pls. 50, 52 (b). The difference is not related to the orientation of the hieroglyph, right or leftward. Here one may also note the curious example in relief from the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos

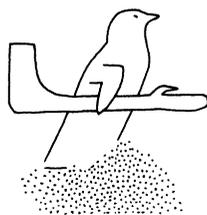


FIGURE 10

(Figure 10), shown by Weigall, *ASAE* 11 (1911), p. 174, fig. 4, where the arm-sign is held by the wing of the quail chick.

153. A very few Old Kingdom statues do show an inscription on the kilt: MFA 12.1488; Berlin 8430 (*Aeg. Inschr.* I, p. 69); CG 76, 268(?); such examples are so rare that they may be considered “exceptions that prove the rule.” For inscriptions on the belt see Cairo CG 37, 89, 196, 201; MMA 26.2.7 and Cairo J. 67369 (same person: A. H. Zayed, *Trois Études d’Égyptologie* [Cairo, 1956] p. 8; inscribed scepter of same, p. 2).

154. MFA 29.7.28 (cartouche of Tuthmosis III on shoulder: Dunham, *JEA* 15 [1929] p. 164 and pl. 32); Cairo CG 42123 (same cartouche and location); University Museum, Philadelphia,

The last example in particular demonstrates that even in those cases where naturalistic forms were incomplete, there was, for many centuries, a great deal of resistance to the idea of amalgamating such forms with elements that were felt to be incompatible. For this reason, and in view of the gradual and progressive development of hieroglyphic combinations that might be considered incongruous, one may fairly conclude not only that the Old Kingdom scribe failed to invent a composite form such as  but that he would, as a rule, have rejected it; and that the scribe of both the Old and Middle Kingdoms would similarly have rejected a form such as . Perhaps the Eighteenth Dynasty scribe would have felt later forms such as  and  to be equally outlandish. Furthermore, although this evolution tended to disregard the concrete forms of hieroglyphs, it rarely, if ever, originated in the more abstract and cursive form of writing known as hieratic, where ligatures are frequent, but was, from first to last, essentially a hieroglyphic phenomenon.¹⁵⁶

The parallel that is to be drawn from the migration of inscriptions on statuary is scarcely less instructive. Here, as in following the evolution of composite hiero-

E. 10980 (name of owner on upper arm: D. Randall-MacIver and C. L. Woolley, *Buhen* [Philadelphia, 1911] pl. 36); the last example is evidently at least as early as the others.

155. An early Eighteenth Dynasty stool with highly conventionalized lion’s legs (Cairo J. 43165) has stretchers at the front and rear (Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter, *Five Years’ Explorations at Thebes* [London, 1912] pl. 71); the earliest examples with stretchers between naturalistic lion’s legs occur in the furniture of *Sit-’Inn*, the daughter of Amenophis III: T. M. Davis, *Tomb of Louiya and Touiyou* (London, 1907) pls. 33–34 (chair, Cairo CG 51113); pl. 37 (bed, Cairo CG 51110). In the Amarna Period, stretchers (and sometimes braces as well) were placed between the animal legs on either side (N. de G. Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna II* [London, 1905] pls. 14, 38; V [1908] pls. 21, 23). This subject will be dealt with more fully in a forthcoming monograph on Egyptian chairs.

156. There are possibly a few exceptions. Old Kingdom  and Dyn. XI–XII  are only known to me in the hieratic inscriptions of Hatnub (notes 61, 80). The form  is known earlier in hieratic than in hieroglyphic script (note 89 above), and hieratic  occurs in a Dyn. XII copy of the Story of Sinuhe (B214: A. M. Blackman, *Middle-Egyptian Stories* [Brussels, 1932] p. 33). Most curiously, the form  (for ) seems to occur repeatedly in a Sixth Dynasty papyrus from Elephantine: G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie I* (Leipzig, 1909) no. 149; the hieroglyphic equivalent is found in Hyksos names, as Möller notes, and it occasionally makes a reappearance in names of the Ramesside Period (e.g. K. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* [Oxford, 1969–1974] II, p. 186 [9]; VI, p. 16

glyphs, we may trace an ever-widening breach in the unity of art and writing, which was so well respected in the Old Kingdom. That unity was never entirely lost, but hieroglyphic writing thereafter tended to follow its own evolution and to be used for its own sake, with less regard for the naturalistic aspect of the hieroglyphs, or for the forms upon which they were inscribed.

The emblematic creations of the late New Kingdom

might seem to revive the spirit of meaningful sportive monograms that were invented in the Archaic Period and (perhaps) in the Old Kingdom, and which, in many cases, continued in use, but the later writings of names are less meaningful and often highly contrived. This insistence on emblematic writing for its own sake must, in fact, be regarded as yet a further step away from Old Kingdom tradition.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Aeg. Inschr.*—*Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen (or Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin I-II* (Leipzig, 1913–1924)
 Anthes, *Hatnub*—Rudolf Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens 9)* (Leipzig, 1928)
 ASAE—*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* (Cairo)
 ÄZ—*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Leipzig and Berlin)
Beni Hasan I—P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I* (London, 1893)
Bersheh—P. E. Newberry and F. Ll. Griffith, *El Bersheh I-II* (London [1894–95])
 BM—The British Museum, London
 Boeser, *Beschreibung II*—P. A. A. Boeser, A. E. Holwerda, and J. H. Holwerda, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden II* (The Hague, 1909)
 Borchardt, *Grabd. Šašū-rcr*—Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Šašū-rcr I-II* (Leipzig, 1913)
 Cairo J. + number—Monuments in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, unpublished unless otherwise noted
 Cairo T. + numbers—Monuments in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, listed in the Temporary Register, but unpublished unless otherwise noted
 Capart, *Rue*—Jean Capart, *Une Rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah* (Brussels, 1907)
 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 I-V* (Berlin, 1911–36)

- CG 1295–1808: Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I-II* (Berlin and Cairo, 1937–64)
 CG 11001–12000 and 14001–14754: J. E. Quibell, *Archaic Objects I-II* (Cairo, 1904–05)
 CG 20001–20780: H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I-IV* (Berlin, 1902–25)
 CG 34001–34189: P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire I-II* (Cairo, 1909–26)
 CG 42001–42250: Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes des rois et des particuliers I-III + index volume* (Cairo, 1906–25)
 Clère-Vandier, *TPPI*—J. J. Clère and J. Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire et de la XI^{ème} Dynastie, Fasc. 1 (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 10)* (Brussels, 1948)
 Davies, *Ptahhetep*—N. de G. Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep at Saqqarah I-II* (London, 1900–01)
 Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*—E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik I-II (Analecta Orientalia 34, 39)* (Rome, 1955–64)
 Emery, *Great Tombs*—Walter B. Emery et al., *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty I-III (Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte: Excavations at Saqqara)* (Cairo and London, 1949–58)
 Gardiner, *Grammar*—A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. (London, 1957)
 Hammâmât—J. Couyat and P. Montet, *Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât (Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale 34)* (Cairo, 1912)
 Hassan, *Gîza V*—Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Gîza V* (Cairo, 1944)
 Hayes, *Se'n-Wosret-rankh*—W. C. Hayes, *The Texts in the Mastabah of Se'n-Wosret-rankh at Lisht (Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 12)* (New York, 1937)
 HT—The British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in The British Museum I-IX* (London, 1911–70)
 HT I²—The British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in The British Museum I*, 2nd ed., by T. G. H. James (London, 1961)
 JEA—*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London

[1]), but no further hieratic examples are attested. The hieratic equivalent of  (see note 85) occurs relatively early at Hatnub (Anthes, *Hatnub*, p. 36 and pl. 16 [no. 16, line 7]), but this inscription may be later than Dyn. XI (W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien* [Bonn, 1962] §34). Two Old Kingdom hieratic examples of  (see note 93) are given by G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie I*, no. 252, but both are actually  (see note 37); compare Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *The Abu Sir Papyri*, pls. 49 (B), 87 (B).

- JNES—*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago
- Junker, Giza—H. Junker, *Giza I-XII (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-hist. Klasse. Denkschriften)* (Vienna, 1929–1955)
- Kaplony, *Inscr. äg. Frühzeit*—P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit I-III + supplement (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 8, 9)* (Wiesbaden, 1963–1964)
- MDIK—*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*, Wiesbaden.
- Meir—A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir I-IV* (London, 1914–24). A. M. Blackman and M. R. Apton, *The Rock Tombs of Meir V-VI* (London, 1953)
- MFA—Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
- MMA—The Metropolitan Museum of Art
- MMJ—Metropolitan Museum Journal
- Petrie, RT—W. M. F. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs (Part 1) of the First Dynasty; (Part II, with extra plates) of the Earliest Dynasties* (London, 1900–01)
- Private Tombs IV—Nina de G. Davies, *Private Tombs at Thebes IV: Scenes from Some Theban Tombs* (Oxford, 1963)
- Pyr.—Pyramid text reference, following K. Sethe's arrangement in *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte* (Leipzig, 1908–22) and his *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* (Glückstadt, 1935–39)
- Pyr. à degrés—P. Lacau and J.-Ph. Lauer, *La Pyramide à degrés IV-V* (Cairo, 1959–65)
- Ramose—N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (London, 1941)
- RdE—*Revue d'Égyptologie*, Paris
- Rekh-mi-Rē'—N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē' at Thebes I-II (Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 10, 11)* (New York, 1943)
- Simpson, TGG—W. K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos (Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt 5)* (New Haven and Philadelphia, 1974)
- Sinai—A. H. Gardiner, T. E. Peet, J. Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai I-II* (London, 1952–55)
- Two Sculptors—N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes (Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 4)* (New York, 1925)
- Urk. I—K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*, 2nd ed. (*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums I*) (Leipzig, 1933)
- Urk. IV—K. Sethe and W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, 22 parts (*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV*) (Leipzig and Berlin, 1906–58)
- Wild, Ti—H. Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ti II-III (Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale 65)* (Cairo, 1953–1966)

ADDENDA

To note 13. The same interpretation of the name Hetepw(y)-Neith has already been suggested by Helck, *ÄZ* 79 (1954) p. 30.

To note 105. A few earlier examples, including some odd variants, occur on Eleventh Dynasty coffins from Akhmim: Pierre Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire* (Cairo, 1904) pp. 1, 5, 17, 30, 34, 35, 37.

The Iconography of the Tympanum of the Temptation of Christ at The Cloisters

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A CARVED ROMANESQUE TYMPANUM and lintel (Figure 1) in the Cloisters Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art are said to have come from Errondo (also known as Raondo), a small community that lies in ruins nineteen kilometers southeast of Pamplona, Spain, near the village of Unciti. In 1944 José Gudiol attributed these two reliefs to the Cabestany Master, an anonymous sculptor associated with a group of works in Languedoc, Roussillon, Catalonia, and Tuscany.¹ Discussion of the “Errondo” carvings has focused entirely upon their relationship to the oeuvre of this master, whose enigmatic career Léon Pressouyre has convincingly placed within the third quarter of the twelfth century.² I would like for the moment to ignore the attribution and chronology of these sculptures and concentrate on the iconography of the tympanum.

It must first be noted, however, that the present arrangement of the tympanum and lintel as a single architectural unit is probably incorrect. Their different dimensions seem to suggest that these sculptures are not from the same portal. The lintel (62 × 198 cm.), approximately three-quarters the height of the tympanum (79 × 160 cm.), is altogether too large for the tympanum, which rests unevenly along its upper edge. The lintel is also much too long for the tympanum, especially if one takes into account that no vousoirs, which would have required the added length of the lintel, have been found at Errondo. Furthermore, the color of the stone differs: the lintel is gold brown, the tympanum almost gray. The stone evidently came from different quarries, although only a petrographic analysis could confirm this.

Gudiol had traced the carvings to Errondo on the basis of an old photograph that showed only the lintel in situ embedded in the wall of a mill. Fr. Fernando de Mendoza first published this photograph in 1924 as an illustration to his article describing in some detail his discovery of the lintel and the site of Errondo, but he made no mention of a tympanum. He suggested that the lintel may have come from the chapel of the fortress of Errondo, of which only a section of wall remains.³ Having recently examined the site, now reduced to a barren plowed field around the wall of the fortress, I found it impossible to determine the ground plan of either the fortress or a chapel. The stone debris scattered over the hills beyond the immediate site, which occasionally defines rectangular plots, seems to be the vestige of the community. Gudiol, who was apparently unaware of Mendoza’s account, was familiar with the photograph of the lintel from its reproduction in a later publication, which again discussed only the lintel and did not refer to a tympanum.⁴ The lintel disappeared from Errondo after 1924; in 1941 it turned up combined with the tympanum in the possession of a dealer

1. J. Gudiol Ricart, “Los relieves de la portada de Errondo y el maestro de Cabestany,” *Príncipe de Viana* 14 (1944) pp. 9–16.

2. L. Pressouyre, “Une nouvelle oeuvre de maître de Cabestany en Toscane: le pilier sculpté de San Giovanni in Sugana,” *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1969) pp. 30–55. This article contains the bibliography, to date, on the Cabestany Master.

3. Fr. F. de Mendoza, “Las ruinas de Errondo. Un relieve interesante,” *Verdad y Caridad* (June 1924) pp. 84–90.

4. J. E. Uranga, “El timpán de la puerta de la ermita de S. Bartolomé en Aguilar de Codés,” *Príncipe de Viana* 8 (1942) p. 253.



FIGURE 1

Tympanum of the Temptation of Christ and accompanying lintel. The Cloisters Collection, 65.122.1, 2

in New York. Neither the site nor the disposition of the tympanum at the time of its recovery has ever been reported, and to the present day the original context of the work remains unknown.⁵ The Cloisters tympanum and lintel, then, may have even belonged to different monuments. The iconography of the lintel, which is indigenous to northeastern Spain,⁶ is not thematically re-

5. It has not been possible to trace the history of the carvings between the date of the publication of the lintel in situ and the date of its arrival in New York. In 1941, James Montllor, Inc. owned the sculptures and sold them a year later to Joseph Brummer, who in turn auctioned them in 1949: *Joseph Brummer Collection III*, sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, June 9, 1949, p. 122, no. 523. In 1951, the sculptures, which then belonged to Paula de Koenigsberg, were exhibited in Buenos Aires: P. de Koenigsberg, *Exposición de obras maestras: siglos XII al XVII*, exhibition catalogue

lated to that of the tympanum and will not be considered further, here.

The sequence of events on the tympanum proceeds from right to left, in contrast to the conventional order in narrative relief sculpture. The alternation of three demons with three large cross-nimbed figures of Christ standing on an animal and holding a book in his left

(Buenos Aires, 1951) pl. xrv. The Metropolitan Museum purchased the carvings in 1965.

6. A. Séné, "Quelques remarques sur les tympanes romans à chrisme en Aragon et en Navarre," *Mélanges René Crozet I* (Poitiers, 1966) pp. 365–381; J. Uranga, *Arte medieval navarro II* (Pamplona, 1971–73) p. 247 f. The lintel is mentioned in the older study by L. Torres Balbas, "La escultura románica aragonesa y el crismón de los tímpanos de las iglesias de la región pirenaica," *Archivo español de arte y arqueológica* 6 (1926) p. 290.

hand illustrates the Temptation of Christ (Matt. 4:1–11, Luke 4:1–13). On the left side Christ appears a fourth time, but with two small winged figures, the ministering angels who attended him immediately following his temptation (Matt. 4:11, Mark 1:13).⁷ The artist has carved the three encounters between Christ and Satan, but has given an identifying prop for only the first trial—the request to transform stones into bread—by rendering the demon with stone in hand (Figure 2). Although this episode is common to both Luke and Matthew, the latter is probably the source here, since it is the only account that both describes three distinct temptations and includes the Ministry of the Angels. The angel to Christ’s right bears a platter of fish, while Christ holds a round loaf of bread offered by the angel to his left (Figure 3). Neither scripture nor any commentary to my knowledge names the objects borne in service to Christ.

The Temptation cycle of the Cloisters tympanum is interesting not simply because it is an example of a narrative that occurs infrequently in Romanesque sculpture, but because it is a unique variation of iconographic conventions established in wall painting and manuscript illumination as well as in sculpture. The components of the Cloisters cycle—the series of three confrontations between Christ and Satan, the descriptive detail of the stone, the completion of the cycle with the ministry of angels who bring food to the victor, and the image of Christ treading upon a beast—derive from several distinct traditions within the pictorial reper-

toire of the Temptation. In combining these various traditions the Cloisters cycle deviates from iconographic norms. The fusion of motifs from diverse but familiar traditions may have come about spontaneously through a visual association of related representations. However, it is also plausible that the tympanum makes a statement for which a new pictorial formula had to be created. The theological concept that emerges reflects the influence of Saint Augustine’s commentary on the Temptation as contained within the second sermon on Psalm 90 in the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, a text especially popular in the twelfth century.⁸ In the discussion that follows I shall attempt to identify the various traditions reflected in the Cloisters relief and to clarify the relationship between the imagery and Augustine’s ideas.

The Temptation is generally represented in one of two ways: a complete narrative rendition of the three encounters between Christ and Satan, or an abbreviated form in which one episode is selected to represent the whole cycle. In all complete cycles, the trials are clearly distinguished from one another by such scenic devices as a stone, a building, or a mountain, which identify the particular temptation and indicate the relevant passage in Matthew or Luke. Complete renditions appear in Niccolò’s lintel in the west façade of the Cathedral of Piacenza, in the reliefs of the southern porch of St-Pierre in Beaulieu (Corrèze), and in those of the southeast pier in the cloister of St-Trophime at Arles, in monumental fresco and mosaic cycles,⁹ in many manuscripts,¹⁰ and in four capitals.¹¹ Whether the three

7. Gudiol Ricart, (“Los relieves de la portada de Errondo,” p. 10) mistook the angels for children and wrongly identified the scene as the Miracle of Loaves and Fishes.

8. In 1931, André Wilmart inventoried European libraries for extant manuscripts of the *Enarrationes*. Of the 368 manuscripts surveyed, he judged 147 to be from the twelfth century, 61 from the eleventh century, 24 from the tenth century, 37 from the thirteenth century and 29 from the fourteenth century: A. Wilmart, “La tradition des grands ouvrages de Saint Augustin,” *Miscellanea Agostiniana* II (Rome, 1931) pp. 295–315. The preface to the *Enarrationes* in the *Corpus Christianorum*, series Latina 38 (Turnhout, 1956) p. vi, note 4, lists 28 manuscripts not included in Wilmart’s survey: 6 from the twelfth century, 5 from the eleventh century, 5 from the ninth century and earlier, 3 from the thirteenth century, and 3 from the fourteenth century. Both inventories overlooked a late twelfth-century manuscript in the Cathedral of Burgo de Osma (Ms. 76) that can perhaps be localized to the abbey of Fitero in Navarre, not far from Pamplona (*L’art roman*, exhibition catalogue [Barcelona, 1961] p. 97, no. 161). The authors of these surveys were

not concerned with manuscripts recorded in the holdings of medieval scriptoria, but now no longer extant. A catalogue of the library of Santa Maria of Seo de Urgell, drawn up in 1148, mentions Augustine’s books of the expositions on the psalms (P. Pujol i Tubau, “De la cultura catalana mig-èval: una biblioteca dels temps romànics,” *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 7 (1913) pp. 1–3, and esp. 5 f).

9. Frescoes: Sant’ Angelo in Formis, north wall of nave (1070s or 1080s); St-Aignan at Brinay-sur-Cher, south wall of choir (mid-twelfth century), includes only two episodes of the Temptation plus the Ministry of the Angels; section from San Baudelio de Berlanga, Soria province (third or fourth decade of the twelfth century) now at The Cloisters. A fresco of the Temptation, now nearly completely destroyed, once existed in the chapter house of the monastery in Sigüenza, Huesca province (first quarter thirteenth century). Mosaics: San Marco’s in Venice, vault of the south crossing (late twelfth or thirteenth century); Cathedral of Monreale, back wall of south transept (1180s).



FIGURE 2 (OPPOSITE PAGE)
The first and second temptation.
Detail of Figure 1

FIGURE 3
The Ministry of the Angels. Detail
of Figure 1

temptations are strung out horizontally or arranged in a more complex structure, as at Beaulieu,¹² it is the scenic element that identifies the episode, orders the events, and thus provides the full narrative context of the image.

In abbreviated versions, one temptation stands for the entire series. This type appears in several capitals, where one face displays a single confrontation between Christ and Satan, usually the episode of the stones, and the side adjacent to the main scene may occasionally contain an attending angel.¹³ The few abbreviated representations in Western manuscripts also focus prima-

10. The Drogo Sacramentary, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. lat. 9428, fol. 41r (in a single historiated initial); the Psalter of St. Bertin, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibl. Mun., Ms. 20, fols. 101r, 102r, 102v, 103r (series of consecutive initials); the Gospel Book of Otto, Aachen, Cathedral Treasury, fol. 26v; the Gospel Book of Otto III, Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4453, fol. 32v; the Gospel Book of Henry III, Escorial, Real Bibl., vit. 17, fol. 26r; the Prayerbook of S. Hildegardis, Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 935, fols. 20v and 21v; Prague University Library, Ms. XIV.A.13, fol. 24r; the Ripoll Bible, Rome, Vatican Library, Ms. lat. 5729, fol. 367; the St. Albans Psalter, Hildesheim, St. Godehard, pp. 33, 34, 35; the Psalter of St. Swithin's Priory, London, Brit. Mus., Cott. Nero C.IV, fol. 18r; psalter, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. lat. 8846, fol. 3r; Holkham Bible, London, Brit. Mus., Add. 47682, fols. 19r and v.

11. In the cloister of Moissac, in the cloister of San Pedro el



Viejo in Huesca, the capital group of the trumeau of the Puerta de la Gloria at Santiago de Compostela, and a French capital of unknown provenance in the Metropolitan Museum (21.21.1). All but the Huesca capital offer variations in the standard setting of building and mountain that normally correspond to the second and third temptations. In the capital at Moissac, for example, the image of the demon grasping hold of Christ represents the third temptation. To illustrate the same episode, the New York capital shows Christ borne on the back of the demon, and in the cycle of the Puerta de la Gloria, both Christ and Satan hold banderoles with inscriptions of their respective lines from scripture. The capital cycle at Compostela further substitutes the image of the demon before the seated Christ for the episode customarily associated with the pinnacle of the Temple. The trials, if not identifiable by standard motifs, are nevertheless differentiated from each other through

compositional variation, and the narrative tradition is thereby maintained.

12. At Beaulieu the first two trials are contained under one arch and the third is isolated in its own. For a full discussion of the sculptural ensemble of the southern porch at Beaulieu: Y. Christie, "Le portail de Beaulieu. Etude iconographique et stylistique," *Bulletin archéologique de comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, n.s. 6 (1970) pp. 57-70.

13. Examples of representations of single episodes on twelfth-century capitals occur in the nave of Notre-Dame du Port in Clermont-Ferrand, in the north gallery of the cloister of Sta. Maria in Estany, in the apse of St-Pierre in Chauvigny, in the nave of St-Nectaire, in the naves of Autun and Saulieu, in a capital from St-Pierre de Puymiclan (Lot-et-Garonne) in the Louvre (No. 2382), and in the nave at Plaimpied. Occasionally two encounters

rily upon the first temptation and the Ministry of the Angels.¹⁴

The best known and most monumental example of the Temptation in Romanesque art appears in a northern Spanish tympanum that predates the Cloisters carving, the reliefs of the left tympanum of the Portal of the Goldsmiths at Santiago de Compostela (Figure 4). This is the only other known instance of the Temptation occurring on a tympanum and also the only other sequence that reads from right to left. The Compostela Temptation is neither a narrative cycle nor an abbreviation. It is instead a conflated representation that telescopes into one scene all the various moments of the narrative. A winged demon perched on the Temple proffers the stone while at the same time a second demon kneels on the rocky surface of a mountain. The foliage of a large tree around which a serpent is entwined¹⁵ separates these demons from the figure of Christ, who faces them, and the ministering angels ap-

are rendered: capitals from the Abbey of La Sauve-Majeure, St-Léonard at Ile-Bouchard (Indre-et-Loire) and the cloister of the Cathedral of Tarragona (thirteenth century).

14. Exultet Roll (1) of Pisa, Museo Civico; Homilies of Bede, Gerona, St. Feliü, fol. 78; psalter, Berlin Kupferstichkab., Ms. 78.A.6, fol. 10v; psalter, Hamburg, Staatsbibliothek, In Scr 84, fol. 12r; psalter, Glasgow, Hunterian Museum, Ms. 229, Sect. 3, fol. 1v; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 44, fol. 5v; Gospel Book of Henry the Lion, Gmunden, Duke of Cumberland, fol. 20v; Bible, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. lat. 16746, fol. 28v. In Byzantine psalters, the temptation that takes place on the pinnacle of the Temple is represented: Chludoff Psalter, Moscow, Historical Museum, Gr. 129, fol. 92v; Mount Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, Ms. 61, fol. 130v; Rome, Vatican Library, Barb. Gr. 372, fol. 152v; the Bristol Psalter, London, Brit. Mus., Add. 40731, fol. 154r; the Theodore Psalter, London, Brit. Mus., Add. 19352, fol. 123v; the Hamilton Psalter, Berlin, Kupferstichkab., Ms. 78.A.9, fol. 170v.

15. For the significance of the serpent's appearance, M. Schapiro, "The Religious Meaning of the Ruthwell Cross," *The Art Bulletin* 26 (1944) p. 233. The tree appears quite frequently in Temptation cycles, especially in the first episode (for example, in the capitals at Moissac and in the Metropolitan Museum, in the Psalter of St. Bertin, and in the St. Albans Psalter). The serpent, however, is an additional feature, unique, I believe, to the Compostela relief.

FIGURE 4

The Temptation of Christ and Ministry of the Angels. Left tympanum of the Portal of the Goldsmiths, Santiago de Compostela (photo: Mas)



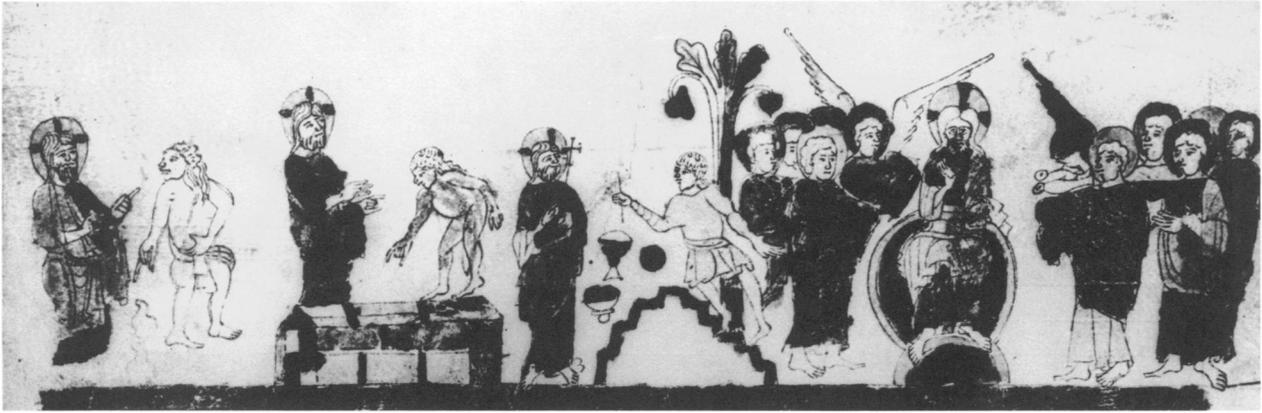


FIGURE 5

The Temptation of Christ and Ministry of the Angels. Ripoll Bible, Rome, Vatican Library, Ms. lat. 5729, fol. 367 (photo: Mas)

pear in the very midst of the encounter. This arrangement induced the author of the *Pilgrim's Guide* to describe a complete narrative cycle, which in his mind consisted of three groups of demons corresponding to three temptations.¹⁶

The Temptation cycle of the Cloisters tympanum is unique in combining the narrative and abbreviated modes. All three episodes of Christ and the demon appear, but the fact that only the first is specified by an identifying prop is typical of the abbreviated mode. The disregard for the clarification of episodes through scenic elements and the repetition of the compositional relationship between Christ and Satan at the expense of elaborated description have resulted in a simplification of the narrative. At the same time, the Cloisters cycle includes the Ministry of the Angels, a scene that frequently appears in representations of the Temptation but is absent from the otherwise complete sculptural cycles at Piacenza, Beaulieu, and Arles. The sculptor has supplied the Ministry of Angels with the curious and unusual feature of bread and fish, whereas in the preceding sequence of scenes he held descriptive detail to a minimum.

The most common type of representation of the Ministry shows the angels in various attitudes of adoration, sometimes bowing or gesturing in recognition of Christ, but most often with empty, though perhaps, veiled, hands.¹⁷ When the angels bear objects in service to Christ, these are usually of a liturgical nature.¹⁸ The

scene of the Ministry in the Temptation cycle of the Ripoll Bible (Figure 5), a Catalonian work of the first half of the eleventh century, is the only other representation in which angels offer bread and fish to Christ. What might the bread and fish signify in this context? Popular devotion may have inspired the notion that the angels provided Jesus with a meal after his long fast in the wilderness. Bread and fish, the common foodstuff, could have been incorporated into illustrations of such a legend, which did in fact circulate through the *Medi-*

16. *Le Guide du Pèlerin*, trans. and ed. J. Viellard, 4th ed. (Mâcon, 1969) p. 100.

17. For example, in the Gospel Books of Otto and Otto III, the Exultet Roll of Pisa, the Gerona Homilies, Paris lat. 8846, and Prague XIV.A.13, in the frescoes of Brinay and San Baudelio, in the mosaic cycle of San Marco's in Venice, and in the last panel of the Temptation cycle in the ceiling of the nave of St. Martin's in Zillis.

18. For example, *bread and vessel*: Psalter of St. Bertin; *bread and cloth or vestment*: capital at Moissac; *vessel and cloth*: Holkham Bible; *liturgical vessels*: Gospel of Henry the Lion, mosaic cycle of the Cathedral of Monreale (angel holds chalice); *censers*: Morgan Ms. 44, a thirteenth-century psalter in Philadelphia (Free Library, Lewis 185, fol. 9r), left tympanum of Portal of Goldsmiths at Compostela, nave capital of Notre-Dame du Port in Clermont-Ferrand. Non-liturgical objects borne by ministering angels: *globe*: Stuttgart Psalter (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Ms. Bibl. fols. 23, 107v); *cross-surmounted staff*: Gospel Book of Matilda of Tuscany (New York, Morgan Library, Ms. 492, fol. 43r) and capital No. 2382 in the Louvre; *swords*: shaft of the candlestick of the Cathedral of Gaeta. In the capital at Ile-Bouchard and in the Avila Bible (Madrid, Bibl. Nac., E.R.8, fol. 323r) the angels grasp Christ's shoulder.

tations on the Life of Christ, written in the second half of the thirteenth century by an anonymous monk now referred to as the Pseudo-Bonaventure. Except for a fourteenth-century recension of the *Meditations* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. ital. 115), which preserves a cycle of abundant and detailed literal illustrations, this text did not inspire contemporary representations of ministering angels bearing bread and fish.¹⁹ Carolingian illustrations of the Ministry in the Soissons Gospels (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. lat. 8850, fol. 82) and the Drogo Sacramentary (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. lat. 9428, fol. 41r) show angels attending Christ with a meal,²⁰ but in contrast to the Ripoll and Cloisters representations, the nature of the meal is not specified.

The choice of bread and fish clearly recalls the Miracle of Loaves and Fishes, which the Gospel of John (6:22–59) sets forth as the prefiguration of the Eucharist. Such eucharistic associations account for the appearance of the loaf and fish in Last Supper scenes.²¹ In the Ripoll scene, the angels bear two fish and five loaves in accordance with the specific descriptions of the Miracle by John (6:9) and Luke (9:13, 16). Since the sculptor of the Cloisters tympanum tends to reduce descriptive detail, it is likely that the single loaf and fish are nevertheless meant to recall the Miracle of Loaves and Fishes. In both the Cloisters and Ripoll scenes of the Ministry, the loaf and fish refer to the ideas expounded in Augustine's *Enarratio* on Psalm 90, discussed below, in which he associates the Miracle of Loaves and Fishes with the episodes of the Temptation. That the detail of the loaf and fish is common to both the Ripoll and Cloisters Temptation cycles reaffirms the Catalonian background of the master or atelier responsible for the tympanum.²²

The sculptor of the Cloisters tympanum gave the scene of the Ministry a significant arrangement within the design of the Temptation cycle. The near frontal pose of the fourth figure of Christ visually resolves the diagonal progression of the heads (in three-quarter pose) and extended hands of the first three figures of Christ. Raising his right hand in a gesture of benediction and floating above the angels in an ascension-like image, the last figure of Christ assumes a majestic posture that celebrates the victory he achieved over Satan in the previous scenes.

The theme of victory, however, is chiefly conveyed in the Cloisters relief by the repeated motif of Christ

upon an animal. The image here of Christ standing on a single beast seems to be a reduction of the traditional motif symbolic of triumph, which shows Christ astride two, or sometimes four, confronted beasts. The motif of Christ "super aspidem" derives from Psalm 90 verse 13: "Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk: and thou shalt trample under foot the lion and the dragon." This psalm is textually related to the Temptation in that during the second trial Satan quotes verses 11 and 12 from the psalm but leaves out the following verse that prefigures his defeat. The textual link between the Temptation and Psalm 90 would be a matter of common knowledge to anyone familiar with scripture and was, in fact, reinforced by the liturgy of the mass for the first Sunday in Lent, which coordi-

19. In the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, Christ bids the angels bring him a meal of bread and fish prepared by his mother. Paris Bibl. Nat., Ms. ital. 115, fol. 71r, 71v, shows the angels obtaining the food from the Virgin and spreading a banquet on the ground. According to I. Ragusa and R. B. Green (*Meditations on the Life of Christ, an Illuminated Manuscript of the Fourteenth century* [Princeton, 1961] p. 427, figs. 103, 104), the illustrations accompanying the text are unique to this manuscript and appear not to derive from earlier iconographic tradition. The tale itself, however, seems to derive from a combination of earlier medieval literary sources. In the following passage (p. 123 in the Ragusa and Green translation) the author mentions the Miracle of Loaves and Fishes in connection with the Temptation, as does Augustine in his commentary on the Temptation in the *Enarratio* on Psalm 90 (as I shall discuss below): "And I ask what food the angels laid before Him after so long a fast. Scripture does not mention it, but we can suppose the victor to eat in any way we wish. And surely if we consider His power, the question arises of His obtaining anything He wished or of creating it according to the decision of His Will. But we shall not discover that He made use of this power for Himself or His disciples, but for the multitudes, whom He fed twice, with a few loaves for great numbers."

20. For reproductions: W. Koehler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1960) II, pl. 84; III, pl. 83a. An Armenian Gospel Book, dated c. 1262, in the Walters Art Gallery (Ms. 539, fol. 24v) preserves the only Eastern example known to me of the ministering angels bearing a meal: Serapie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1973) pl. 46, fig. 62.

21. L. Wehrhahn-Stauch, "Christliche Fischsymbolik von den Anfängen bis zum hohen Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 35 (1972) pp. 29–36.

22. M. Durliat, *La sculpture romane en Roussillon IV* (Perpignan, 1954) pp. 6–49, esp. pp. 14–27; Durliat, "Du nouveau sur le maître de Cabestany," *Bulletin monumental*, 1971, pp. 193–198; Durliat, "Le maître de Cabestany," *Les Cahiers de St-Michel-de-Cuxa* 4 (1973) pp. 116–127. R. Crozet, "A propos du maître de Cabestany: note sur un chapiteau de Sant Pere de Roda au Musée de Worcester," *Annales du Midi* 84 (1972) pp. 77–80.

nated the psalm as the gradual verse with the recitation of the story of the Temptation.²³ In several psalters a scene of the Temptation replaces or even appears in conjunction with the standard illustration to Psalm 90, which consists simply of the motif of Christ “super aspidem.”²⁴ The rare instances, however, in which the image of Christ upon beasts occurs in representations of the Temptation outside the psalter are found in sculpture—in the Temptation cycles of the Cloisters tympanum and at Beaulieu and in the single temptation scene on a capital at Plaimpied. The Cloisters Temptation, then, is directly connected with the imagery of the psalm. In contrast to the Beaulieu sculptures where the motif of Christ upon beasts follows the last confrontation with Satan and thus appears as an outcome, the motif of victory in the Cloisters cycle appears simultaneously with each of the temptations and therefore as a sign of Christ’s unchallenged omnipotence in a dynamic process of the divine overcoming evil.

Although the components of the Cloisters Temptation derive from established pictorial formulas, the image that emerges from the combination and reorganization of these elements has no artistic precedent. The merging of the abbreviated and narrative modes of representation, the unusual feature of angels bearing bread and fish, and the intrusion into the Temptation of imagery associated with Psalm 90 have resulted in the transformation of conventional iconographic types. Since standardized imagery cannot undergo transformation in form without a concurrent transformation in content, we must carefully examine the message of the Cloisters tympanum.

Saint Augustine’s exposition on Psalm 90 (divided into two sermons) in the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* contains his most elaborate and highly charged commentary on the Temptation of Christ.²⁵ His main concern lies in relating this event in Christ’s life to the spiritual life of the practicing Christian. The experience of temptation was not necessary to Christ, but he undertook to confront the demon so that through the example of his answers the Christian might also overcome temptation. In the second sermon, Augustine develops this idea with regard to the first two episodes of the Temptation as given by Matthew. Christ could have transformed the stones into bread as Satan requested, but by refraining he conquered the demon with the humility of his response. Christ indeed had the capacity to perform

such a miracle, for he could feed many thousands from five loaves; he chose, however, to offer humanity a spiritual truth: “Not by bread alone does man live, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God.”

He was hungry: and then the tempter said, “If Thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread.” Was it a great thing for our Lord Jesus Christ to make bread out of stones, when He satisfied so many thousands with five loaves? He made bread out of nothing. For whence came that quantity of food, which could satisfy so many thousands? The sources of that bread are in the Lord’s hands. This is nothing wonderful; for He Himself made out of five loaves of bread enough for so many thousands, who also every day out of a few seeds raised upon earth immense harvests. These are the miracles of our Lord: but from their constant operation they are disregarded. What then my brethren, was it impossible for the Lord to create bread out of stones? He made men even out of stones, in the words of John the Baptist himself, “God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.” Why then did He not so? That He might teach thee how to answer the tempter, so that if thou was a Christian and belongest to Christ, would He desert thee now? . . . Listen to our Lord: “Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.”²⁶

23. J. Squilbeck, “La tentation du Christ au désert et la Beliger Insignis,” *Bulletin des musées royaux d’art et d’histoire*, séries 4, 38–39 (1966–67) p. 136.

24. In several Byzantine psalters (see note 14) a representation of the Temptation accompanies the psalm as a marginal illustration. A scene of the Temptation occurs in conjunction with the motif of Christ upon beasts in two Western psalters: the St. Bertin and the Stuttgart. In the latter, the devil is shown fleeing after his defeat. For specific examples of the motif of Christ upon beasts: J. J. G. Alexander, *Norman Illumination at Mont-St-Michel* 966–1100 (Oxford, 1970) p. 148 note 3, p. 149 note 11; also Christie, “Le portail de Beaulieu,” p. 64 note 12.

25. The Latin text quoted in the following notes comes from the *Corpus Christianorum*, series Latina 39 (Turnhout, 1956) pp. 1254–78, but can also be found in *Patrologia Latina* XXXIX, cols. 1150–71. The English translation I use can be found in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* VIII, ed. P. Schaff (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1956) pp. 446–452. The abbreviations CC and NPNF are used in the following notes.

26. NPNF, p. 450. CC, p. 1271 f.: Esurivit; et iam tentator: Dic lapidibus istis ut panes fiant, si Filius Dei es. Quid magnum erat Domino Iesu Christo de lapidibus panem facere, qui de quinque panibus tot milia saturavit? De nihilo fecit panem. Tanta enim multido escae, quae saturaret tot milia, unde processit? Fontes panis erant in manibus Domini. Non est mirum; nam ipse fecit de quinque panibus multum panis unde saturaret tot milia, qui facit quotidie in terra de paucis granis messes ingentes. Ipsa enim sunt miracula Domini; sed assiduitate viluerunt. Quid ergo, fratres, impossibile erat Domino de lapidibus panes facere?

Just as Augustine dwells upon the transformation of stones into bread, so too does the sculptor of the Cloisters relief choose only to describe the first temptation, distinguishing this episode from the following two and calling to mind ideas associated with the miraculous creation of bread. Augustine's insistence upon Christ's divine power is reflected in the tympanum in the scene of the Ministry, where Christ displays a large round loaf in his hand as if to confirm his capacity to materialize the bread. The image almost echoes the phrase, "The sources of that bread are in the Lord's hands." The combination of bread and fish recalls the Miracle of Loaves and Fishes to which Augustine also repeatedly refers. Augustine further asks:

Dost thou think the word of God bread? If the word of God, through which all things were made, were not bread, He would not say, "I am the bread which came down from heaven."²⁷

The tympanum illustrates Augustine's equation of the word of God with bread—the book held in Christ's left hand throughout the scenes of the Temptation becomes the loaf held in the same hand in the final scene.

The imagery in the tympanum primarily corresponds to Augustine's discussion of the first temptation. Augustine also incorporates the second episode into his argument, since it is during this episode that Satan quotes verses 11 and 12 from the psalm. His explication of the latter verse, however, relates to the Ministry of the Angels rather than to the episodes of the Temptation:

Christ was raised up in the hands of Angels, when He was taken up into heaven: not that, if Angels had not sustained Him, He would have fallen: but because they were attending on their King. Say not, those who sustained Him are better than He who was sustained. Are then cattle better than men, because they sustain the weaknesses of men? . . . Thus also in this Psalm we

Homines fecit de lapidibus, dicente ipso Iohanne Baptista: Potens est Deus de lapidibus istis suscitare filios Abrahae. Quare ergo non fecit? Ut te doceret respondere tentatori, ut si forte in aliqua angustia positus fueris, et suggesserit tibi tentator: Si christianus esses et ad Christum pertineres, deseret te modo? non tibi misisset auxilium? . . . Audi Dominum: Non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbi Dei.

27. NPNF, p. 450. CC, p. 1272: Putasne verbum Dei panem? Si non esset panis Verbum Dei per quod facta sunt omnia, non diceret: Ego sum panis vivus, qui de caelo descendi.

may understand it of the service of the Angels: it does not pertain to any infirmity in our Lord, but to the honour they pay, and to their service.²⁸

The phrase "Christ was raised up in the hands of Angels" seems to have motivated the ascension-like image of the Ministry, where Christ rises above the small angels who support him.

It was noted earlier that the Temptation cycle of the Ripoll Bible is the only other work to contain a direct reference to the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes within the context of the Ministry. Included within this scene is yet another feature that seems to correspond to a passage from Augustine's sermon on Psalm 90. The words concerned with the Ministry, "His head is in heaven, His feet on earth," may have inspired here the representation of Christ enthroned on a type of figure-eight configuration in which the lower ring symbolizes the earth as the Lord's footstool.

Both the Cloisters and Ripoll Temptation cycles are related to Augustine's commentary through their common allusion to the Miracle of Loaves and Fishes. In the Ripoll cycle the features derived from Augustine's tract appear incidental to the otherwise fully conventional narrative presentation. In the Cloisters carving, however, Augustinian ideas dominate and give meaning to the total image. The threefold repetition of the motif of Christ "super aspidem" not only lends to the relief "a primitive, incantatory character," to quote Meyer Schapiro's apt description of the tympanum,²⁹ but also creates a homiletic quality that captures the rhetorical force of Augustine's text. The carving sacrifices narrative effect for moral impact.

The link between Augustine's exposition on Psalm 90 and the Cloisters tympanum seems too striking to be coincidental. We cannot be certain whether the text exerted a direct influence upon the sculpture or whether the influence of the text was transmitted

28. NPNF, p. 451. CC, p. 1273 f.: Sublatus est Christus in manibus angelorum, quando assumptus est in caelum; non quia, si non portarent angeli, ruiturus erat; sed quia obsequabantur regi. Ne forte dicatis: Meliores sunt qui portabant, quam ille qui portabatur. Ergo meliora sunt iumenta quam homines? Sed quia infirmitatem hominum portant iumenta. . . . Sic ergo et de obsequio angelorum in hoc psalmo intellegere poterimus, non ad infirmitatem Domini pertinet, sed ad illorum honorificentiam, ad illorum servitutem.

29. Schapiro, "The Religious Meaning," p. 234.

through its illustration in recensions of the *Enarrationes*. In all probability, however, the text itself served as the source of the imagery, since none of the manuscripts known to me contains illustrations relevant to the specific passages of the *Enarratio* quoted in this study. Artists responsible for the illustration of psalters were apparently well acquainted with the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. Much that is unique in the iconography of the historiated initials of the St. Albans Psalter, for example, has been attributed directly to Augustine's text rather than to illustrations of that text.³⁰ Although I could not detect a long-standing tradition of associa-

tion between the sermon and the Temptation in artistic representations, the example of the Ripoll Bible may indicate a pattern along these lines in Catalonia, where the Cabestany Master was mainly active.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my profound gratitude to Professors Walter Cahn, Eric Carlson, and John Walsh for the direction and encouragement that made this essay possible. I should also like to acknowledge the generous assistance of Charles Little and the curatorial staff of the Museum's Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters.

30. C. R. Dodwell in O. Pächt, *The Saint Albans Psalter* (London, 1960) p. 183 ff.

Some Notes on Parrying Daggers and Poniards

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IN THE HISTORY OF EUROPEAN FENCING, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were as important as they were in most other fields of arms history. During that period European fencing schools, developing ancient traditions of personal combat with sword accompanied by a shield, worked out a kind of double fencing wherein both hands were armed with edged weapons and played an active part in offense and defense. An excellent exercise for body and mind, this most complicated form of fencing, requiring an assiduous training and great skill, cast a sort of spell over contemporaries by its mysterious passes and combinations, infinite variety of technical ways, and elaborate motor coordination of hands and feet. The perfecting of weapons and swordplay technique finally led to the elaboration of the single-sword fencing methods that, in turn, laid the foundations for modern fencing. But this development took one and a half centuries, and during this period the sword-and-dagger form of personal combat dominated in western Europe.

The progress of double fencing and the ultimate results of this development would have been impossible without modifications of the weapons used, including those usually called left-hand daggers, which are the main subject of these notes. As a fencer, I have always been interested in these fascinating weapons, and this interest was given an additional impulse when I was granted an opportunity to study the excellent array of arms and rare fencing books in the collections of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

To begin, I shall cite the authors whose works on arms and fencing enlarged my knowledge and impelled me, in a way, to write these notes.¹

Lep[ido]. Circa al tenerlo [pugnale] in mano, come uolete, uoi che si tenga?

Gio[vanni]. Quasi di piatto facendo che'l fil dritto di esso guardi alquanto uerso le pari destre: perche hauerete il nodo della mano piu libero da potere spinger in fuori la spada del nimico, & massimamente la punta: oltra che hauerete maggior forza nel parare per testa, per esser sostenuto il pugnale dal dito grosso: & di piu il tenerlo come ho detto, fa che l'elzo di esso uiene a fare maggior difesa.

Giovanni dall'Agocchie, *Dell'arte di scrimia*, 1572.²

The earliest picture of a swordsman fencing simultaneously with sword and dagger seems to be an illus-

1. Egerton Castle, *Schools and Masters of Fence* (London, 1969), reprint by Arms and Armour Press. Bashford Dean, *Catalogue of European Daggers* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1929). H. L. Peterson, *Daggers and Fighting Knives of the Western World* (London, 1968). H. Seitz, *Blankwaffen* (Braunschweig, 1968). A. Wise, *The Art and History of Personal Combat* (Greenwich, Connecticut, 1972.)

2. G. dall'Agocchie, *Dell'arte di scrimia* (Venetia, 1572) ff. 35 verso-36: "Lep[ido Ranieri]: As for holding it [the dagger] in hand, how do you want it to be held? Gio[vanni dall'Agocchie]: Almost flatly [vs. enemy], directing its right edge toward the right side; in this way you will have the palm freer to beat off the enemy's sword outward, especially its point; besides, having propped up the dagger [blade] with your thumb, you will have more strength in parrying above the head; and moreover, holding it as I have just said, the dagger hilt [guard] will give a better protection."

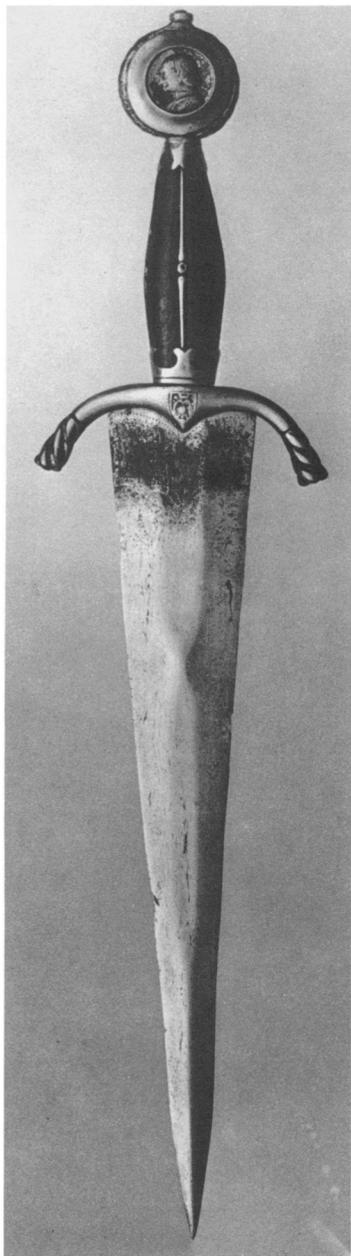


FIGURE 1
Dagger with arched crossguard (dagghetta of cinquedea type). Italian, about 1500. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Collection of Giovanni P. Morisini, presented by his daughter Giulia, 1932, 32.75.97. Such daggers, lacking a side ring, could give but limited protection to the holding fingers

tration in Talhoffer's *Fechtbuch*, dated 1467.³ The fencer is represented here in a difficult situation, facing two opponents. Against one of them he fights with his sword, defending himself from the other with his dagger (*Dolch*) and small buckler held together in his left hand. The fencing master's concept is that in such occurrence the dagger must be held like a knife, the thumb at the pommel, the same hand somehow also gripping the buckler handle. This method can hardly be regarded as practical, since, first of all, it almost forbids any offen-

sive actions with the dagger, and, second, a hard sword blow on this parrying contrivance, particularly on the dagger blade, could easily knock out both dagger and shield. Thus, the situation depicted here seems to be farfetched, reflecting perhaps the teacher's intention to demonstrate his inventiveness and personal technical virtuosity to his students. Anyway, this scene clearly shows an interest in using the dagger as an active auxiliary weapon accompanying the sword. Talhoffer's manual also proves that ideas about sword-and-dagger fencing were taking shape as early as the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The dagger and shield combination recommended in the book evidently points to the absence in the dagger of any effective protection for the hand, that is, of a special guard that would later become the most distinctive feature of the parrying dagger.

In his narrative about the duel between Pierre Ter rail, seigneur de Bayard, and Alonzo de Soto-Mayor, which took place in Naples in 1499, Brantôme (about 1540–1614) writes that *estoc* and *poignard* were chosen for the occasion.⁴ It cannot be deduced with certainty from Brantôme's account that both weapons were simultaneously used by the fighters. Most probably, the poniards were included in their armament as reserve weapons, to be used whenever convenient, for a poniard was employed by Bayard in the finale of the duel only and in a very traditional way, namely, to force his thrown-down opponent to surrender.

An unquestionable proof of an active use of the dagger with another edged weapon is to be found in Albrecht Dürer's *Fechtbuch* (1512), which shows a fighter armed with malchus and dagger.⁵ In two episodes, the fencer holds the dagger like a knife; in the third scene the dagger is gripped in the mode that came to be accepted as more sensible in handling parrying weapons, well illustrated by later sources. Dürer's drawings, while reflecting a period of experiments in the use of the dagger in swordplay, are evidence that not later than the first decade of the sixteenth century this

3. *Talhoffers Fechtbuch aus dem Jahre 1467*, ed. G. Hergsell (Prague, 1887) pl. 240.

4. P. de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme, *Mémoires . . . touchant les duels* (Leyden, 1722) pp. 38–40.

5. "Albrecht Dürers Fechtbuch," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXVII, 6 (Vienna-Leipzig, 1910) pl. 64, figs. 38–40.

method began coming into use. But for this new mode to become universally practiced, as it was throughout the sword-and-dagger era, one essential step was necessary in the development of the dagger as parrying weapon, namely, the designing of a protective device for the holding hand. Dagger guards then in existence either were unhandy for proper parrying use or could not preserve the wrist sufficiently well from various concussions and cuts while repulsing the sword blade. Even the crossguard dagger (Figure 1) was fit to stop the sword and protect the hand only if the fencer had mastered a parrying technique that directed one of the quillons toward the opponent's blade (Figure 2). However, this mode has several disadvantages, since it considerably lessens both an important function of the thumb, propping up the dagger blade, and the gripping power of the hand, enabling the opposing sword to knock out the dagger by a strong blow on a quillon or on the edge of the blade. These and similar practical observations could not escape attention when fencers began initial experiments with sword-and-dagger fighting, and an urgent necessity to contrive a special guard for the hand was surely realized as soon as daggers started their very first performances as parrying weapons, and not, as has sometimes been said, decades later.⁶

FIGURE 2

A method of high quarte parry, protecting inside lines, with the dagger of Figure 1

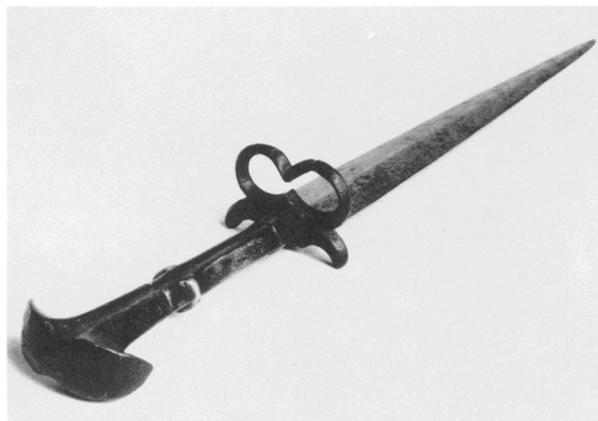
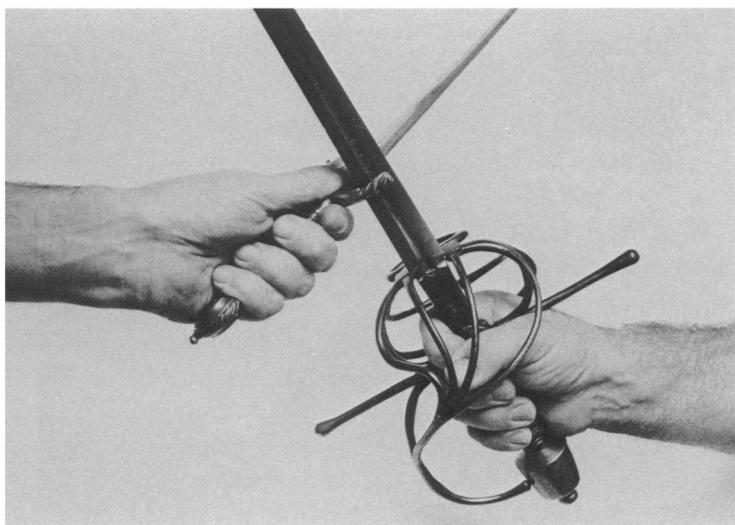


FIGURE 3

Landsknecht parrying dagger. Swiss or French (?), early 16th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jean Jacques Reubell, 1926, in memory of his mother, Julia C. Coster, and of his wife, Adeline E. Post, both of New York City, 26.145.43

Looking at early sixteenth-century daggers from the point of view of their suitability for double fencing, it can be seen that just at this time various modifications of the dagger guards evolved in one definite direction, that is, to afford better protection of the hand when it grips with the thumb on the heel of the blade. Signs of such a development are to be found, for instance, in a group of Landsknecht daggers whose guards appear as though cut off in half, the internal part of the horizontal S- or 8-shaped guard being removed (Figure 3). If not yet ideal in design, this form allows proper parrying actions while protecting, more or less, the wrist, especially when such a guard is supplemented by a crosspiece, even a short one (Figure 4), though this is

6. It is not uncommon to read in the arms literature that "left-hand" (that is, parrying) daggers came into being in the middle of the sixteenth century or were fully developed at some time in the next century. In this context I recall what took place during the filming of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* in Yalta in 1954. Some threescore student actors who had studied historical fencing in Moscow institutes were to take part in the fighting scenes, playing with swords and daggers. After only two rehearsals, there was hardly one among the company without finger wounds, all of the same kind. When I was invited in to advise, I discovered that none of the daggers had side rings. Side rings were made and welded onto the crossguard daggers, after which the fighting was staged without further trouble.



FIGURE 4
Landsknecht parrying dagger. Swiss or French (?), about 1510–20. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jean Jacques Reubell, 1926, in memory of his mother, Julia C. Coster, and of his wife, Adeline E. Post, both of New York City, 26.145.40

generally less important in parrying weapons than a side ring.⁷ A Landsknecht roundel-hilt dagger in an early sixteenth-century German painting (Figure 5) seems to have been modified in the same way. Here, too, the rear part of the guard appears cut off so as to provide a better grip when the dagger is in use as a parrying weapon.

Important evidence from the early period of sword-and-dagger fencing can be found in the dueling code first published in 1521 by Paris de Puteo, an Italian connoisseur of dueling customs and conventions. Discussing the selection of weapons for a combat, Puteo relates a case of “two gentlemen who came to Italy from north of the Alps to combat without armor, only with swords and daggers.”⁸ The author is preoccupied, in this passage, with the duelists’ decision to fight without any body protection, which was not yet a common practice, therefore he makes only a casual mention of their offensive weapons. It is very significant, at this point, that he uses the expression *con spada e pugnale*,

7. Nine more Landsknecht daggers of about 1500–25 in the Metropolitan Museum belong to the same typological group and can be considered as prototypes of true parrying weapons (nos. 26.145.26, 35–41, 43).

8. Paris de Puteo, *Duello* (Venice, 1525, 3d edition) f.G [v]: “et accade che uenendo in Italia doi Cauallieri oltramontani per combattere disarmati solo con spate et pugnali.”

which is well known from a multitude of later sources as a standard idiom to designate sword-and-dagger fencing. This passage, taken together with Dürer’s drawings and contemporary daggers fit for parrying actions, suggests that the new fencing methods were in use in the second decade of the sixteenth century, though without the universal adoption known later under the combined influence of Italian fencing schools, the dueling fashion, and the sportive attractiveness of double fencing itself. If the interpretation of these data is cor-

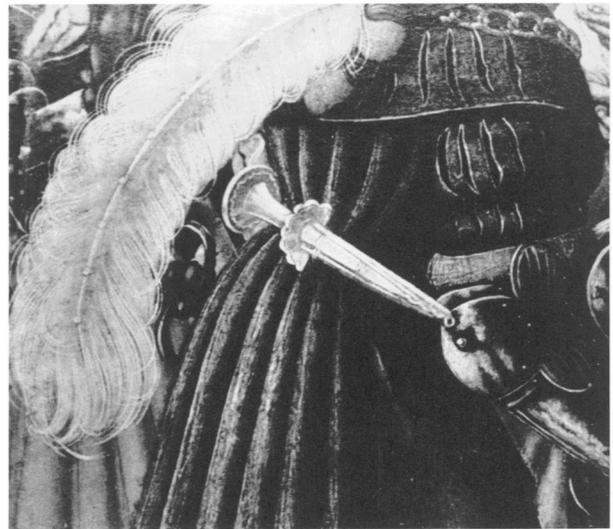


FIGURE 5
Detail of painting, Landsknechts, White and Moorish. German school, about 1510. Formerly Eugene Bolton Collection, London

rect, it must be emphasized as well that by the 1520s sword-and-dagger fencing was practiced in a country adjacent to Italy, most probably in Germany, where various forms of fencing had long since been elaborated by professional masters from the Fraternity of St. Mark. It would be difficult, however, to affirm flatly that specially designed parrying daggers first appeared in Germany, although attempts had been made there to adjust some traditional dagger forms to the new use. At this period, the leading role in the development of swordplay belonged, above all, to Italian schools that were actively shaping new fencing methods. It is hardly

astonishing, therefore, that a completely formed type of parrying dagger was first shown in a treatise published in 1536 by a renowned Bolognese fencing master, Achille Marozzo.⁹

In the chapter that gives the earliest known description of sword-and-dagger fencing, Marozzo recommends that one parry with a weapon he calls *pugnale bolognese* (Figures 6, 7).¹⁰ This dagger has a large edged blade intended for cut-and-thrust, a well-developed crossguard, and a massive side ring—that is, all parts necessary for effective parrying functions. A specific element in this type of dagger is the form of flat crossguard strongly curved toward the side ring, giving additional protection to the wrist from a more vulnerable side.

The Bolognese school played a most important part in the development of European fencing at least from the early sixteenth century, and it seems highly probable that the term *pugnale bolognese* simply reflects the place of origin and introduction of this particular form. According to a Bolognese chronicle, Achille Marozzo was born in 1484 and began to work on his book in 1516,¹¹ presumably having by this time considerable experience as fencer and teacher. The methods of the sword-and-dagger fight being elaborated just at this period, probably with the active participation of Marozzo himself and his own teachers, Bolognese masters and swordsmiths must have designed the proper parry-

9. A. Marozzo, *Opera nova* (Modena, Antonio Bergola, 1536), copy in the Metropolitan Museum. J. Gelli, in his *Bibliografia generale della scherma* (Milan, 1895) pp. 130–138, wrote of a claimed discovery by F. Tribolati in the Biblioteca dell'Università di Pisa of a much earlier copy, published in 1517. Relying on information received, Gelli described this copy as a unique. His assertion was repeated by C. A. Thimm in his *Complete Bibliography of Fencing and Duelling* (London, 1896) p. 181. When I examined a microfilm of the book discovered by Tribolati, I could see that the original date in the colophon, MDLXVII, had been altered somewhat by a scratching out of the L. The 1567 edition is very close to the 1536 edition in both text and illustration, but their layouts differ slightly. Since there are omissions concerning this book in standard bibliographies, I list the editions known to me: Modena, A. Bergola, 1536. Modena (?), about 1540 (copy in the Department of Prints and Photographs, Metropolitan Museum). Venice, G. Padovano—M. Stessa, 1550. Venice, Heredi di M. Stessa, 1567 (copy in Library, University of Pisa). Venice, A. Pinargenti, 1568. Corrected and newly illustrated, retitled *Arte dell'armi*, Venice, A. Pinargenti, 1568. Verona, 1615.

10. Marozzo, ff. 15, 19.

11. Gelli, *Bibliografia*, p. 134.



FIGURE 6

Woodcut in Marozzo's *Opera nova*, 1536 edition, f. 15. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913. Marozzo discusses methods of fighting with sword and *pugnale bolognese*. The laterally curved quillons of the dagger protect the fingers better

FIGURE 7

Woodcut in Marozzo's *Opera nova*, f. 19 verso, showing the *pugnale bolognese* employed in dagger-and-cloak fight. This is the earliest representation of a parrying dagger with guard formed by side ring and curved quillons



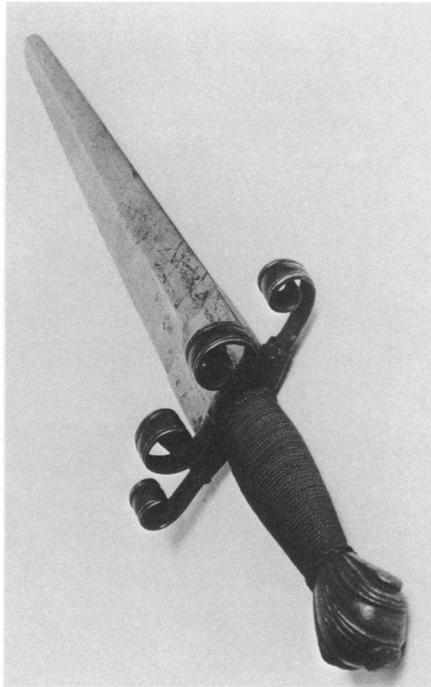
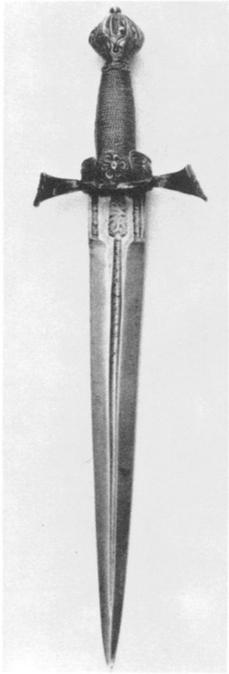


FIGURE 8
Parrying dagger, Bolognese type. North Italian, about 1530–40. René G eroudet Collection, Geneva

FIGURE 9
Parrying dagger, variant of Bolognese type. Italian, about 1530–50. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 04.3.125

FIGURE 10
Parrying dagger, Bolognese type. North Italian, about 1540–60. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Jean Jacques Reubell, 1933, in memory of his mother, Julia C. Coster, 34.57.22

ing weapon recorded in Marozzo’s book. The principle of the side ring for hand protection was anything but new by this time, for it was present on some types of sword from the first half of the fifteenth century¹² and thus could have been well known to Bolognese masters. Thanks to its famous university, Bologna was an international academic center, and doubtless many of the students took lessons with local masters, afterward taking the new swordplay to different parts of Europe, not to say of Italy itself. No less assiduous as students and proselytizers for the Bolognese school, surely, were soldiers from Germany, Spain, France, and Switzerland: participants in the Italian wars in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. In one of his stories, Brant me gives a detailed account of a duel fought by two Spanish officers, Azevedo and Saint-Croix (Santa-Cruz, evi-

dently), in early 1510s, at Ferrara (about 25 miles from Bologna). For this combat, the duelists chose “rapi res bien tranchantes” and “poignards.” Azevedo began fighting with both weapons in hand, but Saint-Croix sheathed his dagger and preferred to fight with his rapier only. Perhaps he simply was not trained in the then new technique. Whatever the case, Azevedo proved to have an advantage and, being the more skillful, he won the duel.¹³

A remarkable feature of the Bolognese dagger, the flat crossguard strongly curved toward the side ring, is to be found on an excellent parrying dagger in the Ren  G eroudet Collection (Figure 8); this stays very

12. R. Ewart Oakeshott, *The Sword in the Age of Chivalry* (London, 1964) pp. 69, 70, 120, pl. 43A.

13. Brant me, pp. 27–34.

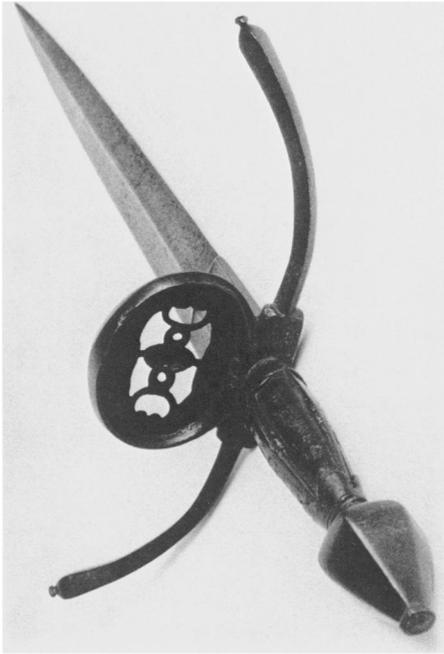


FIGURE 11
Parrying dagger, Bolognese type. Italian, about 1550-70. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Jean Jacques Reubell, 1933, in memory of his mother, Julia C. Coster, 34.57.21

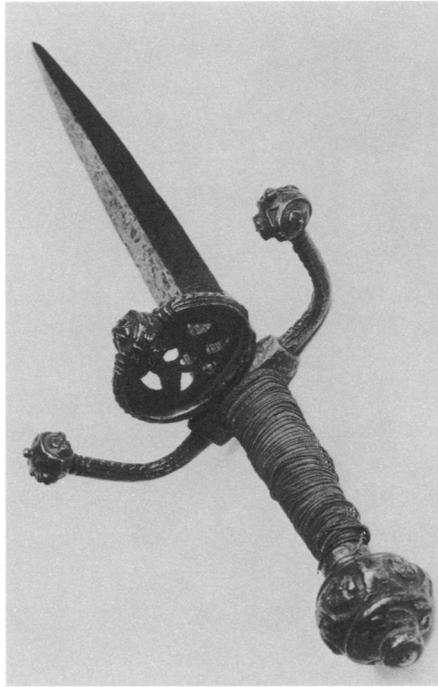


FIGURE 12
Parrying dagger, Bolognese type. North Italian, mid-16th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jean Jacques Reubell, 1926, in memory of his mother, Julia C. Coster, and of his wife, Adeline E. Post, both of New York City, 26.145.100

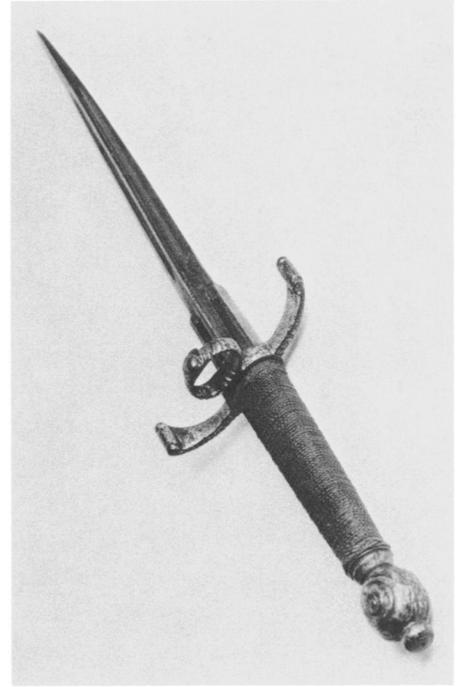


FIGURE 13
Parrying poniard, Bolognese type. North Italian, third quarter 16th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jean Jacques Reubell, 1926, in memory of his mother, Julia C. Coster, and of his wife, Adeline E. Post, both of New York City, 26.145.117

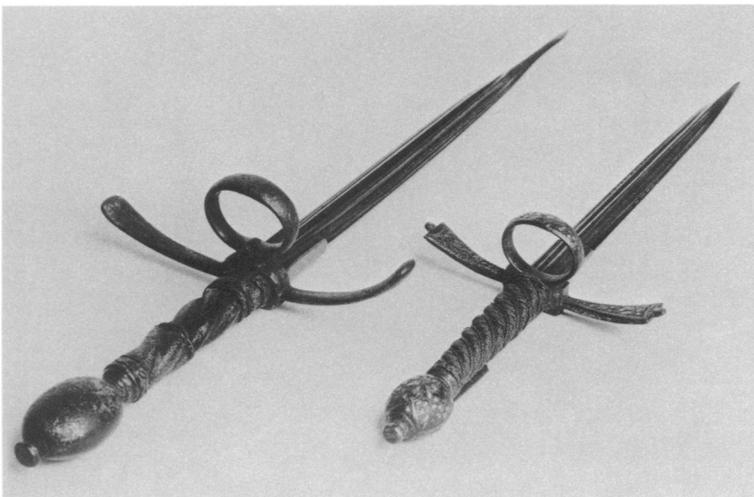


FIGURE 14
Parrying poniards, Bolognese type. French or Italian, last quarter 16th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jean Jacques Reubell, 1926, in memory of his mother, Julia C. Coster, and of his wife, Adeline E. Post, both of New York City, 26.145.108 (left), 26.145.109 (right)

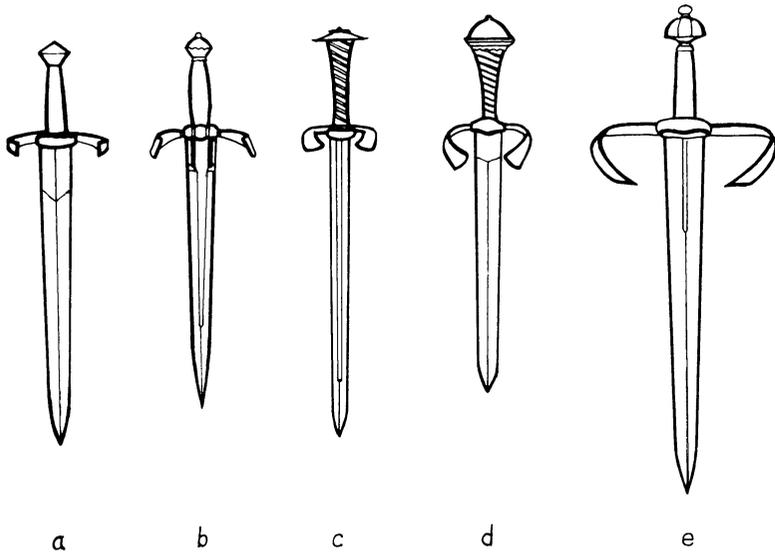


FIGURE 15

Modifications of the Bolognese type. a: Pugnale bolognese, about 1515–40, after Marozzo (compare Figures 6, 7). b: Italian, about 1530–40, René Géroutet Collection (see Figure 8). c: German, second quarter 16th century, after K. Ullmann, “Dolchmesser, Dolche und Kurzwehren des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts,” *Waffen- und Kostümkunde*, 1961, II, figs. 29, 34. d: German, mid-16th century, Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, after K. János, *Régi magyar fegyverek* (Budapest, 1971) p. 116, fig. 201. e: German (Saxon), about 1600, Tower of London Armouries, no. X. 266, after A. R. Dufty, *European Swords and Daggers in the Tower of London* (London, 1974) pl. 25a

close to the pictures in Marozzo’s book and may be considered one of the earliest known specimens of the type. In a heavier variant (Figure 9), the side-ring function is played by two massive scrolls; these probably protected fingers less effectively and so did not become very popular. The basic pattern of the Bolognese dag-

ger was widely used during a long period, as seen by the number and dating of weapons extant (Figures 10–14), despite the fact that other types of parrying daggers and poniards were later developed in response to more sophisticated modes of double fencing. It is significant, in this respect, that the pugnale bolognese was still pic-

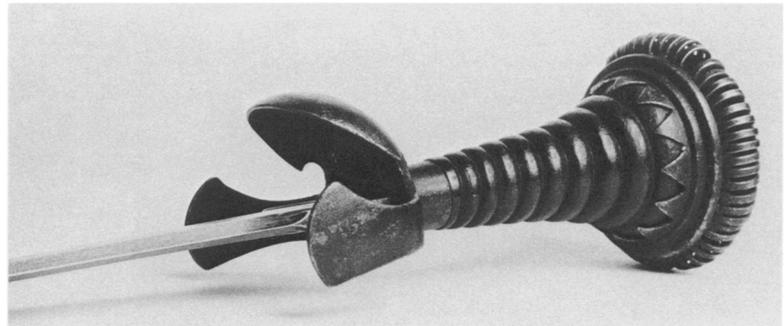
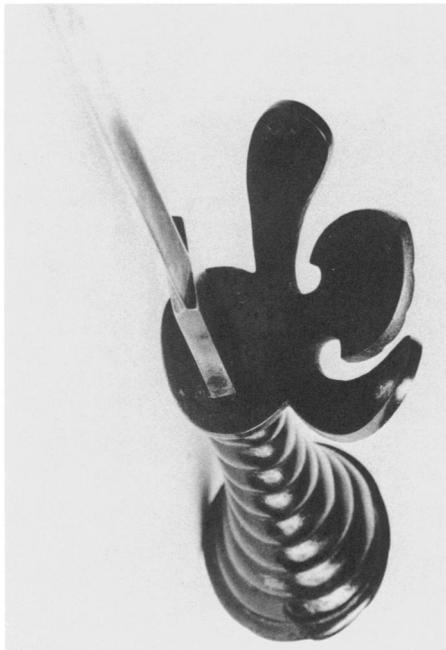


FIGURE 16

Landsknecht parrying dagger. German, about 1540–60. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jean Jacques Reubell, 1926, in memory of his mother, Julia C. Coster, and of his wife, Adeline E. Post, both of New York City, 26.145.48

FIGURE 17

Landsknecht parrying dagger. German, mid-16th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 04.3.140

tered in the late 1620s, in a treatise by a master of the Spanish school teaching in Flanders.¹⁴

The Bolognese dagger guard seems to have directly affected some changes that began taking place in German daggers early in the sixteenth century. This influence is manifest, in particular, in a peculiar shape of the crossguard, strongly bent outward, in certain Landsknecht daggers (Figure 15). Later, this form, clearly going back to the Bolognese type, found a graceful manneristic fancifulness and a general manly appearance in Saxon body-guard daggers (15 e).

The tendency to adjust earlier dagger types to practical requirements was mentioned in connection with the German daggers equipped with “halved” guards. A similar alteration of the guard, with the same purpose, seems to have been performed on some roundel daggers (Figure 5), whose abandonment, in their traditional form, during the first quarter of the sixteenth century apparently was not fortuitous but could be related to their ineffectiveness for parrying actions. At the same time, a half-guard version of the roundel dagger could play a part in the designing of Landsknecht parrying daggers provided with a sturdy shell guard, which served as a wrist-protecting device while deep cuts in the shell were contrived as casual traps for the parried sword blade (Figure 16). A variant type has the shell fully dismembered to form a small shield and two strongly arched quillons (Figure 17). The shell guard had been known by the end of the fifteenth century,¹⁵ and its pattern may have suggested a guard for parrying daggers that could entangle the opponent’s sword blade.

This process of adjustment of the edged weapons to the new swordplay style touched upon the “kidney” dagger as well. One of its later variants, with a very short but pronounced crossbar, probably became a prototype of German parrying daggers with side ring and stout crossguard slightly bent toward the point and terminated by globular finials (Figure 18).

14. Girard Thibault d’Anvers, *Académie de l’espée* (Leyden, 1628/30) II, pls. v, vi. Two slightly different versions of the Bolognese dagger guard are shown. One almost exactly follows the sharp forms of the guard in Marozzo’s book, the other has more flowing, rounded contours. It may be noted that both the Bolognese dagger and its first promoter successfully passed the same time trial, Marozzo’s work having been published at least seven times in eighty years.

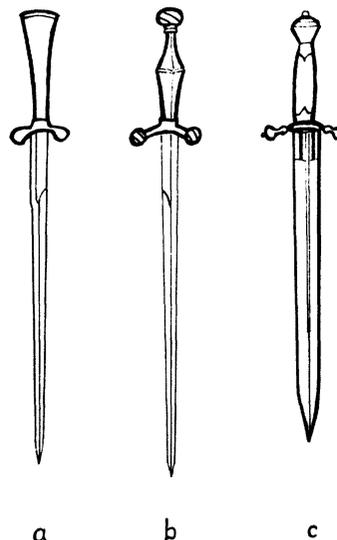


FIGURE 18

Modifications of the “kidney-dagger” guard. a: Flemish (?), about 1460–1500, after G. F. Laking, *A Record of European Armour and Arms through Seven Centuries*, III (London, 1920) p. 39, figs. 808, 809. b: German, early 16th century, Metropolitan Museum 26.145.71. c: German (Saxon), by W. Paller (d. 1583), about 1560–70, Metropolitan Museum 29.158.662

Parrying daggers and poniards with vertically S-shaped crossguards remained in use till the middle of the seventeenth century. They go back to an early stage in swordplay history, as can be seen from illustrations in Marozzo’s book.¹⁶ Of two variations of the parrying dagger with side ring and S-crossguard, the more practical one would seem to be the type (Figure 19, left) which, when held in the left hand, faces the opponent with its quillon curved toward the blade. We will call this type A. In carrying out any parry that would meet the sword,¹⁷ a fencer familiar with such a dagger could

15. A French dagger of about 1500 in the Wallace Collection, No. A 809 (J. Mann, *European Arms and Armour* [London, 1962] II, p. 404, pl. 138).

16. Marozzo, ff. 129, 133.

17. According to Giovanni di Grassi, *Raggione di adoprare sicuramente l’arme* (Venice, 1570) p. 36, the dagger should mainly protect the body’s left side from the knee up, while the sword beats off strikes directed to the right side and to the left leg below the knee.

surely count on its upwardly curved quillon to stop the sliding sword blade and possibly to jam it, by a well-timed twist of the left hand (Figure 20). The type with S-crossguard shaped inversely, type B (Figure 19, center), does not look as handy. Such a dagger in the left hand, its quillon curved toward the fingers, finds itself in the forward position (Figure 21, left). Being too short, this quillon can in no way function as a knuckle-guard

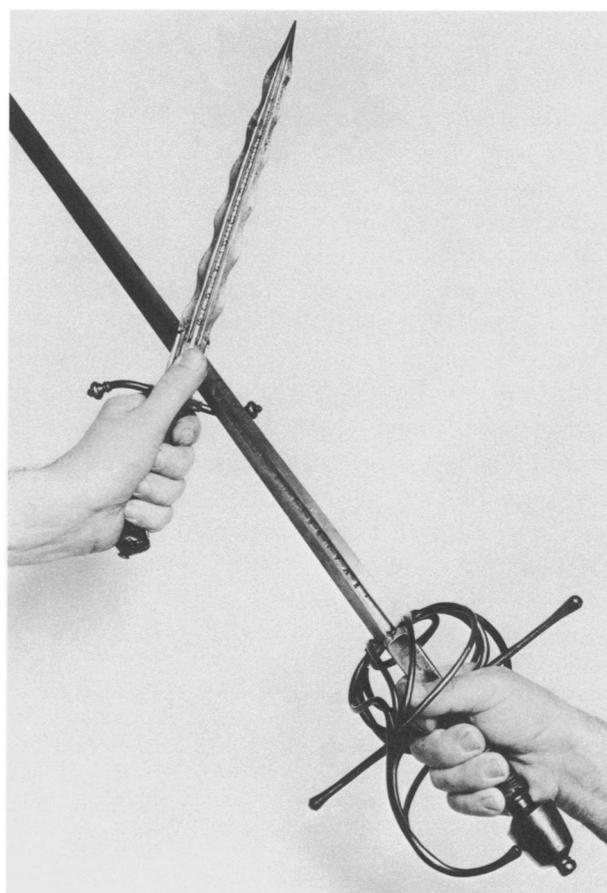
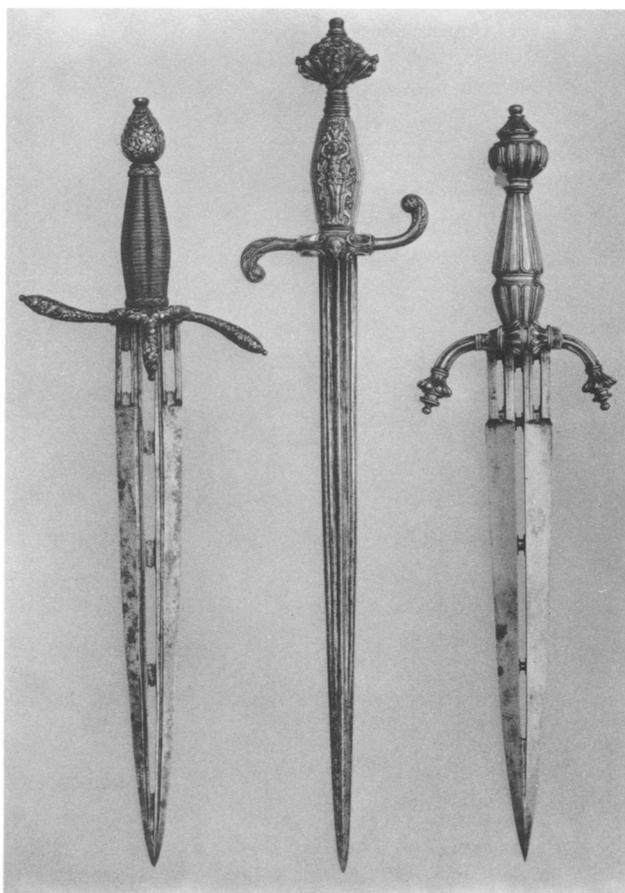
against cutting blows, and its shape is not reliable enough to stop the sword blade, which may easily slide over the rounded curve. To catch the enemy's sword with the rear quillon of his dagger, the fencer parrying, for instance in an outward line, would have to turn his hand clockwise while throwing his arm counterclockwise (Figure 21, center), then, at the shock, twist his hand once more but in opposite motion (Figure 21,

FIGURE 19

Left, parrying dagger, Italian, about 1560–80. Center, parrying poniard, Swiss (?), dated 1585. Right, parrying dagger, Italian or French, about 1560–70. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jean Jacques Reubell, 1926, in memory of his mother, Julia C. Coster, and of his wife, Adeline E. Post, both of New York City, 25.145.92, 95, 90

FIGURE 20

Tierce parry and trapping of rapier blade with S-crossguard parrying dagger (type A). This outward high parry requires simultaneous counterclockwise motions of both arm and hand, then a clockwise twist of the hand to jam the blade. Dagger, north Italian, about 1570–80. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jean Jacques Reubell, 1926, in memory of his mother, Julia C. Coster, and of his wife, Adeline E. Post, both of New York City, 26.145.94



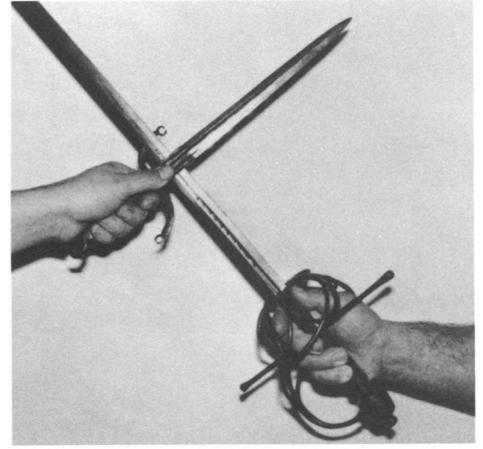
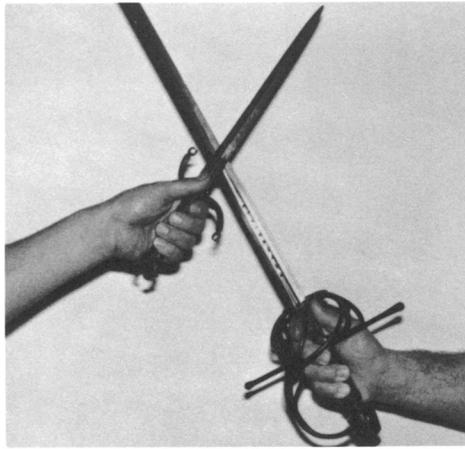
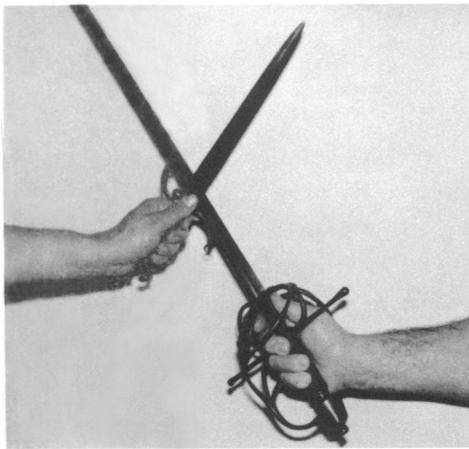
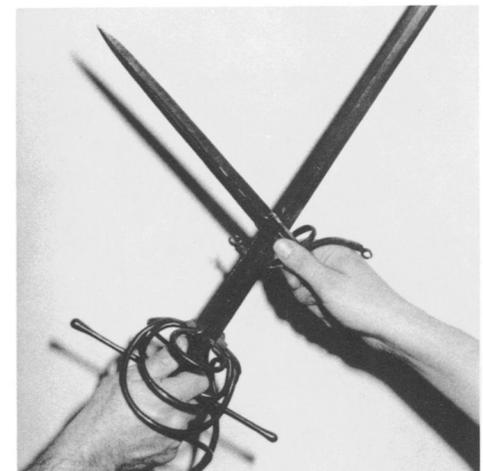
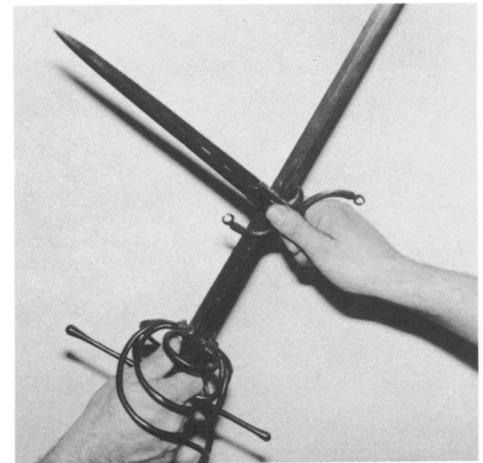


FIGURE 21

Tierce parry with S-crossguard parrying dagger (type B) in left hand. Left: parrying without trapping the blade, which is stopped by the side ring but can easily slide over the forward curve of the S-crossguard. Center and right: parrying and catching the blade with the rear end of the crossguard should require three hand movements: parry by counterclockwise arm motion with simultaneous clockwise hand turn (center), followed by counterclockwise hand twist to jam the blade (right). Dagger, north Italian, late 16th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jean Jacques Reubell, 1926, in memory of his mother, Julia C. Coster, and of his wife, Adeline E. Post, both of New York City, 26.145.93

FIGURE 22

Tierce parry with same dagger in right hand. Above: parry without trapping the blade. Below: parrying and trapping by simultaneous clockwise motions of arm and hand, and twist of the hand in opposite direction



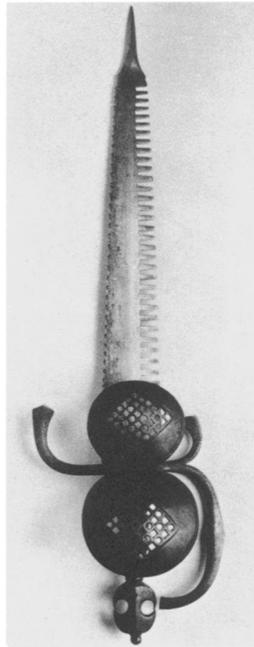
right). These obvious inconveniences disappear, of course, should this type of dagger be used in the right hand (Figure 22).

These observations suggest that the variant type B with inverse S-crossguard was intended for left-handed swordsmen. The history of modern fencing shows an astonishingly high number of successful left-handed fencers, and they doubtless existed as well in past times. Left-handed swordsmen must have demanded partic-

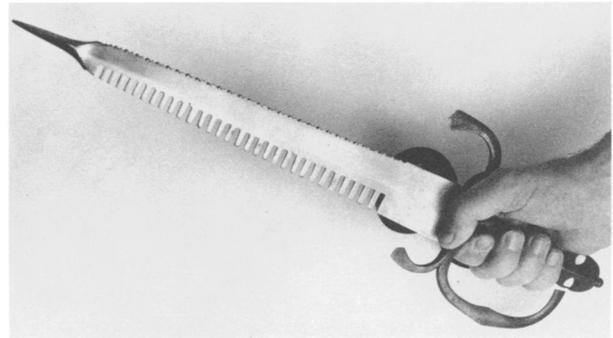
In practice, however, the dagger might defend the right side when the sword performed a different action (R. Capo Ferro da Cagli, *Gran simulacro dell'arte e dell'uso della scerma* [Siena, 1610]). Basic instructions in all manuals were generally addressed to right-handers, the main dagger parries corresponding to the following positions: left side ("guardia di fuori"), *tierce* for high parry, *seconde* for low parry; right side ("guardia di dentro"), *high quarte* and *low quarte*. For left-handers, holding the dagger in the right hand, these positions and names had inverse meanings, the *tierce*, for instance, protecting the body's right side in upper lines.

FIGURE 23

Parrying dagger, “sword-breaker,” for right-hand use by left-handed swordsman. The traps are formed by the arched crossguard, smaller shield, and teeth of the blade. The serrate back edge prevents the opponent from seizing the dagger with his hand, even if it is gloved. Italian, about 1550–75. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913, 14.25.1275



conclude that the thrust required less time for preparation and execution than the cut, and let one score a hit from a greater distance. At this time the thrust was given at least an equal importance with the cut, but soon, from the third quarter of the century, the thrust increasingly prevailed, as attested by manuals of this period.²³ Along with the application and perfecting of these principles went the development of lighter swords,



ular attention from sword- and dagger-makers exactly as did left-handed shooters, or marksmen aiming with the left eye, for whom special guns were made.¹⁸ The presumed daggers of this type for left-handers are considerably fewer than those preserved for right-handers, the proportion, based mainly on specimens in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum and the Hermitage Museum, being about one to three.

In the woodcuts illustrating Marozzo’s treatise there is a picture of a dagger with symmetrical arched crossguard whose ends are curved toward the point.¹⁹ This form, traceable back to corresponding late medieval sword guards, became probably the most popular design in parrying weapons during Marozzo’s lifetime (he died between 1550 and 1558).²⁰ The reason for this popularity, known from the comparatively large number of specimens extant and by numerous illustrations in fencing books, is closely connected with the development of the art of fencing by the mid-sixteenth century. Camillo Agrippa’s treatise (1553)²¹ shows that leading Italian teachers of the period, above all the author himself, rationalized actions performed with the sword and worked out a simpler and more practical system of basic positions (“guards”), which often resemble positions adopted by classical and modern fencing.²² Experience and theoretical calculations led masters to

their balance improved by decreasing the weight of the blade by reducing its mass but not its length. The rapier somewhat lost its cutting properties but gave the fencer, instead, more ease and speed in performing thrusts, feints, changes of position, and various combinations. As swordplay gradually became more subtle and complicated, with hits delivered more accurately, new modes of defense were contrived by fencers and swordsmiths. Rapier guards became more complicated, affording better protection for the hand, while artful traps were devised in bucklers to catch the thrusting blade. At the same period, parrying daggers were coming into use, with special contrivances designed to entangle the opponent’s blade; the most sophisticated of these are now usually called “sword-breakers” (Figure 23).

18. L. Tarassuk, *Antique European and American Firearms at the Hermitage Museum* (Leningrad, 1972) nos. 213, 233.

19. Marozzo, f. 128. This woodcut, like those on ff. 129, 133, illustrating the use of dagger alone, shows the weapon in a position that makes it impossible to say whether the dagger had a side ring.

20. Egerton Castle, p. 35.

21. C. Agrippa, *Trattato di scientia d’arme* (Rome, 1553).

22. Egerton Castle, p. 45.

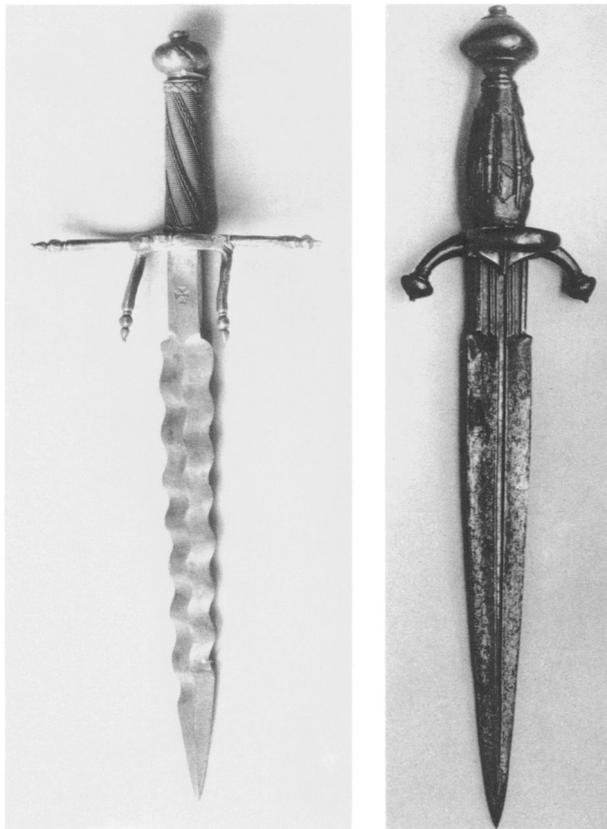
23. G. di Grassi. A. Viggiani, *Lo schermo* (Venice, 1575). Viggiani’s treatise, actually completed in 1560, was the first to emphasize the superiority of the thrust over the cut.

It is surely not by chance that di Grassi's treatise (1570), which describes contemporary methods, pays great attention to sword-and-dagger fencing. It gives instructions in different ways of handling the dagger²⁴ and depicts, in particular, what may be called a parrying trap-dagger whose guard was provided with two steel prongs, directed along the blade and expressly intended to entangle the sword. The description of this weapon²⁵ calls to mind a dagger in the Walters Art Gallery (Figure 24) as well as a variant having one

24. G. di Grassi, pp. 36-49.

25. G. di Grassi, p. 39: "Altri sono a quali piace di tenir il pugnale con la faccia uerso l'inimico, seruendosi per difesa non solo del pugnale, ma delle guardie ancora di esso pugnale con le quali dicono che si fa presa d'una spada, & per cio fare piu facilmente, hanno i loro pugnali, i quali oltra l'else ordinarie, hanno ancora due alette di ferro lunghe quatro dita diritte distanti dal pugnale la grossezza d'una corda d'arco, nellaiquale distanza quando auiene, che se gli cacci la spada inimica, essi subito uolgendo la mano stringono la spada facendo prese di essa."

FIGURE 24
Parrying dagger. Italian, about 1560-70. Walters Art Gallery, 51.522

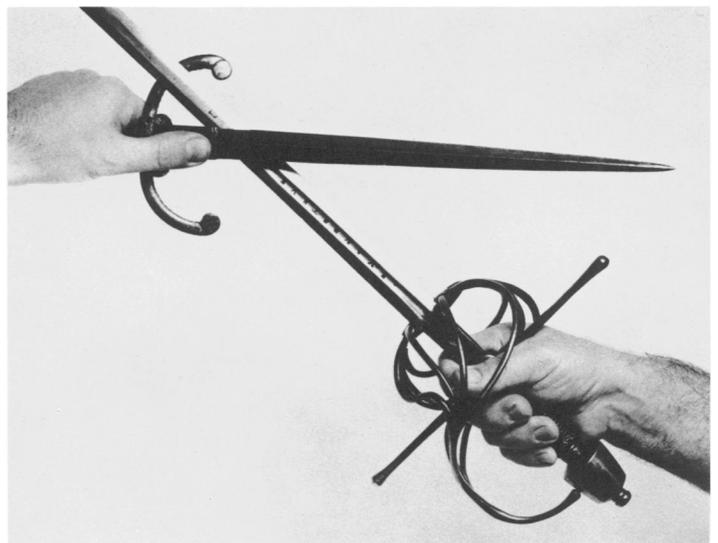


prong only (Figure 19, left). Di Grassi clearly dwelt on the trap-dagger because its original design was quite uncommon.

Daggers with symmetrical arched crossguards, first shown by Marozzo, proved to be the most practical parrying weapons as soon as this guard was supplemented by a side ring (Figures 25, 19 right). The ring, turned in the direction of the parry, protected the wrist well, and the quillons, curved toward the point, gave the hand an additional protection, stopping the blade in

FIGURE 25
Parrying dagger. North Italian, about 1550-60. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jean Jacques Reubell, 1926, in memory of his mother, Julia C. Coster, and of his wife, Adeline E. Post, both of New York City, 26.145.88

FIGURE 26
Tierce parry and catching of rapier blade with arched-crossguard parrying poniard. The cross-guard being also outwardly curved, the trapping is easily done with either quillon. At close quarters, a swift and powerful sliding motion of the poniard over the rapier blade could inflict a thrust while the rapier was kept away in "opposition." Poniard, French (?), about 1570-80. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jean Jacques Reubell, 1926, in memory of his mother, Julia C. Coster, and of his wife, Adeline E. Post, both of New York City, 26.145.99



case the fencer could not complete a circular motion of the hand to expose the side ring to the blow. With the increasing complication of swordplay in di Grassi's day, the arched crossguard underwent a technically simple but very important modification that perfected the form of this most convenient parrying weapon. Both ends of the arched quillons were slightly bent toward the side ring, enabling the fencer to trap a parried blade more easily and to jam it by a swift twist of the hand. When such a situation occurred close to, a rapid and vigorous slide of the dagger, commanding the trapped blade, could lead to a thrust inflicted with the dagger itself (Figure 26).

The long popularity of parrying daggers with arched crossguards was manifested, in particular, by the fact that a *daghetta*, a light version of the "cinquedeas," survived its heavy prototype and continued in use, at least in its native land, Italy, well into the last third of the sixteenth century, as shown by numerous illustrations in a fencing treatise by Giovanni Antonio Lovino (about 1580).²⁶ The parrying daggers pictured therein had the great advantage over their forerunners from the turn of the century (Figures 1, 2) in that they were equipped with the side ring (Figure 27).

With all their practical merits, arched-crossguard daggers had one deceptive quality that hindered their universal adoption, at the expense of other types of parrying weapons. A fencer using such a dagger had to be a very skillful fighter. In particular, having caught his opponent's blade, he had to know how to use this tense moment to advantage, and how to free his dagger when

necessary without "sticking" himself in the otherwise extremely dangerous engagement. The parrying dagger provided with still more sophisticated sword traps could prove even more treacherous if its owner had not mastered the weapon. This was probably one of the reasons why many swordsmen preferred daggers of simpler designs, such as those with straight crossguard and side ring. These were widely used in Germany, where the style of double fencing was less complicated than in Italy or France.

As has been pointed out, the side ring hinted at on some early Landsknecht daggers and portrayed by Marozzo, played the essential part in the designing of effective parrying weapons. The function of the side ring was performed by a shell bent toward the blade in certain heavy Landsknecht daggers, already spoken of, and Marc de la Beraudière (1608) mentions "advantageous poniards" equipped with a shell that well covered the hand.²⁷ A French parrying dagger of about 1600, with arched quillons and shell guard bent toward the grip (Figure 28), corresponds exactly to this description and has analogies to contemporary shell-guard swords.²⁸ The English fencing master George Silver,

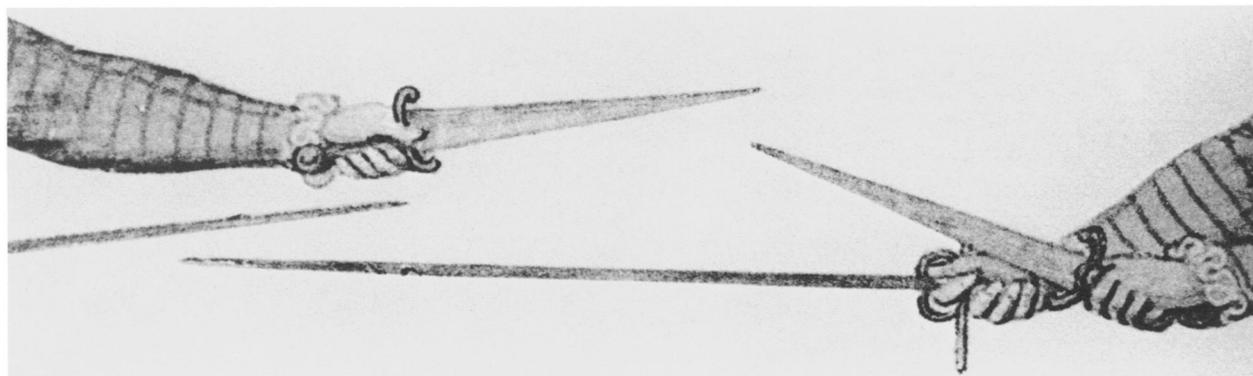
26. G. A. Lovino [*Traité d'escrime dédié au roi Henri III*], Italian MS No. 959, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Facsimile edition, BN, n.d.

27. M. de la Beraudière, *Le combat de seul à seul en camp clos* (Paris, 1608) p. 182: "Le poignard est semblablement rendu avantageux d'une coquille bien couverte."

28. A. R. Dufty, *European Swords and Daggers in the Tower of London* (London, 1974) pl. 41 a, b.

FIGURE 27

Cinquedeas-type parrying daggers with side ring. Manuscript fencing treatise by G. A. Lovino, about 1580 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; facsimile publication, pl. xxxii.



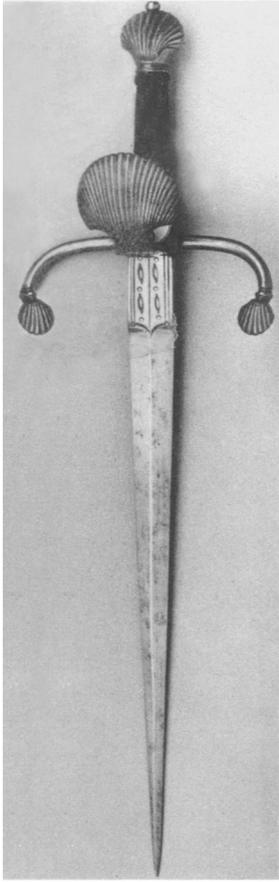


FIGURE 28
Parrying poniard. French, about 1600. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913, 14.25.1288

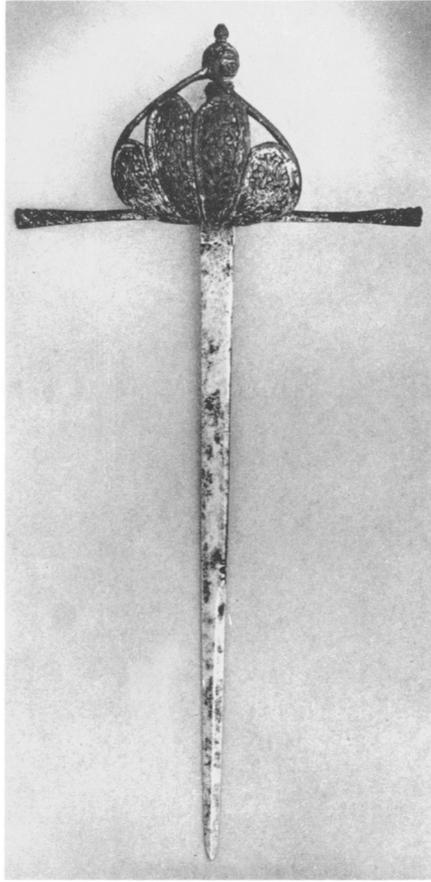


FIGURE 29
Parrying dagger. Spanish, early 17th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 04.3.119

active during the same period, probably meant daggers of this general design when he wrote of a “close hylt vpon yor daggr hand.”²⁹

A finer rapier play in the second half of the sixteenth century was responsible for parrying daggers in which a steel screen was fixed inside the ring to protect fingers

29. *The Works of George Silver*, ed. Cyril G. R. Matthey (London, 1898) pp. 106–107.

against a thrust into the ring itself. In another design a very large side ring was supplemented by an underlying concave shell, with a slight clearance between them, to trap a blade. Later, Spanish masters developed this type to a close shell guard with long straight quillons (Figure 29). This design facilitated intercepting the rapier blade and jamming it, in the way performed with arched-crossguard daggers. While enlarging defense fields covered by respective parries, long quillons on Spanish daggers and swords made fine disengagements and feints at a close distance much more difficult and risky, for the fencer who began such an action inevitably had to circumvent the quillons, thus greatly uncovering himself and giving his adversary an ostensible advantage. These weapons well fell in line with the overcomplicated principles of the Spanish fencing school. Followers of the other schools preferred the parrying dagger with simple side ring and arched or straight crossguard, and this design was the most popular one for a hundred years.

A dagger with side ring was nearly as portable as one without the ring, but the swordsman who carried a parrying dagger felt much more assured if he knew he might have to draw. The side ring in no way prevented the dagger from being used as an ordinary knife or dagger (that is, gripped with the thumb at the pommel), while the dagger without side ring, while useful for stabbing, could not be used so well in fencing. If the side ring or an adequate protective device is taken as the distinguishing feature of parrying weapons, it can be stated that their number is the majority among all kinds of daggers and poniards preserved from about 1525 to 1650. This is quite understandable, since it is only logical to suppose that most armed men preferred to carry parrying weapons, fit for any use, in preference to ordinary daggers and poniards. Accordingly, it seems reasonable to assume that the greater part of all daggers and poniards produced during this period were parrying weapons of one design or another. Among the exceptions are parade or costume daggers, and smaller weapons for covert carrying, such as stilettoes. However, even these light, graceful poniards were sometimes provided with a side ring (Figures 30, 31), sufficient to give the fingers minimal protection if one wished to parry but not so bulky as to hamper concealment under the dress when necessary. This combination of stiletto and parrying poniard seems to have been particularly popu-

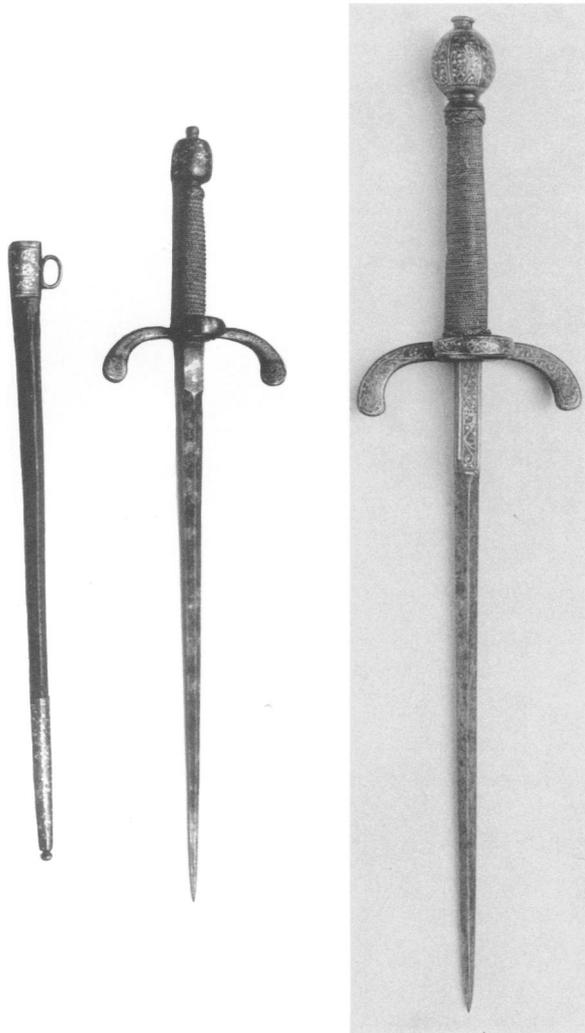


FIGURE 30

Parrying poniard (stiletto). The loop on the scabbard shows that this weapon was attached to the belt in vertical position, probably frontal right or left side. French, about 1550–75. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jean Jacques Reubell, 1926, in memory of his mother, Julia C. Coster, and of his wife, Adeline E. Post, both of New York City, 26.145.85

FIGURE 31

Parrying stiletto. Italian or French, about 1560–80. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jean Jacques Reubell, 1926, in memory of his mother, Julia C. Coster, and of his wife, Adeline E. Post, both of New York City, 26.145.117

FIGURE 32

Parrying stiletto. In the absence of a side ring, the arched crossguard is bent outward to protect the fingers. Swiss or German, mid-16th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jean Jacques Reubell, 1926, in memory of his mother, Julia C. Coster, and of his wife, Adeline E. Post, both of New York City, 26.145.101

lar in Italy and France, as shown by the number of these weapons preserved in collections.³⁰ In some parrying stilettoes the blade-stopping function was performed by outwardly bent quillons (Figure 32); less effective than the side ring, this design made the stiletto easier to conceal.

So potent were the tradition, fashion, and habit of using a weapon for parries that a fencer without his dagger, cloak, or gloves sometimes ventured to beat off the adversary's blade with his unprotected hand. This was the case with de Quielus, in the "duel des mignons" (1578), when he "had his hand all cut by wounds."³¹ On such occasions anything fit to parry with could be used, as pictured in a German treatise (1612) wherein a fencer (a left-hander, by the way) beats off the sword

with his scabbard and hanger and wins, his opponent also being without a parrying dagger.³²

The design and perfection of parrying weapons depended greatly on the collaboration of fencing masters

30. Bashford Dean appeared to hesitate in classifying stilettoes with side ring in the Metropolitan Museum, describing them as "stylets which in fact, were it not for their small size and slender blades, might justly be included with parrying daggers" (*Catalogue of European Daggers*, p. 142). Nevertheless, he placed these weapons in the group entitled "Stylets—parrying daggers." Besides the three stilettoes I illustrate as Figures 30–32, I feel that others in the Metropolitan's collection belong to the same group: nos. 14.25.1300 and 26.145.85, 101, 113–115, 117.

31. Brantôme, pp. 100–101: "pour parer et destourner les coups que l'autre luy donnoit, il avoit la man toute decoupée de playes."

32. J. Sutor, *New Künstliches Fechtbuch* (Frankfurt, 1612), facsimile edition (Stuttgart, 1849) p. 75.



with sword-makers. The sword-maker, apart from being an artisan, had to understand the qualities and functions required of the weapons he was to create. Starting with the adjustment of weapons current in the early sixteenth century to a new use, by modifying their guards, the next, and most important, step was taken when parrying daggers with side ring were designed. The gradual refinement of double fencing led to more complicated parrying techniques, and the development of the parrying weapons themselves was largely responsible for the process. Some of the dagger designs were inspired by a whim or the imagination of individual inventors and did not become popular; other patterns gained widespread recognition, thanks either to simplicity in their use (the straight-crossguard dagger) or

to constructional subtleties for more complex actions (the dagger with arched and outwardly bent cross-guard). Not only hilts but blades of parrying weapons were subject to changes and improvements. A massive double-edged blade of a simple shape was retained for more than a hundred years in heavy parrying daggers used with cut-and-thrust swords (Figures 6–11, 17, 19 left and right, 25). The prevalence of the thrust in rapier play, from the mid-sixteenth century on, and the gradual lightening of sword blades in this connection, affected the parrying weapons. Increasingly, daggers and poniards were given lighter, often only thrusting, blades in which a delicate balance of rigidity and elasticity necessary to withstand severe shocks, was obtained by skillful combinations of ridges, grooves, and perforations (Figures 13, 14, 19 center, 20).³³ About the same time, stiff blades of square or triangular section started regaining the popularity they had enjoyed until the early sixteenth century. More slender and graceful in stilettoes, these blades formed perfect stabbing tools, yet a stiletto of medium or large size, with a side ring, was strong and reliable enough to parry a light thrusting rapier (Figures 28–30).

Studying various specimens of parrying weapons, one cannot help feeling that many of them were produced by connoisseurs of swordplay who must have possessed a refined knowledge of the potential performance of given designs. It does not seem unlikely that some of these makers were very keen on fencing themselves, as was surely the case with the artists who illustrated the treatises and displayed an excellent understanding of most complicated actions. During the heyday of double fencing, the craftsmen certainly sought to provide a wide assortment of parrying daggers and poniards, so that a fencer might have weapons according to his particular taste, skill, training style, and favorite parrying methods. A number of swords and daggers were also made to replace damaged or lost weapons, an unavoidable effect of the dueling epidemic that ravaged Europe for many decades. These considerations taken together, it is hardly correct to assume that all parrying daggers and poniards were made en suite with swords and rapiers. Such sets, often artis-

33. For a diagrammed analysis of the structure of these blades, Dean, *Catalogue of European Daggers*, p. 111.

tically decorated and provided with no less expensive belts and hangers adorned to match the weapons, were mostly created to special order or were kept in stock for prospective wealthy buyers. Such garnitures must have been financially out of reach for many adepts of sword-and-dagger fencing, and there can be little doubt that ordinary customers took their picks of separate parrying weapons and swords, which therefore had to be produced in considerable quantities. Accordingly, it seems not at all necessary to consider any parrying dagger or poniard, preserved without a matching sword or rapier, as the only remaining part of a former garniture.

Most of the iconographic material shows parrying daggers and poniards fastened on the sword belt almost horizontally on the back, hilts near the right elbow. This position was known since the later part of the fifteenth century (it is seen, for instance, in the *Miracle of St. Bernardino* by Pinturicchio, in the Pinacoteca of Perugia). It must have become particularly convenient and fashionable with parrying daggers, since their hilts could embarrass movements of the hands when the weapons were fixed on the side or in front. However, an impressive number of pictures show other ways of wearing parrying daggers. Quite often they are represented on the back, with hilt to the left (Figure 5). Many such examples can be found in engravings by J. Tortorel and J. Perissin, produced by 1570.³⁴ A dagger in the Metropolitan Museum (04.3.149) has a scabbard with belt loop inclined so that it could be worn only with the hilt at the left elbow, if suspended on the back (or with hilt toward the right side if worn in front, which would have been awkward because of the horizontal position of the dagger). Parrying weapons are sometimes shown fastened vertically to the sword belt in front, as in the *Portrait of a Maltese Knight* by S. Cavagna, about 1620.³⁵

Setting about a combat, the fencer's normal first move was to disembarrass himself of the sword scabbard. Before a formal duel, he had time to do this in two different ways. He could unhook the sword hanger and supporting strap from the belt, leaving his dagger on his waist, or he could take off the belt with both its weapons and then unsheathe them. In a sudden encounter, the procedure would be quite different. Pulling back the sword scabbard with hanger, he would draw as quickly as possible, then move his free hand from the scabbard to the grip of his dagger to draw it, too. The speed and ease of these movements depended

not only on the weapons and accouterments but also on the person's build, first of all on the reach of his hands, a personal peculiarity that must often have determined the method of carrying the parrying dagger. A right-hander could well follow the fashion and fix his dagger on the back, its pommel protruding at the right elbow, if his left hand could reach the dagger grip without difficulty. Experiments show that a man of average build can draw a dagger fixed on his back, as this used to be done, and a man with longish arms is able to do the same even when wearing light half-armor. In this position, too, the dagger could easily be drawn by the right hand for stabbing.³⁶ The dagger on the back was unobtrusive and did not hinder movements, but, apart from that, it was convenient for either of the alternative uses that made this manner of carrying preferable. However, for stout persons, or those wearing heavy, fluffy dress, this mode could cause problems when prompt unsheathing was important. Understandably, the dagger was then fixed on the right side or even more at the front, as portrayed sometimes in paintings and engravings.

It can be surmised that some eccentric right-handed swashbucklers liked to carry their daggers fixed behind, with the hilt at the left elbow, for parrying use exclusively. But in general this was the normal position for left-handed fencers, enabling them to use the weapon in either way with the appropriate hand. When the iconographical documentation shows daggers carried this way, one may surmise that the wearer is left-handed. Among extant weapons intended for left-handers, there is a parrying dagger that simply could not be used otherwise than in the right hand (Figure 23), while another, mentioned above, could be fixed on the belt at the left side only, as clearly indicated by the loop on the scabbard.

Of all types of parrying edged weapons, only daggers and poniards with symmetric guards did equally well for both right- and left-handed fencers. This may have been an additional reason for the widespread popular-

34. J. Tortorel, J. Perissin, *Les grandes scènes historiques du XVI^e siècle*, ed. A. Franklin (Paris, 1886).

35. Museo Bardini, Florence; L. G. Boccia, E. T. Coelho, *Armi bianchi italiane* (Milan, 1975) ills. 568, 569.

36. The use of the parrying dagger as an ordinary stabbing poniard or knife is well illustrated in Salvator Fabris, *De lo schermo overo scienza d'arme* (Copenhagen, 1606) pp. 251, 253, 255.

ity of parrying weapons with a straight or arched cross-guard. The same feature appeared in the Spanish-type dagger with knuckle shell and long quillons. However, the latter was too clumsy for constant carrying, while a dagger with comparatively small symmetric guard could be comfortably worn on the belt for any length of time. The only detail, in such a dagger, that had to be fixed by the sword-maker or furbisher for left-handers, was a belt loop welded to the scabbard at a proper angle.

An important question may arise here: which were those weapons that could properly fit the left-handed fencer? Apart from weapons expressly made to their orders,³⁷ such swordsmen could use a large variety of two-edged swords and rapiers, as well as tucks, that had any kind of symmetric guard, with or without a closed knuckle-guard. As for guards of asymmetric construction, only those without knuckle-guards were good for left-handers. It goes almost without saying that weapons from both these groups did equally well for right-handers.

He that would fight with his Sword and Buckler, or Sword and Dagger, being weapons of true defence, will not fight with his Rapier and Poiniard wherein no true defence or fight is perfect.

George Silver, *Paradoxes of Defence*, 1599.³⁸

These words express the approach of a leading English master to the sword and dagger, considered by him as national weapons, and to the rapier and poniard, brought to England from the Continent. This opposition is characteristic of both Silver's known publications. With invariable disdain he speaks of "the worst weapon, an imperfect and insufficient weapon . . . that is, the single Rapier, and Rapier and Poiniard."³⁹ The main difference between the weapons, in terms of practical use, is thus explained: "The single Rapier, or Rapier & Poiniard, they are imperfect & insufficient weapons" because the rapier is "a childish toy where-with a man can do nothing but thrust." On the other hand "The short Sword, and Sword and Dagger, are perfect good weapons . . . to carry, to draw, to be nimble withall, to strike, to cut, to thrust, both strong and quicke."⁴⁰

It is apparent that by *dagger* Silver had in mind a solid two-edged weapon resembling his favorite cut-and-thrust sword, while the name *poniard* was applied

by him to a lighter weapon with a narrow thrusting blade, much like that of a contemporary dueling rapier. It was only natural to associate this light parrying weapon with Italian or Spanish rapier play. Silver's standpoint was evidently shared by other English swordsmen, for one of them, in a pamphlet published some twenty-five years after Silver's works, triumphantly describes a fight of a gentleman armed "with an English Quarter Staffe against Three Spanish Rapiers and Poniards."⁴¹ The word *poniard* (also *puniard*, *ponyard*, *poyniard*), recorded in English from the 1580s,⁴² was an obvious Gallicism, and this fact eventually emerged in minds of educated people in appropriate context. It figures, for instance, in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (act 5, scene 2) when Osric names rapier and dagger as weapons of the forthcoming contest but in a moment says that Laertes staked (against the king's wager) "six French rapiers and poniards."

The suggested connotations of *dagger* and *poniard* in English fencing terminology are verified by Jean Nicot (1530–1600), a French linguist and contemporary of Silver's. Nicot explains the word *dague*: "A kind of short sword, almost a third of normal sword length; it is not carried usually with hangers of a sword belt nor hanging on the left side (for the right-handers), as one does with a sword, but attached to the belt on the right side or on the back. Now the dagger is large and has a sword-like point, it is now forged with two ridges between the cutting edges and with a sharper point. . . . The dagger could be also called poniard although the poniard is both shorter and less overloaded with steel [less massive]."⁴³

37. A saber in the Metropolitan Museum (14.99.77a, b) could have been used by a left-hander only, for it has a closed guard and a thumb ring on the left side of the guard.

38. *Works of George Silver*, p. 56.

39. *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

40. *Op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

41. Wise, *Personal Combat*, p. 61.

42. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s. v.

43. J. Nicot, *Thresor de la langue françoise* (Paris, 1606/1621) s.v. *Dague*: "Est vne maniere de courte espée, d'vn tiers presque de la deüe [due] longueur d'vne espée, qu'on porte d'ordinaire non avec pendants de ceinture à espée, ne pendant du costé gauche (pour les droitiers) ainsi qu'on fait l'espée, ains attachée droite à la ceinture du costé droit, ou sur les reins. Laquelle ores est large et à pointe d'espée, ores est façonnée à 2 arestes entre les trenchans, et à pointe plus aigue. . . . La dague se pourroit aussi nommer poignard, co[m]bien que le poignard soit et plus court et moins chargé de maitière."

Nicot describes the *poignard* as “a kind of short dagger, with four-ridge blade having a bead-like point, while the dagger has a wider blade with point like that of a sword.”⁴⁴

It is sufficient to look at the actual weapons of Silver’s and Nicot’s period (Figures 14, 19) to be convinced of the accuracy of their descriptions. Without comprehending, naturally, all types of the weapons concerned, their basic features and respective differences are clearly outlined by Nicot’s entries, which confirm the correctness of the proposed understanding of terms discussed as used by Silver.

There is a certain importance in Nicot’s remark that the *dague* could be called a *poignard*, were it not for their difference in size and weight. This observation may well indicate what was happening in everyday life and language: that is, a reciprocal colloquial substitution of words whose meanings were so close that only professionals having some special purpose thought it necessary to make distinctions.

In England, *dagger*, contrary to *poniard*, had a long-standing tradition,⁴⁵ and even after the emergence of the new weapon, coming from abroad with its own name, the national term continued in common use to cover all weapon variations similar to daggers. This tendency toward generalization influenced even such a discriminating specialist as George Silver, who used, in one passage, the expression “rapier and dagger.”⁴⁶ Analogously, *sword* was employed as a general term and *rapier* was a more specific term, as witnessed, for instance, in the English translation of Vincentio Saviolo’s treatise, in which *rapier and dagger* and *sword and dagger* are used in descriptions of fencing with rapier and poniard.⁴⁷ This confusion of the general and the particular is recorded, as well, in contemporary Italian-English dictionaries,⁴⁸ where one can find such explanations as

Daga, a short sword, a dagger.

44. Op. cit. s.v. *Poignard*: “Est vne espèce de dague courte, la lame à quatre arestes, ayant la pointe en grain d’orge, là où la dague a la lame plus large, et la pointe en façon d’espée.”

45. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. *dagger* (recorded from the fourteenth century).

46. *Works of George Silver*, p. 66.

47. V. Saviolo, *His practise . . . of the use of the rapier and dagger* (London, 1595).

48. J. Florio, *A worlde of wordes* (London, 1598); *Queen Anna’s*

Pugnale, a dagger, a poyniard [also ponyard, poy-nado].

Spada, any kinde of sworde, rapier; or blade, or glaiue.

In France, *dague* and *poignard* probably had comparable traditions in ancientness, both being recorded from around 1400,⁴⁹ and the distinction of their meanings, so well explained by Jean Nicot, was more or less preserved until the seventeenth century. In the treatise by the Antwerp master Girard Thibault, dedicated to Spanish-style fencing with the thrusting rapier, the parrying weapon is always *le poignard*, and it is only this thrusting weapon that is pictured in the excellent detailed engravings illustrating the chapters on double fencing.⁵⁰ Equally, *le poignard* alone is mentioned by Marc de la Beraudière, who tried to develop the dueling code in a period when the Italian and Spanish schools of fencing with the thrusting rapier dominated France.⁵¹ On the other hand, the treatise of Henry de Saint-Didier, dealing with the cut-and-thrust sword of the third quarter of the sixteenth century, and still favoring the cut, omits *le poignard* and indicates only *la dague* as a weapon to accompany this sword.⁵²

There are some revealing points, for the present subject, in the tales of Brantôme, who spent part of his life as a professional soldier and studied fencing in Milan. Some of his events, having occurred before his own time, he relates after other narrators, and he takes special care to emphasize the archaism of certain expressions in them. In a story about a duel between two Spaniards in northern Italy in the early 1500s, Brantôme says: “Leur combat fut à cheval à la genette, & à la rapière, & le poignard (ainsi parloit-on alors).”⁵³ However, of another duel of the same period, Brantôme writes, the adversaries received “deux segrettes et deux rapières bien tranchantes (j’useray de ces mots du temps passé pour suivre le texte & mieux observer & honorer l’antiquité) & deux poignards.”⁵⁴ Thus, it

new world of words (London, 1611); *Vocabolario Italiano- & Inglese* (London, 1688).

49. F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l’ancienne langue française* (Paris, 1880–1920) s.v.s.

50. Thibault, *Académie de l’espée*.

51. Beraudière, *Combat de seul à seul*.

52. H. de Saint-Didier, *Traicté . . . sue l’espée seule* (Paris, 1573).

53. Brantôme, p. 37.

54. Brantôme, p. 32.

can be deduced that the author did not consider *poignard* an archaism. The more accurate and trustworthy of Brantôme's tales, naturally, are those of events from his own lifetime, particularly those that he witnessed himself. Here, he uses *dague* much more often, describing it as a cut-and-thrust weapon. The story of a combat in Rome, in 1559, mentions "une courte dague, bien tranchante & bien pointue," and referring to his sojourn in Milan Brantôme remembers a local swordsmith who made "deux paires d'armes, tant espée que dague . . . tranchantes, picquantes."⁵⁵ A frequent use of the expression *espée et dague* by Brantôme⁵⁶ and other French authors gives ground to think that from the second half of the sixteenth century this became a generality equivalent to the English *sword and dagger*. *Rapière*, a loanword in German and English, fell out of use in France at this period, while *dague* took on a broad general meaning in everyday language. *Poignard* seems to have survived this trend toward generalization but remained in a lesser use, mostly by fencers, swordsmen, and linguists, all of whom continued to employ *dague* and *poignard* in their traditional exactness. There is a possibility that the term *dague* as well as the current *épée et dague* developed wider use and significance under the strong influence of the Spanish language, wherein *espada y daga* was the only common turn of speech to cover double-fencing weapons irrespective of their design.

In German, *Dolch* invariably appears as a general designation of any type of dagger, including different types of parrying weapons. Having adopted *Rappier* from French,⁵⁷ the German fencing lexicon retained the ancient national term for daggers in general and thus formed a heterogeneous locution, *Rappier und Dolch*, recorded in fencing books of the later part of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The Italian military and fencing vocabulary of the sixteenth century still distinguished between *daga* and *pugnale*. In a dueling book of 1521, *daga* is listed among

the principal weapons then commonly accepted in personal combats while *pugnale* is included in "altre piccole" weapons admissible for carrying by duelists in addition to their main armament.⁵⁸ Both weapons are again specified in a dueling treatise of 1560.⁵⁹ Meanwhile the expression *spada e pugnale*, as a general reference to edged weapons used in double fencing, was becoming part of the vocabulary of the new fighting style.⁶⁰ The generalization of *spada* and of *pugnale* continued. By the middle of the century *pugnale* had already been used to designate any weapon of its kind, either thrusting or edged, as can be seen from a dueling code that puts in its list of weapons one should refuse to fight with "pugnali senza taglio, senza punta, ò senza schina."⁶¹ Di Grassi's book, representing the Italian style of the third quarter of the sixteenth century, often mentions *pugnale co'l taglio* and once instructs the fencer to direct its edge toward the enemy in order to inflict a cutting wound.⁶² The connotation of *pugnale* continued to widen until, in the seventeenth century, *daga* became, if surely not forgotten, at least an unfashionable word, while *pugnale* and its derivatives remained in common use, covering an array of short-blade weapons. In an English-Italian dictionary of this period⁶³ one finds

A dagger, pugnale.

A great dagger, pugnalone, pugnaccio.

A little dagger, pugnaletto.

A poniard, pugnale.

It is interesting to note that in Spanish and French the generalization of the terms led to the formation of identical word combinations, *espada y daga* and *épée et dague*, whereas the parallel Italian expression, *spada e pugnale*, was equivalent only in general connotation, its second part being entirely different etymologically. The Italian usage did not modify the French one, but it could well have contributed to the continuing use of the locution *épée et poignard*.

55. Brantôme, pp. 66, 80.

56. Brantôme, pp. 229, 231, 233, 260, etc.

57. J. and W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, s.v. In 1570 Joachim Meyer pointed out that the *Rappier* had been invented and brought to Germany "by other nations" (*Gründliche Beschreibung der . . . Kunst des Fechtens* [Strassburg, 1570] f. 1).

58. Puteo, *Duello*, f. G [v].

59. [Girolamo] Mutio Iustinopolitano, *La Faustina delle armi*

cavalleresche (Venice, 1560) p. 32: "daghe, daghette, pugnali di diuerse maniere."

60. Puteo, *Duello*, f. G [vi]: "con spate et pugnali."

61. [Sebastiano] Fausto da Longiano, *Duello regolato à le leggi de l'honore* (Venice, 1551) p. 54.

62. G. di Grassi, p. 39: "tenendolo con il taglio uerso l'inimico si ha questo auantagio che co'l pugnale si puo ferire de taglio."

63. Torriano, *Dictionary English and Italian* (London, 1687) s. vs.

It may seem strange that parrying weapons, despite their widespread popularity over a period of one hundred and fifty years, did not receive special names to distinguish them from ordinary daggers and poniards.⁶⁴ This fact does not look unnatural, however, in the light of the foregoing conclusion that during the sword-and-dagger era most daggers and poniards were provided with a parrying guard that made them fit for any appropriate use. This also explains why an early special term, *pugnale bolognese*, had a regional circulation only and turned out to be short-lived, for very soon this particular form lost its novelty in the multitude of parrying weapons.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

While studying the arms collection in the Metropolitan Museum, I was given every possible assistance and invariably friendly attention by Helmut Nickel, Curator of Arms and Armor. Stephen V. Grancsay, Curator Emeritus, gave me the benefit of his knowledge and experience. Robert Carroll, the Museum's Armorer, and Theodore Cuseo, Senior Restorer, helped me with their special skills, particularly in the making of the combat photographs; the photographs were made by Leonid Lubianitsky. Elizabeth Usher, the Museum's Librarian, was instrumental in obtaining a microfilm of Marozzo's *Opera nova* in the Library, University of Pisa. Clément Bosson and René Géroutet provided me with the photograph for Figure 8. Richard H. Randall, Director of the Walters Art Gallery, gave me the photograph for Figure 24. Ann Willard, Iris Cole, and Bryce Rhyne assisted me with my text. To all, my most cordial thanks.

64. In view of the evidence considered, it is hard to accept Bashford Dean's definition of poniards as "quillon daggers which from the early sixteenth century were used in the left hand as an aid to parrying" (*Catalogue of European Daggers*, p. 8). Heribert Seitz mentions a Spanish term, *daga de mano izquierda* (also *mano izquierda* and *izquierda*), for Spanish shell-guard daggers of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but without a reference to his source (*Blankwaffen*, II, pp. 138, 139, 192). Though the term may have been used casually, the most reliable dictionaries (J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* [Berna, 1954]; M. Alonso, *Enciclopedia del idioma* [Madrid, 1958]; Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua española* [Madrid, 1970]) do not mention it.

The Colonna Altarpiece in the Metropolitan Museum and Problems of the Early Style of Raphael¹

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A RECENT MONOGRAPH ON RAPHAEL conveniently juxtaposes monochrome illustrations of two of his altarpieces that have always been considered nearly contemporary works.² Both represent the Madonna enthroned with saints. Both follow prototypes in the work of Pietro Perugino. Both were painted for churches in Perugia. Giorgio Vasari described them—and we shall consider his statement later—in a period of Raphael's life devoted to works done after the master's first stay in Florence, usually dated to about 1504/5. One of them, the Madonna Ansidei (Figure 1), in the National Gallery, London, seems to confirm Vasari's placement by a date, 1505, that can be found on the garment of the Virgin.³ The other, the Colonna altarpiece (Figure 2), shows, especially in the drapery of St. Paul, a monumentality of form that convinced all later writers that it had been created under the direct influ-

ence of Fra Bartolomeo, whom Raphael encountered in Florence in 1505.⁴ Some old-fashioned features, however, made them assume a conception of the work around 1504, before Raphael went to the city on the Arno. Sensitive art historians like Crowe and Cavalcaselle seem almost embarrassed by some of the strange traits of the Metropolitan's altarpiece and offer long analyses of features incompatible with the period of 1505 in Raphael's work.⁵

The monograph by Sir John Pope-Hennessy admirably characterizes the panels' differences in spatial conception. In fact, the analysis of these differences could be a good classroom exercise for an undergraduate seminar. While the conventions of arrangement, the figure types, the features, the understanding of form, and the intensity of expression clearly prove that we are dealing here not only with two works of the same tradi-

1. The ideas in this article were first presented in lecture form at Princeton University in January 1975 in a series sponsored jointly with the Institute for Advanced Study. Much of the work was done during my stay as a temporary member of the Institute and with the help of the Marquand and Firestone libraries. I am also grateful to the staff of the European Paintings Department at the Metropolitan Museum, and especially to Katharine Batejer for showing me X-rays of the Colonna altarpiece and discussing its condition. After my article was completed, the altarpiece was cleaned by John M. Brealey, the Museum's Conservator of Paintings. For his comments, see Appendix.

2. John Pope-Hennessy, *Raphael: The Wrightsman Lectures* (New York, 1970) figs. 78, 79, 89.

3. Cecil Gould, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century Italian Schools (Excluding the Venetian)* (London, 1962) no. 1171, pp. 151–153; Luitpold Dussler, *Raphael* (London-New York, 1971) pp. 13–14.

4. Dussler pp. 14–15. Elizabeth Gardner and Katharine Baetjer kindly allowed me to use the catalogue entry on the painting prepared for the Museum's forthcoming catalogue by Federico Zeri; it will give a complete and useful survey of previous literature and of the painting's provenance.

5. Joseph A. Crowe and Giovanni Cavalcaselle, *Raphael: His Life and Works* (London, 1882–85) I, pp. 217–221, esp. 219–220.

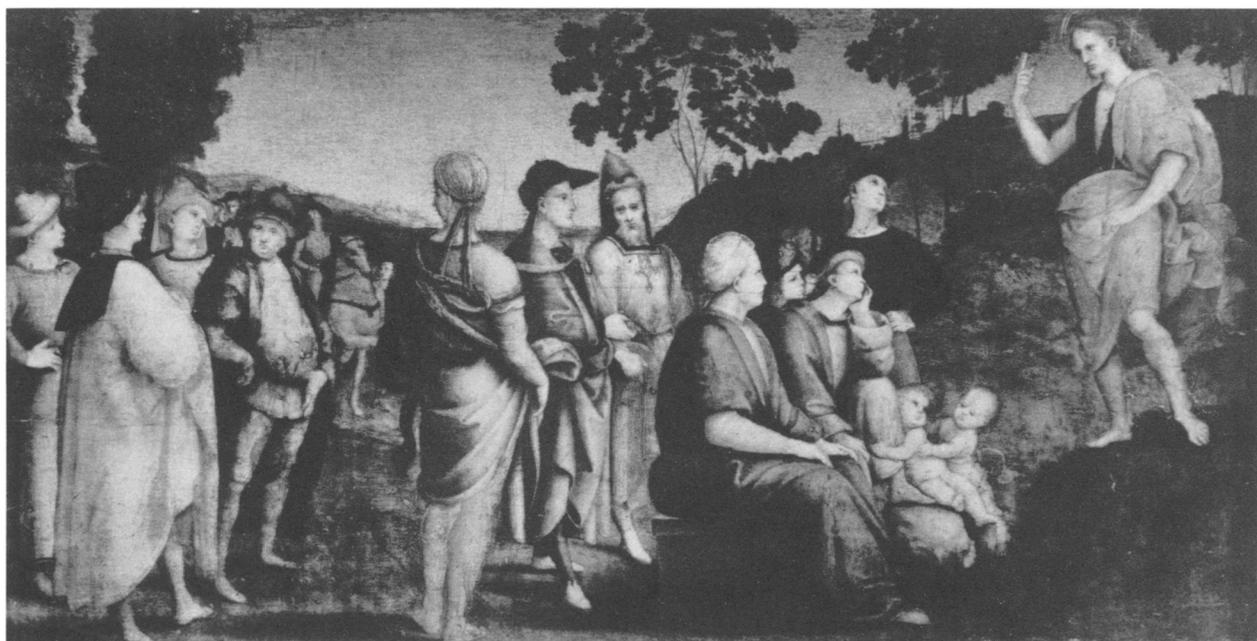


FIGURE 1
Raphael, Madonna Ansidei. National Gallery,
London

FIGURE 2
Raphael, The Virgin and Child with Sts. Cath-
erine and Lucy, Peter and Paul, central panel of
the Colonna altarpiece. The Metropolitan Mu-
seum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 16.30a

tion, but also painted by the same master, the formal intentions could within this limited sphere be hardly more diverse. In the Colonna altarpiece it becomes evident that the artist, in spite of his basic bias for strongly plastic form, is thinking in terms of filling the picture plane according to decorative principles. Little space is left below and above the figures. The large looming baldachin of the Madonna's throne is cut by the frame in such a way that the impact of its rounded form is strongly mitigated. The high horizon helps to flatten its





protruding shape just as it lessens the effect of the foreshortened steps. The landscape, in accordance with the high eye level, is drawn up to the height of the heads of Sts. Peter and Paul and is arranged in obvious strata. The rather squat figures themselves spread out in the plane with large expanding garments. Their gestures and stances mainly extend toward the sides; their faces are either frontal or profile. They are arranged in three flat layers, one behind the other, and in two ranges of height so as to fill a maximum of surface. All the accessories reflect the decorative intent. The throne is ornamented with knotwork and the pattern of the backdrop behind the Virgin stresses the plane. Even the volutes of the throne do not show much foreshortening but rather exist for their ornamental value. The same is true of the garments, above all the dark gown of the Virgin studded with gold. The female saints, although clad in dresses rather sweepingly painted in strong plain colors, have decoratively draped shawls around their shoulders. Large ornamented hems adorn the simpler cloaks of the apostles. The colors are applied in large masses, little broken by lights and shadows.

After these comments, the different character of the *Madonna Ansidei* should be obvious. There is space above and below and around the figures, clearly defined by light-colored architecture that frames the plas-

tically conceived landscape with its lower horizon. The elegant throne towers up with sculptural clarity, its polished elements gleaming in the sharply modeling light. The long-limbed figures move with conscious ease, acting or stepping forward in space. The artist obviously wants to present us with object lessons in successful foreshortening, such as the staff and book of St. Nicholas or the elegant hand of the Virgin. The light makes the features and bodily forms, now freed from the laws of the plane, appear in delicate roundness. It enriches the colors with soft highlights and shadows. The coloring itself has become more refined without losing its depth and glow. There is a greater lightness in the whole.

The sheer advance in technical proficiency in the *Madonna Ansidei* makes it obvious that the *Colonna* altarpiece is considerably less mature both in conception and execution. The technical advance is matched by the progress in the mastery of features, gestures, and expression, which changes from an almost stark intensity, for instance in the head of St. Peter, to a lyrical, even melodious delicacy in the head of St. John.

Whoever may still have some doubts as to the truth of these observations should open Oskar Fischel's *Raphael* at plate 37⁶ to admire at a glance the only re-

6. Oskar Fischel, *Raphael* (Berlin, 1962).

FIGURE 3

Raphael, *The Preaching of the Baptist*, predella panel of the *Madonna Ansidei*. Viscountess Mersey, Pulborough, Sussex



FIGURE 4

Raphael, *The Procession to Calvary*, predella panel of the *Colonna* altarpiece. National Gallery, London

maining panel of the *Ansidei* predella and three of the ones left from the *Colonna* altarpiece.⁷ In the *Preaching of the Baptist* from the *Ansidei* (Figure 3), figures in richly varied attire move and pose elegantly in the extending space, and the eye is led into depth by continuously diminishing shapes and revolving forms. The light plays an important role in giving unity to the intricate grouping of the whole. In the *Procession to Calvary* (Figure 4), once a part of the Metropolitan's altar, the men dragging Christ flatly across the foreground completely block our view into depth. All movements seem to be limited by the laws of the picture plane, even though some slight attempts are made to break away from it. Each form is strongly modeled, colored, and lighted for itself with no overall unity except for the decorative pattern of the procession with its delicate rhythm. An amazing development must have taken place between the two works, and clearly it took longer

than a single year, even for the miraculously alive spirit of Raphael.

In 1504 there is indeed no place for such spaceless paintings in Raphael's work. It is the year of the *Sposazio* (Figure 40) in the Brera, with its delicately moving maidens and suitors rhythmically grouped in front of the wide expanse of the temple's courtyard. Raphael is here clearly a master of foreshortening, and only a small evolutionary step separates this work from the main panel of the *Ansidei* altarpiece.

A look at one of Raphael's early Florentine works, the *Madonna Terranuova*, in Berlin,⁸ may convince us that the tendency toward softly modeled forms in free spaces enlivened by a gleaming light continues in his work after the *Ansidei*. There is no room for the *Colonna* altarpiece in Raphael's later development.

Perhaps we should eliminate all possible last doubts by examining the argument of the *Fra Bartolomeo* in-

7. The *Ansidei* panel is owned by Viscountess Mersey, Pulborough, Sussex; Dussler p. 14. All the predella panels of the *Colonna* altarpiece are extant: the *Procession to Calvary*, National Gallery, London, Gould no. 2919, p. 156, Dussler p. 15; the *Agony in the Garden*, Metropolitan Museum, Dussler p. 16 (to be discussed in the forthcoming catalogue by Federico Zeri and Elizabeth Gardner); *St. Anthony of Padua and St. Francis*, both Dulwich College Picture Gallery, London, Dussler p. 16. For a repro-

duction of Claudio Inglese Gallo's copy of the complete predella showing its original arrangement, though without the two saints destined for the base of the pilasters, Pope-Hennessy fig. 21.

8. Dussler pp. 16–17. This painting is clearly more advanced in style than the *Madonna Ansdei*, as it already shows very strongly the influence of Leonardo, not yet noticeable in the altarpiece. It is, on the other hand, surely the least mature of Raphael's Florentine Madonnas and has rightly been dated to 1505.

fluence in the garments of the apostles, repeated by every writer on the altar. It is easy enough to show that those large and little-differentiated draperies differ essentially from the work of the Frate, who always employs rich rippling folds and whose impact on Raphael can be found in the precise year of 1505 in the dated fresco in San Severo in Perugia (Figure 5).⁹ Here the large billowing garments of the saints and angels are as close to the work of the Florentine as is the compositional arrangement with its strong perspective and stressed foreshortening. Also influenced by Fra Bartolomeo are the rich light and the free movement of the figures. This work was clearly done after Raphael's first Florentine works, while the Colonna altarpiece and, I think, the Madonna Ansidei, were done before them. It is indeed instructive to compare the heavy and monumental, but rather flatly and decoratively conceived Virgin in the Colonna altarpiece with the more graceful and articulate, but still thoroughly Peruginese one in the Ansidei; this in turn with the clearly more advanced and Leonardesque Madonna Terranuova, and, finally, with the figure of Christ in the fresco in San Severo, where the Ansidei pose is revised in the light of the Florentine lesson and achieves a new weight and monumentality now combined with spatial freedom and a graceful flow of line.

Should these observations be correct, we would have to conclude that Raphael did not go to Florence at the end of 1504, right after his stay in Urbino, but only in 1505 after he had completed the Madonna Ansidei. He could have stayed only for a few months, since he must have returned filled with new ideas later in the same year to paint the fresco in San Severo. Thus it may be only at the end of 1505 or the beginning of 1506 that his longer stay in Florence began. The date of 1504 for Raphael's first major encounter with the city is based above all on Vasari's account, to be discussed presently,

9. Dussler p. 68. The main influence is, as was always observed, Fra Bartolomeo's Last Judgment, in San Marco, for composition, drapery style, and figure types, yet there is a noticeable impact of Leonardo's Madonna and St. Anne cartoon in the angel-putto at the left and in the large rounded cheeks of the angels. Dussler and others have tended to regard the inscription with the date 1505 as relevant only for the beginning of the fresco and to see its execution closer to 1507 and 1508. This is untenable, for the fresco contains too many Umbrian reminiscences, especially in the figure of Christ, and fits best stylistically into Raphael's earliest Florentine period,

and on the date October 1, 1504, of the letter written by Giovanna Felicia Feltria della Rovere, duchess of Sora and wife of the Prefect of Rome, recommending Raphael to Pier Soderini, Gonfaloniere of Florence.¹⁰ However, this letter, written in Urbino, proves only that Raphael was in that city in the fall of 1504 and had the intention of going to Florence in the near future. This trip may actually have been undertaken several months later.

However this may be, I think that we can feel certain that the Colonna altarpiece can have no place in Raphael's work of 1504 or 1505, or even after, and that whatever Tuscan influences there might be in it, they differ from those assimilated by the master in that period.

We may now legitimately ask how it came that the picture was ever dated to those years. We already know that the blame lies with Vasari. Reading his story of Raphael's early years, it is easy to discover how he made the mistake.¹¹ One has to proceed carefully with Vasari, constantly aware of the concepts and literary forms that govern his accounts. There are two *concetti* among those that govern Raphael's early life that are of great importance for us: The first is that Raphael proceeds from Urbino to Perugia, from there to Città di Castello, on to Siena, and finally to Florence, the culmination point of his early training. His early works are therefore grouped according to cities in that sequence. The second is the *concetto* of Raphael as the perfect imitator of his teacher Perugino, who slowly broke away from his master. These two ideas alone can explain why, in Vasari's view, the first work of Raphael had to be found in Perugia and had to resemble closely the work of Perugino. When Vasari had to insert his descriptions of Raphael's works in Perugia, which he had apparently not seen or studied before 1550, into the second edition of the *Vite*, the only work that would

right after the Madonna Terranuova and just before the slightly more advanced Madonna with the Goldfinch. The spatial freedom and the richness of light, drapery, and emotion in the Madonna del Baldacchino of 1508 are greatly advanced beyond those of the early fresco.

10. Vincenzo Golzio, *Rafaello, nei documenti, nelle testimonianze dei contemporanei e nella letteratura del suo secolo* (Vatican, 1936) pp. 9–10.

11. Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence, 1878–82) IV, pp. 316–325.



FIGURE 5
Raphael, *The Trinity Adored by Saints*. S. Severo, Perugia (photo: Anderson)

fit this previously established concept of the earliest painting was the Coronation of the Virgin, to which he had somewhat vaguely and ambiguously alluded in the 1550 rendering of the story.¹² Yet he also realized that there were two more works in Perugia dated 1505, the *Madonna Ansidei* and the *San Severo fresco*, which made him realize that Raphael must have returned to Perugia in that year. He connected this stay with knowledge of a sojourn of Raphael's in Urbino of around 1504. So Vasari makes the artist go to Florence, return from there to Urbino to reorganize his affairs after the supposed death of his father, and then go to Perugia to paint the works of 1505. To this account he adds, without giving any indication of date, that Raphael was also

12. Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite* (Florence, Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550) pp. 636–641; ed. Corrado Ricci (Milan-Rome, n.d.) III, pp. 83–88.

commissioned in Perugia by the nuns of Sant'Antonio da Padua to do an altarpiece and then proceeds to carefully describe it. He specifically mentions the dressed Christ child. It struck him as an obviously old-fashioned and strange feature, and he attributed it to the preference of the chaste nuns.

It is quite obvious that Vasari, somewhat bewildered by this beautiful but unusual altarpiece, simply stuck it into his account at this place. It has remained there since, and only one author, the Danish scholar Wanscher, in his curious book on Raphael, raised a voice of doubt, eliminating the altarpiece from Raphael's work altogether.¹³ The reason may simply be that the work was not so easily accessible to European scholars in the

13. V. Wanscher, *Raffaello Santi da Urbino: His Life and Works* (London, 1926) p. 133, no. IV, as Penni in "The Paintings executed in the name of Raffaello da Urbino, but not after his compositions."



FIGURE 6
Raphael, God the
Father and the Virgin
Holding Crowns. Frag-
ments, Museo di
Capodimonte, Naples
(photo: Soprinten-
denza Gallerie)

critical period of the formation of the modern image of Raphael. It was in Spain in the collection of the Duca di Castro in the later nineteenth century and passed via the London and Paris markets to Pierpont Morgan shortly before 1900.¹⁴ Had Berlin succeeded in acquiring the painting in that “early” phase, I am sure that our present understanding of it would be different.

No documents about the commission have turned up to date, but as the late Hanno Hahn used to say, this is lucky, for we are free to place the painting where we wish to in Raphael’s early development, which we will now discuss.

It is highly unfortunate that Raphael’s first documented altarpiece was destroyed by an earthquake in the eighteenth century. He was already a master when he received the commission, together with the older Evangelista da Pian di Meleto, a former helper of his father’s. The contract for the rather large work dedi-

cated to S. Nicola da Tolentino was drawn up December 10, 1500, in Raphael’s eighteenth year.¹⁵ The altarpiece was delivered to the Capella Barocio in Sant’Agostino in Città di Castello September 13, 1501. Drawings and two fragments of the panel (Figure 6) have survived, as has a rather poor copy (Figure 7) of the lower part, in the Museum of Città di Castello.¹⁶ The architectural setting was close to that of the Madonna Ansiedi in structure but was covered with decorative detail. The

14. Information about the painting’s history in the files of the Metropolitan Museum.

15. Golzio pp. 7–8.

16. Dussler pp. 1–2. See A. E. Oppé, *Raphael*, ed. Charles Mitchell (London, 1970) figs. 18–21, for the copy, a complete reproduction of the Naples fragments, and for one of the preparatory drawings. For the latter, Oskar Fischel, *Raphaels Zeichnungen* (Berlin, 1913–41) I, pls. 5–8. The most important recent study of the altarpiece is Wolfgang Schöne, “Raphaels Krönung des heiligen Nikolaus von Tolentino,” *Eine Gabe der Freunde für Carl Georg Heise zum 28. VI. 1950* (Berlin, 1950) I, pp. 164–166.

idea for it must have come from a drawing by Perugino mentioned in the will of one Angelo Conti, dated December 8, 1500, and surely made somewhat earlier for an altarpiece dedicated to the Virgin, St. Anne, and the Holy Kinship. This altarpiece, painted a little later for Santa Maria degli Angeli in Perugia, is now in Marseilles.¹⁷ The saint in Raphael's lost work was portrayed stepping on the devil. Angels stood around him, and God the Father in a mandorla surrounded by cherubs and the Virgin and St. Augustine appeared bust-length above the saint, holding crowns, a typical manifestation of Umbrian hierarchical and decorative arrangement as Perugino had given it shape. The density of the interlocking figural forms and geometrical shapes is best matched by a work Perugino painted in the year 1500, the magnificent *Virgin in Glory* from Vallombrosa, now in the Accademia in Florence.¹⁸

Raphael, when he worked on this altarpiece in 1501, was obviously aware of the development in design in Perugino's shop of around 1500, and Fischel in an early article specifically compared the fragments with details from the Vallombrosa panel and with other works of Perugino of similar style and date.¹⁹ Yet there is something significantly different from Perugino's work of around 1500 in Raphael's contemporary creations. The columnlike roundness and the smooth curves of Perugino's forms at this moment differ from Raphael's more flatly conceived and angular draperies or even fingers and hands. Raphael's handling of the surface is rougher, the color is less modeled in light and dark and is applied with greater directness. Apart from such features of style, the facial types of the angel and the Virgin, with their oblong and more angular features, differ essentially from the more rounded ones of the same figures in Perugino with their much finer detail. Perugino's Virgins, unless represented mourning, are never shown with the mantle drawn over the head as here, but al-

ways with rich coiffures and a light transparent veil.

Some of these differences may be accounted for by the fact that the Vallombrosa altarpiece is the most extreme example of Perugino's latest development of style about 1500. The character of this can be most easily experienced when one compares the different frescoes by the master in the hall of the Cambio in Perugia, completed in that year.²⁰ For example, the fresco representing Fortitude and Temperance (Figure 8) shows exactly the same style as the *Virgin in Glory* with

FIGURE 7

Copy after Raphael, *S. Nicola da Tolentino and Angels*. Pinacoteca Comunale, Città di Castello (photo: Brogi)



17. Fiorenzo Canuti, *Il Perugino* (Siena, 1931) I, pp. 164–166, pls. cxxvi, cxxvii. See also Ettore Camesasca, *Tutta la pittura del Perugino* (Milan, 1959) pl. 161, pp. 95–96.

18. Canuti I pp. 132–134, pls. xcvi–cii; Camesasca pls. 145–150, pp. 90–91.

19. Oskar Fischel, "Raffaels Lehrer," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 34 (1913) pp. 89–96.

20. Canuti pp. 134–144, pls. civ–cxviii; Camesasca, pls. 109–143, pp. 80–90. See also Lionello Venturi and Giovanni Carandente, *Il Perugino, Gli affreschi del Collegio del Cambio* (Turin, 1955).

its striving for smoothly rounded forms isolated by their strong columnar plasticity. The fresco of God the Father with Sibyls and Prophets (Figure 9), on the other hand, shows greater decorative richness, densely grouped figures moving in the plane, deploying garments with rippling draperies and holding ornamental scrolls. This work must be early within the fresco cycle commissioned in 1496, for it shows the same style as the ceiling, with which, obviously, the decoration was begun. The Sibyls and Prophets may have been painted as early as that year or possibly in 1498, but a clear chronology of the frescoes in the Cambio does not exist, nor, for that matter, does a definite assessment of Perugino's stylistic attitudes in the years when they were painted. This hampers definite solutions for the controversial problems of Raphael's relationship to his teacher. For the moment it must be sufficient to observe that the attire and the draperies of Raphael's angels holding scrolls obviously follows the example of the Sibyls fresco rather than that of the more mature work, although the forms may actually have been more rounded. It thus seems that the young painter did not follow his master all the way in his latest change of style, as he inevitably would have, were it true that he had actually worked on the fresco representing Fortitude, in the Cambio, as many writers have asserted.²¹

Apart from this overwhelming effect of Perugino on Raphael there is yet another influence noticeable in the San Nicola altarpiece, above all in the features of the Virgin and the angel described above, but also in the strongly decorative character of the architecture and of the armor of St. Michael. It is that of Bernardo Pintoricchio of Perugia, who after much work in Rome had settled in Umbria in 1495 and worked in various places around Perugia until 1502 or 1503.²² The fragment of the angel's head in Brescia, for example, may well be compared with similar heads in Pintoricchio's work.²³

Pintoricchio's art can be best understood as that of a master who developed at first along with Perugino up to the early 1480s, when they collaborated in some of the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel in Rome. His personality led him to assimilate the more dramatic and the decorative aspects of Perugino's art and to carry these further as he separated from him. His long stays in Rome and his humanist and papal commissions led him to study Roman and early Christian art, especially decorative painting and mosaics, all of which reinforced his striving for ornamental richness and monumental splendor and made him revive hieratic modes of religious representation.²⁴ Typical for him, therefore, are Madonnas with their heads covered by mantles that are often dark according to Byzantine tradition and decorated with gold (Figure 13). His children are usually represented dressed in medieval fashion. The furniture and architecture are covered with rich ornament. The color is luminous and of decorative richness like mosaics. Pintoricchio's art, then, when influencing Raphael, would reinforce those elements in his training with Perugino that were remnants of the master's earlier Roman period, counteracting Perugino's later development toward greater plastic isolation of the figures.

Pintoricchio's influence is even more evident and has often been observed in what most scholars agree to be Raphael's earliest work, the votive banner in the Museum in Città di Castello.²⁵ It is obvious in the saint kneeling at the left of the Cross, with his delicate oblong face, and in the landscape with its large decorative rocks (Figure 10). The much damaged banner, representing on one side the saints Sebastian and Roch praying to the Trinity and the Creation of Eve on the other, has been associated with a plague of 1499 in the city and may have been painted in 1500, certainly close in time to the San Nicola altarpiece. The banner's bright and luminous colors are very similar to the fragments

21. Camesasca pp. 83-84; Dussler p. 68; Luisa Becherucci, "Raphael and Painting," *The Complete Works of Raphael*, ed. M. Salmi (New York, 1969) pp. 23-25. I cannot follow Becherucci in any of her attributions of important parts of Perugino paintings to Raphael, pp. 18-25.

22. Corrado Ricci, *Pintoricchio, His Life, Work, and Time* (London, 1902) pp. 130-161; Enzo Carli, *Il Pintoricchio* (Milan, 1960) pp. 53-63.

23. Carli figs. 63, 81, or 115.

24. Juergen Schulz, "Pintoricchio and the Revival of Antiquity," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25 (1962) pp. 35-55; Nicole Dacos, *La découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques à la renaissance* (Studies of the Warburg Institute 31) (London, 1969) pp. 62-69.

25. Dussler p. 3.



FIGURE 10
Raphael, God the
Father Creating Eve,
and Two Saints Ador-
ing the Trinity. Votive
banner, Pinacoteca
Comunale, Città
di Castello (photos:
Giuseppe Tacchini)

in Naples and Brescia. The facial types, draperies, and the general vocabulary of form are closely related as is the style of the preparatory drawings.²⁶

In the banner as in the altar, in spite of Pintoricchio's influence, the basic idiom remains that of Perugino, again in his style near 1500. The angels in the Creation of Eve are a variation of those above the Sibyls in the Cambio and they have similar rich and brittle draperies.²⁷ The garment of God the Father may be compared with that of King David in the same fresco as it

strives at least for similar expansion in the plane. His facial type is close to that of Moses. The major prototype for this drapery may perhaps be found in a fresco of the Nativity from San Francesco al Monte, datable around 1499 and repeated rather exactly in the Cambio.²⁸ The figure of Adam, as Dussler pointed out, could have been taken from that of Satan as he once lay beneath St. Michael in the altarpiece from the Certosa di Pavia of 1499. This figure, now cut away, can be reconstructed from a copy;²⁹ the essential forms

26. Fischel, *Raphaels Zeichnungen I*, no. 2; Karl T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum 2, Italian Schools* (Oxford, 1956) no. 501; Fischel, *Raphael*, no. 11; Philip Pouncey and John Gere, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Raphael and His Circle* (London, 1962) no. 2r.

27. Raphael seems to combine several features from Perugino-type angels; the bodies and drapery are near to but less sturdy than the Cambio ones. The feet are closer together, and some of the drapery motifs remind one of musical angels, such as those in the fresco of the Madonna in Glory, San Sebastiano, Panicale (Camesasca pl. 152). The wings are outspread as in Perugino's flying an-

gels, for example those in the pala from San Pietro, Lyon (Camesasca pl. 89). Perugino seems to have experimented with similar modification of his standard types after 1500, for example in the Crucifixion in Sant'Agostino, Siena, commissioned August 4, 1502 (Camesasca p. 177B), and in other later works such as the Baptism of Christ, in Foligno (Camesasca pl. 186), usually dated close to 1507. Was Raphael using a prototype, now lost?

28. Camesasca pl. 157. The drapery of the Virgin is close to that of God the Father. St. Joseph and the shepherds may have influenced the poses of St. Stephen and St. Roch.

29. Oskar Fischel, "Die Zeichnungen der Umbrier II," *Beiheft, Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 38 (1917) fig. 125.

can also be found in the 1495 Pietà from S. Giusto in Florence, now in the Uffizi.³⁰ Raphael may have modified these figures somewhat in the light of recent experience of Luca Signorelli's works in Città di Castello.

In fact, as Fischel has shown,³¹ figures drawn on a sheet in Oxford that contains a study for the Eternal in the Creation of Eve derive from Signorelli's St. Sebastian in Città di Castello,³² possibly from Pintoricchio, and from a design by Perugino related to the Adoration in the Certosa altarpiece³³ or to the Madonna del Sacco³⁴ in the Palazzo Pitti, closely similar to each other. The drawing of God the Father's drapery looks more Peruginesque than the somewhat coarser drapery in the banner as executed, and this may again prove that Raphael relied on his stock of drawn copies from Perugino rather than on memory of executed works.

In the matter of color and painting technique and also in the largeness of the forms represented, the Madonna del Sacco in the Pitti seems to be closer to the banner than the more mature London Adoration, probably painted in 1499 for the Certosa di Pavia, where the forms are more simplified and rounded.³⁵ This seems to show again Raphael's predilection for the earlier, more decorative manner of Perugino. And yet the matter is more complicated, because the banner clearly also contains elements both in invention and execution—above all the figure of St. Roch with his rounded drapery closely clinging to his body—that reflect Perugino's more advanced style of around 1500 as it becomes most manifest, for example, in the Fortitude of the Cambio (Figure 8).

The complicated situation to be deduced from this—and here our uncertainty about Perugino's development prevents definite results—presents itself like this:

30. Camesasca pl. 64.

31. See note 26, above.

32. Pietro Scarpellini, *Luca Signorelli* (Florence, 1964) fig. 34.

33. Camesasca pl. 99.

34. Camesasca pl. 75.

35. I agree with Camesasca pp. 64–65 that the Madonna del Sacco is considerably earlier than the Certosa altarpiece and probably dates from around 1495.

36. For a survey of Perugino's movements, Camesasca pp. 35–38, Canuti pp. 99–134. Raphael's early stay in Florence was recently emphasized by Becherucci, pp. 12–15. The influence of Lorenzo di Credi, and through him of the Verrocchio shop, is of a certain importance but must not be exaggerated. Verrocchiesque material was surely also available in Perugino's workshop in Perugia, at least in copies.

Raphael must have received some decisive impressions from Perugino around 1495–98, where I tend to date the Madonna del Sacco and the Sibyls. He may have gone with Perugino to Florence in 1495 and there again and also to Fano in 1497. He apparently did not follow Perugino on his later trips to Florence in the second half of 1498 and in summer of 1499, but remained in the provincial atmosphere of the Perugia shop, where Perugino continued to work on the commissions received in 1496.³⁶ After Perugino's return in 1499 and 1500 Raphael tried to catch up with him on his latest development of style, keeping, however, his former bias. He leaves him at a moment in the year 1500, before Perugino draws his most radical conclusions, and paints the latest works in the Cambio, for which Raphael may, however, have known the preparatory drawings, as he certainly also did of works done by Perugino on his trips. Even after Raphael left, he never lost contact with his master.

Future research may modify these results, but one thing seems clear, that those who, following Springer, let Raphael enter Perugino's shop only very late, about 1499 or 1500—a theory upheld by such authorities as Sydney Freedberg and Rudolf Wittkower—cannot be right.³⁷ It is much more likely that Raphael entered Perugino's shop either as Vasari would have it, still under the guidance of his father in 1494, or shortly after his father's death in 1495, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle proposed.³⁸ This was, in fact, the view of Oskar Fischel and, because of recent support on the part of Roberto Longhi, it is today the generally held view.³⁹

Our longish discussion of Raphael's earliest known works and problems relating to them has prepared us for a true assessment of the Colonna altarpiece (Figure

37. Anton Springer, *Raphael und Michelangelo* (3rd ed., Leipzig, 1895) p. 52; Sydney Freedberg, *Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961) p. 62 (Freedberg changed his mind in *Painting in Italy 1500 to 1600*, Pelican History of Art [Harmondsworth-Baltimore, 1970] p. 29); Rudolf Wittkower, "The Young Raphael," *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 20 (1962/63) pp. 154–162.

38. Crowe and Cavalcaselle I, pp. 26–44.

39. Oskar Fischel, *Raphael* (London, 1948) p. 20, (Berlin, 1962) p. 16; Roberto Longhi, "Percorso di Raffaello Giovine," *Paragone* 5 (1955) no. 65, pp. 8–23, esp. 12–17; Becherucci p. 12; Creighton Gilbert, "A Miracle by Raphael," *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin* 6, no. 1 (1965) p. 16.



FIGURE 11

The Colonna altarpiece with lunette and predella panel as formerly exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum

11). A monumental work of which even the accessories are still preserved, it can document Raphael's style better than the two early pieces already discussed. It now becomes easy to see that many of the altarpiece's main characteristics, which we analyzed above, correspond precisely to those of the earliest works. The basic form derives again from Perugino. The altarpiece differs from most of his *sacre conversazioni* in that it is placed in front of an open landscape, not into some kind of architecture, and because of the great prominence of the throne. A painting in the Baltimore Museum of Art, usually considered a workshop piece and dated 1500/1 by Van Marle, shows all the features, but on the other hand again the smooth and plastic style typical of the period in Perugino and so foreign to Raphael's contemporary work.⁴⁰ There must, however, have existed an earlier, more decorative version by the master, since there are numerous works of the school that reflect such a lost work, for example the *Madonna with St. Jerome and St. Augustine in Bordeaux*, attributed by some authors to the late Perugino himself,⁴¹ or a painting by Lo Spagna in the Museum of S. Francesco in Assisi.⁴² Eusebio di S. Giorgio's version of 1509,⁴³ in the Galleria Nazionale in Perugia is, on the other hand, clearly inspired by Raphael's painting both in layout and decorative detail, although the figures are translated into a more Peruginesque idiom. It shares, however, two features in common with most of the other examples of this type. The saints in the back are not elevated on a step, as in Raphael's work, and kneeling angels fill the

space above their heads. These must have been characteristics of the early prototype. The lost altarpiece may have already influenced Pintoricchio's allegories of the liberal arts in the *Appartamento Borgia* of 1492–95, who also sit on rich decorative thrones in an open landscape surrounded by their representatives.⁴⁴ The elaborate throne of *Aritmetica* was later copied in a *sacra conversazione* attributed to Lo Spagna, in the Perugia Gallery, that is otherwise inspired by a painting like the one in Baltimore.⁴⁵ It is fascinating to see how such motifs and compositions passed from one hand to another in the provincial centers of Umbria and central Italy.

The idea to elevate the saints in the back, a common feature in Signorelli's work but going back much further, can be found in another altarpiece by Perugino, known as the *Pala dei Decemviri*, now in the Vatican.⁴⁶ This panel, dating from 1495 and having the most elaborate and decorative throne extant in his work, remained important even for the *Madonna Ansidei*.

Peruginesque is not only the compositional idea of the Colonna altarpiece: many of its basic features are also, such as the handling of paint and the simplicity of the garments, the tendency toward strongly modeled volume apparent especially in the children and the heads of the apostles, the figure types, and much else. Yet we can discern here a strongly Pintoricchiesque flavor as well, perhaps more prominent than in the early works discussed above. The group of the Virgin and children (Figure 12) derives in reverse almost literally from the Perugian's *Virgin and Child with St. John*, in Cambridge (Figure 13), which fits well into a group of his works datable around 1500.⁴⁷ Here one finds the explanation for the old-fashioned features, the dressed children, and the blue gold-studded garment of the Virgin drawn over her head; and, further, one of

40. Henry Barton Jacobs, *The Collection of Mary Frick Jacobs* (Baltimore, 1938) no. 32; Raimond van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting* (The Hague, 1923–27) XIV, p. 372; Camesasca pp. 154–155, fig. 231. Usually listed as a fresco transferred to canvas, the work is so overpainted and in such bad condition that one cannot be sure of its authenticity, date, or authorship, yet it must surely reflect an authentic work of Perugino or his circle.

41. Camesasca pp. 153–154, fig. 228.

42. Van Marle p. 458, fig. 296. Some other examples are a work of the Spagna school, 1530, in the Spoleto Pinacoteca, mentioned van Marle p. 468, Anderson photo 5931; Berto di Giovanni's *Madonna and Saints*, from S. Francesco, Montone, the Queen's col-

lection, Buckingham Palace, van Marle p. 144, ill. in Umberto Gnoli, *Pittori e miniatori nell'Umbria* (Spoleto, 1923) pl. with Berto di Giovanni; Sinibaldo Ibi's *Madonna with Saints*, Rome, S. Francesca Romana, van Marle p. 446, Gnoli pl. with Sinibaldo.

43. Van Marle p. 436, fig. 283, Gnoli pl. with Eusebio. Raphael's composition was important also for Francesco da Città di Castello, known as "il Tifernate"; see his painting in Città di Castello, van Marle p. 449, fig. 291, Gnoli pl. under Francesco.

44. Ricci figs. pp. 119, 121, Carli pls. 86, 87.

45. Van Marle p. 471, fig. 305.

46. Camesasca pl. 62, p. 62.

47. Carli pl. 99, p. 57.

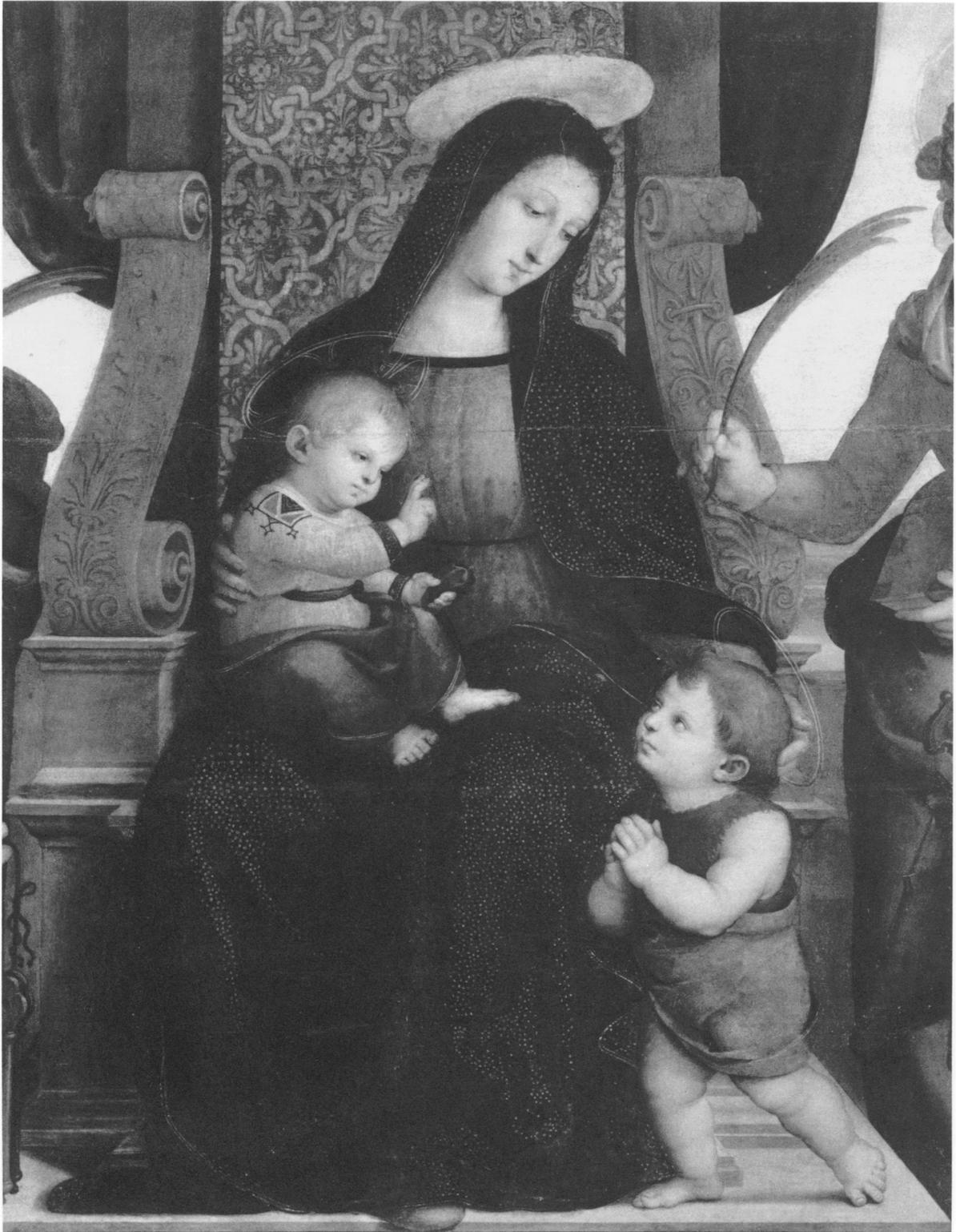


FIGURE 12 Virgin and Child, detail of the Colonna altarpiece



FIGURE 13 Pintoricchio, Virgin and Child with St. John. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge



FIGURE 14
Pintoricchio, St. Joseph, detail of Christ among the Doctors. Sta. Maria Maggiore, Spello (photo: Alinari)



FIGURE 15
St. Peter, detail of the Colonna altarpiece

the reasons why the Giovanino—a very uncommon presence in a *sacra conversazione*—may have been included. The facial type of the Virgin is, of course, as close to some of Pintoricchio's Virgins as the one in the San Nicola altarpiece already was. The decorative treatment of the scrolls on the throne can be compared with that of Pintoricchio's Virgin from the Pala dei Fossi of 1495.⁴⁸ It is in that work that one also becomes most aware of that master's sense for extending forms in the picture plane, for example, in the amplitude of the garments, a feature so characteristic also of our work. One finds this same feature equally in a work closer in time to the Colonna altarpiece: Pintoricchio's celebrated fresco in Spello of 1500–01 representing Christ among the Doctors. Even St. Joseph's face in that fresco, with its expressively elongated nose, (Figure 14),⁴⁹ shows strong affinities with that of the Metropolitan's St. Peter (Figure 15).

For the largeness of form and rather broad painting technique in the Colonna altarpiece, one may in a very

general way also think of Luca Signorelli, who certainly interested Raphael in this period. Signorelli also often employed the golden dots on the Virgin's cloak in his works. His influence becomes specific in the head of St. Catherine (Figure 16), which clearly reminds one of the female heads in many of Signorelli's Virgins and female saints. His Madonna and Child in the Metropolitan is a good example (Figure 17).⁵⁰

I think there can be no doubt that the Colonna altarpiece fits into the ambience of Raphael's earliest-known works. A drawing surely rightly regarded as a first idea for the God the Father in the Creation of Eve (Figure 18) was used for the garment of St. Paul with some variations (Figure 19);⁵¹ it shows the progress made after that work toward greater smoothness, simplicity, and volume. The simple grandeur of the treatment of the cope of the Giovanni Guadalberto in Perugia's Valombrosa altarpiece must have helped Raphael in the transformation. Compared with the fragments from the San Nicola altarpiece, the forms seem somewhat more advanced, rounder, and more convincingly modeled with more careful detail. The hard angularity of the hands so evident in the God the Father in Naples (Figure 6) has given way to more organic form in the Metropolitan's work. The Colonna altarpiece was probably started relatively soon after the completion of the lost S. Nicola da Tolentino, at the end of 1501 and the beginning of 1502.

That Raphael was progressing beyond his earliest phase is especially clear in the lunette (Figure 20), which decidedly differs in style from the main panel. Everything is more delicate and combined in a more unified and smoother rhythm, more convincingly modeled, more daringly foreshortened, more refined in color and execution. The heavy substance of the lower part becomes light and transparent. The return to Perugia from provincial Città di Castello (if the commissions brought about a change of place) must have brought Raphael into renewed contact with Perugino. This may have led him to greater technical efforts in order to equal his master's immense skill. He must have

48. Carli pls. 88, 89, p. 53.

49. Carli pls. 113–115, p. 61 for date.

50. Scarpellini pl. 85, see also pls. 19, 36, 43.

51. Fischel, *Raphaels Zeichnungen* I, pl. 11, Pouncey and Gere no. 2.



FIGURE 16
St. Catherine, detail of the Colonna altarpiece

FIGURE 17
Luca Signorelli, Madonna and Child. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jules S. Bache Collection, 49.7.13



FIGURE 18
Raphael, study for figure of God the Father. British Museum

FIGURE 19
St. Paul, detail of the Colonna altarpiece

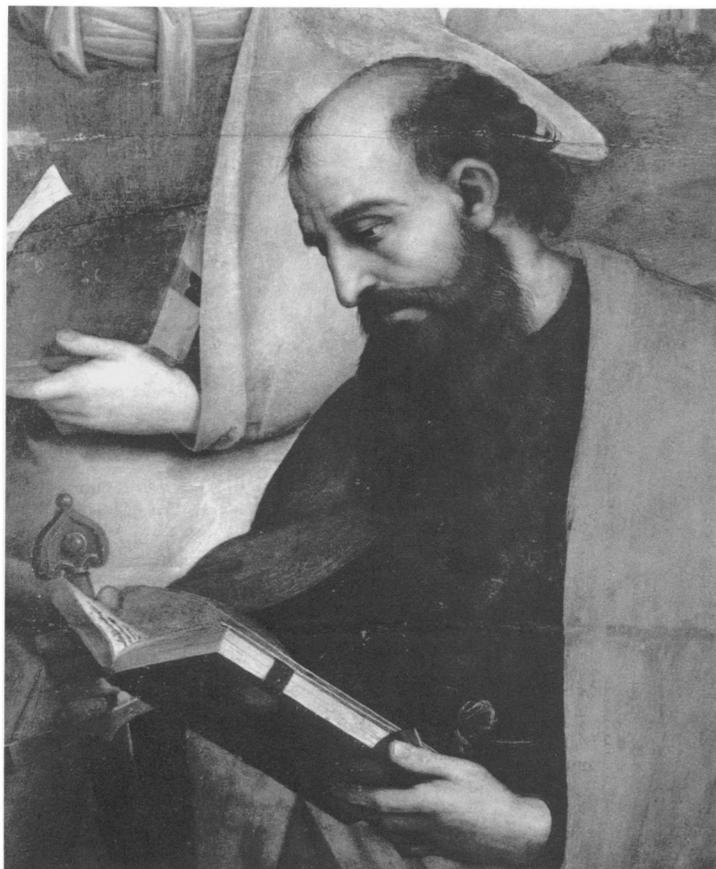




FIGURE 20

Raphael, God the Father Adored by Angels, lunette of the Colonna altarpiece. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 16.30b

also studied what Perugino had painted and drawn meanwhile. Yet his typology remains linked to Perugino's earlier work. The angels are still those of the Sibyls fresco in the Cambio but with fresher faces gazing with stronger intent. The God the Father, with its simple drapery, however, demonstrates a more complete understanding of Perugino's change of style in 1500—an understanding, as we have seen already, that affected the monumental St. Paul of the main panel.

In the predella, probably the last part painted in the altarpiece, Raphael uses figures and compositions (Figures 4, 21) designed by Perugino around 1495 for monumental paintings once in the Florentine convent of S. Giusto.⁵² He adapts them to the new smooth, rounded, almost bulky ideal of form that is inspired by the latest Perugino. This explains the inherent immobility of these tiny pictures, that makes them differ from most other predella panels in Perugino's and Raphael's work. Of the two Franciscan saints (Figures 22, 23) that once formed part of the ensemble and are now in Dulwich College, the St. Anthony of Padua almost rivals, despite his smallness, the monumental bulk of the saints in the Vallombroso altarpiece.

In the predella, however, Raphael's dense substance of form and his fresh and intense colors that speak with

52. The Christ in Agony (Camesasca pl. 74) served for both the same subject in Raphael's predella and for the movement of the figures in the Procession to Calvary panel (Figure 4). The Pietà (Camesasca pl. 64) was exemplary for the Lamentation. It has been pointed out that the Metropolitan's panel also has a relationship to the Christ in Agony in the background of the Last Supper, S. Onofrio, Florence (Camesasca pl. 44). Obviously Raphael did not look directly at either of these Florentine works but used stock figures and compositions from the workshop. For a good analysis of the relationship and of the difference between Perugino and Raphael in these works, Pope-Hennessy p. 134.

FIGURE 21

Raphael, The Agony in the Garden, predella panel of the Colonna altarpiece. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Funds from various donors, 32.130.1

immediacy to the beholder differ considerably from Perugino's works. The expression of his figures is not veiled by Perugino's sweet melancholy but has a drive, directness, and intensity that is hard to notice in reproduction but hits the beholder of the originals in spite of the clumsiness with which it is still rendered. It is one of the strange experiences one has in front of the altar as well as these panels, that while their composition and spatial arrangement are still unresolved and elements may even be badly drawn, one can feel in them a spirit that pushes and drives, clearly striving for more than the artist's present means of expression allow.

The predella panels have usually been associated in style with the small panels representing the Dream of Scipio and the Three Graces by those authors who do not regard them as Raphael's earliest works, around 1500.⁵³ All that can be said here about this problem is that those two pictures are clearly more advanced in style and later in date. They were probably painted at the end of 1504, during Raphael's sojourn in Urbino. To recognize this, one has only to observe the perfect

53. Pope-Hennessy p. 134. For a more extended discussion of different opinions, Gilbert p. 19 but also pp. 7, 14–17, Dussler, pp. 6–7.

FIGURES 22, 23

Raphael, St. Francis (left) and St. Anthony, predella panels of the Colonna altarpiece. College Gallery, Dulwich



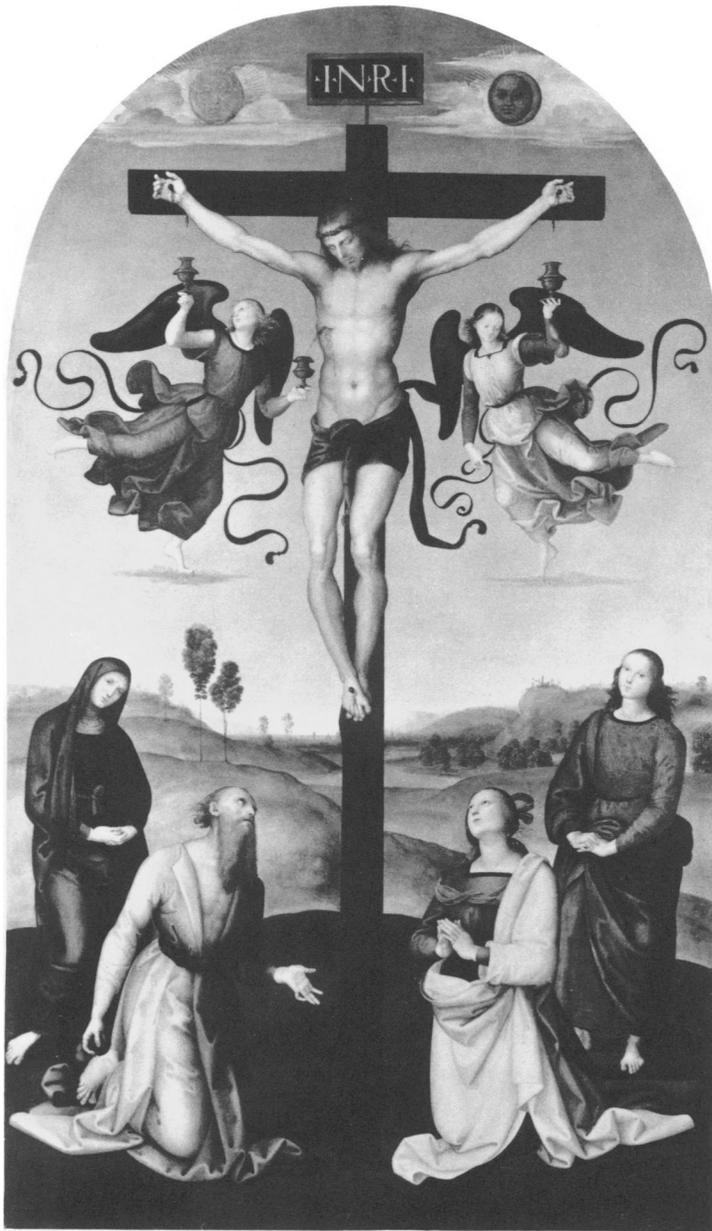


FIGURE 24
Raphael, the Mond Crucifixion. National Gallery, London

foreshortening of the figure of the dreaming Scipio and the spatial force of Virtue's gesture advancing her sword. The figures are much more highly articulated and so is the landscape, differentiated by delicate rocks and buildings influenced by Netherlandish painting.

Even the color scheme is more refined and already close to that of the *Madonna Ansdei*. The difference can most easily be assessed in the National Gallery, London, where the *Dream of Scipio* is usually shown near the *Procession to Calvary* (Figure 4). The small *St. George* in the Louvre, counterpart to an earlier *St. Michael* and often associated with these works, is still later, since it was clearly painted after Raphael's first impressions of Florentine art. The figures move in space with even greater ease, and the composition shows a refinement hitherto unattained by Raphael. The very free and delicate landscape is already similar to that in the background of the *Madonna with the Goldfinch*.⁵⁴ The Florentine-looking princess with her rippling garments in the background is clearly an offspring of Raphael's studies for the left angel in the *S. Severo* fresco.

Dating the *Colonna* altarpiece to 1502 may also put us in conflict with the established chronology of Raphael's major altarpieces. It is usually assumed that the *Mond Crucifixion* (Figure 24) was painted in that year and finished at the beginning of 1503, although that date inscribed on the frame in San Domenico in Città di Castello refers not to the completion but to the commission.⁵⁵ The delicately elongated and highly articulated figures in that work move in ample space. The style of Perugino in the *Vallombrosa* altarpiece is fully absorbed and is evident in the voluminous forms isolated in space. The upturned heads of the *Magdalen* and of one of the angels seem particularly close to similar forms in the altar, but Raphael could have used earlier examples in Perugino's work present in Perugia. Raphael even seems to follow a further and later phase in his master's development, evident in the slim and elongated figures of Perugino's *pala* from *S. Francesco al Monte*, now in the Perugia Gallery, which provided the basic composition and the almost exact position of the *Virgin* and the *St. John*. The *pala* was probably commissioned in 1502.⁵⁶ The *St. Jerome*, on the other

54. For a later dating, Pope-Hennessy p. 127. For other opinions, Dussler pp. 5–6, Gilbert pp. 7, 15–16, 21. The *Saint George*, in Washington, Dussler p. 13, is even slightly more mature and closer in style to the *Madonna* in the *Meadow* of 1506.

55. Gould pp. 158–159, no. 3943, Dussler pp. 8–9. The inscription on the stone frame reads HOC. OPVS. FIERI. FECIT. DNICVS/THOME. DEGAVARIS. MDIII. (Domenico Tommaso dei Gavari had this work made 1503).

56. Camesasca pl. 166, p. 99.

hand, is lifted from Perugino's Pala Tezi, dated 1500.⁵⁷ The Mond Crucifixion is close to the Sposalizio of 1504 (Figure 40) in all aspects of style except that it is somewhat cruder and less assured. It must have been commissioned rather toward the end of 1503 and was perhaps completed only in 1504, the date of the Brera picture. The sequence Mond Crucifixion, Sposalizio, Madonna Ansidei appears as an obvious stylistic unity in Raphael's work, as his most purely Peruginesque works based on the understanding of the latter's development after 1500, in which, on the other hand, Raphael already begins to fully realize his own aims and to find his personality.

Between the Mond Crucifixion and the Sposalizio scholars have tended to date the Coronation of the Virgin (Figure 26), commissioned by Alessandra di Simone degli Oddi for the Oddi chapel in San Francesco in Perugia.⁵⁸ Simone degli Oddi was the leader of that family, chased from Perugia on October 31, 1488, by the triumphant rival family, the Baglioni, when their houses and even the affiliated churches were looted; it

is, therefore, highly unlikely that the altarpiece was commissioned before January 5, 1503, when the victorious Cesare Borgia allowed the outcasts to return to Perugia, which they did only on February 8.⁵⁹ It is also probable that the altar was at least near completion by September 9, 1503, when the Oddi again had to leave the city, as Pope Alexander Borgia had died and Perugia again came under Baglioni rule.⁶⁰ This situation

57. Camesasca pl. 151, p. 91.

58. Dussler p. 10.

59. Simone degli Oddi is mentioned as the most respected senior member of the family at the event of 1488, Louis de Baglion, *Pérouse et les Baglioni* (Paris, 1909) pp. 94–95; he is the representative of the family in 1482, *ibid.* pp. 82–83, note 1; he is the first to be mentioned on the lists of Oddi and other members of their faction banished from Perugia by the papal legate January 22, 1489; see "Cronaca della Città di Perugia dal 1309 al 1491 nota col nome di Diario del Graziani," ed. Ariodante Fabretti, *Archivio storico italiano XVII* (1850) p. 697. Simone and Guido, his son, were to stay in either Tolentino or Camerino, according to their choice. No women are mentioned in the account. From the same chronicle we learn the name of Simone's wife, Leandra (p. 687); Fabretti furnishes the name of one of his daughters, Sueva (p. 668). Walter Bombe, *Geschichte der Peruginer Malerei bis zu Perugino und Pintoricchio* (Berlin, 1912) pp. 204–205, identified Alessandra with Leandra, whose tomb was erected in San Francisco in Perugia, July 1516, after she had become a Franciscan tertiary. However, one should be cautious about this, since Alessandra and Leandra, though close in sound, are Greek names of independent origin.

60. W. Heywood, *A History of Perugia* (London, 1910) p. 309.

FIGURE 25

Raphael, *The Annunciation*, predella panel of *The Coronation of the Virgin*. Vatican Gallery, Rome (photo: Anderson)



alone rules out Wittkower's dating into the year 1500, followed recently by Becherucci.⁶¹ Both mention only the *terminus ante quem* in the fall of 1503, but not the *terminus post* in January or February.

A date in the earlier part of 1503 in fact makes complete sense in the chronology I am trying to establish. It is in the predella panels—the last parts of the work—that Raphael most completely adheres to Perugino's style. He here transforms his master's predella in the Fano altarpiece according to newer principles.⁶² Raphael opens up the space, makes his figures more slender, delicate, and more articulate in their bodies, lets them move with greater ease and relate to each other with more directness. In fact, the basic principles that characterize Raphael's innovations in the *Sposalizio* (Figure 40) begin to become apparent in these tiny panels. The angel in the *Annunciation* (Figure 25), with his delicately articulated form and lightly rippling drapery, corresponds even in details with those in the *Mond Crucifixion*. So does the open and wide landscape that is strictly Peruginesque, and the sense of architectural space again leads toward the *Sposalizio*. Since the main panel shows still a different style, which we shall consider presently, it becomes clear that these predella panels must have been painted shortly before Raphael began the *Crucifixion*, that is, probably in the second half of 1503.

The *Coronation* (Figure 26) is also highly Peruginesque, as Vasari was the first to observe, and shows many essential features of that master's latest development; for example, as the voluminous forms of the figures begin to assert space. Yet the work essentially clings to Perugino's style of the *Prophets and Sibyls* (Figure 9). From there derive many of the drapery motifs and the rich arrangement of the figures. Compositional ideas are taken from a still earlier work, Perugino's *Ascension*, for S. Pietro in Perugia, now in Lyon,⁶³ rather than from its later variation, the *Coronation of the Virgin*, on the back of the pala for San Francesco al Monte, the front of which inspired the *Mond Crucifixion*.⁶⁴

61. Wittkower pp. 157–159, Becherucci p. 25.

62. Camesasca pl. 82. Longhi p. 14 attributed these panels to Raphael himself and was followed by Becherucci pp. 18–19, but while they surely were of great influence on the young Raphael, their sense of form and articulation is so different from that found in Raphael's earliest works that the attribution is surely not correct.

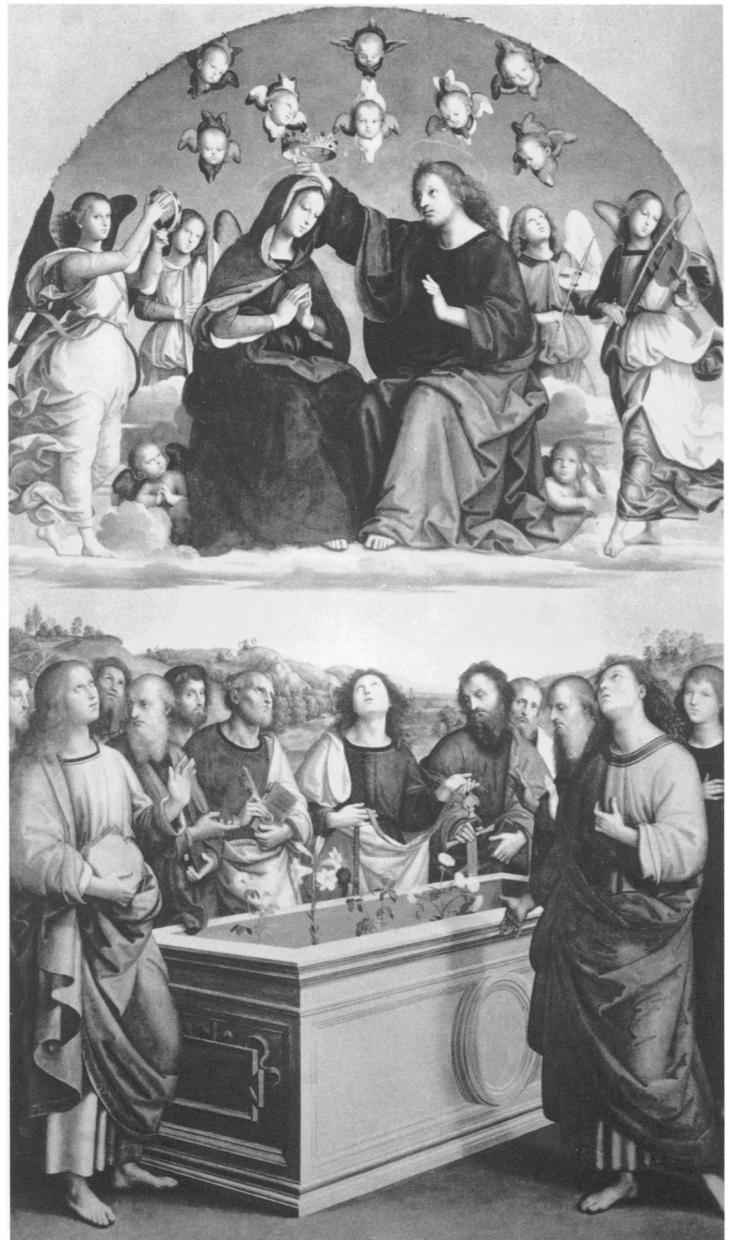


FIGURE 26
Raphael, *The Coronation of the Virgin*. Vatican Gallery

For a good color reproduction of one of the predella panels, Pietro Zampetti, *La pittura marchigiana da Gentile a Raffaello* (Venice, n.d.) pl. XL, fig. 183. For a good recent analysis of the space in the two predellas, Pope-Hennessy pp. 83–84.

63. Camesasca pl. 89, pp. 71–76.

64. Camesasca pl. 167, p. 99.

In this clearly earlier work Pintoricchio's example is also highly important. It may be from his Assumption, in Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, that Raphael took the idea of inserting a sarcophagus among the apostles, a motif not known from Perugino's versions of the theme.⁶⁵ It is with him that we find the rather stout figures grouped in decorative density. Even some of the apostles are closer to those of Pintoricchio than to those of Perugino, and so, above all, are the richly rippling draperies breaking geometrically and the decorative use of bright colors, amongst them much green. Even the rich landscape with its many trees is closer to those of Pintoricchio than to those of Perugino.

It is in Pintoricchio's contemporary Coronation of the Virgin (Figure 27), painted for a little town presently known as Umbertide, now in the Vatican, that we find the closest parallels to our work. It was finished in June 1503.⁶⁶ While many of the elements correspond closely, a comparison of the two works shows also to what degree Raphael's command of space but also of technique is already superior to the skills of the older artist. The compact grouping of the apostles around the sarcophagus, creating space and structure, goes already beyond the possibilities even of Perugino, who needs loose open areas and visible ground to achieve space by means of perspective construction. The foreshortening of Raphael's angel with the viola goes beyond anything achieved by the two older Umbrian painters, as does the expression of the angel with the tambourine. The lively composition of Raphael's group of apostles is highly superior to the symmetrical arrangement in Pintoricchio's picture, which incidentally derives from Perugino's altarpiece in the Sistine Chapel from which Pintoricchio even took the musical angels in precise detail.⁶⁷

We know that Raphael's superiority soon began to be recognized. He was already called the best available master in a document of 1503.⁶⁸ It seems that he even tried to help Pintoricchio achieve greater spatial depth in the Vatican panel by giving him drawings for the two saints prominently kneeling in the foreground (Figures 28, 29). Pintoricchio, however, weakened some of

the spatial impact in the execution. The two drawings, once on one sheet, are in the Louvre under the name of Francesco Francia. They contain on the verso (Figures 30, 31), in very faint lines that have much suffered, a first idea for the circumcision in the predella of the Coronation and a putto obviously related to those standing at the foot of the pilasters in the Libreria Piccolomini in Siena and similar to one drawn on a sheet

FIGURE 27
Pintoricchio, The Coronation of the Virgin, Vatican Gallery



65. Carli pl. 64.

66. Ricci pp. 159–161 (ill.).

67. Walter Bombe, *Perugino* (Klassiker der Kunst) (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1914) pl. 18.

68. Golzio pp. 8–9.



FIGURES 28, 29

Raphael, Kneeling Saints. Silverpoint, white heightening on gray prepared paper. Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre, Inv. R.F. 1870-28,962 and 28,963

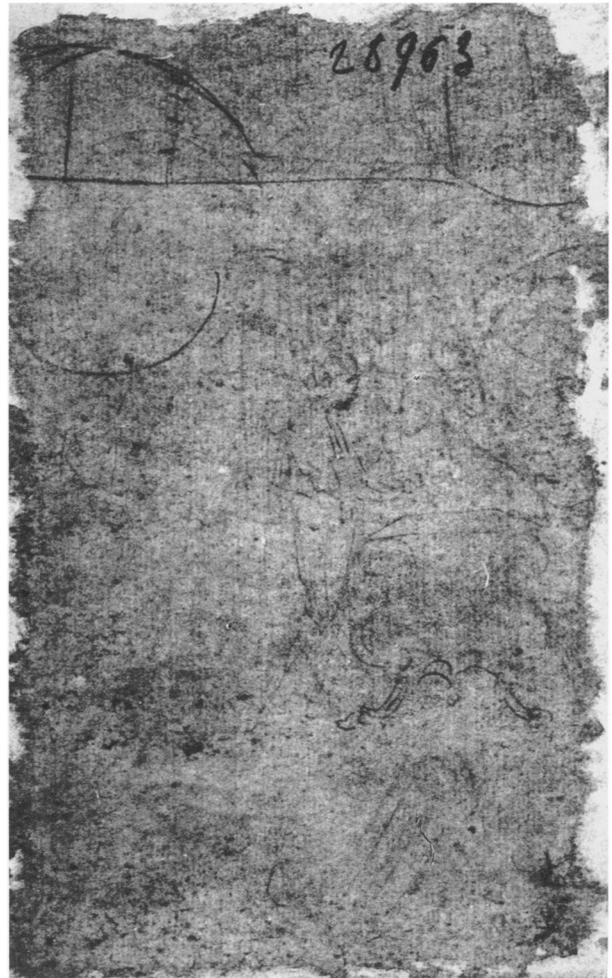
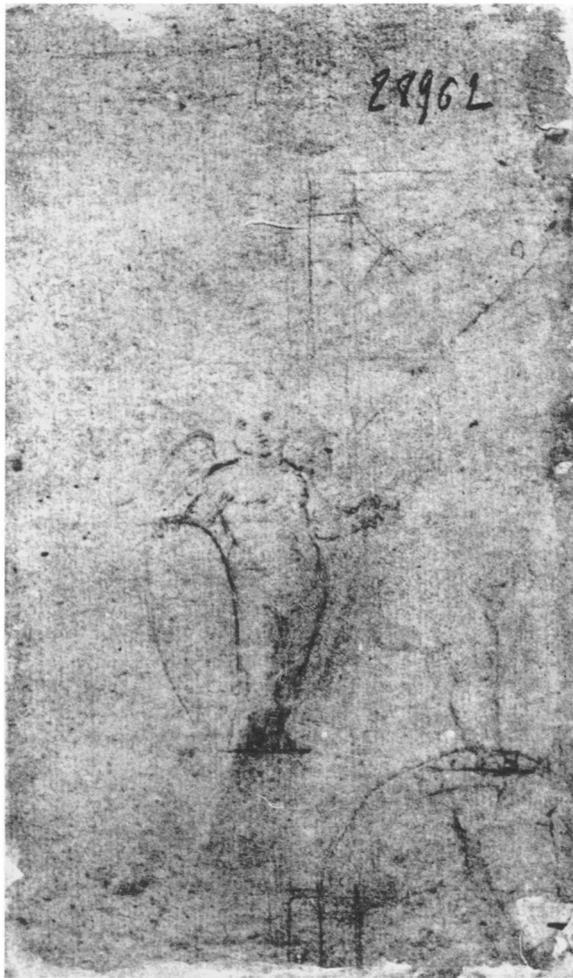
surely from the same batch of gray prepared sheets as one now in Oxford (Figure 38) with other studies for the Libreria frescoes.⁶⁹

The years 1502–03 mark in fact the culmination point of Raphael's relationship with Pintoricchio, the period when the influence became reciprocal and when the older master greatly profited from the work of his gifted young friend whom he may have temporarily engaged for work between commissions.

The Libreria has to be dealt with here briefly, since

69. Compare Parker no. 510, Fischel, *Raphaels Zeichnungen I*, nos. 63, 64.

in Raphael's work for it we can find the missing link between the highly developed style of the Vatican's Coronation (Figure 26) and the much more primitive style of the Colonna altarpiece. The gap between the two altarpieces is, of course, less wide when one considers the lunette and the predella panels of the earlier work, for they already show many points of contact with the style of the Coronation in the lighter colors, the proportions of the figures, the types, the movement, and even in the draperies. The gap can be completely closed when some of Raphael's drawings for the frescoes in Siena, commissioned from Pintoricchio in June 1502, can be placed between them.



FIGURES 30, 31

Versos of Figures 28, 29, Putto with Escutcheon, and sketch for a Circumcision. Pen in brown, black chalk

The fact that Raphael helped Pintoricchio in that grand decoration is known through Vasari, who tells it in the life of both masters, though varying as to the degree of Raphael's involvement, which certainly did not go beyond the drawing stage.⁷⁰ He states that there was a cartoon still in Siena and that he himself had in his possession drawings by Raphael for the Libreria and, indeed, there are four sheets that can be regarded as Raphael's work connected with the project.⁷¹ These were, of course, doubted in the critical period around 1900, but it was Erwin Panofsky who, in a brilliant article, proved by profound analysis of the stylistic principles underlying the drawings and the frescoes

based upon them that the sheets had to be designed and in part certainly drawn by Raphael.⁷² Panofsky concluded that Raphael provided Pintoricchio with finished designs or modelli for two frescoes and with at least some figures for a third fresco of the ten adorning the inside of the library hall and the one on the entrance

70. Vasari even varies the information of the first edition in the second, giving us four different versions of the story, all in Vasari-Milanesi III, p. 525, note 1.

71. Fischel, *Raphaels Zeichnungen* I, nos. 60–65.

72. Erwin Panofsky, "Raffael und die Fresken der Dombibliothek zu Siena," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 37 (1915) pp. 267–291.



FIGURE 32
Raphael, The Meeting of
Frederick III with His
Bride, Eleonora of Portu-
gal. Private collection

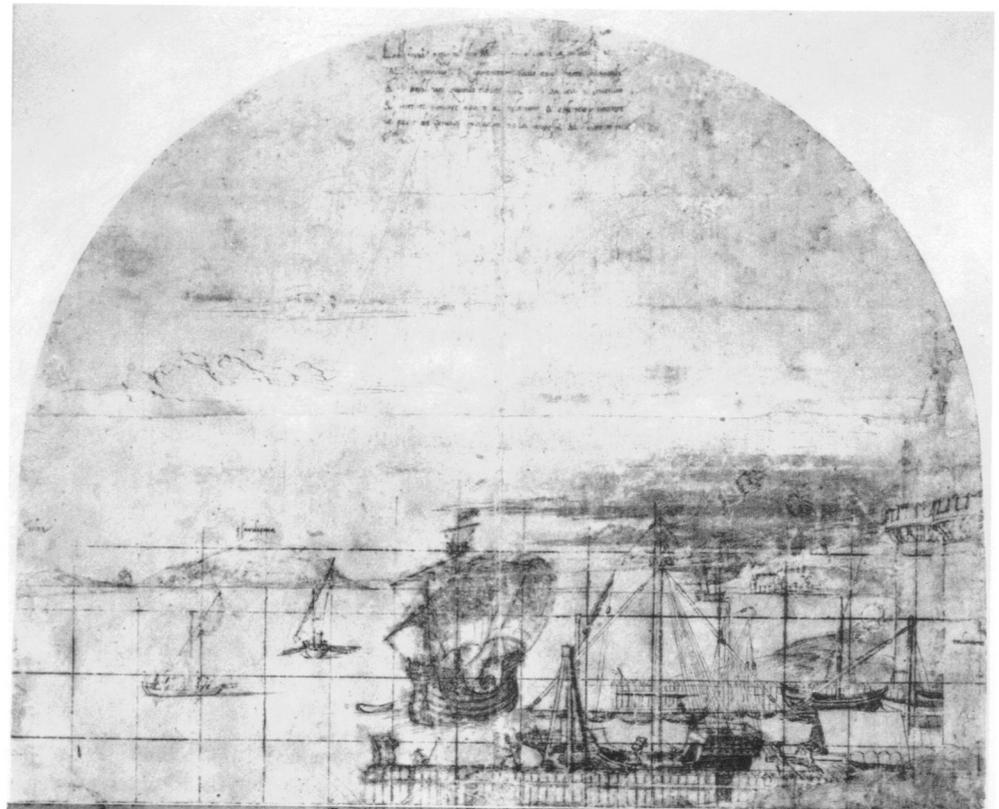


FIGURE 33
Raphael, Departure of
Enea Silvio for the Council
of Basle. Gabinetto Disegni
e Stampe, Uffizi, Florence



wall outside in the north aisle of Siena Cathedral, to which the library is attached. Later scholarship has not gone beyond this, and the latest monograph on Pintoricchio even ignores Panofsky's conclusions.⁷³

I think a consideration of the Libreria in terms of Raphael has still more to offer. Panofsky did not dare to decide whether frescoes for which there were no extant drawings by Raphael could have been designed by him or not. Yet all but two of them show, even after the flattening and decorative execution by Pintoricchio and his collaborators, a sense for space that goes much beyond anything that Pintoricchio ever did before or after. We are here confronted for the first time in Raphael's career with the problem that later is so important, when the school works from his designs, namely the execution of his ideas by somewhat uncongenial hands. Without being able to demonstrate amply my conclusions, I think I can state that Raphael worked on the project both in 1502 and again in 1503, developing his faculties in spatial composition in the meantime. Judgment is, however, difficult, as the impression of the frescoes may vary according to whether Pintoricchio himself executed the work and thus changed Raphael's ideas following his more decorative principles or whether he employed the help of some Perugino pupil like Eusebio di San Giorgio—who is recorded in the documents—for the execution, who then naturally followed Raphael's thoughts more closely.⁷⁴ We are lucky, however, that the few drawings by Raphael for the project were apparently executed at different times and thus demonstrate these ideas. The earliest is clearly the design for the Meeting of Frederick III with His Bride, Eleonora of Portugal, in a private collection (Figure 32).⁷⁵ It is in this finished design that we may detect some elements of style closely related to the Colonna altarpiece. One notes how the four main figures are lined up in the foreground, how their actions and stances are still much governed by the plane, how the cloaks are ample and defined by long floating lines much as that of St. Paul, although some richer folds appear, how the whole composition is built up in space much in terms of layers one above the other. The predella panels are even closer to the drawing because of their livelier movement. Compare, above all, the Procession to Calvary (Figure 4), where many similar figures and actions can be found. The horses in both works are still derived from model books without much obser-

vation from life and thus are strangely human in expression.⁷⁶ It is likely, therefore, that Raphael drew this sheet soon after Pintoricchio got the commission in 1502 and certainly before the Coronation of the Virgin (Figure 26), commissioned, as we have seen, early in 1503. It is the challenge of the large spaces and the need to manipulate crowds of people in the Libreria frescoes that speeded up Raphael's evolution. Even in the drawing just discussed one can already feel the beginning of that sense of space so prominent in the Coronation. Raphael was, in fact, at this point surpassing Pintoricchio, who, as Panofsky shows so clearly, misunderstood Raphael's more advanced intentions in the execution.⁷⁷ About a year later, when the ceiling decorations were finished and the wall frescoes had to be given serious consideration, Raphael must have drawn the large modello in the Uffizi, the Departure of Enea Silvio for the Council of Basle (Figure 33),⁷⁸ for the first fresco in the series of pictures from the life of this eminent humanist and churchman who became Pope Pius II. Even the drawing style has changed and become livelier and freer, stressing the roundness and plasticity of the bodies. This is partly caused by the difference in the use of the pen in the two drawings. In the Departure Raphael uses it often to characterize shadows and form with parallel hatchings, which he completely avoids in the Meeting. What counts above all, however, is the new composition with figures moving diagonally through space on horses that have been observed from life and

73. Carli pp. 69–79.

74. Eusebio may have painted the extremely Peruginesque frescoes representing the Canonization of St. Catherine of Siena (Carli pls. 138, 139, Ricci fig. at p. 205) and Enea Silvio Crowned Poet Laureate by Frederick III (Carli pls. 129, 130, Ricci fig. at p. 185), and he surely helped in others. While the execution of the two works is greatly similar, the design is very different, and they may have been developed at different times.

75. I am grateful to the owner for letting me view the drawing and reproduce a photograph of it following its restoration.

76. Raphael employs, apparently next to the usually static stock horses of Perugino, the rearing horses inspired by antique coins used in the vault of the Cambio (Camesasca pls. 110, 111). There seems to be no sure indication of any knowledge of the bold new experiments made by Leonardo for his Adoration of the Magi, of which, however, Pintoricchio may have had partial knowledge; compare his Adoration, in the Appartamento Borgia, Carli pl. 83, with A. E. Popham, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci* (New York, 1945) pl. 65.

77. Panofsky pp. 278–284. See also Pope-Hennessy p. 88.

78. Fischel, *Raphaels Zeichnungen* I, no. 26.



FIGURE 34
Raphael, *The Adoration of the Magi*, predella panel of the *Coronation of the Virgin*. Vatican Gallery, Rome

FIGURE 35
Raphael, *The Adoration of the Magi*. National Museum, Stockholm



are shown in convincing foreshortening. All the figures are compactly grouped, and the new sense of space and plasticity works even in the individual forms that stress the bodies and avoid the large draperies that Pintoricchio afterward again introduced in the execution.

Much of the experience Raphael drew from this work was used in the predella panels of the Coronation. The

foreshortened horses, for example, are reused, somewhat changed, in the Adoration of the Magi (Figure 34). This is the piece in which Raphael also shows the greatest proficiency of composition and arrangement of crowds of figures. However, these predella panels are again slightly more advanced in style toward the greater elegance of the Mond Crucifixion, as can be

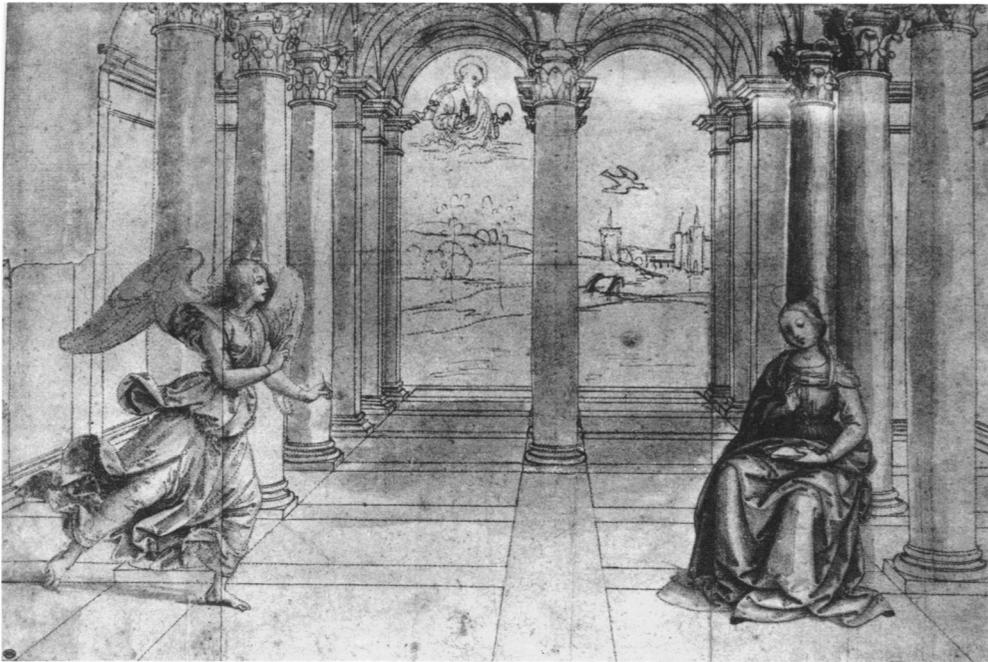


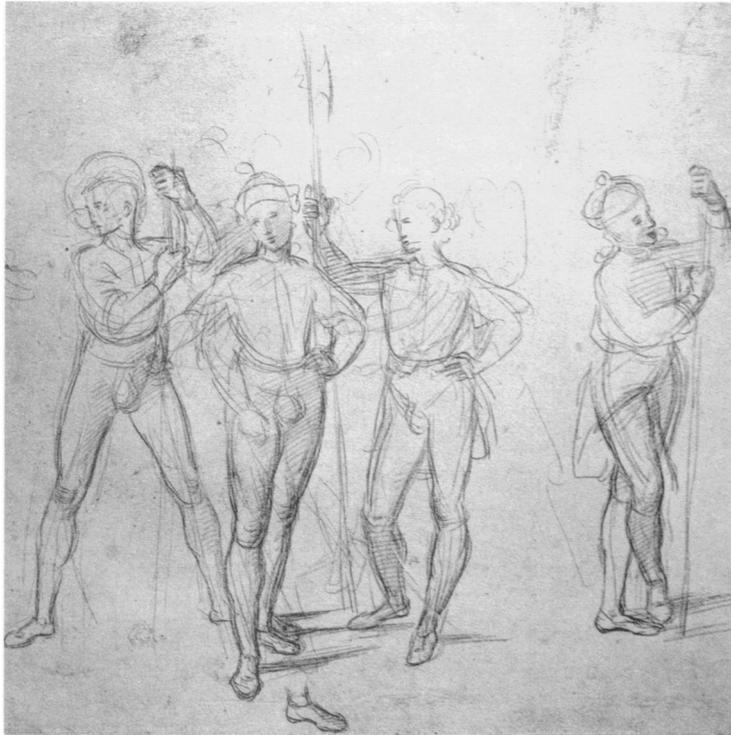
FIGURE 36
Raphael, The Annunciation. Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre (photo: Giraudon)



FIGURE 37
Raphael, The Agony in the Garden. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

FIGURE 38
Raphael, Standing Figures. Ashmolean Museum,
Oxford

FIGURE 39
Pintoricchio, Enea Silvio Crowned Poet Laureate
by Frederick III. Libreria Piccolomini, Ca-
thedral, Siena (photo: Alinari)



clearly seen in the preparatory drawing in Stockholm for this scene (Figure 35).⁷⁹ Incidentally, this is among the most Pintoricchiesque of Raphael's drawings. We can gain additional insight into the character of this latest stylistic progress of Raphael by comparing his finished pen and wash drawing in the Louvre for one of his predella panels, the Annunciation (Figure 36),⁸⁰ with the Meeting of Frederick III and Eleonora of Portugal. On first sight, the similarity of technique and the degree of completion of the two sheets may compel us to see only the strong affinities. Yet after some looking it will become clear how much more articulate the figures are in the Annunciation. Their bodies are no longer seen as large unified shapes, as in the Meeting, but have become mobile in their hips, limbs, and necks;

every fold of their garments is stressed with rich contrasts of light and shade, and they are arranged in almost geometrically controlled layers with a brittle richness. A new clarity and sureness of intent are apparent in the gestures and faces.

If we compare both these drawings to the small cartoon in the Morgan Library (Figure 37) for the Metropolitan's Agony in the Garden,⁸⁰ we can perceive how in this earlier work forms are even larger and simpler. The figures seem almost carved out of one block. While the sheet thus shows a certain affinity with the Meeting,

79. Fischel, *Raphaels Zeichnungen* I, no. 29.

80. Fischel, *Raphaels Zeichnungen* I, no. 28.

81. Fischel, *Raphaels Zeichnungen* II, no. 66



FIGURE 40
Raphael, *The Marriage of the Virgin*, called the *Sposalizio*. Brera, Milan (photo: Anderson)

it is clearly even closer to Raphael's earlier drawings.⁸²

It is from the period of the predella of the *Coronation* that, as Panofsky showed, the Oxford drawing (Figure 38) for some of the figures in the fresco of *Enea Crowned Poet Laureate* by Frederick III must date.⁸³ One of the figures shows the same stance in reverse as one in the *Adoration* and was drawn from the same model, probably at the same session. The fresco as executed (Figure 39),⁸⁴ probably by Eusebio and thus close to Raphael's

design, could not be richer in spatial arrangement and grouping and clearly leads toward the *Sposalizio* (Figure 40), and even further to Raphael's late *Coronation of Charlemagne*.⁸⁵ The elongated, elegantly moving figures with their strongly articulated bodies belong to the period in the second half of 1503.

This fresco shows much similarity to the most ambitious in number of figures of all the works in the *Libreria*, the *Coronation of Pius III* (Figure 41),⁸⁶ which could hardly have been designed before September 21, 1503, when Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, the man who had commissioned the frescoes, was elected pope. It is, of course, conceivable that it was the coronation of Enea Silvio as Pius II that was originally planned in much similar form for that place. The style seems somewhat heavier than that of the fresco just discussed, but that may be due to the execution. Looked at in detail, the figures are slender and much like those in the predella of the *Coronation*, from which some of the details are taken almost literally. The work may be regarded as Raphael's grandest design of that period. If we compare it with Pintoricchio's *Christ among the Doctors*,⁸⁷ in Spello, it becomes absolutely clear that the older master could not have conceived anything as densely organized and lively in grouping as this crowd. Even when he had to design two frescoes in the *Libreria* itself,⁸⁸ not prepared by Raphael, possibly because of the pope's sudden death, October 18, 1503, which led to temporary abandonment of the project, Pintoricchio fell back to his completely planar compositions of earlier times.

Raphael had profited greatly from the chance to collaborate with Pintoricchio, developing skills that his own commissions of altarpieces and the example of Perugino, who like him worked mainly for bourgeois

82. Compare Fischel, *Raphaels Zeichnungen* I, nos. 5, 7, 11, even though the technique is essentially different.

83. Panofsky pp. 270–274; Fischel, *Raphaels Zeichnungen* I, no. 63.

84. Carli pls. 129–130, Ricci fig. at p. 185.

85. It was again Panofsky who, with the insight of genius, discovered that another of these frescoes reappeared in Raphael's late work; see his p. 286.

86. Carli pl. 122.

87. Carli pl. 114.

88. Pope Pius II in Mantua and Pius II in Ancona, Carli pls. 137, 141.



FIGURE 41
Pintoricchio, The Coronation of Pius III. Libreria Piccolomini, Cathedral, Siena (photo: Alinari)

and small feudal patrons in his later years, could not have taught him. Only much later, when in Rome Raphael had to paint similar frescoes of Church representations, would some of the things he learned in Siena come to full fruition. Yet the command of space he developed in these works—curiously enough in a commission from Pintoricchio, who had first influenced him in the direction of decorative employment of the picture plane—helped him in his contemporary work, especially in the *Sposalizio*. Raphael achieved in this painting the first of those syntheses between opposing directions in art that are so characteristic for him; here, that between Pintoricchio's sense for rich groupings of figures and Perugino's striving for plasticity, bound together by Raphael's very own observation of space.

With this we can bring our survey of Raphael's monumental works between 1500 and 1505 to a close. I think that the new dating of the *Colonna* altarpiece and the resulting new chronology of Raphael's early work brings a better structure to these years. We find the young master starting from a solid basis that he must have formed in the school of Perugino in the years be-

tween about 1494/5 and 1500, when he probably separated from his immediate influence. His work in *Città di Castello* in 1500 and 1501 shows additional influences from Signorelli and Pintoricchio. The latter continue even after a return to Perugia in 1502 to paint the *Colonna* altarpiece, while new observations taken from Perugino's latest work begin to modify his style. In that year and the following the relationship with Pintoricchio culminates in a collaboration on the Siena frescoes and even other works like the *Coronation* in the Vatican. Meanwhile Perugino's renewed influence grows and comes out in full force in the three large works done in 1503 to 1505, the *Mond Crucifixion*, the *Sposalizio* for *Città di Castello*, and the *Madonna Ansidei* for Perugia, works in which Raphael achieves at the same time full maturity. Pintoricchio's influence by that time completely fades away but leaves a new sense for spatial freedom and dramatic action developed under the challenge of the Siena commission. It is because he had learned from all the eminent artists of Umbria that Raphael was then ready to understand the lessons of Fra Bartolomeo and Leonardo in Florence.

APPENDIX

As the completion of the cleaning stage of the restoration of the Colonna altarpiece coincides with the publication of this article, it is possible to append a note on its state of preservation.

Taking away the heavy veil of grime, overpaint, and oxidized varnish that obscured the original paint surface before cleaning has restored the freshness, clarity, and plasticity that one associates with Raphael at this period. The immense vitality of the brilliant colors and strongly defined forms must have been lying dormant under the semiopaque layers of discoloration for well over a century.

It is exceedingly rare to find the important areas of a painting by a great master to be in better condition than the secondary ones, but it occurs here: the heads, hands, and feet are remarkably well preserved. The delicate nuances of tone in the transitions from light to dark in the modeling of the flesh are almost entirely intact, and even the finest tendrils of hair on the heads are still sharply delineated. St. Lucy, unfortunately, has a break in the panel running through her eyes, and the surrounding area is somewhat rubbed.

The only major change that has upset the balance of the picture is the darkening of the azurite blue used in painting the Virgin's mantle and the robes of Sts. Peter and Paul. Although this change has affected the three

principal figures, the truly monumental simplicity of the strongly defined forms is so assertive everywhere else that the altarpiece still reads well. The copper resinate greens, being unstable, have also changed but not in such a radical way.

Two clumsily executed "embellishments" added to the altarpiece by later hands have now been removed: the veining on the white marble steps of the throne proved to be a later addition because it had been applied over a layer of dirt and varnish going over cracks in the original paint. The orb, held by God the Father in the lunette, is in good state and is marvelously painted by Raphael, but for some inexplicable reason someone had crudely obliterated it by gilding and using oil as a mordant. The original foreshortening of the hand was made to look out of drawing by this inept change.

It is interesting to note that the powerfully characterized heads of the apostles, which stylistically seem at variance with the other more Peruginesque heads, also appear very different when the altarpiece is viewed by ultraviolet light. Surprisingly, the apparently more schematic heads take on the surety of form and grandeur of antique sculpture, whereas the two splendid apostle heads lose much of their plasticity, and with it, their impact.

JOHN M. BREALEY
Conservator of Paintings

A Leaf from the Scholz Scrapbook

CARLO BERTOCCI and CHARLES DAVIS

THE MUSEUM'S DEPARTMENT OF PRINTS acquired in 1949 a noteworthy group of architectural drawings now known as the Scholz Scrapbook after its donors, Janos Scholz and Mrs. Anne Bigelow Scholz. The ninety-three sheets contain drawings of Renaissance buildings in Rome and Florence, as well as of two antique monuments. There is also a French aspect to the scrapbook. The drawings were purchased in Paris, and there are inscriptions in French on a number of the sheets. Furthermore, these architectural drawings were once bound together with a group of thirty-five sheets of drawings of tomb monuments and fountains that seem to derive from a French sculptor's workshop of around 1575–1610.¹ Thus it has been suggested that the scrapbook belonged to a Frenchman traveling through Italy.²

Despite their uncertain provenance, the importance

of the Scholz drawings of Italian buildings has been widely recognized.³ Yet the study of individual drawings and groups within the scrapbook has often raised as many questions as it has answered.⁴ Where were the drawings made, and when? (The datings proposed for individual sheets range from the 1550s to the 1570s.⁵) Were they made from measurements taken on the building sites or in the studio from working drawings? Clearly, several hands were at work in the scrapbook, and, as has been noted, at least one of these appears to have been French. Certainly the series of drawings extends the promise of new evidence for the history of many Renaissance buildings, but, until more is known of the circumstances in which the scrapbook came into being, the documentary value of its individual sheets will be often difficult to assess.

Though it has not been stated explicitly, one thing

1. A. Hyatt Mayor, "Prints Acquired in 1949," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 8 (1949–50) p. 160; Janet S. Byrne, "Design for a Tomb," *MMA Bulletin* 15 (1956–57) pp. 155–164; Janet S. Byrne, "Monuments on Paper," *MMA Bulletin* 25 (1966–67) pp. 24–29. The present study was initially based upon a set of photographs of the scrapbook's architectural drawings. We are grateful to Janet Byrne, Curator, Department of Prints and Photographs, for allowing us to study these drawings during a visit to the Museum. Subsequently she offered valuable revisions of our descriptions of the contents of the entire scrapbook and showed us several ways to improve our conclusions. These are to be seen only in the context of the ninety-three sheets of drawings of Roman and Florentine monuments, some single leaves, and some double spreads, some with drawings on both sides. The appellation "Scholz draftsman" is a conventional one. It does not imply that a "Scholz Master" is responsible for these drawings, which are the work of several hands. Since our study was completed (1974), other drawings from the scrapbook have been discussed by Craig Hugh Smyth and Henry Millon in a study of St. Peter's, *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 16 (1976) pp. 137–206.

2. Frances Land Moore, "A Contribution to the Study of the

Villa Giulia," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 12 (1969) p. 191.

3. See notes 1, 2, and Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo III* (Princeton, 1948) p. 164, fig. 165; Anthony Blunt, "Two Unpublished Plans of the Farnese Palace," *MMA Bulletin* 19 (1960–61) pp. 15–17; James S. Ackerman, review of Christoph Luitpold Frommel, *Die Farnesina und Peruzzis architektonisches Frühwerk*, *Art Bulletin* 44 (1962) p. 243; Rudolf Wittkower, *La cupola di San Pietro di Michelangelo* (Florence, 1964) Appendix 2; Charles de Tolnay, "Newly Discovered Drawings Related to Michelangelo: The Scholz Scrapbook in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Stil und Überlieferung, Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte in Bonn 1964 II* (Berlin, 1967) p. 64; and Luitpold Dussler, *Michelangelo-Bibliographie, 1927–1970* (Wiesbaden, 1974) p. 238.

4. Note especially Moore, "Villa Giulia," pp. 191–192, and compare Wittkower, *Cupola*, pp. 101–107 with Tolnay, "Newly Discovered Drawings," pp. 66–67.

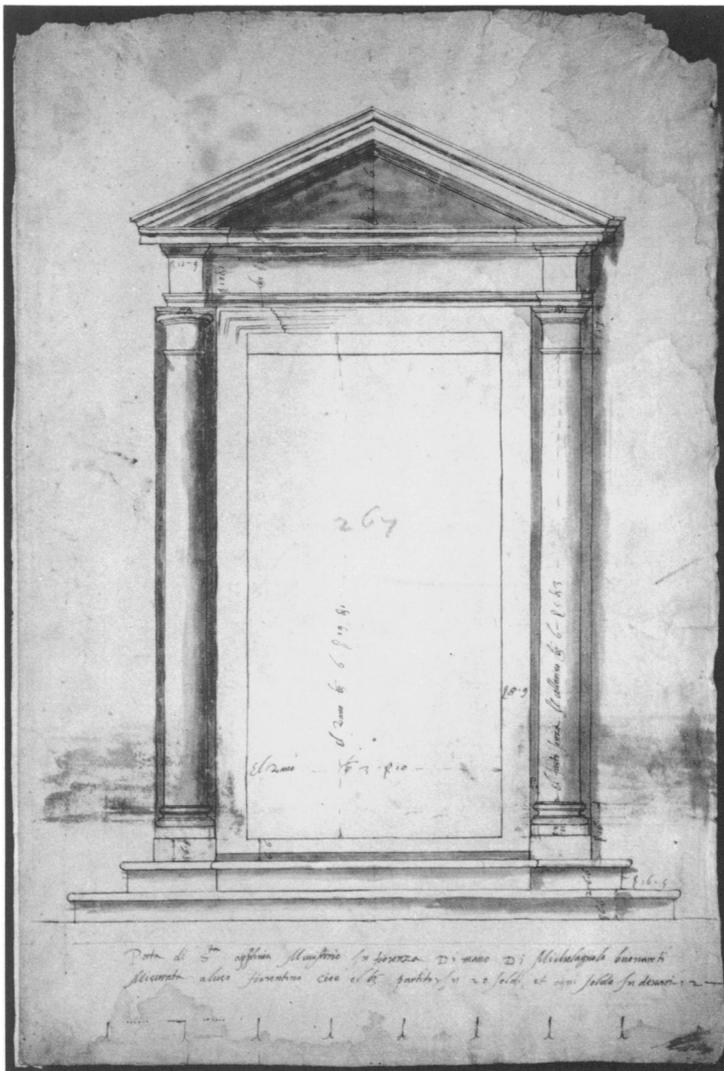
5. In addition to the works cited above, see Heinrich Wurm, *Der Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne* (Berlin, 1965) p. 53, and Christoph Luitpold Frommel, *Der Römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance II* (Tübingen, 1973) pp. 6, 56, 69, 123, 162, 239, 309.

that emerges from previous studies of parts of this material is a picture of a body of drawings often based on prior graphic representations. Indeed, this line of investigation holds perhaps the best promise for clarifying the nature of the scrapbook. Wittkower, for instance, noted the close correspondence of some of the Scholz drawings of the cupola of St. Peter's (especially 49.92.1 and 49.92.20^v) with Dupérac's engravings of St. Peter's, concluding that the entire St. Peter's series represents Dupérac's preparatory work for his engravings

of 1564–65 and copies made in his studio.⁶ Tolnay, however, rejected the view that these drawings are either preparatory drawings for Dupérac's engravings or copies after them.⁷ Nonetheless, Tolnay has noted that seventeen of the Scholz drawings are copies of drawings by Dosio of Michelangelo's Florentine architectural works (Uffizi Dis. 1930A–1939A and 1941A–1947A).⁸ Similarly, Wurm observed the close connection of the Scholz drawings of the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne with other sheets in the Uffizi.⁹ And, in a study

FIGURE 1

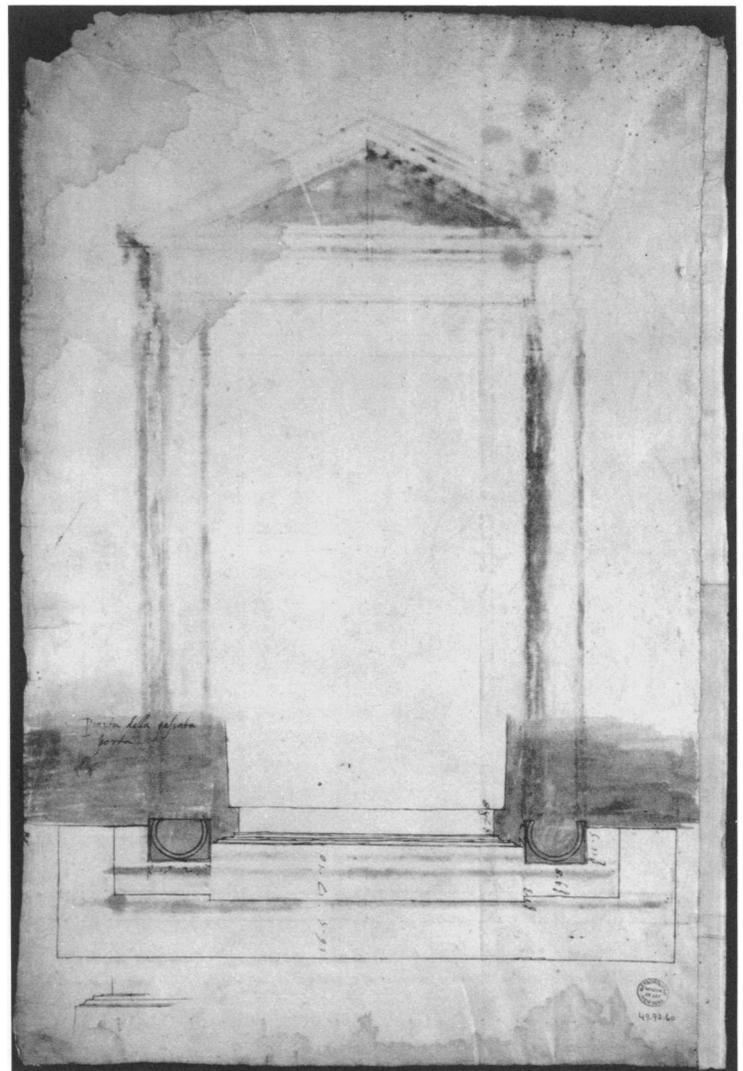
Anonymous 16th-century draftsman, Elevation of the Portal of Sant'Apollonia, Florence. Scholz Scrapbook, 49.92.60 recto. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Janos and Anne Bigelow Scholz, in Memory of Flying Officer Walter Bigelow Rosen, 1949



- 6. Wittkower, *Cupola*, p. 107.
- 7. Tolnay, "Newly Discovered Drawings," p. 66.
- 8. Tolnay, "Newly Discovered Drawings," p. 65.
- 9. Wurm, *Palazzo Massimo*, p. 53.

FIGURE 2

Plan of the Portal of Sant'Apollonia. Scholz Scrapbook, 49.92.60 verso



of the elaborate Scholz drawings of the Villa Giulia, Frances Land Moore tentatively concluded that the drawings of the Villa Giulia (as well as the Lafreri engravings of it) ultimately derive from earlier drawings made, in part, during the construction of the villa, a body of drawings that included several sheets now in the Royal Institute of British Architects, London. But, since she could not discover a direct, immediate connection between the Scholz sheets and still existing, identifiable drawings, Mrs. Moore suggested that in some cases the Scholz drawings resulted from a conflation of several graphic sources with firsthand measurements executed at the villa itself.¹⁰ Set side by side, these separate studies are suggestive, even if they do not point to a conclusive hypothesis concerning the composition of the Scholz Scrapbook.

As a contribution toward assembling a composite mosaic that may eventually reveal the draftsmen-architects of the scrapbook at work, one sheet, the recto and verso of 49.92.60, will be examined here. The graphic source of this leaf can be securely identified in a surviving drawing, thus affording the opportunity to observe in a single instance the working methods of one of the Scholz draftsmen.

The drawing shows the elevation and plan of Michelangelo's portal of the former church of Sant'Apollonia in Florence (Figures 1, 2).¹¹ It belongs to one of the three groups of drawings after Michelangelo's architectural works that Tolnay has isolated within the scrapbook.¹² These drawings in pen and ink, sometimes washed in bister, are dated by Tolnay to shortly after 1556. He suggests that their draftsman was an Italian of Vasari's day.¹³ And, according to Tolnay, the drawing of the Sant'Apollonia portal was executed directly from the actual doorway, with measurements taken on the site.

However, the Scholz drawing of the portal was in fact copied from an identical drawing by Giovanni Antonio Dosio in the Uffizi (Dis. 3018A; Figures 3, 4). While the recto of the Uffizi drawing was published by

10. Moore, "Villa Giulia," p. 192.

11. On Michelangelo's authorship of the portal, see Charles Davis, "Cosimo Bartoli and the Portal of Sant'Apollonia by Michelangelo," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 19 (1975) pp. 261-276.

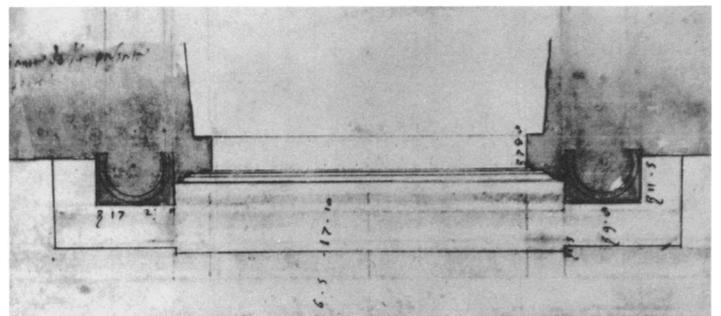
12. Tolnay, "Newly Discovered Drawings," pp. 64-65.

13. Tolnay, *Michelangelo III*, p. 164; Tolnay, "Michelangelo a Firenze," *Atti del Convegno di Studi Michelangioleschi, Firenze-Roma 1964* (Rome, 1966) p. 21; "Newly Discovered Drawings," p. 65.



FIGURE 3
Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Elevation of the Portal of Sant'Apollonia. Uffizi 3018A recto (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Sopr. Gallerie, Florence)

FIGURE 4
Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Plan of the Portal of Sant'Apollonia. Uffizi 3018A verso



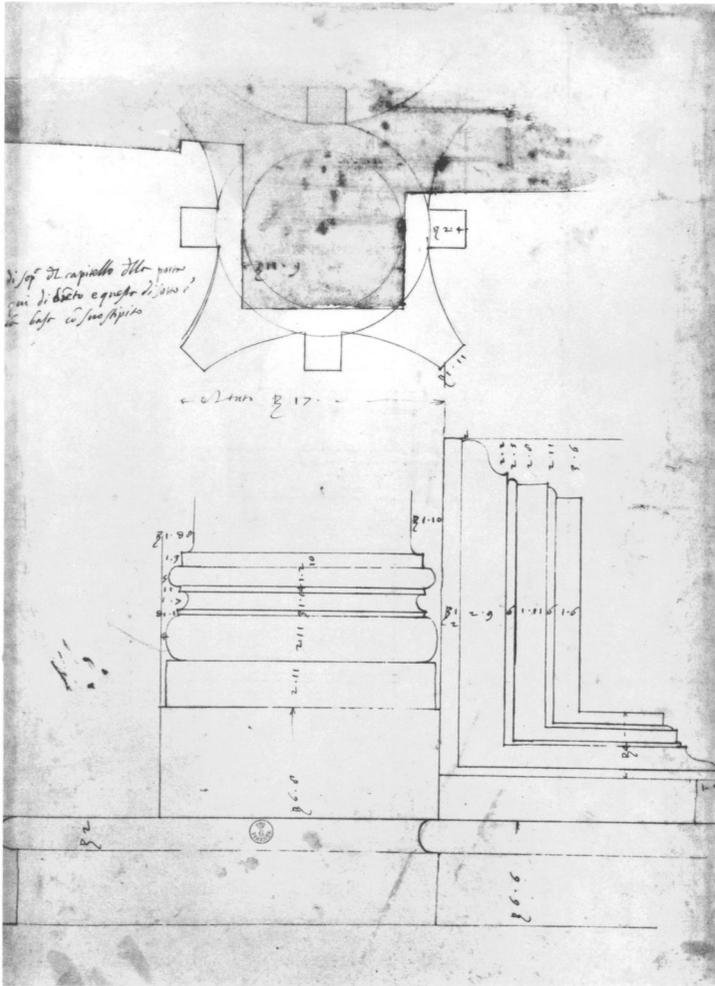


FIGURE 5
Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Details of the Portal of Sant'Apollonia. Uffizi 3019A recto (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Sopr. Gallerie, Florence)

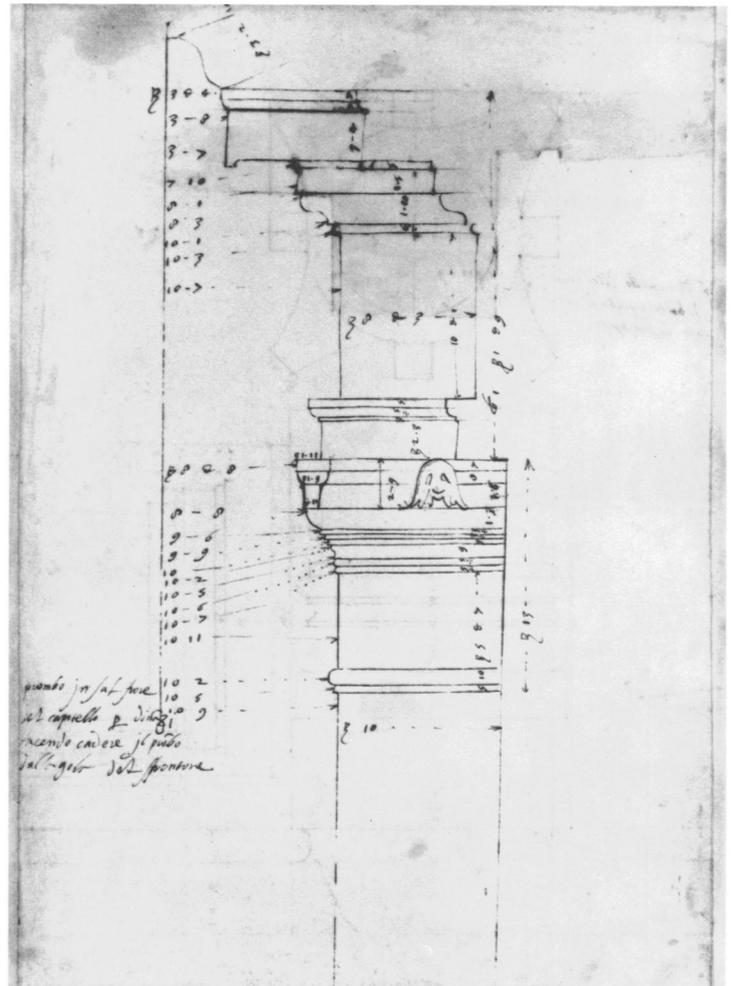


FIGURE 6
Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Elevation of the Entablature of the Portal of Sant'Apollonia. Uffizi 3019A verso

Wachler in a small illustration, the verso was not.¹⁴ The similarity of the Scholz and Uffizi sheets is apparent at a glance. A closer look at the two drawings reveals that the inscriptions and measurements are identical and that they are punctuated and positioned in precisely the same way. This identity is documented in our Appendix. Yet, even aside from such a detailed comparison, the higher quality of Dosio's drawing, evident even in photographs, suggests that it is the original. And, too, the Scholz draftsman erred in copying the top line of

14. Ludwig Wachler, "Giovannantonio Dosio," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 4 (1940) p. 185, fig. 118.

the door opening, and the evidence of his correction remains visible.

Simply in the terms of a line drawing, the exactitude with which the Scholz draftsman follows Dosio is as striking as his painstaking carrying over of inscriptions and measurements. Less sure without ruler in hand, he still attempts to reproduce Dosio's washes faithfully. But it is telling that he has also maintained the horizontal and vertical proportions of Dosio's drawing throughout his own. This, together with the fidelity of his copy, first suggested to us that he resorted to a mechanical process in transferring Dosio's drawing to his

page. And this suspicion was borne out, for when the two drawings were measured their dimensions matched exactly. In both, the aperture of the door is 21 cm. high, 10.5 cm. wide; the greatest height of the portal, 33.7 cm.; the greatest width, 24.9 cm.; the pediment 20 cm. across. Thus it is clear that the Scholz drawing was transferred at the drawing board from the Uffizi sheet.

One marked difference between the drawings lies in the evidence of their construction, which remains visible on their surfaces. Uffizi 3018A is crisscrossed with inked and uninked construction lines. An uninked incised construction line drawn with a compass cuts vertically through the center of the portal, and others establishing the lateral jambs and the inset of the columns, run through the entire drawing. Numerous horizontal construction lines are concentrated in the steps, the column bases, and the entablature. Besides, the drawing bears many compass-point punctures and the paper has been cut by compass indentations at several points. Thus we can be certain that this quite finished drawing was based on sketches and measurements made on the site and later constructed anew at the drafting board. The following sheet, Uffizi 3019A, also apparently drawn in the studio, records just such drawings. Its recto gives measured drawings of details of the base and capitals (Figure 5), and its verso provides a very careful construction of the profile and elevation of the entire entablature with nearly sixty measurements (Figure 6).

For his elevation of the portal the Scholz draftsman, on the contrary, required few construction lines—a center vertical division and some incised lines in the area of the base. The reason is clear. The Scholz draftsman had his work already done for him. He did not have to reconstruct the portal; he had only to transfer Dosio's drawing onto his page. And, aside from transporting measurements, he may have also traced. Certainly the vestiges of the construction process evident on the surface of Dosio's drawing provide a further confirmation of its priority over the Metropolitan's sheet.

In one respect, at least, the Scholz draftsman failed to comprehend the conception of Dosio's elevation. As a natural consequence of his method of copying he reproduced faithfully all of Dosio's rendering that is contained in a flat architectural elevation (Figure 7). But Dosio's is an unusually beautiful architectural drawing, enlivened with a rich variety of washes. In this

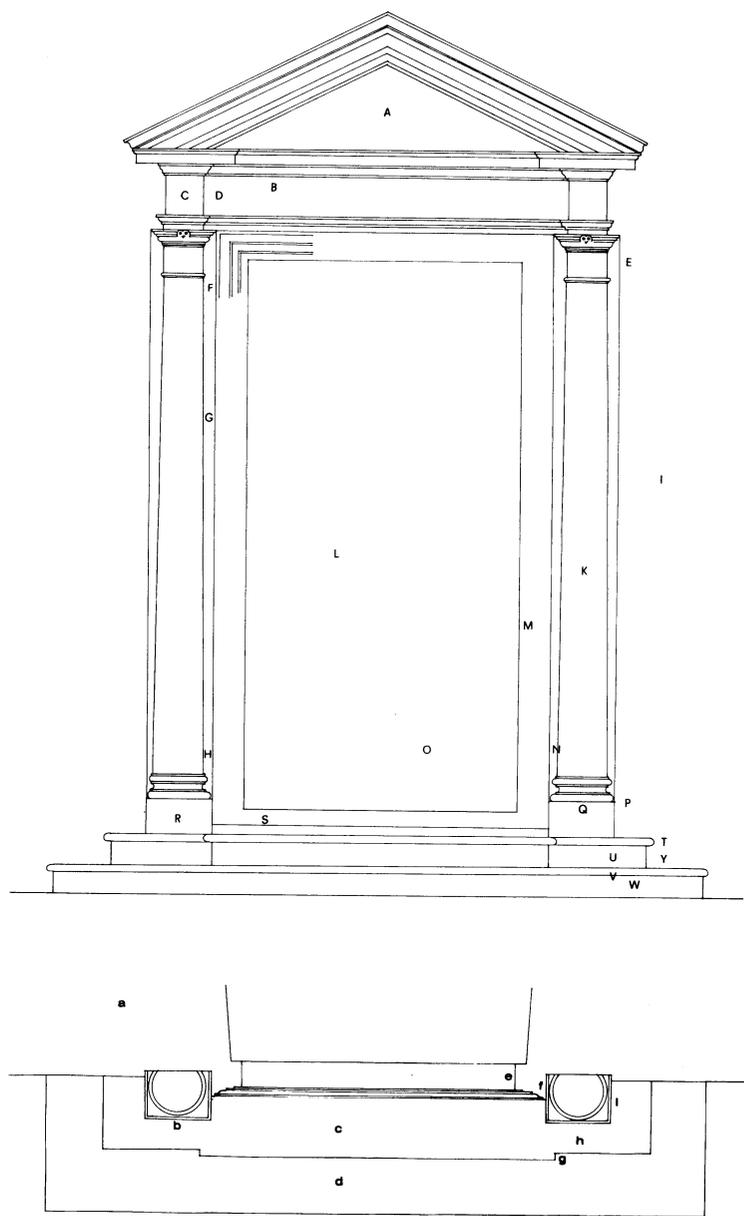


FIGURE 7
Diagram of the Plan and Elevation of the Portal of Sant'Apollonia. The letters correspond to the Appendix

respect the Scholz draftsman is timid and listless. Dosio's washes are, however, purposeful as well as ornamental. He provides something more tangible than a flat diagram of the portal and, at the same time, suggests a dual view of it. In the development of the washes there is a left-right differentiation akin to that of ar-

chitectural drawings that offer alternative solutions on the left and right sides. Here, however, the differentiation is descriptive rather than projectural. At the left Dosio stresses the volume of the column, which, within the limits of a frontal elevation, is shown in perspective. The torus and the fillets of the capital are curved (this is surely intentional since a lightly inked construction line bisects the torus) and the corresponding members of the column base are also slightly curved, an effect underlined by the dark wash that models the column base.

At the right Dosio depicts, instead, the lateral development of the entire portal in depth. This view of the portal is essentially nonperspectival, although the fillets of the capital retain a very slight curvature. For instance, the dark washing of the inset at the left of the column sets both the lateral jamb and the column in relief, and the long broad wash running down the length of the right side of the portal defines both the inset and the plane of the wall of the façade, which lies behind that of the lateral door jamb. Moreover, this descriptive process can be observed in other details as well.

The Scholz copyist fails to see this double aspect of Dosio's conception. While Dosio's washes on the right side of his drawing are deeper than on the left, the Scholz draftsman reverses this relationship; in general he does not perceive the descriptive rationale of Dosio's washes.

Two other differences between the drawings deserve mention. First, the Scholz draftsman introduces an indented profile into the frame over the door aperture. While he did not find this on Dosio's elevation, he probably derived it from a companion sheet (Figure 5) that gives this detail of the portal. And second, in Dosio's elevation, at the right of the pediment and architrave, a curious repetition of the profile of these architectural members has been penciled in over the wash. This detail does not correspond to the actual portal construction, and in Dosio's drawing it is very nearly hidden by the dark wash. But the Scholz draftsman draws this detail neatly into his drawing so that it appears, somewhat incongruously, as part of the portal architecture.

On the balance, however, the Scholz draftsman is a quite exact copyist. He conceives his copy essentially in terms of a linear design, as an architectural draftsman practiced in the tricks of the drawing board, who effects

his copy in the most efficient way he can. He appreciates far less the pictorial effects of Dosio's drawing and is less at home in reproducing them. Paradoxically, it is as if he espouses a view Dosio himself expressed when trying to sell a set of architectural drawings to Niccolò Gaddi: "Io non l'ho ombrate, parendomi che servino più così, non si curando d'ornamenti di carte ma che sieno con le sue misure più intelligibili, perché l'acquarello offusca i numeri."¹⁵

One wonders how the Scholz draftsman gained access to Dosio's drawing. Moreover, in addition to the seventeen copies after his drawings of Michelangelo's Florentine architecture in the Uffizi, identified by Tolnay, Wurm has noted that the Scholz drawings of the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne in Rome are very closely related to two further sheets by Dosio, Uffizi 371A and 3244A.¹⁶ Thus the provenance of the scrapbook's architectural drawings appears, in part, to be closely associated with the rich stock of such drawings that Dosio made and accumulated.

Fortunately this connection can be secured, for the paper of the Scholz drawing of the Sant'Apollonia portal and the companion sheet of Dosio's elevation, Uffizi 3019A, bear the same watermark. Uffizi 3018A is for the most part backed, and no watermark is discernible. However, it is so intimately connected with 3019A that both were clearly made at the same time. The watermark is found only in Italian paper of around 1566–72.¹⁷ Given this remarkable coincidence of image and watermark, it is difficult not to conclude that the Scholz sheet was made by an artist who found himself in Dosio's studio, perhaps even with paper borrowed from Dosio's own supply, and presumably around the same time that the Uffizi drawings, 3018A and 3019A, were executed—probably in the years around 1570 and in Rome, where Dosio was to be found at this time,¹⁸ rather than in Florence. Uffizi 3018A and

15. *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura*, ed. Giovanni Bottari and Stefano Ticozzi, III (Milan, 1822) p. 301.

16. Wurm, *Palazzo Massimo*, p. 53; see also Frommel, *Römische Palastbau*, II, p. 239.

17. Charles-Moise Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (Leipzig, 1923) no. 6097.

18. For Dosio, see especially Wachler, "Dosio," pp. 143–251; Antonio Pinelli, *Dizionario Enciclopedico di Architettura e Urbanistica* II (1960) s.v. "Dosio"; Carolyn Valone, *Giovanni Antonio Dosio and his Patrons* (University Microfilms, 1972); Carolyn Valone, "Giovanni Antonio Dosio: The Roman Years," *Art Bulletin* 58 (1976), pp. 528–541.

3019A, it will be remembered, are studio drawings based on prior on-site measurements and sketches. It can very probably be concluded that the other Scholz copies after Dosio's drawings of Michelangelo's Florentine works were also made in Rome. Thus by far the largest number of drawings of Florentine monuments in the scrapbook were not made on the site, or even in Florence, and consequently the focus of the scrapbook's architectural drawings seems to lie in Rome.¹⁹

Beyond this a few plausible suggestions are possible, for that the Scholz draftsman chose to copy from Dosio is not without significance. In the 1550s and 1560s Dosio was often in Rome, and from 1566 to 1576 his activities were fairly constantly centered there. Aside from his tomb monuments of these years, he was engaged not only as a draftsman in a wide-ranging documentation of ancient monuments and inscriptions as well as modern edifices but also in the sale of his own drawings, and of prints and drawings in his possession.²⁰ These activities brought him into contact with the circle of publishers, printers, and sellers of prints and drawings who were involved in the common enterprise of disseminating the image of ancient and modern Rome throughout Europe. Among Dosio's many projects some were never completed, for instance, his archaeological and epigraphical volume, or his survey of ancient and modern buildings in carefully measured drawings for an architectural treatise, but other projects reached fruition. In 1561 his plan of Rome was published by Bartolomeo Faleti, in 1565 Bernardo Gamucci's *Libri quattro delle antichità della città di Roma* appeared with twenty-four woodcuts based on Dosio's drawings, and then in 1569 his fifty views of Rome were

published by Giovanni Battista De' Cavalieri in the *Urbis Romae aedificiorum illustriumquae supersunt reliquiae*.²¹

Frenchmen such as Antonio Lafreri and Étienne Dupérac figured prominently in this circle of printers and publishers. In fact, Dosio had dealings with Lafreri and his partners Antonio and Francesco Salamanca,²² and an anonymous French draftsman, identified tentatively as Dupérac by Fabriczy,²³ provided eight of the preparatory drawings for Dosio's *Urbis Romae*.²⁴ Such large publishing enterprises as Lafreri's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* drew on the work of a number of draftsmen in Rome, some of whom were French.²⁵ And Dosio apparently found a market for his own drawings. He, too, perhaps utilized copyists to increase his output, for he felt it necessary to specify certain of the architectural drawings that he offered for sale to Niccolò Gaddi as "di mia mano."²⁶

Thus it should not be surprising to discover some of the draftsmen of the Scholz Scrapbook at work in this ambit frequented by French artists. This picture agrees with that suggested by the connection of some of the scrapbook drawings with Lafreri's *Speculum* and with Dupérac's engravings by Moore and Wittkower.²⁷ In any event the Scholz copy of Dosio's drawing of the Sant'Apollonia portal cautions against forming conclusions concerning the nationality of the draftsmen of the scrapbook's architectural drawings simply on the basis of the language of the inscriptions, for the draftsman of Scholz 49.92.60 transcribes completely and accurately, even imitating an occasional mannerism of the script in his model.²⁸

19. Cf. Moore, "Villa Giulia," p. 191.

20. See especially Wachler, "Dosio," pp. 201–205, 224–238.

21. Modern reprint under title *Le antichità di Roma*, intro. Franco Borsi (Rome, Edizioni Colombo, 1970).

22. Wachler, "Dosio," p. 204, and Bottari-Ticozzi, *Lettere*, III, pp. 308, 309.

23. Cornelis von Fabriczy, "Il libro di schizzi d'un pittore olandese nel museo di Stuttgart," *Archivio storico dell'arte* 6 (1893) p. 114.

24. Wachler, "Dosio," p. 204.

25. See Christian Hülsen, "Das Speculum Romanae Magnifi-

centiae des Antonio Lafreri," *Collectanea Variarum Doctrinarum Leoni S. Olschki* (Munich, 1921) pp. 121–170.

26. Bottari-Ticozzi, *Lettere* III, p. 300. For Dosio and Gaddi, see especially Valone, *Dosio and his Patrons*, pp. 166–243.

27. Moore, "Villa Giulia," p. 191, and Wittkower, *Cupola*, pp. 101, 102, 103, 107; see also Frommel, *Römische Palastbau*, II, p. 6 and III, Pl. 6g and 6h.

28. Compare in the two drawings the horizontal inscriptions beginning "el vano" and note such peculiarities as "i" rather than "1."

Appendix

Here are transcribed the measurements and other inscriptions found on the recto and verso of Dosio's drawing (Uffizi 3018A) and the Metropolitan's copy (49.92.60). The letters indicate the positions on Figure 7. "I" on the Uffizi drawing is a marginal notation that the Scholz draftsman did not reproduce. Slight discrepancies in punctuation occur in "K" and "b." The inscription at the bottom of the recto of the Metropolitan's sheet may not have been found on Dosio's drawing, which, in any case, has been cut along the bottom edge.

RECTO

- A *Uff.*: b 1 . d 6
Met.: b 1 . d 6
- B *Uff.*: b 1 s 1 - 9
Met.: b 1 s 1 - 9
- C *Uff.*: s 11 - 9
Met.: s 11 - 9
- D *Uff.*: s 10 d 1
Met.: s 10 d 1
- E *Uff.*: s 13
Met.: s 13
- F *Uff.*: s²₅
Met.: s²₅
- G *Uff.*: s¹₅
Met.: s¹₅
- H *Uff.*: s¹₁₀
Met.: s¹₁₀
- I *Uff.*: s²₇ d 4
Met.: vacant
- K *Uff.*: el fusto senza il collarino b 6-s 5 - d 3
Met.: el fusto senza il collarino b 6-s 5 d 3
- L *Uff.*: el vano b 6 . s 19 di
Met.: el vano b 6 . s 19 di
- M *Uff.*: s 8 . 9
Met.: s 8 . 9
- N *Uff.*: s¹₁₀
Met.: s¹₁₀
- O *Uff.*: el vano b 3 . s 10
Met.: el vano b 3 . s 10
- P *Uff.*: s 16.
Met.: s 16.
- Q *Uff.*: s²₁₁
Met.: s²₁₁
- R *Uff.*: s 6. 8
Met.: s 6. 8
- S *Uff.*: 6. 6
Met.: 6. 6
- T *Uff.*: 2
Met.: vacant
- U *Uff.*: 6. 6
Met.: 6. 6
- V *Uff.*: 2
Met.: 2
- W *Uff.*: s 6. 6
Met.: s 6. 6
- Y *Uff.*: s 16. 5
Met.: s 16. 5

Met.: Porta di Sta appolonia Munisterio in fiorenza Di mano Di Michelagnolo buonaroti / Misurata aluso fiorentino cioe el b partito in 20 soldi et ogni soldo in denari—
12—

VERSO

- a *Uff.*: pianta della passata / porta
Met.: pianta della passata / porta
- b *Uff.*: s 17 2:
Met.: s 17. 2
- c *Uff.*: 17. 10
Met.: 17. 10
- d *Uff.*: 16. 5
Met.: 16. 5
- e *Uff.*: s 7 d 8
Met.: s 7 d 8
- f *Uff.*: 7. 2
Met.: 7. 2
- g *Uff.*: s 1. 3
Met.: s 1. 3
- h *Uff.*: s 9. 8
Met.: s 9. 8
- i *Uff.*: s 11. 5
Met.: s 11. 5

A Rabbi with Wings: Remarks on Rembrandt's Etching "Abraham Entertaining the Angels"

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To the memory of Hans van de Waal, magnanimous friend, exemplary humanist and scholar, whose mind and heart were refined by suffering and persecution: *Peregrinando Quaerimus*.

REMBRANDT'S INTERPRETATIONS of the Bible are often so original and profound, and at the same time so faithful to the text of the scriptures, that his indulgence in a little respectful fun appears to be a rare exception.

In the literature on Rembrandt, his etching commonly called "Abraham Entertaining the Angels," signed and dated 1656, is usually discussed because of its relation to a Mohammedan Indian miniature, now in the Louvre, showing four Orientals seated under a tree. Rembrandt copied it in a drawing that is now in the British Museum (Figure 1).¹ The four bearded dignitaries, all with heavy turbans, sit in a half circle on a carpet. Two hold cups, one fingers beads, and one rests his arms on his knees. In front, there is a tray with more cups, in the left corner a pitcher. A mountain landscape forms the background.

1. Arthur M. Hind, *Rembrandt* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932) p. 59, points to an entry in Rembrandt's inventory "een dito (boeck) vol curieuse miniatuur teeckeningen," that might indicate a book with Indian miniatures. A. Bredius, however, in *Oud-Holland* 29 (1911) p. 139, disagrees on the ground that Indian miniatures were usually in Dutch documents of Rembrandt's time called "Suratsche (or Mogolsche) teekeningen." The oriental model seems to have stimulated more comments than the print itself; A. Hind, *Catalogue of Rembrandt's Etchings* (London, 1923) p. 115. Werner Weisbach, *Rembrandt* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926) p. 448, mentions the Indian miniature used as a model, and states that "it was in any case the unusual character of the exotic, so much beloved by Rembrandt, that stimulated him to make a copy." But for all the interest in the

Rembrandt adapted this composition to his interpretation of the visit of three men to Abraham as related in Genesis (Figure 2), borrowing many features from the model: the composition is symmetrical; there are the carpet and the tray with refreshments; there is also the pitcher, and at least three of the figures are squatting. The adaptation to the Biblical story necessitated, of course, many changes. The tree as a dominant vertical has been replaced by a massive pillar, serving as doorpost and house corner at the same time. The entertainment takes place on the steps outside Abraham's house, not before his tent as stated in the Bible. The Moslem on the right has been turned into a standing, humble figure—Abraham holding a pitcher. Rembrandt has made it a point to show his age; he appears bent and shriveled, leaning forward while he listens in

exotic, the importance of this little print lies elsewhere: in the masterly psychological condensation of the drama in Abraham's family life into the innocent appearance of a picnic. Ludwig Münz, *Rembrandt's Etchings II* (London, 1952) p. 90, after emphasizing the Indian miniature as one important source of Rembrandt's etching, calls Lucas van Leyden's engraving "Abraham and the Angels" the most important other source. This is difficult to accept, for Lucas restricts his interpretation of the Biblical text to the dramatic contrast between the three tall and winged standing figures and the patriarch prostrate before them. Also, the description in Musée du Louvre, *Les Plus Belles Eaux-Fortes de Rembrandt, Exposition 1969-1970*, p. 44, no. 84, quotes the traditional general reference to "l'oeuvre gravé de Lucas," but does not explain further.

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respectful silence. Abraham, addressed by the Lord, occupies the right front angle of the design; Sarah appears in the left upper corner, “behind” the Lord (Gen. 18:10).² The forefinger of her right hand, touching the door, reveals that she must have opened it herself (Figure 3). Her face is clearly visible; the delicate conversation between herself and God, who has his back to her, announcing a child to be born in her ninetieth year, offered the illustrator several alternatives (Gen. 18:9–15). Rembrandt might have shown her first astonishment, or her skeptical laugh,³ or her fear when reproached by the Lord for doubting his word. To depict

FIGURE 1

Rembrandt, drawing after an oriental picture (now in the Louvre), British Museum (photo: copyright British Museum)



her laughing would have turned the scene into a farce. Rembrandt instead showed a complex expression—curiosity mixed with awe; her lips are slightly parted and her eyebrows raised.

Sarah’s laugh, her first reaction to God’s announcement, is understandable. Abraham had reacted in the same way when he received this announcement on the occasion of the making of the Covenant: “Then Abraham fell upon his face, and laughed, and said in his heart, Shall a child be born unto him that is an hundred years old? and shall Sarah, that is ninety years old, bear?” (Gen. 17:17).⁴

The third person, who at first glimpse might be taken as staffage or as a device for establishing a triangular apex to the group of four men in the foreground, also belongs to Abraham’s family and is therefore essential to the present scene. The sturdy boy practicing with his bow,⁵ his case of arrows at his left hip, totally unconcerned with the visitors, is evidently Ishmael,⁶ the son of Sarah’s Egyptian handmaiden, Hagar, conceived by Abraham when Sarah, unable to bear, had given Hagar to Abraham. The ensuing marital difficulties, the jealousy between the women, Hagar’s mistreatment and later expulsion are vividly recounted in Genesis 16 and 21. According to Genesis 21:20, Ishmael “dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer.” The hunting bow identifies him here and reminds us of Hagar’s tragedy after God’s announcement to Sarah came true. Rembrandt was profoundly concerned with the cruel dismissal of Hagar and Ishmael, and their expulsion

2. Rembrandt may have been familiar with an earlier representation of the spying Sarah, the engraving by Georg Pencz (Bartsch VIII, 6; Le Blanc III, 6) showing Abraham and Hagar embracing on a bed while Sarah looks in from behind a window curtain with unmistakably mixed feelings.

3. Sarah, after her skeptical laugh (Genesis 18:12), laughs once more after the birth of Isaac, this time in joy and triumph: “God hath made me to laugh, so that all that hear will laugh with me” (Gen. 21:6).

4. Abraham’s skepticism expressed in laughter (Gen. 17:17) was not warranted. Not only did Sarah bear Isaac at the time foretold, but long after her death Abraham took still another wife, Keturah, and begot with her six sons (Gen. 25:1–2), whom he sent away from Isaac (Gen. 25:6) as he had done with Ishmael. He lived to a hundred threescore and fifteen years (Gen. 25:7).

5. Not “drawing water out of a well,” as stated in the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Prints of Rembrandt by an Amateur* (London, 1836).

6. The importance of Ishmael has admirably been discussed by L. Münz in “Rembrandts Altersstil und die Barockklassik,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistor. Sammlungen in Wien*, N.F. 9, p. 219.



FIGURE 2
Rembrandt, *Abraham Entertaining the Angels*, etching signed and dated 1656 (Hind, 286; Bartsch, 29). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Henry Walters, 22.51.8

into the wilderness. It is remarkable and especially significant for the interpretation of our main topic, the angels visiting Abraham, what varieties of emotional moments and phases are encompassed in Rembrandt's representations of the Hagar story. Apart from the scenes with Hagar despairing in the desert or encouraged by the angel, we find Abraham in extremely different attitudes: mildly and benignly talking with the weeping Hagar (Benesch Catalogue 499—Sarah absent), or banishing her with merciless gestures (etching of 1637, Hind Catalogue 149, Benesch 524); or again, putting his blessing hand on the head of Ishmael (Benesch 499, 916, 1008). Sometimes his figure is tenderly united with the figures of the banished ones



FIGURE 3
Sarah, detail of Figure 2

(Benesch 916) while Sarah watches from afar, half hidden; sometimes, again, he stands isolated between the weeping Hagar and Ishmael with a gesture of helplessness and a worried and almost frightened face, while the hard-faced Sarah watches from the nearby window (Benesch 962). In the earliest of these representations, the etching of 1637 (Hind 149), Sarah, in the background, enjoys the tragic scene with a satisfied grin, and even little Isaac is visible in the shady hollow of the door. In the banishment scene Ishmael always appears as a sturdy youngster, well armed with a bow or lance, the image of the famous hunter he will become.

Turning now to the visitors, we find an unusual angel, actually only half an angel, at the extreme left. Rembrandt barely managed to squeeze in one of the wings to cover the right shoulder, instead of attaching it behind the shoulder in a traditional manner. The



FIGURE 4
Menasseh ben Israel, detail of Figure 2

angel is dark-haired, with a sharp, individual profile, probably after a Sephardic model, and looks down benignly, perhaps amusedly at old Abraham. Although I have no model to suggest for this angel, it seems probable that it is a portrait.⁷

The scene is dominated by the imposing bulk and eloquent gesture of the turbaned visitor holding the cup. His shining white beard creates a striking luminescence in front of the dark cave of the door. He is the only visitor without wings. Again Rembrandt's literal and at the same time imaginative interpretation of the text is admirable. Genesis 18:2 calls the visitors "three men," but Abraham has no doubts and immediately addresses him as "my Lord" (Gen. 18:3). He had been found worthy before to see the face of the Lord at the time of the Covenant, and then the Lord had formally presented himself: "the Lord appeared to Abraham,



FIGURE 5
Rembrandt, portrait of Menasseh ben Israel, 1636 (Hind, 146; Bartsch, 269). Pierpont Morgan Library

and said unto him, I am the Almighty God" (Gen. 17:1).

The most intriguing figure by far is the central angel between the Lord and Abraham—a small dainty body with lowered eyes and an uneasy and almost embarrassed expression (Figure 4). His wings are strange; they are entirely asymmetrical, his right one thin and strangely curved, almost in the shape of a harp, his left one more birdlike—solid and better feathered. One cannot help recalling Jacob Burkhardt's ironical remarks about Rembrandt's deficient mastery of anatomy, especially of that of his angels. The angel seems interested in the platter with food, holding a knife ready

7. James Draper, a colleague at the Metropolitan Museum, pointed out to me a similarity with Rembrandt's painting *St. James*, 1661, private collection, *Rembrandt after 300 Years* (Art Institute of Chicago, 1969) pp. 40, 41, 104.



FIGURE 6
Govert Flinck, portrait of Menasseh ben Israel,
1637. Mauritshuis

FIGURE 7
Salomon Italia, portrait of Menasseh ben Israel,
1642. The motto on top: *Peregrinando Quaerimus*.
To the left of the motto is the Wandering Jew,
with staff and satchel, traditional symbols of the
pilgrim

in his right hand, but is prevented from acting by the eloquent left hand of the Lord. Awkward and even funny also is the little satchel hanging on his chest, but the strangest characteristics are his beard and bald head, features not commonly associated with angels. The only solution to the mystery is to think of a portrait. The features are highly individualized—the broad forehead, the eyes set wide apart, the button nose, the full lips. But whose portrait, and who among Rembrandt's friends and acquaintances would merit participating in

this Old Testament scene in the shape of an angel? The identical features appear in the face of Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel, whom Rembrandt portrayed exactly twenty years earlier (Figure 5); only then, as was natural, his hair was more abundant. The wide-set eyes are open, with a quiet, thoughtful, melancholy expression.⁸ The same features are evident in the official portrait of Menasseh by Govert Flinck, dated 1637, in the Mauritshuis (Figure 6), and in the somewhat wooden likeness by the Jewish engraver Salomon Italia, dated 1642 (Figure 7).

Why would Rembrandt have been tempted to honor a friend by elevating him to the rank of angel? Menasseh ben Israel was a Dutch philosopher, historian, and theologian, born at La Rochelle about 1604, two years before Rembrandt. He was the son of Portuguese Jews who had fled Lisbon after the auto da fé of 1603 and settled in La Rochelle and then in Amsterdam. There

8. I am unable to agree with Christopher White, *Rembrandt as an Etcher: A Study of the Artist at Work* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1969) pp. 93, 94, who states that "the oriental look of the two angels . . . is undoubtedly suggested by a Moghul miniature."



Menasseh was educated and became, at the age of only sixteen, rabbi of the congregation Neveh Shalom. In 1638 this congregation was consolidated with the two other Sephardic congregations, Beth Ya'akob and Beth Yisrael. Menasseh, who stayed in office until 1655, was one of the most famous orators in the Amsterdam Synagogue. Of his numerous publications printed in Hebrew, Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, and English, we may mention here *El Conciliador*, 1632, a description and attempted reconciliation of seeming inconsistencies in the Old Testament; his *Esperanca de Israel*, 1650; and his *Piedra Gloriosa o de la Estatua de Nebuchadnesar*, about 1657, a year after Rembrandt's etching "Abraham Entertaining the Angels."

The *Esperanca* played an important role in Menasseh's life, and far beyond it in contemporary Jewish history, for this book was devoted to Messianic ideas, which were interlocked with the Jewish Diaspora. The reign of the Messiah and the restoration of the Holy Land could happen only after the dispersion of the Jews had caused them to reach every inhabited corner of the world, and Menasseh subscribed to the theory that even America had been included in the Diaspora since the American Indians could be identified with the "ten lost Tribes of Israel." On these grounds, he wrote a preface to his *Esperanca*, addressing the Parliament of England with the aim of obtaining readmission of the Jews to England. Menasseh's success, his visit to Cromwell, and the permission for the resettlement of the Jews in England, after Menasseh's death, are beyond the scope of this article. The *Piedra Gloriosa* has been mentioned here not only for its Messianic content, but also because of the four illustrations that Rembrandt contributed to it showing Daniel's vision of animals with God the Father and the Messiah above and other related subjects.⁹ Rembrandt made these etchings in 1655, just a year before our print with its inclusion of Menasseh among the angels.

Apart from these facts, which alone attest to the close relation between Rembrandt and Menasseh,¹⁰ it may

also be remembered that they were neighbors, having houses almost opposite in the same street, the elegant Breestraat, only later called Yodenbreestraat, which was the center of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish merchants, and was far from being a narrow ghetto. They must have shared another intense interest—printing. As early as 1627, even before Rembrandt moved to Amsterdam, Menasseh had established a printing press in his own house, a business that rapidly expanded and helped Amsterdam to supersede Venice as the center of Hebrew printing on an international scale.¹¹

One may say that this insertion of a seventeenth-century theologian into the world of the Patriarchs and his elevation to a winged travel companion of the Lord has a humorous touch. The scene itself as recounted in the Scriptures is tragicomic, and has humorous aspects, at least to late-born readers who are far removed from the stage in human life when the sacred and the secular were not yet strictly separated realms but intimately interwoven in daily experience. Among the tragic elements is the barrenness of Abraham's favorite wife, Sarah, for ninety years; furthermore, the difficulty with Hagar, who had a son by Abraham before Sarah, and her fate of being expelled by Abraham, as illustrated by Rembrandt in many dramatic pictures, are deeply tragic. So, too, is the Sarah episode in Genesis 20, with the dream of Abimelech, king of Gerar, who had taken Sarah believing that she was Abraham's sister, not his wife, and was prevented from touching her by a dream sent to him by the Lord. On the other hand, there are features that can strike one as humorous: God the Almighty bringing in person the joyful announcement to Sarah, the restoration of fertility to a married couple in their nineties, and God's irritation at the skepticism of the old woman, reproaching her even though she had laughed "only in her heart." No wonder that Rembrandt, with his keen eye for human dignity and weakness alike, felt tempted to add to the fun a little, tender joke of his own.

9. Hans van de Waal, "Rembrandts Radierungen zur *Piedra gloriosa* des Menasseh ben Israel," *Imprimatur, Ein Jahrbuch für Bücherfreunde* 12 (1954-55) p. 52-60.

10. On Menasseh as a possible adviser to Rembrandt on disputed religious problems of their time, see my article "Rembrandt's 'Christ Presented to the People'—1655. A Meditation on Justice and Collective Guilt," *Oud-Holland* 84 (1969) pp. 188, 189.

11. On the familiarity of Rembrandt with religious movements in Amsterdam, and especially his relation to Menasseh ben Israel, see Hans Martin Rotermund, "Rembrandt und die religiösen Laienbewegungen in den Niederlanden seiner Zeit," *Niederländisch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 4 (1952/3).

Fêtes Italiennes: Beauvais Tapestries after Boucher in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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FRANÇOIS BOUCHER went to Italy in 1727 when he was twenty-four, returning to France in 1731. He married in 1733 and became a member of the Academy in January, 1734. This is the year when he is said to have begun to supply designs for the tapestry manufactory at Beauvais,¹ where Nicolas Besnier, in partnership with Jean Baptiste Oudry, had just taken over the management of what was at the moment an unprofitable enterprise.² The earliest date recorded for the weaving of a set of tapestries after Boucher is 1736, but, as these were three of the large and complicated Fêtes Italiennes, he may well have begun to work on the designs two years earlier.

The designs of four small tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum may also date from the first years of Boucher's association with the manufactory (Figures 1–4). The pieces are upholstery for the backs and seats of chairs. Jules Aurèle Meissonnier has been suggested as the designer;³ they show the influence of his style, but they are very close to the plates of Boucher's *Premier Livre de Fontaines* (Figure 5), published in 1736, the year in which Meissonnier was godfather to Boucher's

son. Chalk drawings by Boucher, such as one for a fountain in the Cleveland Museum of Art,⁴ may lie behind the rococo exuberance of the tapestry panels.

Between 1734 and, at the latest, 1757, Boucher designed six tapestry series for Beauvais, three of which are represented in the Metropolitan Museum (the Fêtes Italiennes, ten pieces; the Amours des Dieux, two pieces; and the Fragments d'Opéra, one piece). For one series, the Tenture Chinoise, he provided only sketches; they were shown in the 1742 Salon and are in the Musée des Beaux Arts, Besançon. The full-scale versions were painted by Dumont.⁵ What Boucher painted for the other five series can usually only be deduced from the tapestries, but he almost certainly never made the working cartoons that were cut into strips and put under the warps of the *basse-lisse* looms at Beauvais. True, an 1820 inventory lists "tableaux par Boucher" for four series, all in from three to eight strips,⁶ but we can be certain that these were copies; Boucher's painting for one of the subjects, Vertumnus and Pomona, exists undamaged in San Francisco.⁷

There is no evidence to indicate that Boucher had a

1. Musée du Louvre, *François Boucher, Gravures et Dessins*, exhibition catalogue (Paris, 1971) p. 12. I have taken all dates and known facts of Boucher's life from the biography in this catalogue.

2. Jules Badin, *La Manufacture de Tapisseries de Beauvais* (Paris, 1909) p. 29. The *Arrêt du Conseil* is dated March 23, 1734, but the appointment was as from the "premier janvier précédent."

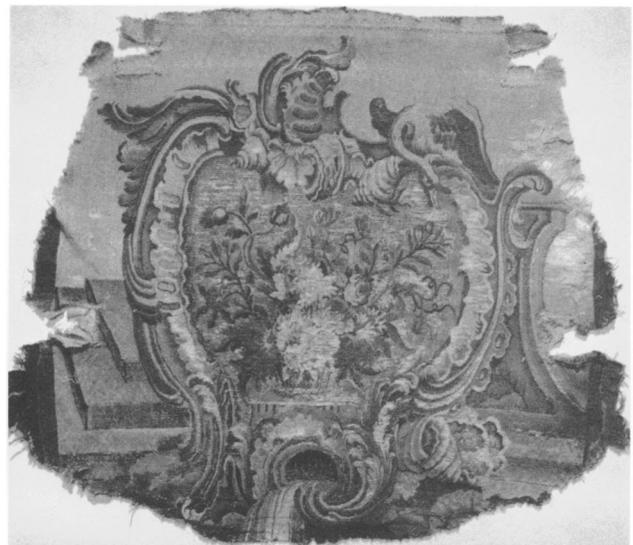
3. Charles Packer, *Paris Furniture by the Master Ebénistes* (Newport, England, 1956) p. 29, fig. 27. Meissonnier's sofa designed for Count Bielenski in 1735 is shown in a print as upholstered in a fabric, probably a brocaded silk, that is completely symmetrical in design (Dorothea Nyberg, *Meissonnier, an Eighteenth-century Maverick* [New York, 1969] folio 52).

4. National Gallery of Art, *François Boucher in North American Collections: 100 Drawings*, exhibition catalogue (Washington, 1973) no. 29.

5. This artist has been identified as Jean Joseph Dumons, a "peintre du Roy" at Aubusson from 1731 to 1754, who took Oudry's place at Beauvais in 1756 (Hôtel de Ville, *Trois Siècles de Tapisseries de Beauvais*, exhibition catalogue [Beauvais, 1964] p. 15).

6. Badin, *Manufacture*, p. 105.

7. Thomas C. Howe, "Vertumnus and Pomona by François Boucher," *Bulletin, California Palace of the Legion of Honor* n.s. 1, no. 5 (March-April 1968). The painting is here compared to Boucher's version of the same subject made to be reproduced in Gobelins



FIGURES 1-4

Back and seat upholstery for two chairs. Wool and silk tapestry. French (Beauvais), 1735-45. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 07.225.47

position at Beauvais or was under contract to produce a fixed number of designs every year. This had been the obligation of the official principal designer. One of these, Jacques Vigouroux-Duplessis, appointed in 1721 and paid by the king, was bound to furnish six designs yearly, “de 3 à 4 pieds de haut”; the director of the manufactory then had them copied “en grand” at his

own expense. Oudry, when he took over Duplessis’s position in 1726, was called on to provide yearly “six tableaux de trois à quatre pieds de hauteur, finis et de composition nouvelle, pour servir de modèles à faire les patrons d’une tenture de tapisseries de 18 aulnes” (the *aune* was between three and four *pieds*). Two years later, this stipulation was changed to a series 28 aunes

wide (about 108 feet) of four or eight paintings of the dimensions of the tapestries to be provided every three years.⁸ Oudry provided this material for several years, but his last designs were woven in the same year as Boucher's first, 1736, and no new designs by any other artist appeared until 1761. When, in 1737, Oudry was ordered to furnish designs for a Psyche series, it was Boucher who supplied them. It is clear that it was Oudry who employed Boucher for the twenty years of his work for the manufactory, its most prosperous period. When the Gobelins weavers wrote to the Directeur des Bâtiments in 1754, begging to have Boucher made their *surinspecteur*, or artistic supervisor, they said:

la Manufacture de Beauvais ne s'est soutenue depuis près de 20 ans que par les tableaux gratuits que luy a fait le S^r Boucher . . . Que ces ouvrages soient bien ou mal, le particulier peu connaisseur donnera toujours la préférence à la nouveauté et se contentera des sujets traités de la composition et du goust du dit Sieur Boucher.⁹

The tapestries made at the Gobelins manufactory were so superbly published by Maurice Fenaille between 1903 and 1923 that modern researchers can add very little to our knowledge of them. The study of Beauvais tapestries, on the other hand, is in a sorry state. Jules Badin published in 1909 the only general book on the subject, a single volume of little more than a hundred pages. Jules Guiffrey wrote in the introduction:

M. Badin ne s'est pas proposé d'écrire l'histoire complète et définitive de l'établissement qu'il administre avec beaucoup de distinction et compétence: il a voulu seulement apporter un abondant ensemble de documents précis et authentiques à l'écrivain qui se chargera de cette tâche.

This writer has never appeared; Hubert Delesalle, who should have filled the rôle, died before he had pub-

tapestry, with which it is not connected. It will be more fully discussed in a later article as one of the Fragments d'Opéra series. It has recently been claimed that traces of the vertical strips into which the canvas would have been divided are visible in a raking light (Anna G. Bennett, *Five Centuries of Tapestry from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco* [San Francisco, 1976] p. 7).

8. Badin, *Manufacture*, pp. 14, 19; Jean Locquin, "Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre de Jean-Baptiste Oudry," *Archives de l'Art français* 6 (1912) p. iv.



FIGURE 5
Fountain by Gabriel Huquier after François Boucher. Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dick Fund, 33.57.15 (7)

lished more than one tapestry series.¹⁰ Guiffrey goes on to explain the difference between the copious records of the Gobelins, which worked primarily for the king, and the inadequate documentation of Beauvais, which,

9. Maurice Fenaille, *Etat général des Tapisseries de la Manufacture des Gobelins IV* (Paris, 1907) p. 226.

10. Hubert Delesalle, "Les tapisseries des 'Jeux russiens,'" *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1947) pp. 127-132. I am deeply indebted to Mme Delesalle for enabling me to study her late husband's notes, as well as to Pierre Verlet, who made other manuscript material available to me, notably extracts from the Beauvais records made by Jean Ajalbert.

though called a royal manufactory, was actually a commercial enterprise.¹¹ Sad to say, Badin cannot be trusted to give us even these sketchy records accurately; his book is indispensable, but unreliable.

Thus, Badin names the subjects of Boucher's first series for Beauvais, the *Fêtes Italiennes*, or *Fêtes de Village à l'Italienne*, as follows:

| | | | | |
|-----------------|--------|--------------------------------------|----|-----------------|
| 1 ^{re} | pièce. | L'Opérateur, reproduit | 12 | fois |
| 2 ^e | " | La Bohémienne, " | 13 | " |
| 3 ^e | " | Les Chasseurs, " | 16 | " |
| 4 ^e | " | La Pêcheuse, " | 13 | " |
| 5 ^e | " | La Curiosité, " | 2 | " |
| 6 ^e | " | Les Filles aux raisins, reproduit | 3 | " |
| 7 ^e | " | La Danse, " | 12 | " |
| 8 ^e | " | La Collation, " | 12 | " |
| 9 ^e | " | La Musique, " | 11 | " |
| 10 ^e | " | Le Jardinier " | 11 | " |
| 11 ^e | " | La Bergère, " | 5 | " |
| 12 ^e | " | Le Cabaretier, " | 1 | " |
| 13 ^e | " | Le Perroquet, " | 1 | " |
| 14 ^e | " | Le Marchand d'Oeufs, reproduit | 1 | " ¹² |

As a result, all later writers have repeated that the series consists of fourteen subjects, representing fourteen designs by Boucher. But in 1933 Roger Armand Weigert published an entry from a 1754 Beauvais inventory:

Les dessins en quatre tableaux des *Fêtes italiennes* peint par le sieur Boucher . . . Une seconde suite des *Fêtes italiennes*, peinte par le sieur Boucher par ordre de Monsieur Fagon, . . . contenant, avec les borderes, quatorze aunes de cours.¹³

Nos. 13 and 14 of Badin's list were not woven until 1762 and so could not have been counted in the 1754 inventory; as will be shown, they were not designed by Boucher for this series. Are we to think then that the "seconde suite" consisted of eight tableaux, which,

11. The existence of so many Gobelins tapestries, often as complete sets, in the French National Collection has also greatly facilitated the study of the manufactory. There is no comparable hoard of Beauvais tapestries, which even during the lifetime of the manufactory were distributed from Scotland to China.

12. Badin, *Manufacture*, p. 60. That important pieces should have been woven only once or twice when the other designs were made a dozen times is extremely unlikely. When one of these infrequently recorded pieces is the *Curiosité* (no. 5), said to have been woven twice, but of which at least nine examples are known



FIGURE 6
La Collation. Wool and silk tapestry. French (Beauvais), 1762. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Ann Payne Robertson, 64.145.3

with the four of the first suite, would make up Badin's remaining twelve subjects? This seems unlikely, as both suites measured fourteen running aunes, and the designs of one would hardly have been twice as wide as those of the other. It seems reasonable to suppose that

(combined with the *Opérateur*, no. 1), it is obvious that something is wrong. This article was completed before the publication of Alexandre Ananoff, *François Boucher* (Paris, 1976). Ananoff follows Badin in his listing of the *Fêtes Italiennes* tapestries, which are nos. 128–141 in his catalogue.

13. Roger Armand Weigert, "La Manufacture Royale de Tapisseries de Beauvais en 1754," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1933) p. 232. Louis Fagon, the son of Louis XIV's doctor, was head of the Conseil royal des finances.



FIGURE 7
La Bohémienne. Wool and silk tapestry. French (Beauvais), 1762. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Ann Payne Robertson, 64.145.2

there were only eight paintings; if they were all the same size, each would have been about thirteen feet wide, corresponding closely to the width of a fairly large tapestry of the series. Boucher was apparently fulfilling the stipulation of Oudry's contract, which called on him to furnish twenty-eight running aunes of designs every three years.

The first twelve subjects in Badin's list can, in fact, be fitted very easily into two groups of four pieces each. Nos. 11 and 12 almost certainly did not exist. No tapestry has been found that corresponds with the Cabaretier, and this must be another name for the Collation (Figure 6); the conventionally dressed young man

with a napkin over his shoulder, who serves the relaxed partygoers could well be an innkeeper. The Bergère has also never been identified; it is probably the Bohémienne (Figure 7), where the girl who is having her fortune told by the gypsy holds a shepherdess' *houlette*¹⁴ and is accompanied by sheep.¹⁵ No sets are recorded by Badin as containing a Cabaretier as well as a Collation, or a Bergère as well as a Bohémienne. The first Bergère is listed as woven in 1751, a late date to add a new subject to a series begun in 1736. Badin wrote that he obtained his information from "les registres de fabrication," which had preserved "la mention des dates et des prix d'acquisition avec les noms des acheteurs";¹⁶ these registers seem to be the records of payments to the weavers. It is quite understandable that the men might have given different names at different times to whatever they were working on at the moment. We find, in fact, "la pêche" for la Pêcheuse and "la vendange" and even "les 2 figures à qui on présente du fruit" for the Filles aux Raisins.¹⁷ The Opérateur (no. 1) and the Curiosité (no. 5) are listed as separate subjects, but they are invariably found together (Figure 8); it is hard, indeed, to see how they could have been separated. In the only set on Badin's list that has been identified, that of 1762, the eight pieces are named as including an Opérateur, but not a Curiosité; both subjects are actually present on a single tapestry.¹⁸ Similarly, the Chasseurs (no. 3) and the Filles aux Raisins (no. 6) are usually found combined (Figure 9), though the two subjects are less logically connected than the Opérateur and the Curiosité.

14. The *houlette* is a long stick with an iron scoop at one end, used to throw small stones or earth at sheep straying onto cultivated land (Wolfgang Jacobeit, *Schafhaltung und Schäfer im Zentral-europa bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* [Berlin, 1961] pp. 478-484). The blue bow on Boucher's shepherdess' *houlette* (Figure 7) is, of course, simply a decoration.

15. Similarly, the sixth subject of the Noble Pastoral series is listed by Badin as the Shepherdess, woven only once, in 1769, much later than any new Boucher design for Beauvais. Adolph S. Cavallo, *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston I* (Boston, 1967) p. 179, says that no example has been found.

16. Badin, *Manufacture*, p. 32.

17. Delesalle notes and Ajalbert extracts. These were presumably taken from the same records used by Badin.

18. Men weaving the left side would have been paid for work on the Opérateur; those weaving the right side apparently were twice paid for work on the Curiosité, but in the great majority of cases the yardage they contributed was listed as the continuation of work on the Opérateur.



FIGURE 8

L'Opérateur and la Curiosité. Wool and silk tapestry. French (Beauvais), 1762. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Ann Payne Robertson, 64.145.1

The first four Boucher paintings would therefore seem to have been the combined Opérateur and Curiosité (Badin nos. 1 and 5) (Figure 8); the combined Chasseurs and Filles aux Raisins (nos. 3 and 6) (Figures 9, 10, 11); the Bohémienne (no. 2) (Figure 7); and the Pêcheuse (no. 4) (Figure 12). The date 1736 is found on several examples of the Opérateur and all four subjects had been woven by 1739. The second group of four would then consist of the Collation (no. 8) (Figure 6), first recorded in 1745; the Jardinier (no. 10) (Figure

13) of 1746; the Danse (no. 7) (Figures 14, 15) of 1744; and Musique (no. 9) (Figures 16, 17) of 1746.¹⁹ Certain stylistic differences between the two groups will be mentioned later. But can we be sure that any versions of these eight tapestries are faithful copies of the eight paintings that were in the manufactory in 1754? I do not think we can; there are too many incongruities. For instance, on the right side of all the known versions of

19. This division of the subjects into two groups of four was first made by Hubert Delesalle in an unpublished note.



FIGURE 9
 Les Filles aux Raisins and Les Chasseurs. Wool and silk tapestry. French (Beauvais), mid-eighteenth century. Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Castagnola (photo: Brunel)

the Opérateur and Curiosité (Figure 8) are two men and a girl making music for their own pleasure; they could hardly be more out of place than in the middle of a noisy fair.²⁰ On the other hand, the traveling salesman showing his wares to two girls and the Savoyard with his marmot box who appear on some versions of the Danse (Figures 15, 18) would surely be much more at home with the charlatan and the peep show operator.²¹ It seems highly probable that Boucher's eight canvases showed various large and small groups of people that

could be fairly freely combined or separated to make attractive compositions of whatever size the purchaser needed.

20. The group is found as a separate panel in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (Pierre Verlet, "Furniture and Objets d'art" in J. Paul Getty, *The Joys of Collecting* [New York, 1965] p. 155).

21. The seller is probably the "marchand bijoutier pour M. Camusat" recorded as woven between 1746 and 1753 (Ajalbert extracts). For Savoyards and their marmots, see Edgar Munhall, "Savoyards in French eighteenth-century art," *Apollo* 87 (1968) pp. 86-94.

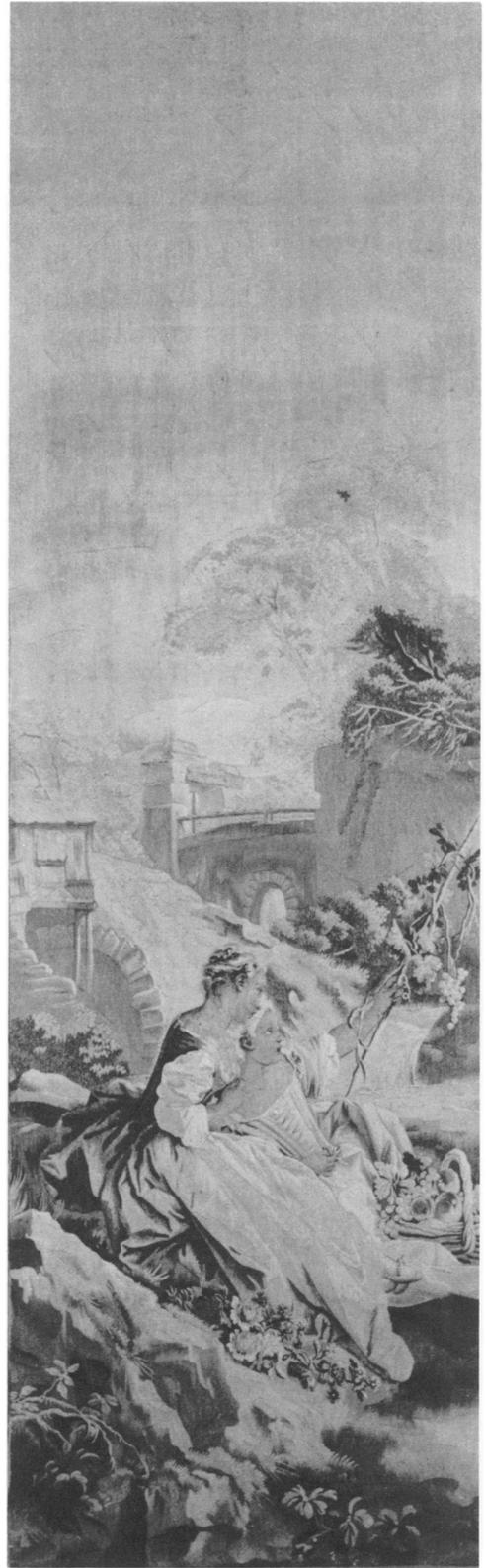


FIGURE 10

Le Chasseur. Wool and silk tapestry. French (Beauvais), 1762. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Ann Payne Robertson, 64.145.5

FIGURE 11

Les Filles aux Raisins. Wool and silk tapestry. French (Beauvais), 1762. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Ann Payne Robertson, 64.145.6

FIGURE 12

La Pêcheuse. Wool and silk tapestry. French (Beauvais), mid-eighteenth century. Dario Boccara collection, Paris





FIGURE 13
Le Jardinier. Wool and silk tapestry. French (Beauvais), 1762. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Ann Payne Robertson, 64.145.4



FIGURE 14
La Danse. Wool and silk tapestry. French (Beauvais), mid-eighteenth century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift W. Bayard Cutting, 42.34

This theory gains some support from two paintings that have recently been identified as related to *Fêtes Italiennes* tapestries.²² Though both appear to have been cut, they are too wide (nearly five feet) to be examples of the strips that were placed under the warps of the looms. One shows the shepherdess, gypsy, and sheep of the *Bohémienne* (Figure 19). The shepherdess' houlette is only sketchily indicated in the painting, but otherwise the figures have been very closely reproduced in the tapestries of this subject (Figure 20). These tapestries, however, always include an amorous couple and

part of another girl, rather awkwardly placed between them and the shepherdess; these figures and the ruined temple above them must have come from another part of the Boucher designs. Similarly, the painting of the *Pêcheuse* (Figure 21) shows the fishing girl alone, with the fountain above her, the basket of fish and the jug at her side, and the tub behind her;²³ in all the tapestries

22. In a private collection, New York.

23. It has been observed that this figure also appears in an early painting, *Pastoral Landscape* (Hermann Voss, "Boucher's Early Development—Addenda," *Burlington Magazine* 96 (1954) fig. 22).



FIGURE 15

La Danse. Wool and silk tapestry. French (Beauvais), mid-eighteenth century. Reproduced from the M. X sale catalogue, Galerie Georges Petit, May 23, 1927, no. 1

the space between her and the tub is occupied by a couple (Figure 12). Very little is known about the artists who were responsible for the working cartoons at Beauvais, but there is a list of the eight who were employed at the manufactory in 1724 under Duplessis.²⁴

It has been suggested that Boucher derived the idea for the *Fêtes Italiennes* from the print after Watteau called *Fêtes Venétiennes*.²⁵ Certainly the tapestry series shows the influence of Watteau, many of whose works were engraved by Boucher in the 1720s. Some Watteau prints show scenes like those of the *Fêtes Italiennes* and even some of their titles are similar to those of the tapestries: the *Colation* (sic), the *Galand Jardinier*, the

Disease d’Aventure, and the *Concert Champêtre*. An instance of direct borrowing can be cited; a little girl on her hands and knees in the *Danse* (Figure 14) is the

24. Badin, *Manufacture*, p. 19. The inventory lists the painters “qui travaillent actuellement à faire de nouveaux desseins,” and, after describing Duplessis’s “six tableaux, de 3 à 4 pieds de haut” for an *Isle de Cythère* series and “une exquise de six tableaux” for an *Histoire des Bohémiens*, adds, “Le sieur de Mérou, de sa part, fait travailler journellement à copier en grand par les peintres nommés cy-dessus ces deux nouveaux desseins.” Noël Antoine de Mérou was director of the manufactory from 1722 to 1734.

25. Maurice Fenaille, *François Boucher* (Paris, 1925) p. 84. The print is here described as engraved by Boucher, but actually it is by Laurens Cars, the son of Boucher’s master, Jean François Cars.



FIGURE 16

La Musique. Wool and silk tapestry. French (Beauvais), mid-eighteenth century. Musée Jacquemart-André, Abbaye de Chaâlis. (photo: courtesy Bulloz)

FIGURE 17

La Musique. Wool and silk tapestry. French (Beauvais), mid-eighteenth century. Formerly in the collection of Sir George Cooper. Reproduced from *Burlington Magazine* 78 (1941), pl. facing p. 139

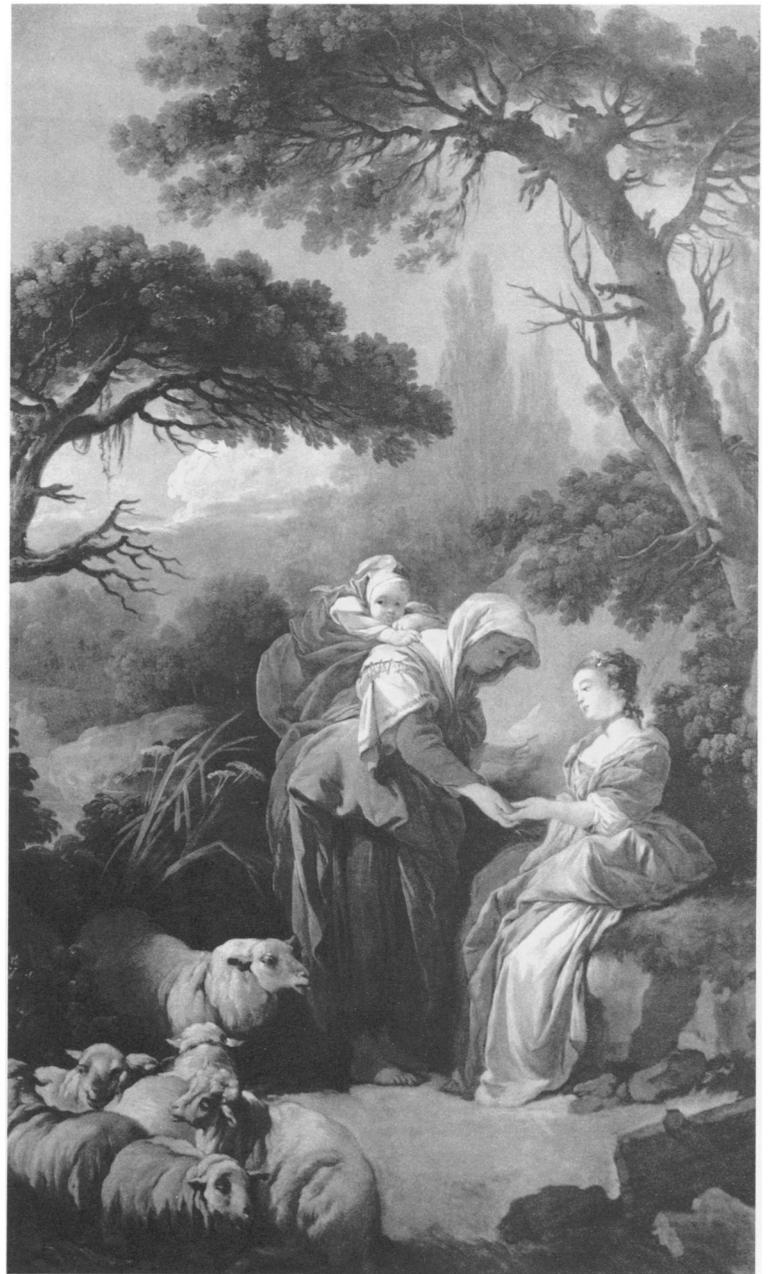


FIGURE 18

The Peddler and the Savoyard. Wool and silk tapestry. French (Beauvais), mid-eighteenth century. Reproduced from sale catalogue, Christie's, May 8, 1973, no. 116

FIGURE 19

La Bohémienne by François Boucher. Oil on canvas. Private collection, New York



FIGURE 20
La Bohémienne, detail of Figure 7



FIGURE 21
La Pêcheuse by François Boucher. Oil on canvas. Private collection, New York

same as one in Watteau's *Entretiens Amoureux* engraved by Liotard (Figure 22) and in his *Champs Elisées* engraved by Tardieu. But Boucher's *Fêtes* are more Italian than Watteau's are Venetian; umbrella pines and ruined classical temples appear in all four of the first group of tapestries, though not in any of the second. The word "fêtes" seems to have very little meaning except, perhaps, as indicating that the people depicted are enjoying themselves rather than working;

"holiday scenes" might be the best translation. But the first four subjects, at least, still show something of the realistic approach to country life that is found in Boucher's earliest works;²⁶ the women and children crowding round the entertainments offered at the fair (Figure 8) are peasants, not gentlefolk, and the gypsy

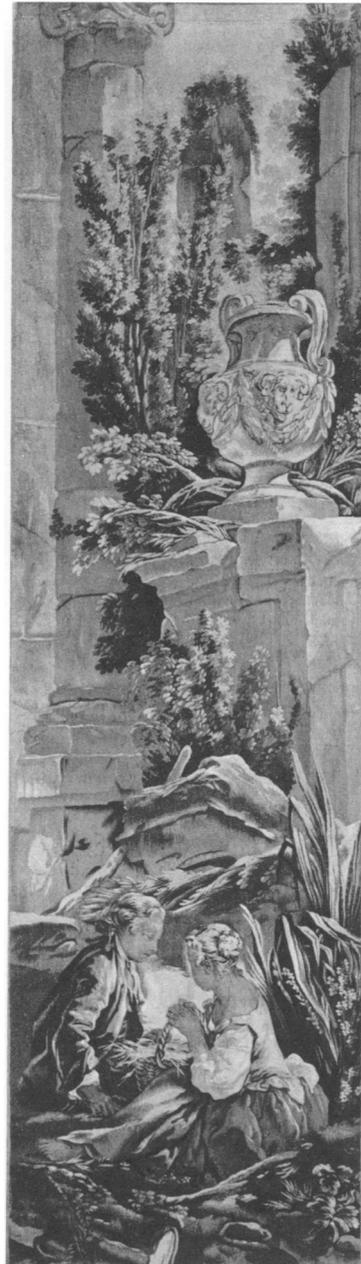
26. Hermann Voss, "François Boucher's Early Development," *Burlington Magazine* 95 (1953) pp. 81-93; Voss, "Boucher's Early Development—Addenda," pp. 206-210.



FIGURE 22
 Entretiens Amoureux by Liotard after Watteau.
 Engraving. British Museum, London (photo:
 courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum)

FIGURE 23
 Le Marchand d'Oeufs. Wool and silk tapestry.
 French (Beauvais), 1762. The Metropolitan Mu-
 seum of Art, Gift of Ann Payne Robertson,
 64.145.8

FIGURE 24
 Le Perroquet. Wool and silk tapestry. French
 (Beauvais), 1762. The Metropolitan Museum of
 Art, Gift of Ann Payne Robertson, 64.145.7



fortune-teller (Figure 20) has a ragged skirt and bare feet.

Badin, after listing the subjects of the *Fêtes Italiennes* and the number of times each was woven, for a total of 113 pieces, gives a chronological summary of the sets, from “1736. Commande de 3 pièces” to “1762. M. Vermonet, une pièce, 8^e,” amounting to 121 items. As has been said, only one set is known to have been kept together and has been identified.²⁷ It is the last woven,

eight pieces for Boulard de Gatellier²⁸ in 1762, now in the Metropolitan Museum. It includes three subjects of the first group, omitting the *Pêcheuse* and including the *Chasseurs* and the *Filles aux Raisins* as two narrow

27. The set in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome, may be that woven for *Président Masson* in 1739 (see note 43).

28. The family *château* is also spelled *Gâtellier* and there are other variations of the buyer's name; it is given by Badin and apparently in the manufactory records as *Gatillon*.



FIGURES 25, 26

Room in the Château de Gatellier, Saint-Denis-de-Cabanne, Loire. Photographs taken before 1898

panels (Figures 10, 11); two subjects from the second group, and two woven only for this set, the *Marchand d'Oeufs* (Badin no. 14) (Figure 23) and the *Perroquet* (no. 13) (Figure 24). The date, 1762, was very late to be weaving the *Fêtes Italiennes* series, then nearly thirty years old. Perhaps it was put on the looms because the working cartoons of the more recent Boucher series of the same type, the *Noble Pastorale*, were in use; a complete set of this series was woven for the king in 1762.

The *Fêtes Italiennes* remained at the Château de Gatellier until 1898 (Figures 25, 26).²⁹ A family tradition records that they and the tapestry-upholstered furniture acquired with them were saved in the French Revolution by being packed in straw to be sent as a present to Robespierre.³⁰ The hangings were bought by the dealer Duveen, who added borders to all the pieces; they had not been needed at the chateau where the tapestries were set into boiserie frames. In 1900 the set was acquired by R. W. Hudson, an Englishman known as the "Soap King"; after his death it was exhibited by the London dealer Frank Partridge in 1925. About this time it was purchased by George and Florence Blumenthal.³¹ It was given to the Metropolitan Museum by Ann Payne Robertson, formerly Mrs. Blumenthal, in 1964.

The largest piece in the set is the combined *Opérateur* and *Curiosité*, with the music-making trio on the right (Figure 8). The charlatan or quack, selling his nostrums with the help of a trumpeter, a pretty girl, and a monkey, is identified as an exotic character by his dark skin, his turban, and his fur-trimmed costume. The papers with seals attached, trodden on by the monkey, are presumably his credentials, or sworn testimonials to the efficacy of his wares. Rising high behind the group are the ruins of a round temple, reminiscent of the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli. Below the quack's platform is the "*marchande de plaisirs*" or "*oublies*" (Figure 27). A seller of these little rolled wafers (Figure 28) carried them in a round container

29. Photographs of the tapestries *in situ* (Figures 25, 26) were provided by the present owner of the château, Vicomte Henri de Meaux. The pieces not visible, the *Marchand d'Oeufs*, the *Bohémienne*, and the *Filles aux Raisins*, were presumably on the window wall.

30. Information kindly given by Comte F. Rougane de Chanteloup, brother-in-law of the owner of the château. The furniture is in the Louvre (Pierre Verlet, "Un mobilier par Delanois couvert en tapisserie de Beauvais," *Bulletin des Musées de France* 11 [1946] pp. 13, 14). The designs of the upholstery are adapted from the tapestries of the *Noble Pastorale* series.

31. Stella Rubinstein-Bloch, *Catalogue of the Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New-York 6* (Paris, 1930) pls. 76-72.

with a “tourniquet,” or numbered disc, on top. In the center of this was a pointer that could be twirled; the digit at which it came to rest indicated the number of *plaisirs* the purchaser would receive for his money.³² Boucher designed a Sèvres soft-paste biscuit group of the same scene that was modeled by Falconet (Figure 29), and the subject was much used by the weavers of Aubusson. Boucher repeated the figure of the girl selling the *plaisirs* in his painting *A Man Offering Grapes to a Girl*, dated 1768, in the Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood.

The *Curiosité*, or Peep Show, is on the right of the tapestry (Figure 30). It is very large, a type that seems to have been more common in Italy than in France.³³ The young man is pulling the strings that change the pictures. The chimney on top with a pointed fluted roof is for the candle that provided the light; it is also seen in the comparable Sèvres group (Figure 31).³⁴ A gray tube ending in a yellow ring protrudes from the back of the machine; this perhaps contains a lens so that the peepshow could also be a magic lantern.³⁵ The name Boucher (in reverse) and the date 1736 are seen on the far left of the tapestry.

A print, *Foire de Campagne*, by Charles Nicolas

32. Henry d'Allemagne, *Musée rétrospectif de la Classe 100, Jeux, à l'Exposition universelle de 1900, à Paris II* (Paris, n.d.) pp. 121–127. Many illustrations are given, but none shows *plaisirs* lying on the tourniquet, as in the tapestry. This method of selling these objects was used from the sixteenth century until very recently (A. J. Bernet Kempers, “De Speler mit de ronde bus,” *Oud Holland* 87 (1973) pp. 240–242). I owe the illustration of a *plaisir* (Figure 28) to the kindness of Louise Mulder-Erkelen.

33. Munhall, “Savoyards,” p. 91, pl. 1, figs. 1, 4, 6. Another very large example is seen in a painting by Alessandro Magnasco in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (*European Art in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts* [Richmond, 1966] no. 25).

34. Carl Christian Dauterman, *The Wrightsman Collection IV* (New York, 1970) nos. 117A, B; *La Lanterne Magique, or la Curiosité, and la Marchande de Plaisirs, or le Tourniquet, or Lotterie*. The models were created by Etienne Maurice Falconet in 1757.

35. The peep show and magic lantern could be combined; an eighteenth-century print by P. Lélou shows a “merkwürdige Kombination von Guckkasten und Zauberlaterne.” But “Guckkasten auch zum Schattenspiel an der Wand benutzt werden kann” (Friedrich von Zglinicki, *Der Weg des Films* [Berlin, 1956] pp. 83–85).

36. S. Rocheblave, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin* (Paris, 1927) pl. xix.

FIGURE 28

Rebus, “Le plaisir poursuit ceux qui le fuient.” After the *Journal des Dames et des Desmoiselles* (Brussels, 1859–60) p. 32

Cochin *fils* after Boucher, shows many of the figures in the tapestry, noticeably the group round the tourniquet and the women and children beside the peep show.³⁶ The charlatan displays pictures and the musician plays a violin. The dancing peasants on the right are not related to the gentlefolk of the tapestry, the *Danse*. The print is dated 1740. The description of it in the catalogue of Cochin’s works compiled during his lifetime

FIGURE 27

La Marchande de Plaisirs, detail of *The Quack Doctor*. Wool and silk tapestry. French (Beauvais), mid-eighteenth century. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino



RÉBUS

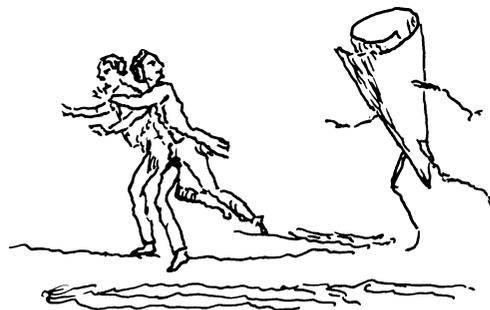




FIGURE 29
 La Marchande de Plaisirs. Soft-paste biscuit.
 French (Sèvres), about 1760. The Metropolitan
 Museum of Art, Bequest of Ella Morris de Pey-
 ster, 58.60.10

says it was made for a “Marchand Tapissier” (upholsterer or interior decorator) called Blangy and was after “un tableau très médiocre, copié par Francisque sur une esquisse de Boucher, en sorte que M. Cochin fils, en faisant la réduction de ce tableau pour le graver, a été obligé de corriger toutes les figures qui étoient estropiées, & d’en faire pour ainsi dire un nouveau dessein.”³⁷ Neither Francisque’s painting nor Boucher’s sketch have been identified and it is not possible to say if the latter was a preliminary study for the tapestry.

Other examples of these two subjects on single tapestries are in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome; the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond (marked A.C. for André Charron, who became head of the manufactory in 1753); the Huntington Art Gallery, San Marino; the Marjorie Merriweather Post Foundation, Washington, D.C.; the Philadelphia Museum (combined with the Filles aux Raisins and the Chasseurs, with the arms of Rohan-Soubise); and a version from the Bache Collection in the Metropolitan Museum.³⁸ One was in

37. Charles Antoine Jombert, *Catalogue de l’Oeuvre de Ch. Nic. Cochin fils* (Paris, 1770) p. 27, no. 72.

38. Touring Club Italiano, *Roma I* (Milan, 1960) pl. 20; *European Art in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts* (Richmond, 1966) no. 25; Robert R. Wark, *French Decorative Art in the Huntington Collection*

the Paul Dutasta sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 3, 4, 1926, no. 193, illus., and another in the François Coty sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris November 30–December 1, 1936, no. 110, illus. Badin lists twelve or thirteen weavings of the Opérateur, which probably include his two of the Curiosité, so that only three or four remain unaccounted for.

Only a single figure (Figure 10) from the Chasseurs and only two from the Filles aux Raisins (Figure 11) were included in the Gatellier set. Usually the two subjects, including another hunter and another girl, are somewhat incongruously combined and given a background of rustic structures and a huge classical temple and fountain: an example is in the Thyssen-Borne-

FIGURE 30
 La Curiosité, detail of Figure 8

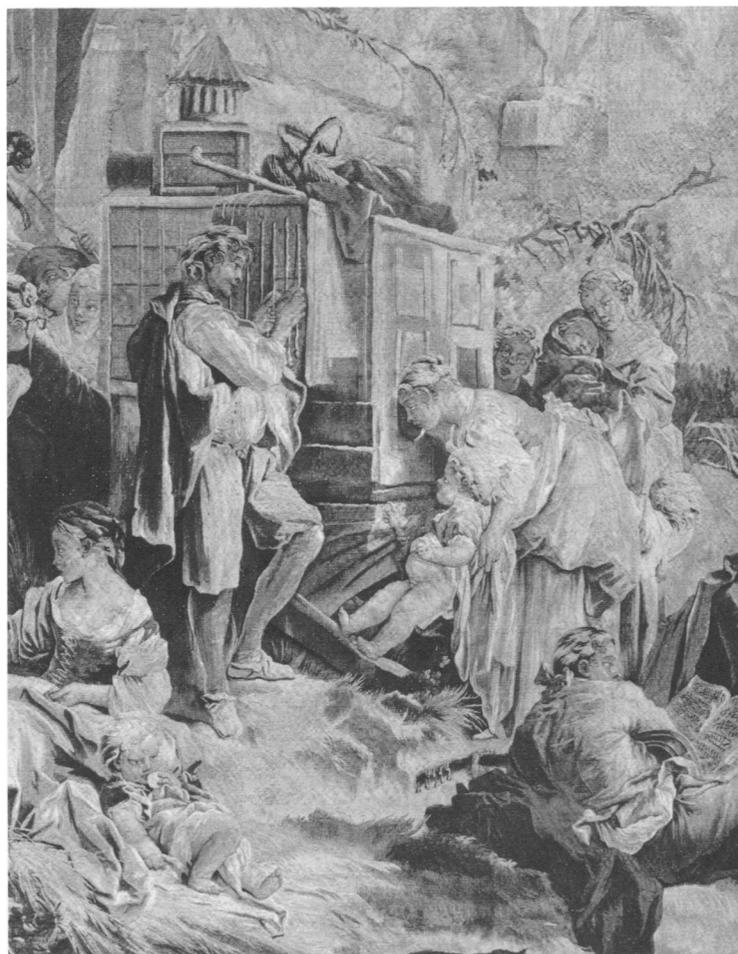




FIGURE 31
La Curiosité. Soft-paste biscuit. French (Sèvres),
about 1760. The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Bequest of Ella Morris de Peyster, 58.60.11

misza Collection, Castagnola (Figure 9).³⁹ The combination is found in the Huntington Art Gallery, San Marino; the Jacquemart-André Museum, Paris; and the Philadelphia Museum (combined with the Opérateur and the Curiosité).⁴⁰ Other examples were in the Henry Say sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, November 30, 1908, no. 28, illus.; the Alfred Sussman sale at the same auction house, May 18, 19, 1922, no. 152, illus.; the Sir Anthony de Rothschild sale, Christie's, London, June 13, 1923, no. 89; the Ogden L. Mills sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, April 2, 1938, no. 151, illus.; the Dubernet-Douine sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris,

(San Marino, 1961) fig. 1; "Living with Antiques: Hillwood, the Home of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert A. May," *Antiques* 82 (1962) p. 265; Joseph Downs, "A Beauvais Tapestry," *Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin*, 34 (March, 1929) pp. 4-7; Harry B. Wehle, "The Bache Collection on Loan," *MMA Bulletin* n.s. 1, (1942-43) p. 286.

39. Adolf Feulner, *Stiftung Schloss Rohoncz, III. Teil, Plastik und Kunsthandwerk* (Lugano-Castagnola, 1941) no. 595.

40. Wark, *French Decorative Art*, fig. 4; Musée Jacquemart-André, *Catalogue itinéraire* (Paris, n.d.) no. 1503.

41. Badin, *Manufacture*, pl. facing p. 24. Example from the G. sale. Erroneously called after Oudry.

42. Alexandre Benois, "La collection de Mr. Utheman à St. Petersburg," *Starje Gody* (1908) pl. facing p. 196.

43. Badin gives only one instance of the Chasseurs (no. 3) and the Filles aux Raisins (no. 6) appearing in the same set, that of

April 11, 12, 1946, no. 151, illus.; and the G. sale, Palais Galliera, Paris, June 12, 1973, no. 147, illus.⁴¹ One was formerly in the F. F. Utheman collection, St. Petersburg.⁴² The Chasseurs and the Filles aux Raisins are two separate tapestries in the Palazzo Venezia.⁴³ The Filles are alone on a tapestry in the Norton Simon Foundation sale, Parke-Bernet, May 7, 8, 1971, no. 231, illus., and the Chasseurs are on a tapestry owned by Mme. B., Paris.⁴⁴ Badin lists sixteen weavings for the Chasseurs and three for the Filles; three examples of the Filles alone are known and three of the Chasseurs, with eleven of the subjects combined.

The Bohémienne shows a young woman telling the fortune of a shepherdess; the kerchief and bundled-up baby on her back indicate that she is a gypsy (Figure 32).⁴⁵ The couple on the left appear to have no connection with the main scene, but they are found on all the tapestries of the subject and are not known to exist separately.

Other examples of the Bohémienne are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; the Huntington Art Gallery; the Palazzo Venezia; the M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco; the collection of the Prince de Ligne, Beloeil, Belgium (with the Rohan-Soubise arms) and, formerly, the collection of Mme L. Barzin, Paris.⁴⁶ Others were in the Sir Anthony de Rothschild sale, no. 89, illus. (with more sheep to left and right); the L. and A. Satori sale, Kende, Vienna, February 24, 1926, no. 115, illus.; a sale at the Galerie Charpentier, June 3, 4, 1958, no. 298, illus; and a sale at Christie's, May 8, 1973, no. 116, illus. (with two figures, the fountain and the urn from the Pêcheuse added on the left). One from the collection of the Baronne Eugène de Rothschild was sold at Sotheby

1739 made for Président Masson. The other pieces are the Opérateur and Curiosité "en une seule" (the only time this is actually stated), the Bohémienne and the Pêcheuse. These are the subjects of the Palazzo Venezia tapestries (from the San Donato sale, Florence, March 15, 1880, no. 36), which may well be the Masson set.

44. F. J. B. Watson, "The Paris collections of Mme. B.," *Connoisseur* 155 (1964) p. 2.

45. François de Vaux de Foletier, "Iconographie des 'égyptiens': précisions sur le costume ancien des tsiganes," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 6th ser., 68 (1966) pp. 165-172.

46. V. and C. Sternberg, *Exhibition of Important Tapestries* (London, 1965) no. 50, illus.; Wark, *French Decorative Art*, fig. 3; Joseph de Borchgrave d'Altena, *Castles of Belgium* (n.p., 1967) p. 46; *The Finest Rooms in France* (New York, 1967) p. 90.



FIGURE 32
Gypsy woman and baby, detail of Figure 7

Parke-Bernet Monaco, June 24, 1976, no. 118, illus.; it had previously been in the C. Ledyard Blair sale, Parke-Bernet, June 10, 1950, no. 322, illus. Badin lists from thirteen to eighteen weavings of the *Bohémienne* (including the *Bergère*) of which eleven are known to exist.

The *Pêcheuse* (Figure 12) is not in the Gatellier set at the Metropolitan Museum. It must not be confused with the *Pêcheur* of the Noble Pastoral series, which shows a boy holding a fishing rod. The reclining young man was to be used again in the *Collation* (Figure 6). There are examples of the *Pêcheuse* in the Huntington Art Gallery; the Palazzo Venezia; the Nissim de Camondo Museum, Paris; and the collection of the Prince de Ligne (with the Rohan-Soubise arms).⁴⁷ An unusually wide piece in the Anthony de Rothschild sale (no. 89) may be that owned by the late Dario Boccara, a Paris dealer, in 1976. The London dealer S. Franses owned a square example in the same year, and one from the Baronne Eugène de Rothschild collection was

47. Wark, *French Decorative Art*, fig. 12; Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs, *Musée Nissim de Camondo* (Paris, 1973) p. 40, no. 175.

sold at Sotheby Parke-Bernet Monaco, June 24, 1976, no. 119. At least three others have appeared in sales. Badin lists thirteen weavings.

All the figures in these four tapestries, except the music-making trio in the *Opérateur*, could, with some slight effort of the imagination, be taken for country people. This is not the case with most of the actors in the second group of four tapestries, who are decidedly ladies and gentlemen amusing themselves in the country. In the *Collation* (Figure 33), two young men have adopted a most informal costume, perhaps even a fancy dress, very different from the conventional attire of the servant waiting on them. The straw hat with a pink ribbon lying on the ground at the left belongs to one of the men; Boucher's painting *Autumn*, in the Frick

FIGURE 33
La Collation, detail of Figure 6





FIGURE 34
Autumn by François Boucher. Oil on panel. The Frick Collection, New York (photo: copyright the Frick Collection)

Collection (Figure 34), shows such a hat with blue ribbons round the crown and brim lying on the ground near a boy, while his girl wears a similar one with pink ribbons.

The short-sleeved jackets of both gentlemen are unusual, but similar garments are worn by men in *Les Charmes de la Vie Champêtre*, in the Louvre, painted by Boucher in 1737, and his “*Pensent-ils aux Raisins?*” in the National Museum, Stockholm. The latter painting shows a barefoot boy wearing the jacket; the young gentlemen of the *Collation* are perhaps playing at being peasants. On the other hand, the Marquis de Sourches, in the 1759 painting by F. H. Drouais of him and his family at Versailles (Figure 35), wears a short-sleeved jacket as part of an elegant costume. One of the young men in the *Collation* offers his companions a string of ring-shaped *gimblettes*. The English word for these biscuits was apparently “gimblet”; Stephen Salisbury in Worcester, Mass., writing in 1767 to his brother in Boston, asked for ginger cakes and “double Twisted Gimblets.”⁴⁸ The little dog (Figure 36) appears in other works by Boucher, such as the painting

48. “New England Treasury,” *Apollo* 94 (1971) p. 428.

Spring, dated 1745, in the Wallace Collection (Figure 37).

There are examples of the *Collation* in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, and in the Huntington Gallery.⁴⁹ A version owned by Baron Guy de Rothschild is enlarged on the left to show more of the building; another conventionally dressed young man stands at the open door, and there is a birdcage on the wall. One from a private collection was lent to the exhibition *Trois Siècles de Tapisseries de Beauvais*, Hôtel de Ville, Beauvais, in 1964 (catalogue no. 22). It is curious that not more have come to light since, according to Badin,

49. *Walters Art Gallery Bulletin* 27 (March, 1975) illus.; *Wark French Decorative Art*, fig. 6.



FIGURE 35
Le Marquis de Sourches et sa Famille by F. H. Drouais. Oil on canvas. Musée de Versailles (photo: Musées Nationaux)



FIGURE 36
La Collation, detail of Figure 6

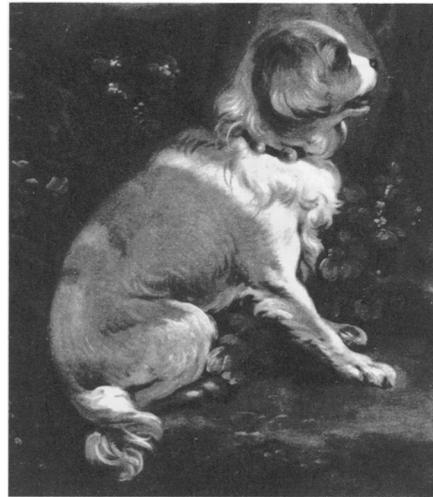


FIGURE 37
Spring by François Boucher, detail. Oil on canvas. The Wallace Collection, London



FIGURE 38
Le Galant Colporteur by François Boucher. Oil on canvas. Musée Baron Martin, Gray, Haute-Saône (photo: Studio André)

it was woven from twelve to fifteen times (including one weaving of the Cabaretier).

Only two examples of the Jardinier have been identified, the one in the Gatellier set (Figure 13) and another in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.⁵⁰ The scene, however, is found combined with the Danse in a tapestry in the Comte Greffulhe sale, Sotheby's, London, July 23, 1937, no. 62, illus.; this, or a similar tapestry, is owned by Baron Guy de Rothschild. Badin records that it was woven eleven times.

The Gatellier set does not include the Danse, but there is an example of this tapestry in the Metropolitan Museum, the gift of W. Bayard Cutting (Figure 14).⁵¹ A reversed inscription in the lower right corner, "Boucher 1756," is a later insertion; the Danse is not known to have been woven after 1753. The musician

50. Ann Marian Jones, *A Handbook of the Decorative Arts in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (n.p., 1965) p. 13, no. A.11.

51. John G. Phillips, "A Tapestry after Boucher," *MMA Bulletin* n.s. 1 (1942-43) pp. 204, 205, illus.

plays a pipe and a *tambourin de Béarn*, a stringed drum or zither with heavy gut strings vibrated by a stick.⁵²

Wide versions of the tapestry, such as that in the M. X sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 23, 1927, no. 1, illus. (Figure 15), include a seated woman with three children on the left and a peddler with three customers on the right, at the foot of a flight of steps. An example of this design, in three separate pieces, was sold at Christie's, May 8, 1973, no. 116, illus.; the section of the right side that includes the peddler continues at right to show a Savoyard with his marmot box (Figure 18). A painting (1.61 sq. m.) of this part of the tapestry (reversed) is in the Musée Baron Martin, Gray (Figure 38).⁵³ The complete scene is combined with the Jardinier on a tapestry in the collection of Baron Guy de Rothschild. One owned by the dealer S. Stefanovitch in 1971 extends only from the woman with two children on the left to the dancers on the right, with part of a temple rising behind them.⁵⁴ Badin lists twelve or thirteen weavings.

There is no example of *Musique* in the Metropolitan Museum. One with eight figures is in the Abbaye de Chaâlis, owned by the Institut de France (Figure 16),⁵⁵ and a much larger piece from the collection of Sir George Cooper, formerly at Hursley Park, near Winchester, is on loan to the House of Lords (Figure 17).⁵⁶ The group of the Chaâlis example was on a tapestry in the X sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 23, 1927, no. 2, illus.; the five people on the right, with the fountain, on one sold at the Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, May 24, 1955, no. 109, illus., and the five people on the left on one in the C. Ledyard Blair sale, Parke-Bernet, June 10, 1950, no. 323, illus. The two standing musicians and the woman with a music book are found on screen panels in the Louvre, the Palazzo Bianco,

52. Information kindly given by Emanuel Winternitz.

53. A. P. de Mirimonde, "Un carton de tapisserie de Boucher," *La Revue des Arts* (1955) pp. 124-127.

54. Dario Boccara, *Les Belles Heures de la Tapisserie* (Paris, 1971) p. 185, illus.

55. Louis Gillet, "Institut de France, Musée Jacquemart-André, Abbaye de Chaâlis," *Les Arts* (July, 1914) p. 21, no. 371, illus.

56. "French Tapestries and British Portraits at Oxford," *Burlington Magazine* 78 (1941), p. 138. The tapestry was lent to the Ashmolean Museum with pieces of the Noble Pastorale also owned by Sir George Cooper, but it has a different border (compare Figure 39, an *entrefenêtre* from this Noble Pastorale set).



FIGURE 39
The Basket of Eggs. Wool and silk tapestry. French (Beauvais), mid-eighteenth century. Formerly in the collection of Sir George Cooper. Reproduced from *Les Arts* 19 (July, 1903) p. 17

Genoa,⁵⁷ in the Comte Greffulhe sale, Sotheby's, June 23, 1937, no. 59, illus., and the Harry Payne Whitney sale, Parke-Bernet, April 29, 1942, no. 107, illus. There is no trace of rusticity in these elegantly dressed aristocrats in their lush woodland setting.

Finally, there are two very narrow tapestries, woven only for the Gatellier set, the Marchand d'Oeufs (Figure 23) and the Perroquet (Figure 24). By the time this set was woven in 1762, Boucher was *surinspecteur* at the Gobelins manufactory and rector at the Academy; he



certainly would not have been asked to make new subjects for an old Beauvais series. Oudry had died in 1755 and Boucher's son-in-law, Deshayes, was now providing designs for the manufactory. The Marchand d'Oeufs makes use of a subject that was added to one set of the Noble Pastorale (Figure 39);⁵⁸ the vase is a variation of one found in the Joueur de Flûte of the same series (Figure 40). The Perroquet has nothing of Boucher in it and could probably have been turned out by any painter at the manufactory.

FIGURE 40
Vase, detail of the Flute Player.
Wool and silk tapestry. French
(Beauvais), mid-eighteenth century.
Henry E. Huntington
Library and Art Gallery, San
Marino

The Fêtes Italiennes: Their Place in Boucher's Oeuvre

REGINA SHOOLMAN SLATKIN

WHEN BOUCHER became associated with the Beauvais manufactory in 1734, he embarked on the most important project he had yet undertaken: furnishing designs for the series of tapestries known as the Fêtes Italiennes. His early work was marked by the dual influence of baroque Italy and seventeenth-century Holland.⁵⁹ It was the Fêtes Italiennes, first woven in 1736, that gave him the opportunity to synthesize on a large scale the Italian and Dutch elements.

57. Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche, II. Teil, Die romanischen Länder II* (Leipzig, 1928) p. 257.

58. Maurice Vaucaire, "Tapisseries de Beauvais sur les cartons de François Boucher, la Noble Pastorale," *Les Arts* (June, 1903) p. 17. The set was then owned by Duveen Brothers. In 1913, it was in the Sir George Cooper collection, Hursley Park, Hampshire

While the designs for the Fêtes Italiennes are not specifically Italian in subject matter, they are filled with *souvenirs d'Italie*: ruined temples, crumbling archways, broken columns, sculptured fountains that lingered in Boucher's memory after his return from Italy, both as visual images of the Italian countryside and as the background of the baroque paintings he admired. It is the compositional scheme, however, that most recalls the Italian baroque. In the Opérateur, for in-

(W. G. Thomson, "The Beauvais Tapestries at Hursley Park," *Country Life* 34 [1913] p. 680). It is now on loan in the House of Lords from the Trustees of the Hursley Settlement. The Noble Pastorale was woven from 1755 to 1778.

59. Regina Shoolman Slatkin, "Two Early Drawings by François Boucher," *Master Drawings* 9 (1971) pp. 398-403.

stance (Figure 8), several groups are crowded into the foreground against a backdrop of intersecting tent and tree behind which rise, dramatically, the stately columns of an antique temple. Skillfully balancing various groups and focusing his attention on the pyramidal backdrop with its cascading effect, Boucher creates the operatic *mise-en-scène* that was to become the hallmark of his work.

Seventeenth-century Holland made its own, more direct contribution: the rustic genre drawings of Abraham Bloemaert, which Boucher owned, copied, and etched early in the thirties,⁶⁰ were the source for many pastoral motifs, some of which occur, as we shall see, in these early tapestry designs.

It has been suggested that the *Fêtes Italiennes* are based on the print of Watteau's *Fêtes Vénitienes*,⁶¹ and surely Boucher's debt to Watteau is beyond dispute: figures like the violinist in the tapestry *La Musique* (Figure 17) clearly demonstrate what Boucher had learned from etching more than a hundred Watteau drawings fifteen years earlier. But rather than Watteau's tender, wistful, and subtly ambivalent charades, it is the celebration of life, the frolicking round of pleasures and pastimes that animated seventeenth-century Dutch art that are evoked in the *Fêtes Italiennes*. These scenes of hunting and fishing, dancing and music-making, picnicking, and flirting certainly occur in earlier *fêtes galantes* pictures (in Watteau and Pater, Lancret and de Troy, for instance), but it is in Dutch genre that Boucher's *fêtes* have their lusty counterpart, and it is there that models will be found for the figures that people his early canvases, book illustrations, and tapestry designs. As for the theme of the peep show—the charlatan selling his nostrums, the *marchand d'orviétans*—it was popularized by the seventeenth-century Dutch artist Karel du Jardin whose paintings, etched in the eighteenth century by Jean-Jacques de Boissieu, were much admired in France (Figures 41, 42). Boucher owned a great many of these prints, and his *Opérateur* (Figure 8) almost seems a composite of Karel du Jardin's *Troupe of Comedians* (Figure 41) with its peasants assembled about the showman's stage, com-

60. Regina Shoolman Slatkin, "Abraham Bloemaert and François Boucher: Affinity and Relationship," *Master Drawings* XIV, no. 3, (1976) pp. 247–260.

61. Fenaille, *François Boucher*, p. 84.

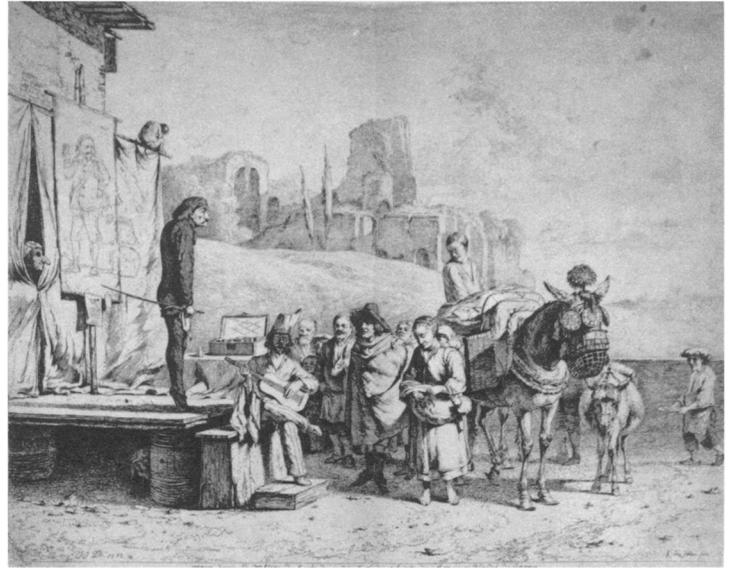


FIGURE 41
Troupe of Comedians by J. J. de Boissieu after Karel du Jardin. Etching. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Dr. F. H. Hirschland, 56.504.2



FIGURE 42
Les Petits Charlatans by J. J. de Boissieu after Karel du Jardin. Etching. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Harvey D. Parker Collection (photo: courtesy Museum of Fine Arts)



FIGURE 43
Young Girl and Child by François Boucher. Black and red chalk heightened with white on blue gray paper. National Museum, Stockholm

FIGURE 44
Young Girl Seated by François Boucher. Black chalk. Formerly in the Heseltine Collection



plete with monkey and musician, and *Les Petits Charlatans* (Figure 42), with its showman costumed as an Oriental. Karel du Jardin's painting of the *Troupe of Comedians* was owned by Boucher's patron, the *Receveur-général des Finances*, Blondel de Gagny,⁶² who, like most eighteenth-century French collectors, was a devotee of seventeenth-century Dutch art.

How did Boucher arrive at elaborate compositions such as the *Opérateur*, which combined both Italian and Dutch sources? Did he assemble a number of individual motifs and figural groups and relate them to each other so that they fell into a given scheme? Or did

he, instead, select a central theme and build various elements around it, drawing on his rich repository of figure studies (borrowing wherever he pleased) and inventing others to suit the requirements of his subject? The complexity of design in such tapestries as the *Fêtes Italiennes*, with their frequently unrelated, though always charming and eye-filling motifs, suggests that he did both. While Boucher thriftily utilized elements that had served in other compositions, he allowed the artists of the Beauvais manufactory to incorporate individual units or figures into a given scheme, as needed. By combining and recombining these motifs a sense of overflowing richness was achieved, as in the *Opérateur*, but this was sometimes carried to the point of incongruity, when, for example, an elegant group of musicians was introduced into the hurly-burly of a country

62. The legend on de Boissieu's print reads: *gravé d'après Le Tableau de Karle du jardin tiré du cabinet de Monsieur Blondel de Gagny Receveur general Des Finances.*

fair. But as a rule Boucher managed to obtain a unity of design by using figures, often based on life studies, that were appropriate to the theme of the composition; these were disposed in such a way as to relate the various groups to one another. The Beauvais artists might extend or curtail the original design in order to produce tapestries of a certain dimension; they did so in several instances in the *Fêtes Italiennes*. Yet a pictorial extravaganza like the *Opérateur* is not uncommon as a totally conceived unit in Boucher's early work.

The *Opérateur* falls into two distinctly disparate groups: the elegantly dressed music-making trio at the right is quite unrelated to the *gens du peuple* who make up the rest of the gathering. This trio, undoubtedly conceived as a separate unit, does not appear to be based on surviving preparatory studies, as do certain other figures in the *Opérateur*. To begin with, at the extreme left edge of what may have been the original composition of the *Opérateur* are two country girls, standing spellbound before the nostrum-touting charlatan and his trumpeter. A drawing in the National Museum, Stockholm (Figure 43), which served as a preliminary study for these two figures, must have been done specifically for the *Opérateur*, for the young country-woman, barefoot, with basket on arm, holds out her right hand in a gesture directly related to the composition, as though offering a coin for the quack's medicine, while the little girl timidly clings to her.⁶³ In the final composition the gesture has been suppressed, since the outstretched arm would have interfered with the heads of the onlookers. This drawing, incidentally, suggests the affinity that existed between Bloemaert's rustic themes and Boucher's early work, for the figures of the two peasant girls could have come straight out of Bloemaert's sketchbook.

Seated in the center foreground of the *Opérateur* is a young peasant woman and her child, the *marchande de plaisirs*. She reaches with outstretched right hand for the coin with which the three little boys have paid for their confections (Figure 27). A drawing, formerly in the Heseltine collection, of a young woman in exactly the same attitude (Figure 44) must be a specific study for the figure of the *marchande*. Of the three little boys,

the middle one derives from a drawing engraved by Demarteau (Figure 45) when it was in the Bergeret collection; very likely, life studies also existed for the other two boys.

Just below the figure of the *Opérateur* is a young girl, watching, chin in hand, who closely resembles the young girl in a similar pose in a drawing at the Boymans Museum (Figure 46). The young woman with the sleeping infant to the right of the peep show recalls the drawing of a mother, infant nestling against her shoulder, which remained in Boucher's possession until the end of his life, when it was engraved (in 1769) by Bonnet (Figure 47).⁶⁴ A study must certainly have existed for the owner of the peep show, for Boucher used the figure of the curly-haired youth in knee-breeches

64. The legend on Bonnet's print, dated 1769, reads: *Tiré du Cabinet de Monsieur Boucher Premier Peintre du Roy*. Boucher died the following year.

FIGURE 45
Young Boy by Gilles Demarteau after François Boucher. Crayon manner engraving



63. A close copy of the Stockholm drawing was in the Doucet collection sale, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, *Collection Jacques Doucet* (5 June 1912) no. 15.



FIGURE 46
Young Girl by François Boucher. Black chalk. Boymans Museum, Rotterdam (photo: courtesy Boymans Museum)



FIGURE 47
Mother and Child by Louis Bonnet after François Boucher. Chalk manner engraving. Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre (photo: Musées Nationaux)



FIGURE 48
Study of a young Man by François Boucher. Black chalk heightened with white. Formerly in the Havemeyer collection

FIGURE 49

Illustration by I. Depollier after François Boucher for “Le Calendrier des Vieillards” from the *Contes* of La Fontaine. Engraving

and flowing mantle (Figure 48) in a later composition, the *Pipée aux Oiseaux* (1748), based on the painting now in the Getty Museum. Here the young man’s pose is somewhat different, but he is clearly the same model, drawn from life.

We know of no studies for the charlatan, but the exotic turbaned figure is surely the same pseudo-Oriental whom Boucher depicted in an illustration to La Fontaine’s “Le Calendrier des Vieillards,” executed about the same time as the Beauvais designs for the *Fêtes Italiennes* (Figure 49).⁶⁵ As for the charlatan’s pretty female companion, one is tempted to connect her with the subject of an engraving by Cochin that the Goncourts describe as: “Simone, femme célèbre d’un opérateur ambulante, à cheval avec son singe, accompagnée de deux trompettes . . .”⁶⁶ In Figure 49 the monkey is very much in evidence, as he is in the tapestry design. Did Boucher, who loved fairgrounds, persuade a quack, his wife, the trumpeter, and the monkey to pose for him? If so, the picaresque charlatan served as a model at least once more, for he appears, wearing his turban and fur-trimmed coat, astride a magnificent Rubenesque white horse, in the *Chasse aux Tigre* (Musée de Picardie, Amiens), which dates from 1736, the year of the La Fontaine illustrations and of the first weavings of the *Fêtes Italiennes* (Figure 50).

La Collation (Figure 6) is recorded as having been woven for the first time in 1745, but the design must be considered, on stylistic grounds, a work of the thirties.

65. See *François Boucher in North American Collections* (Washington, 1973) p. 29 for a discussion of the dating of Boucher’s illustrations for the *Contes de La Fontaine*.

66. E. and J. de Goncourt, *L’Art du XVIII^{ème} Siècle* (Paris, 1880).

FIGURE 50

La Chasse au Tigre by François Boucher. Oil. Musée de Picardie, Amiens (photo: Archives Photographiques des Monuments Historiques)





FIGURE 51
Reclining Young Man by François Boucher. Red
chalk. Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre
(photo: Musées Nationaux)



FIGURE 52
Young Valet by François Boucher. Red and
black chalk. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (photo:
courtesy Rijksmuseum)

At the extreme left of the usual versions of the Collation (Figure 33) is the reclining figure of a young man, elegantly dressed, who holds in his hands the *gimblettes*, which he offers to his companions. The study for this figure in the Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre, is one of the most attractive drawings from Boucher's hand (Figure 51), clearly done with this particular group in mind. This crisp red chalk drawing is closely related to the Molière illustrations of 1734, for it has the same lively touch and the same feeling for contemporary costume design.

Immediately behind the young man holding out the *gimblettes* is the *serviteur* or valet who offers the picnickers beverage on a tray. He is a familiar figure whom Boucher sketched, probably from life, in a drawing in the Rijksmuseum of a young man carrying a platter of food (Figure 52), though here his position is somewhat different and his appearance (rings in his ears) is foreign—Moorish, perhaps, or vaguely Oriental.⁶⁷ He is also seen, wearing a kerchief on his head, in a painting of the same period, the Pique-nique (French private collection).⁶⁸ Here is yet another instance of a recurring

motif in Boucher's early work, which often helps to establish a chronological sequence.

Many parallels can be established between the figures in the Beauvais tapestries and those that occur in other Boucher works of the thirties; often this can be done through prints after lost original drawings. One such instance is the engraving by J. M. Liotard after Boucher's *La Bergère Laborieuse* (Figure 53), which must have been done after a drawing of the central figure in the Collation, the young woman holding a parasol. Her long-waisted, tight-fitting bodice and full skirt have been accurately rendered in the engraving, but in order to transform her from a lady of leisure into an industrious shepherdess, the engraver has changed her elegant parasol into a homely distaff. There is always the possibility, of course, that Boucher's original drawing corresponded exactly to Liotard's engraving, and

67. Rijksmuseum, *French Drawings of the 18th century*, exhibition catalogue (Amsterdam, June 8–August 4, 1974) p. 130, no. 9. "Seen from a low viewpoint—that of the diners—the page, who has rings in his ears and must be a Moor or an oriental . . ."

68. *François Boucher in North American Collections*, p. 30.

that Boucher himself changed the shepherdess into a lady holding a parasol, but whatever the sequence, there is evidence here to show that he used individual and group figure drawings to build up his complex compositions. The first certain weaving of the *Bohémienne* (Figure 7) was completed by 1738, but the design must have been done several years before, since it is full of the baroque inventions—gnarled trees, antique columns, a herm—that characterized Boucher's early work. The gypsy fortune-teller carrying an infant slung over her back derives from a drawing of a mother and two children, sketched in rough but vigorous outline (Figure 54). The *Bohémienne* proved such a favorite subject that Boucher used it later on in several other compositions.



FIGURE 53
La Bergère Laborieuse by J. M. Liotard after
 François Boucher. Engraving

Nowhere is Boucher's debt to Watteau more strikingly apparent than in his brilliant study of a violinist (Figure 55), a masterpiece of eighteenth-century draughtsmanship, which served as a model for one of the figures in *La Musique* (Figure 17). He is seated at the right of the trio, glancing at the music score held by the vocalist. Behind her stands the flutist whom Boucher has also sketched, full length (Figure 56), though in the tapestry he is half hidden. There can be little doubt that these figures are done from life, so fresh and sparkling is their appearance.

FIGURE 54
Peasant Woman and Children by François Boucher. Black chalk. Sir Robert Witt collection (photo: courtesy Courtauld Institute of Art)



It was almost inevitable that Boucher should choose *La Musique* as a subject, for much of his time was spent among musicians. His close friend Carle van Loo married into a family of Italian musicians, and van Loo's wife, a talented singer, might well have been the inspiration for the charming vocalist holding the open score. The cellist at the left of this concert *champêtre* may also have formed part of the musical entourage chez van Loo, for he too, has been well observed and was probably sketched from life. A drawing exists for the lady reclining, seen from the back (Figure 57), but she,

like her elegant companion and the amorous couple at their right, is merely a staffage figure in this woodland setting.

No drawings have come to light as yet for the other tapestries in the *Fêtes Italiennes* series: the *Chasseur*, *Filles aux Raisins*, *Jardinier*, *Pêcheuse*, and *Danse*, but there is every reason to believe that Boucher followed the same method of building up the designs by means of preparatory studies, or else by utilizing already existing drawings appropriate to the general scheme.

It would be interesting to know just what determined

FIGURE 55

The Violinist by François Boucher. Black, red, and white chalk. Städelches Kunstinstitut



FIGURE 56

The Flute Player by François Boucher. Red chalk. Private collection, Paris





FIGURE 57
Young Woman Reclining on the Ground by François Boucher. Black chalk heightened with white. Private collection, Paris

the choice of themes for the various series that were woven. Were they prescribed by the director of the Beauvais factory, or commissioned by a patron or proposed by the artist? Did the taste for Dutch genre painting which, as we have noted, prevailed in France during the eighteenth century, affect the choice of subject matter? Or was the taste for far lands and things foreign responsible for the various fêtes and jeux with an Italian, Russian, Chinese, or generally Oriental background? (The Queen Esther series by de Troy and Deshayes and the Russian series by LePrince come to mind.) These, however, are questions best left to the historian of taste in the eighteenth century.

The Beauvais tapestry works were at their most prosperous during the twenty-year period Boucher devoted to making designs for their looms. Like most French

artists in the eighteenth century he had to take into account the grande peinture of Italy and the genre painting of the North. It is the synthesis of these two currents that lends distinction to his first important commission, the *Fêtes Italiennes*. Perhaps it was the exuberance with which he tackled the challenge of making these designs that helped to revitalize the rather mediocre productions of the Beauvais works at this time. When he turned from genre scenes to designing other series—the *Story of Psyche*, the *Loves of the Gods*, the *Fragments d'Opéra*—for the Beauvais looms, he was able to give his rococo visions the same full play that had animated the *Fêtes Italiennes*. Boucher could thus satisfy the constant demand for these lavish hangings, which to this day remain one of the glories of the weaver's art.

New Terracottas by Boizot and Julien

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Varro further praises Pasiteles, who said that modelling was the mother of chasing, statuary and sculpture, and who, though he excelled in all these arts, never executed any work without first making a clay model. . . . The admirable execution of these figures [effigies in clay], their artistic merits and their durability make them more worthy of honour than gold, and they are at any rate more innocent.

From *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, trans. K. Jex-Blake (Chicago, 1968) p. 181

TERRACOTTA MODELS are among the chief glories of eighteenth-century French art. With the rise of Neoclassicism, they could only gain in interest, for modeling in clay is a fundamental activity of any classical sculptor, and so it had been long before the 1780s, the period considered here. While Clodion and Marin excelled with highly finished terracottas that were ends in themselves, other artists attained virtuoso levels with preliminary models for works to be executed in other materials. Then as now, both sorts were valued as significant expressions of personality, or works of art in their own right.

Of nine French terracottas recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum, several are documents, pieces signed and dated by Vassé, Clodion, Lecomte, and Roland.¹ In addition, they display the wide range of use and surface in terracottas, from the rapid sketch to

the finished independent statuette. The two to be discussed here are by Boizot and Julien, prime shapers of the Louis XVI style in sculpture. Both have typically eighteenth-century amorous subject matter but they are atypical of their artists in terms of technique. The first is a rough preliminary sketch by an artist whose extant models are finely surfaced; the second is just the opposite, an almost obsessively finished presentation figure by an artist whose known models are more perfunctory.

Simon-Louis Boizot (1743–1809), a successful modeler for works in many media, is considered here chiefly in his role of artistic director of the sculpture ateliers at Sèvres between 1774 and 1800.² He succeeded Falconet and Jean-Jacques Bachelier in that very responsible position. From 1749, the Manufacture Royale de Sèvres produced small sculptures in biscuit, as unglazed por-

1. The nine were purchased in 1975 with funds given by the Josephine Bay Paul and C. Michael Paul Foundation, Inc., and the Charles Ulrick and Josephine Bay Foundation, Inc. At the time of their first exhibition at the Museum, all were published in a short catalogue by Olga Raggio, *The Fire and the Talent: A Presentation of French Terracottas* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976). In addition to works by Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne, Louis-Claude Vassé, Clodion, Julien, Boizot, Lecomte, Marin, and Roland, the group includes a "rococo" Rodin bust of a bacchante.

2. There is no monograph on Boizot. See Emile Bourgeois, *Le Biscuit de Sèvres au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1909) I, pp. 113–199; Stanislas Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1910) I, pp. 85–92; Z. V. Zaretskaya on bronzes after Boizot in the Hermitage in *Zapadnoevropeiskoe Iskusstvo* (1970) pp. 171–175. I have not consulted Thérèse Picquenard, "Contribution à l'étude de l'oeuvre sculptée de L.-S. Boizot," unpublished thesis for the Ecole du Louvre, 1971.



FIGURE 1

Simon-Louis Boizot, sketch-model for a porcelain group, *Le Larcin de la rose*, 1788. Pale buff terracotta with traces of original coat of grayish white pigment. Height 12 inches (31 cm.). Purchase, funds given by the Josephine Bay Paul and C. Michael Paul Foundation, Inc., and the Charles Ulrick and Josephine Bay Foundation, Inc., 1975.312.2

celain is called.³ By the end of the century, a great many tables must have been peopled with the little white figures; a modern catalogue illustrates 623 eighteenth-century compositions in biscuit still in production at the Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres,⁴ and that can only be a fraction of the original number, since many of the molds were destroyed during the Revolution.

Sèvres statuettes of the earlier, Falconet-Bachelier period were pictorial creations largely influenced by the compositions of Boucher; characteristically, they represented languorous nudes or shepherds and shepherdesses in quasi-modern dress. With Boizot, there came a distinct shift. His statuettes had allegorical subjects and more serious airs generally, and they were robed in classical draperies and set in the grand circular compositions that were his specialty. To be sure, numerous other sculptors, established masters as well as the regular hands at Sèvres, produced models under Boizot's direction, but the production during his tenure and long afterward had a remarkably consistent and properly sculptural character. For example, Joseph Leriche, *chef* of the sculpture ateliers under Boizot and

charged with the "exécution de tous les modèles et de corriger les sculptures," was originally trained at Sèvres in Falconet's time, but his statuette of Marie-Antoinette as Minerva shows how easily and completely Leriche followed Boizot's style.⁵ Boizot appears to have retired from the directorship in 1800 but to have continued to supply the Manufacture with models right up to his death in 1809.⁶ Precise documentation concerning this important aspect of his career is sadly lacking. It is correspondingly difficult to say with certainty that a particular model is *by* Boizot, but his role was so dominant that one is assured at least of his supervision over a given composition at any time between the mid-seventies until the end of the century.

The group of figures at a pedestal surmounted by

FIGURE 2

Simon-Louis Boizot (after), plaster moulage of final group, *Le Larcin de la rose*, 1788. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres (photo: Musées Nationaux)



3. We have it from Bachelier himself: "Jusqu'en 1749 la sculpture était luisante et colorée. . . . L'impossibilité d'approcher des figures de Saxe par l'égalité d'emploi des couleurs allait faire renoncer à cette partie, quand le sieur Bachelier proposa d'essayer la sculpture sans couverte, c'est-à-dire en biscuit." From his *Mémoire historique sur la manufacture nationale de France*, cited in Comte X. de Chavagnac and Marquis de Grollier, *Histoire des manufactures françaises de porcelaine* (Paris, 1906) p. 252.

4. Emile Bourgeois and Georges Lechevallier-Chevignard, *Le Biscuit de Sèvres. Recueil des modèles de la manufacture de Sèvres au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, n.d.). This invaluable compilation has not been used enough by students of sculpture.

5. Bourgeois and Lechevallier-Chevignard, p. 20, n. 432. A fine example was recently bought by the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

6. Chavagnac and Grollier, p. 259.



FIGURE 3

Simon-Louis Boizot, finished terracotta for a porcelain group, *L'Offrande à l'Hymen*, 1776. Musée National de Céramique de Sèvres, no. 7969 (photo: Musées Nationaux)

Cupid (Figure 1) is a Boizot sketch, worked up very quickly at the inception of the compositional idea. The eventual project was a group in *biscuit de Sèvres*, discovered thanks to the Bourgeois catalogue.⁷ The semi-allegorical subject, *Le Larcin de la rose*, is a maiden pouring out her heart to a figure of Cupid and laying flowers at his feet, when a youth suddenly reaches out to pluck a rose from her offering. Bourgeois further attributed the group to Boizot and dated it 1788.⁸

The Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres conserves the plaster *moulage* of the final group of *Le Larcin de la rose* (Figure 2). Obvious variants between the sketch and the plaster are the addition of a third figure about to crown the maiden with a wreath and the change from a round to a rectangular pedestal. The plaster has the smooth contours and low-keyed emotional volume typical of Boizot's statuettes. Certain of his finished models in terracotta, but unhappily not the one for this group, survive in the Musée National de Sèvres. Most are in bad shape, but even in fragmentary form they show the same high facility for the shaping of groups. Their sense of harmony is further enhanced by the pale blond colors of the clay.

7. Bourgeois and Lechevallier-Chevignard, pl. 35, no. 382, h. 39 cm. The only *biscuit* example I have seen is in the Museo de Artes Decorativas, Madrid, no. 5235.

8. The date of facture is presumably inferred from the date 1789, when the first example was sold by the Manufacture. Chavagnac and Grollier, pp. 275, 290. Bourgeois (*Le Biscuit de Sèvres au XVIII^e siècle*) I, p. 197, says that the group was "exécuté à la fin de 1788" and adds the pretty description: ". . . *le Larcin de la rose*, allusion plutôt légère, voilée par la grâce des acteurs auxquels l'artiste a su donner, avec le costume grec de rigueur, l'élégance et l'esprit. . . ." He erroneously reproduces what looks to be the plaster of the *Larcin* group as the terracotta for the earlier *Offrande à l'Hymen* (I, pl. opp. p. 136; II, p. 47).



FIGURE 4

Simon-Louis Boizot, fragment of a terracotta model, seen from the back, for a porcelain group, *Le Génie de la sculpture*, about 1780. Musée National de Céramique de Sèvres, no. 8877 (photo: Musées Nationaux)

The surviving model for *L'Offrande à l'Hymen* (Figure 3), an early Boizot group (1776),⁹ has the general composition of *Le Larcin de la rose* in embryo, but the *Larcin* has a more stately neo-antique air and its circular rhythms are more closely coordinated. A fragment of a model executed between these two, *Le Génie de la sculpture* (Figure 4),¹⁰ provides a nearer look at Boizot's measured handling of checks and balances in a spiral composition. The shapes peculiar to babies make them ideal carriers of Boizot's delicate compositional principles. The assisting infant in *Le Génie de la sculpture* is a studio model with the perfection of a Duquesnoy, and is part of a conscious reference to the proper foundation of sculpture, based equally on nature (the "live" infant) and the antique (a bust and the Belvedere torso).

It is evident that the Metropolitan's maquette has a more vivacious facture than any of the models at Sèvres. An especially bravura passage is the pair of billowing doves, brilliantly tossed off at the rear of the pedestal (Figure 5). One would hardly have expected that a rough and fiery personal attack would lie beneath the cool and composed official Sèvres manner. Preliminary maquettes for Sèvres have otherwise not survived;¹¹ at least this is the first of its sort to be identified, all the models remaining at Sèvres being of the complete, final stage furnished for the *répateur*. It is an open question whether Boizot himself pursued his models beyond the

initial sketch phase, or whether he left their finishing to assistants.

Boizot's subject is fairly conventional, belonging to a long line of girls sacrificing to Love,¹² and his approach to it is perhaps ambiguous. The coronation of the maiden was not originally necessary to the story; the addition of the third figure to the final group makes it visually richer but clouds our perception of what is happening. As further evidence of the infinite possibilities for combining these erotic motifs, there is a related biscuit relief, possibly also by Boizot, in which the thief is an adolescent Cupid who steals a rose from an altar

12. For example, the Greuze *Jeune fille qui fait sa prière à l'amour* of 1769 in the Wallace Collection. Anita Brooker, *Greuze: The Rise and Fall of an Eighteenth-Century Phenomenon* (London–New York, 1972) pl. 47 and pp. 112–113 for a list of related subjects.

FIGURE 5
Back view of *Le Larcin de la rose*, sketch-model



9. For the date of sale of the first biscuit, Chavagnac and Grollier, p. 273.

10. Chavagnac and Grollier, p. 288, give 1780 as the "date du moule en magasin," but Bourgeois and Lechevallier-Chevignard, pl. 23, no. 324, date it 1773. The model formed a pair with a *Génie de l'architecture* (Bourgeois and Lechevallier-Chevignard, pl. 23, no. 323). My photograph of the fragmentary model shows it from the rear; the front when whole, as illustrated by Bourgeois, was occupied by a winged figure chiseling a bust. I am greatly indebted to Antoinette Hallé, Conservateur of the Musée National de Céramique de Sèvres, and to Tamara Préaud, Directeur des Archives et de la Bibliothèque de la Manufacture de Sèvres, for assisting my study of the models at Sèvres.

11. A terracotta group inscribed *L'Amour alument son flambeau*, attributed to Boizot in the Marius Paulme sale (Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 15, 1929, no. 272, h. 20 cm.), while generically similar to a biscuit group illustrated by Bourgeois (pl. 37, no. 17, *Amour allument son flambeau au Miroir de la Beauté*, attributed to Boizot with the date 1788, h. 12 cm.), has too many differences to qualify as a maquette. One cannot see an evolution of the biscuit from it. The Paulme sale also included Boizot's elegant, quite finished model for the mausoleum of a poet, signed and dated 1790 (sold again Galerie Charpentier, Paris, December 19, 1949, no. 103).



FIGURES 6, 7

Pierre Julien, *L'Amour silencieux*, 1785. Pale yellowish terracotta. Height 15 ¼ inches (38.7 cm.). Purchase, funds given by the Josephine Bay Paul and C. Michael Paul Foundation, Inc., and the Charles Ulrick and Josephine Bay Foundation, Inc., 1975. 312.1

beside the pedestal.¹³ Boizot's themes are thus largely allegorical and evocative, à la Fragonard, rather than narrative.¹⁴

If Boizot is vague in imagery, his smooth, classically draped figures have firmness, clarity, and logically developed movements. The new model shows the seriousness of his effort in arriving at a clear, open composition. Knowing his work, one could not agree that he was "untouched by classical currents."¹⁵ In all, he was the most important official sculptor working on a small scale in the subdued classical-natural strain that is fundamentally the Louis XVI style. He is thus a perfect equivalent to such painters as Lépicié and Lagrenée. Like theirs, his classicism was so well learned that it was absorbed without a ripple in an overall naturalistic system.

Pierre Julien (1731–1804)¹⁶ was older than Boizot but matured as an artist somewhat later, and all his most important works were made during Louis XVI's reign. By common assent, the masterpiece of the period is Julien's *Jeune fille à la chèvre*, made for Rambouillet,¹⁷ where, even if one were put off by a certain remoteness of expression, one would be more than reassured by the total brilliance of execution. Julien was celebrated for the naturalness of his models and for his scrupulous finish of marble surfaces. The "Peintre anglais au Salon de Peintures" in 1785, for example, found Julien's *Ganymede* "d'une beauté ravissante, le rendu et l'exécu-

tion superbes, ses formes tiennent beaucoup de l'antique. Enfin c'est la nature dans son beau."¹⁸

The marble *Ganymede* in the Louvre was Julien's planned *morceau de réception* for the Academy in 1776, but it was refused and, slightly modified, it was shown with success in the Salon of 1785.¹⁹ In the same Salon he exhibited the marble of *La Fontaine*, also in the Louvre, the most extreme of his works in terms of textural differentiation, and "*L'amour silencieux. Esquisse, terre cuite.*"²⁰ This last is the stealthy Cupid bought for the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 6, 7). The small features,

FIGURE 8

Pierre Julien, *Ganymede*, marble of 1776–85. Musée National du Louvre (photo: Musées Nationaux)



13. Bourgeois and Lechevallier-Chevignard, pl. 41, no. 381 unattributed.

14. Another Boizot subject, *La Rose enflammée* (dated 1781 by Chavagnac and Grollier, p. 293, and 1787 by Bourgeois and Lechevallier-Chevignard, pl. 29, no. 539), is directly related to a Fragonard composition, *Le Sacrifice de la rose*. See Georges Wildenstein, *The Paintings of Fragonard* (New York, 1960) p. 115, also nos. 497–499 and p. 28, note 3, for thematically related paintings in the Salons of the 1770s and 80s.

15. Michael Levey, *Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France* (Harmondsworth, 1972) p. 166. The author further demonstrates his insensitivity to the subject by noting that "it was probably hard to distinguish these [Boizot's terracottas] from Clodion's."

16. For Julien, see the short monograph by l'Abbé André Pascal, *Pierre Julien sculpteur, sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1904) and Lami, *Dictionnaire II*, pp. 11–16.

17. Now in the Louvre. See Pascal, pl. opp. p. 53 and pp. 47–70. For the *laiterie* at Rambouillet, see Michael Benisovitch, *The Burlington Magazine* 79 (1941) pp. 42–44, and Paul Guth, *Connaissance des arts* 75 (May 1958) pp. 74–81.

18. Quoted by Pascal, p. 41.

19. Pascal, pp. 25, 36–42.

20. *Livret* of the Salon of 1785, no. 224.



FIGURE 9
Pierre Julien, terracotta statuette, *Le Messager d'amour*, about 1780–90. Paris, collection of Jean Cailleux

mellow and compressed, and the bobbed hair, something like a helmet, give the *Amour silencieux* a direct family resemblance to the marble *Ganymede* (Figure 8). It has the same fluid movement and also the same bloated clouds. Julien's characteristic drapery is here, too, elegantly framing movement and gesture, as in his

Jeune fille à la chèvre made in the following years (1786–87).

The *Amour silencieux* has a surface refinement and wealth of textures rarely seen in clay. Stippled and scraped all over, it has the richest possible surface (there are also imprints of cloth on the clouds left by the wet wrapping that covered the piece between sessions). No surviving terracotta by Julien has its wealth of textures, and indeed it would hardly be considered an *esquisse* in today's terminology. A somewhat related two-figure composition in the Cailleux collection, called *Le Messager d'amour* (Figure 9), in which a seated youth consigns a letter to Cupid with a conspiratorial finger to lips, exemplifies the rapid touch usually found in Julien's models.²¹ Since that touch imparts a streamlining effect, the models are generally more fully Neoclassical in appearance than the finished works or the *Amour silencieux*.²²

Of course, infants winged and unwinged perform every conceivable task in French eighteenth-century art. Julien's Cupid is cautionary, flying through the night with a torch and raising a finger to his lips, urging discretion in love. Evaluation of Julien's subject and sources allows a fair glimpse of the working habits and preferences of the Louis XVI naturalist classicists, hybrids adapting each other's works as well as the antique, as need arose.

The ultimate source is an image of the ancient Alexandrian deity, Harpocrates. He is usually depicted as a naked child, making a hushing gesture with his finger to his lips.²³ The most famous use of the gesture is Falconet's seated *Amour menaçant*, which was in turn very

21. Galerie Cailleux, Paris, "Author du néoclassicisme," March 1973, cat. no. 75. The principal holdings of Julien sketch-models are in the Louvre, the museum at Le Puy-en-Velay, and the private collection of Jean Cailleux. A terracotta of the "Tête de femme coiffée d'un voile et couronnée de fleurs, comme les jeunes filles dotées par le Pape et le Sacré Collège, à l'église de la Minerve, à Rome," shown in the Salon of 1779, is very smoothly finished (formerly W. R. Hearst collection, recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum; ill. Michael Benisovitch, *The Art Quarterly* 12 [1949] pp. 370–372).

22. In this sense, one can appreciate that the material itself could decisively affect style. The terracottas of Joseph Chinard are a wonderful case in point, where the long, schematic lines of a model are developed on a larger scale to become a perfect sculptural expression of advanced Neoclassicism.

23. There were numerous local options in antiquity for the attributes of Harpocrates. Sources that Julien could have used, had he wished to: Gisbert Cuper, *Harpocrates, sive Explicatio imagunculae*

widespread.²⁴ Apart from a slightly malicious look in the face, however, there is hardly a trace in Julien's statuette of Falconet's figure, nor does it owe much to the numerous other Harpocrates derivatives of the eighteenth century.²⁵ The motif of the gesture was usually applied to figures seated or standing stock-still, with alternatively virtuous or erotic meanings. Julien's twist on the tradition is to activate the model: His Cupid thus executes his errands silently and swiftly. For the pose between running and flying, he may have had in mind Boizot's *Amour menaçant* for Sèvres.²⁶ But Julien's model has greater urgency and thrust than Boizot's. The superb elevation of the little figure, best seen in profile (Figure 6), is directly founded on the ancient running *Atalanta* in the Louvre, which Julien had borrowed some years earlier in order to copy it in marble.²⁷ In sum, the antique inspiration of his statuette was greatly modified for the sake of "period" amorous conceits, which prevent our thinking of it as Neoclassical, but it is as strong as any of its sources and has the lift and presence of a fine Hellenistic bronze.

The artistic course of the eighteenth century in France was the evolution of a national style in which the antique and the great masters were so well studied that they could merge comfortably with observed naturalism, without obvious recourse to specific models. Present-day vogues for the Baroque and Neoclassic have produced a reaction against the softer, more remote Louis XVI rhetoric. Too often, the matter has been further politicized: Just as a full-blown Neoclassicism, austere and honest, is seen to have been the logical companion of rigorous revolutionary thought, so artists of the *ancien régime*, however competent, are sometimes believed to have been infected with an "insipidity and uncertainty of style"²⁸ that was the natural associate of social malaise. The presumption would be difficult to challenge if certain works of the Louis XVI period did not have vigor as well as charm sufficient to place them beyond criticism. Julien's *Amour silencieux* is a case in point, a minor masterpiece showing sculpture alive and well in the closing years of Louis XVI's reign.

argenteae perantiquae . . . (Utrecht, 1687) pp. 1–180; Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* (Paris, 1719–24) II, pp. 300–305, pls. 123–125.

24. Marble of 1757 in the Louvre. See George Levitine, *The Sculpture of Falconet* (Greenwich, Conn., 1972) figs. 16, 19, and pp. 30–31.

25. Pigalle executed an adolescent Harpocrates, titled *Le Silence*, for the hôtel of Comte d'Argenson at Neuilly, where it was paired with a sketch of *Fidélité*. The standing figure is lost but known through a sketch by Saint-Aubin in a 1779 sale catalogue. See Louis Réau, *J.-B. Pigalle* (Paris, 1950) pp. 38–39, and in *La Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 43 (1923) p. 387. Pigalle's disciple Louis-Philippe Mouchy executed a seated adolescent *Harpocrate, dieu de Silence*, between 1782 and 1789 (*Archives de l'art français* 14 [1925–26] p. 232, pl. XI); Auguste-Félix Fortin exhibited a figure of the same name in the Salon of 1819. The subject was popular in porce-

lains. Perhaps the earliest was a 1771 *Amour silencieux* first sold by Sèvres in 1771 (Chavagnac and Grollier, p. 273), which does not appear to survive. Boizot's *Amour discret*, dated 1773 by Bourgeois (pl. 23, no. 32) is a standing adolescent Harpocrates-Eros. Bourgeois dates a standing draped Boizot figure of *Le Silence* 1772 (pl. 15, no. 562), but it has a Neoclassical appearance of a slightly later Boizot-Leriche sort. Charles-Gabriel Sauvage, called Lemire, modeled an *Amour silencieux* for the Niederviller manufactory (*Lami, Dictionnaire* II, p. 55).

26. Bourgeois, pl. 18, no. 43, dated 1777; Boizot's statuette is in turn based equally on Bernini's *David* and on his own marble of a more adult Cupid, 1772, now in the Louvre (Levey, *Art and Architecture*, pl. 66).

27. Pascal, pp. 29–30 (Julien's copy at Saint-Bonnet-les-Oules illustrated).

28. Levey, *Art and Architecture*, p. 154.

A Daguerreotype of John Quincy Adams by Philip Haas

BEAUMONT NEWHALL

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IN 1937 THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM acquired, by the gift of I. N. Phelps Stokes and the Hawes family, sixty-one daguerreotypes from the Boston gallery of Southworth & Hawes, which had been inherited by Dr. Edward S. Hawes, son of Josiah J. Hawes and nephew of Albert Sands Southworth.

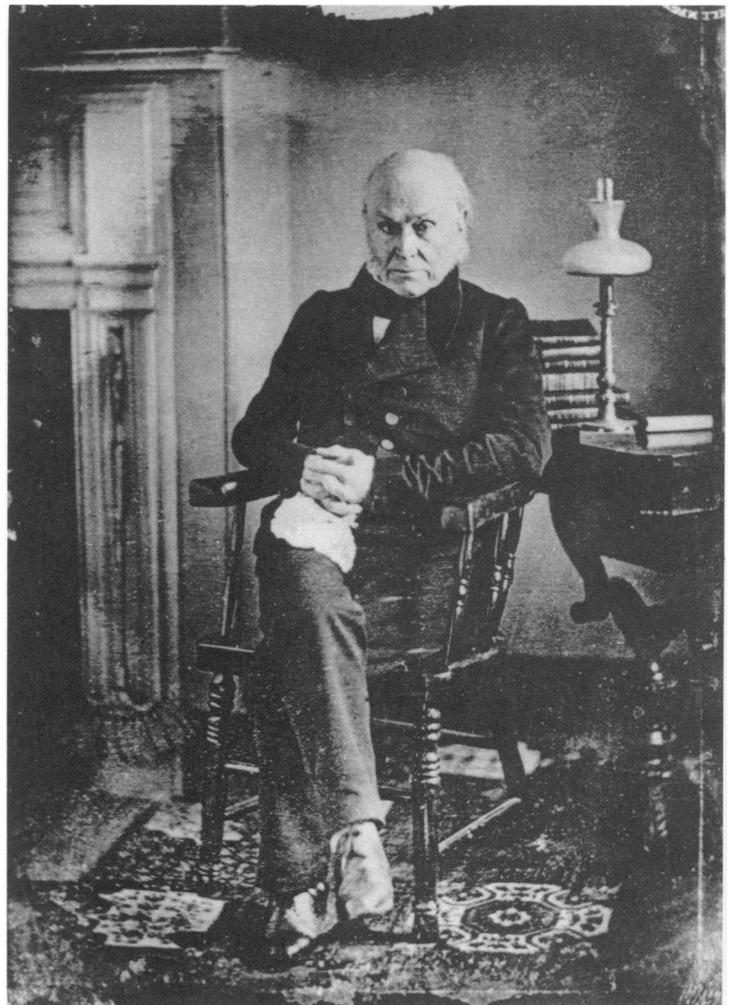
Recent evidence indicates that one of the most striking and historically important daguerreotypes in the collection, a portrait of John Quincy Adams (Figure 1), was taken by Philip Haas in Washington, D.C., in 1843.

At the time the collection was given to the Museum it was assumed, quite understandably because of their provenance, that all sixty-one of the daguerreotypes were taken by Southworth or Hawes, and they were so described in a handsome catalogue of the Stokes-Hawes gift, with collotype reproductions of fifteen of the plates.¹

1. I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Hawes-Stokes Collection of American Daguerreotypes by Albert Sands Southworth and Josiah Johnson Hawes* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1939).

FIGURE 1

Portrait of John Quincy Adams by Philip Haas, Washington, 1843. Daguerreotype from the gallery of Southworth & Hawes. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of I. N. Phelps Stokes and the Hawes Family, 37.14.32





P. Haas, Washington City, 1843.

FIGURE 2

Portrait of Joseph Ridgway by Philip Haas, Washington, 1843. Daguerreotype, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Beaumont Newhall, 1976.521

The portrait of John Quincy Adams, the sixth President (1825–29), shows him in an apparently domestic environment, described in the catalogue as “Adams’s home in Quincy (formerly Braintree), Massachusetts.” The daguerreotype, a half-plate, is not dated, but obviously the sitting was during the last years of his life. He died in 1848.

As was the custom, the silver-coated plate bears, in the upper right corner, the hallmark of the manufacturer; only part appears, but it is clearly that of the Scovill Manufacturing Company, of Waterbury, Con-

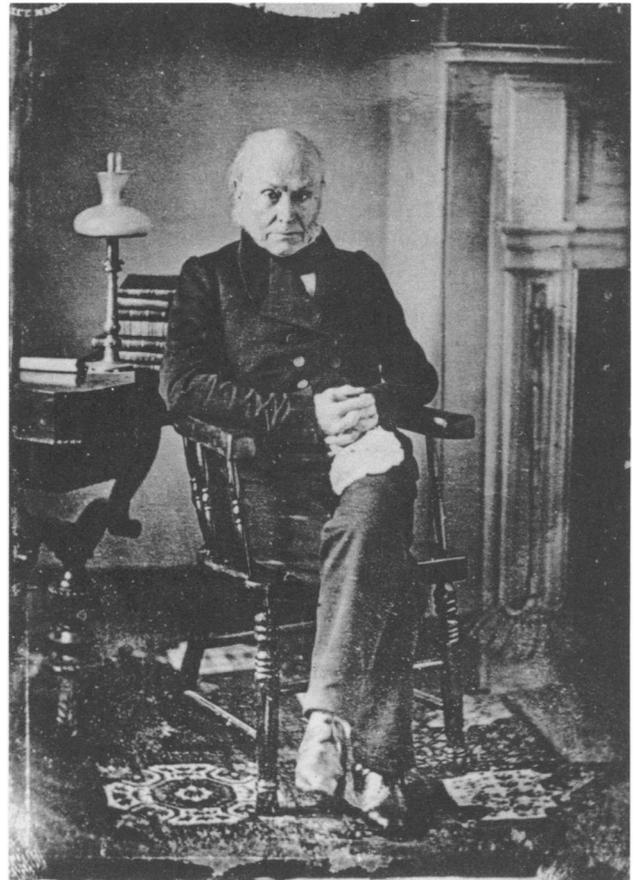


FIGURE 3

Haas’s portrait of Adams reversed for comparison with Figure 2

necticut, one of America’s leading makers of daguerreotype apparatus, plates, and other specialties. Under the style J. M. L. & W. H. Scovill, the firm began to manufacture daguerreotype plates in 1842; the name was changed to Scovill Manufacturing Company in 1850; presumably at that time the hallmark that appears on the Adams portrait was adopted.

If this assumption is correct, the plate itself cannot be the one that was exposed at the time of the sitting, which took place, obviously, prior to 1848. We can only conclude that the daguerreotype is a copy. The

daguerreotype process produced what may be, somewhat incorrectly, described as a direct positive.² Like today's Kodachrome slide, the material exposed in the camera itself is the end product. If copies are required, a picture of the original is taken by the same process. The copying of daguerreotypes was as common as the present-day duplication of color transparencies. Apprentices were assigned the task, which was a tedious one, as exposures with the copy camera were extremely long. Daguerreotypists offered to sell copies of their portraits of celebrities: Frederick DeBourg Richards of Philadelphia, for example, advertised in the professional *Daguerreian Journal* for August, 1851: "Thinking that perhaps Daguerreotypists in the country would like to have a copy of Jenny Lind, and as it is allowed by all that my picture is the best in America, I will sell copies at the following prices:—one sixth, \$2; one-fourth, \$4; one-half, \$6."

That Southworth & Hawes published daguerreotype copies of their own work is documented on a label on the back of the frame containing a portrait of Daniel Webster at Dartmouth College:

PORTRAIT OF HON. DANIEL WEBSTER
Printed by Daguerreotype
BY SOUTHWORTH & HAWES,
BOSTON, . . . 1852

At least three other copies of this daguerreotype exist. Its authorship is documented by William Willard (1819–1904), who stated in an interview³ that he had taken it in the Boston gallery of Southworth & Hawes in 1852 for the purpose of making several paintings of the statesman, one of which belongs to the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts.

The exchange of portraits of celebrities by daguerreotypists was a widespread custom, to judge from the number of identical copies bearing the names of different daguerreotypists.⁴

There is yet another reason to identify the Metropolitan's plate as a copy: the image is not reversed in respect to right and left. An original daguerreotype is a mirror image, unless an optical device is fitted over the lens—either a plane mirror at 45° to the axis of the lens or a 90° prism. Most sitters accepted the reversed image: after all, we know ourselves by what we see in a looking glass. Portraits of sitters wearing coats conveniently betray the mirror image: it is the custom for tailors to cut a man's coat so that it buttons from right to left. Ad-

2. The daguerreotype is an image of whitish mercury amalgam on a mirrorlike surface of highly polished silver. When viewed so that a dark field is reflected, the image appears positive; when a bright field is reflected, the image appears negative.

3. William Willard, interviewed by Frank Roe Batchelder, *Boston Evening Transcript*, Dec. 27, 1902.

4. Copies, identical or reversed, of two daguerreotypes in the Hawes-Stokes collection have thus far been located:

No. 5, Henry Clay

A collodion copy negative from a daguerreotype attributed to Mathew B. Brady, Library of Congress.

Reversed image, unsigned: Coll. A. Conger Goodyear.

Similar pose, probably made at the same sitting, signed on mat: Lawrence (Martin M. Lawrence, active in New York City). New-York Historical Society, New York.

No. 27, John Howard Payne

Reversed image, signed on back of contemporary frame: Vannerson (J. Vannerson, active in Washington).

Identical image, not signed. International Museum of Photography, Rochester, New York.

FIGURE 4

Portrait of John Quincy Adams. Lithograph "Taken from a Daguerreotype by P. Haas," 1843. Library of Congress



ams's coat is thus shown in the Metropolitan's daguerreotype.

My attempts to locate the original of the daguerreotype having failed, in the first two editions of my book *The Daguerreotype in America*⁵ I cautiously captioned the reproduction of the portrait "From the gallery of Southworth & Hawes."

A few years ago, I acquired quite by chance a daguerreotype of a man named Joseph Ridgway (Figure 2), presumably the representative from Ohio in Congress from 1837 to 1843. He is sitting in the very same captain's chair in which John Quincy Adams sat (Figure 3). Every detail is identical, though in reverse; the Turkey carpet, the oil lamp, the mantelpiece. Most unusually, the name of the daguerreotypist appears on the paper mat: P. Haas, Washington City, 1843.

A reattribution of the Adams portrait to Philip Haas thus seemed likely. It became certain with evidence given by Marvin Sadik in his catalogue of the exhibition *Life Portraits of John Quincy Adams* held at the National Portrait Gallery in 1970.⁶ Haas was a lithographer as well as a daguerreotypist: he published in 1843 a lithograph of Adams inscribed "Taken from a Daguerreotype by P. Haas" (Figure 4). The former

President is seated in the same captain's chair, with the same dedicated, puritanical facial expression, but in a slightly different pose, particularly of the hands. Sadik clinches the evidence by stating that Adams noted in his diary that he sat for his portrait in March, 1843, in Haas's gallery.

Of Philip Haas we know but little. He claimed that he learned of the daguerreotype process in Paris in 1839.⁷ About 1845 he made multiple exposures on a single plate with a movable plateholder.⁸ He is listed in New York City directories as a daguerreotypist in 1846, '48, and '50-57.⁹ He exhibited a daguerreotype "of an allegorical figure of a family man reading the paper at home" in the New York Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1853.¹⁰

Was he a member of the firm of Haas & Peale, who photographed Fort Sumter and other Civil War landmarks in 1863? Milton Kaplan so suggests in the *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*,¹¹ announcing the acquisition of 25 original negatives each with the names Haas & Peale scratched in the emulsion.

But the career—and especially the work—of the man who made one of the finest photographs of a President of the United States remains to be discovered.

5. Beaumont Newhall, *The Daguerreotype in America* (Greenwich, Conn., 1968).

6. Smithsonian Institution, National Portrait Gallery, *The Life Portraits of John Quincy Adams* (Washington, D.C., 1970) opp. pl. 41.

7. *Photographic Art Journal*, 2 (1851) pp. 62-63.

8. *American Journal of Photography*, n.s. 3 (1860) p. 205.

9. He was a member of the New York State Daguerreian Association, a trade guild to protect prices, in 1851: *Daguerreian Journal*, 3 (1851) p. 58.

10. *Humphrey's Journal of Photography*, 5 (1853) p. 139.

11. Milton Kaplan, "The Case of the Disappearing Photographer," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*, 24 (Jan. 1967) pp. 40-45.

Winslow Homer's Prisoners from the Front

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“That writer who shall achieve the task of combining the truth of sober narrative with the individuality and dramatic power of fiction, will realize the idea of a true popular history.”

George Perkins Marsh, *The American Historical School* (1847)

THE CRITICISM THAT GREETED Winslow Homer's *Prisoners from the Front* (Figure 1) on the occasion of its first exhibition at the National Academy of Design in New York in 1866, in addition to being almost universally favorable—“it is *the* figure picture of the exhibition,” wrote *The Round Table* critic¹—was in virtually unanimous agreement in its interpretation. The critic of the *New York Tribune* wrote: “It is not easy to say how the two sides in our late war could have been better epitomized than in this group of three Southern prisoners brought up before a Northern officer. The leaders are contrasted, not merely without exaggeration, but one may almost say, with judicial impartiality.”² A writer in *The Nation* said: “In the greater matters of meaning and expression it is hardly to be bettered. These are real men—the officer with the star on his shoulder, the two soldiers with shouldered muskets, and the three prisoners. The Southern officer and the Northern officer are well contrasted, representing very accurately the widely differing classes to which they belong.”³ The *New York Evening Post* critic (“Sordello”) wrote: “There is a force in the rendering of character, and a happy selection of representative and at the same time local types of men, in Mr. Homer's picture, which distinguish it as the most valuable and comprehensive art work that has been painted to express some of the most vital facts of our war. The more we consider Mr.

Homer's very positive work the more suggestive it is. On one side the hard, firm-faced New England man, without bluster, and with the dignity of a life animated by principle, confronting the audacious, reckless, impudent young Virginian, capable of heroism, because capable of impulse, but incapable of endurance because too ardent to be patient; next to him the poor, bewildered old man, perhaps a spy, with his furtive look, and scarcely able to realize the new order of things about to sweep away the associations of his life; back of him ‘the poor white,’ stupid, stolid, helpless, yielding to the magnetism of superior natures and incapable of resisting authority.”⁴ *The Round Table* critic said: “It expresses, in a graphic and vital manner, the conditions of character North and South during the war.”¹ And, finally, the editor of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* wrote: “A group of rebel prisoners confront a young Union general, who questions them. The central figure of the group is a young South Carolinian of gentle breeding and graceful aspect, whose fair hair flows backward in a heavy sweep, and who stands, in his rusty gray uniform, erect and defiant, without insolence, a truly chivalric and manly figure. Next to him, on the

1. “About ‘Figure Pictures’ at the Academy,” 3 (1866) p. 295.
2. July 4, 1866.
3. 2 (May 10, 1866) p. 603.
4. April 28, 1866.

right, is an old man, and behind him the very antipodal figure of the youth in front—a ‘corn-cracker’—rough, uncouth, shambling, the type of those who have been true victims of the war and of the slavery that led to it. At the left of the young Carolinian is a Union soldier—one of the Yankees, whose face shows why the Yankees won, it is so cool and clear and steady. Opposite this group stands the officer with sheathed sword. His composed, lithe, and alert figure, and a certain grave and cheerful confidence of face, with an air of reserved and tranquil power, are contrasted with the subdued eagerness of the foremost prisoner. The men are both young; they both understand each other. They may be easily taken as types, and, without effort, final victory is read in the aspect of the blue-coated soldier.”⁵

These comments vary in the amount of information or mere conjecture they supply and in the degree of patriotic fervor they display; but they all dwell, as the *Nation* writer put it, on the painting’s “greater matters of meaning and expression,” and, more specifically, on an admiration and evaluation of the psychological interaction between its inhabitants and their serviceability as sociological “types” that “epitomized” the fundamental issues of the American Civil War. This reading of the painting by Homer’s contemporary critics as essentially analytical, synoptic, and even symbolic is one that recent students of his art, such as Charles H. Caffin, Lloyd Goodrich, and Julian Grossman, have also made; all of them would agree with the latter’s assessment that the painting “is nothing short of a pictorial synopsis of the entire war.”⁶

One can hardly quarrel with this interpretation, for that the painting discourses upon its subject in these terms is unquestionably the source of its greatness, the quality that makes it as timelessly legible and appealing in our day as it was in its own.⁷ It is, moreover, a remarkable measure of Homer’s genius that in this, his first important painting, he alone among the painters of the Civil War was able to create so summary an image of it, and more remarkable still that he did so in ways that perfectly suited its character. For it was a war, as its participants and contemporary observers were fully aware, unlike previous ones and not amenable, therefore, to inherited rules and strategies, whether military or artistic. As it was not fought according to inherited modes of military conduct, so neither could it be properly represented by the in-

herited conventions of military art—conventions which the Napoleonic wars of the earlier nineteenth century supplied in familiar abundance. For instance, Colonel Theodore Lyman, a particularly cultivated commentator on the war, which he observed as an aide attached to General Meade’s staff (we shall encounter him again presently in his connection with the subject of *Prisoners from the Front*), wrote, “Your typical ‘great white plain,’ with long lines advancing and manoeuvring, led on by generals in cocked hats and by bands of music, exist not for us,”⁸ and he found the resemblances he occasionally noticed to conventional representations of warfare unusual and incongruous; he was struck by “a great crowd of a Staff (who never *can* be made to ride, except in the higglety-pigglety style in which ‘Napoleon et ses Maréchaux’ are always represented in common engravings),” and he found it “curious” that a scene of combat “reminded me of one of those stiff but faithful engravings of Napoleon’s battles that one sees in European collections.”⁹ Surely Homer was aware of this artistic type. There were copious examples of it, and, as Nadar’s satire of the battle paintings in the 1861 Salon¹⁰ indicates, it was still a flourishing genre in the decade in which Homer painted *Prisoners from the Front*. John La Farge, in recollecting his and Homer’s artistic beginnings, presumably in the 1860s, spoke of their reliance on prints, “especially the very wonderful lithographs, which gave us the synopsis of a great deal of

5. “Editor’s Easy Chair,” 33 (June 1866) pp. 116–117.

6. Julian Grossman, *Echo of a Distant Drum: Winslow Homer and the Civil War* (New York, 1974) p. 117. Charles H. Caffin, *American Masters of Painting* (New York, 1913) p. 75: “The painter has felt beyond the limits of the episode itself the profound significance of the struggle in which this was but an eddy, and in the generalization of his theme has imparted to it the character of a type.” Lloyd Goodrich, *Winslow Homer* (New York, 1944) p. 21: “The contrast between the confident, well-groomed Northern officer and his shabby, defiant Southern counterpart, the pitiable state of the other prisoners, the fine delineation of character in the bedraggled old man, the freedom from false heroics or vindictiveness, made this a moving symbol of victory tempered with sympathy for the vanquished.”

7. One contemporary writer (*The Independent*, April 26, 1866) spoke of it as Homer’s “truly Homeric reminiscence of the war.”

8. *Meade’s Headquarters 1863–1865. Letters of Colonel Theodore Lyman, from the Wilderness to Appomattox*, ed. George R. Agassiz (Boston, 1922), letter of May 8, 1864, p. 101.

9. *Ibid.*, letter of September 29, 1863, p. 24; letter of June 16, 1864, p. 165.

10. Aaron Scharf, *Art and Photography* (Harmondsworth, 1974) p. 148.



FIGURE 1
Winslow Homer, *Prisoners from the Front*. Oil on canvas, 1866. 24×38 inches. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Frank B. Porter, 22.207

European art,”¹¹ and it is not improbable that this “synopsis” included examples of military art. In whatever way or degree he had access to it, Homer was clearly familiar with its ingredients, as several of his early war illustrations indicate.¹² But in his later work, particularly in his paintings, and above all in *Prisoners from the Front*, every trace of this mode has disappeared.¹³ This may have been because the disparity between pictorial prototype and reality was beyond reconciliation—certainly the rich photographic record of the Civil War suggests that conventional martial displays or heroics (and heroes, too) were rather the exception than the rule—or it may have resulted from an understanding, deepening to great profundity during its course, of the special and novel character of the war

11. Gustave Kobbé, “John La Farge and Winslow Homer,” *New York Herald* (December 4, 1910) Magazine Section, p. 11.

12. For example, the wood engravings *The War for the Union, 1862—A Cavalry Charge*, or *The War for the Union, 1862—A Bayonet Charge*, *Harpers Weekly*, July 5, July 12, 1862. Also, the prominent French military painters Alphonse de Neuville (1835–85) and Étienne Berne-Bellecour (1838–1910) were Homer’s close contemporaries; he shared their “devotion to documentation”: Frank A. Trapp, in Christopher Forbes and Margaret Kelly, *War à la Mode: Military Pictures by Meissonier, Detaille, De Neuville and Berne-Bellecour*, exhibition catalogue (Amherst College, n.d.) p. 8.

13. “It will not escape the notice of the observer who studies the war drawings made by Homer that he does not choose for his motives, as a rule, the customary battle scenes, with long lines of troops advancing or retreating, clouds of gun-powder smoke, heroic officers waving their swords and calling upon their men to ‘Come on!’—and all the rest of the stock material of the School of Versailles”: William Howe Downes, *The Life and Works of Winslow Homer* (New York, 1911) p. 42.



FIGURE 2
Francis Channing Barlow. Photograph, 1866,
from *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, 4, June 1896

and the appropriate means for depicting it. Homer's painting made sense, as no other painted image did in the same degree, of the fundamental issues of that conflict. It did so because he discarded the conventional subjects of battle paintings or modes of heroic typification for a prosaic encounter between two (so far as most of his critics were concerned) anonymous figures, and because he framed and explained his subject by devices of psychological and sociological analysis that are counterparts in their modernity to the modernity of the subject they were used to describe and thus peculiarly fitted to its elucidation.¹⁴ Contemporary critics did not use these terms, of course, but they repeatedly commented both upon the psychological relations between the two officers, and the regional and social differences which they so clearly exemplified.

Prisoners from the Front is in this sense a particularly modern form of history painting. It is also a particularly American one, for it is constructed almost as though Homer were following American historiographical prescriptions such as those George Perkins

Marsh set forth in his *American Historical School* (1847): "To emphasize what was best in their tradition and national character Americans need a new kind of history," Marsh wrote, "one which would explain peculiarly American institutions. European historians dealt with the pomp and circumstance of armies and aristocracies, remote and meaningless to Americans. History for citizens of a republic should concentrate on the common man."¹⁵

This is simply a sketch of what has been and may be said about the broadest and deepest meanings of *Prisoners from the Front*. Clearly its "greater matters of meaning and expression" have been, and continue to be, its most attractive and stimulating ones, and perhaps its most significant. Yet at the time the painting was first exhibited, and sporadically since then, another more specific aspect of its content was recognized. As the *Harper's* editorial writer said at the conclusion of his remarks on the painting, with an indirectness that for some reason accompanies most such references, "It will not diminish the interest of the picture if the spectator should see in the young Union officer General Barlow."¹⁶ Far from diminishing, it should excite one's interest in the picture to know the identity of its chief figure. But it has not stimulated the writers of the major recent monographic literature on Homer sufficiently even to mention, much less to dwell upon it.¹⁷ If this is

14. The scientific analogues for the landscape artists of the first part of the nineteenth century lay in natural history (Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, "Scientific Sources of the Full-Length Landscape: 1850," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* [October 1945] pp. 59-65, and David C. Huntington, *The Landscapes of Frederic Edwin Church: Vision of an American Era* [New York, 1966]). The analogues for Homer lay rather in the new social sciences, in the description of society rather than of the earth.

15. Quoted in David Lowenthal, *George Perkins Marsh—Versatile Vermonter* (New York, 1958) pp. 101-102.

16. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 33 (June 1866) p. 117. Even Julian Grossman (*Echo*, p. 119) will say only that "there are valid grounds for identifying the Union officer as Major General Francis C. Barlow."

17. This cannot have been because Barlow's identity was unknown to the twentieth century. Augustus Stonehouse ("Winslow Homer," *The Art Review Miscellany*, 1 [February 1887] p. 12) noted that the officer was a portrait of Barlow, though he did not elaborate. Harry B. Wehle ("Early Paintings by Homer," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* [February 1923] p. 40), on the occasion of the acquisition of the painting by the Museum, not only mentioned Barlow but verified his identity and dealt with the insignia depicted in the painting. Barlow is mentioned also in the description of the picture in the exhibition catalogue *Life in America*

because of some lingering doubt, it can easily be dispelled, for there is absolutely no question that the Union officer is in fact Brigadier General Francis Channing Barlow (1834–96).¹⁸ Not only does he resemble contemporary photographic portraits of Barlow so closely as to admit of no reasonable doubt (Figure 2),¹⁹ but Homer’s depiction accords precisely with written descriptions of him as well. For example, Colonel Theodore Lyman, who happened to be Barlow’s classmate at Harvard (Class of 1855), told of his first encounter with Barlow in the army: “As we stood under a big cherry tree, a strange figure approached; he looked like a highly independent mounted newsboy; he was attired in a flannel checked shirt; a threadbare pair of trousers, and an old blue *képi*; from his waist hung a big cavalry sabre. . . . It was General Barlow.”²⁰ In *Prisoners from*

the Front, Barlow’s attire is considerably more correct than that described by Lyman, but it still reveals a carelessness that was evidently one of his striking characteristics: Lyman later referred to his “costume *d’été*—checked shirt and old blue trousers,”²¹ and it is just this costume that he is wearing in a photograph showing him with General Winfield Scott Hancock, commander of the 2nd Corps, Army of the Potomac, and Generals John Gibbon and David Birney (Figure 3). Another conspicuous article of Barlow’s attire, recorded in this photograph, mentioned by Lyman, and faithfully recorded by Homer, is the big (Lyman also called it “huge”) cavalry saber that Barlow wore, although he was an infantry and not a cavalry officer; a stern disciplinarian, he liked it because, as Lyman reported, “when he hits a straggler he wants to hurt him.”²²

(Metropolitan Museum, 1939) pp. 146, 149. Downes (*The Life*, p. 56) merely quotes John La Farge’s description of “the painting of the prisoners at the front when General Barlow received the surrender of the Confederates,” and adds no more.

18. Barlow biographies: Edwin H. Abbott, “Francis Channing Barlow,” *Harvard Graduates’ Magazine*, 4 (June 1896) pp. 526–542; Conrad H. Lanza, “Barlow,” *Dictionary of American Biography*, I (New York, 1928).

19. Other photographs of Barlow: *Meade’s Headquarters*, bet. pp. 188–189; *Harper’s Weekly*, 9 (October 7, 1865) p. 629.

20. *Meade’s Headquarters*, p. 107.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 189. Barlow’s oddities were not confined to his dress. Lyman at one time (letter of June 13, 1864, p. 158) “found that eccentric officer divested of his coat and seated in a cherry tree,” and at another (letter of July 7, 1864, p. 186) “paid a visit to Brigadier-General Barlow, who, as the day was hot, was lying in his tent, neatly attired in his shirt and drawers, and listening to his band, that was playing without. With a quaint hospitality he besought me to ‘take off my trousers and make myself at home,’ which I did avail of no further than to sit down.”

22. *Ibid.*, p. 189. Lyman wrote elsewhere, describing the marching of Barlow’s troops, which he admired, that it was “a result due in part to the good spirit of the men, and in part to the terror in which stragglers stood of General Barlow”: “Operations of the Army of the Potomac, June 5–15, 1864,” *Papers of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts*, V (Boston, 1906) p. 20. While Barlow was the Union (or Republican) candidate for Secretary of State in New York in 1865 the opposition press told stories “of how he permitted his men who fell out of line from exhaustion on the march from the Wilderness to be cruelly and wantonly shot”: Homer A. Stebbins, *A Political History of the State of New York; 1865–1869* (New York, 1913) pp. 69–70. Despite his severity, and despite his casualness of manner and dress, Barlow was meticulously attentive to his men; as Henry Lee Higginson reported, “He lives with his division, goes to a piece of work or to a fight with them—sees that they have nice clean uniform camps, that they are well cared for, that they are well placed and advantageously moved in a fight. In short he minds his work thoro’ly”: Bliss Perry, *Life and Letters of Henry Lee Higginson* (Boston, 1921) p. 224.

FIGURE 3

Generals Barlow, Hancock (seated), Gibbon, and Birney. Undated photograph from *The Photographic History of the Civil War*, II (New York, 1912)





FIGURE 4
United States infantrymen. Undated photograph from Francis A. Lord, *Uniforms of the Civil War* (New York, 1970)

FIGURE 5
United States army shoes. Undated photograph from *Uniforms of the Civil War*



Another distinctive aspect of Barlow's appearance was his youthfulness, which led understandably to his being commonly known as the "boy General." It is apparent in photographs of him, and Lyman referred to him as a "newsboy," although he was thirty years old at the time. This trait, too, is visible in Homer's painting.

Barlow's youthfulness was a matter of physique as well as physiognomy: Lyman quoted the observation of a visiting French officer that Barlow "a la figure d'un gamin de Paris,"²³ and he was also described as having "a slight, almost delicate form, yet as closely knit as that of a deer."²⁴

Homer's depiction, or, more truly, his characterization of Barlow is obviously accurate in the highest degree. And it is not confined to Barlow's appearance or mannerisms of dress but permeates the painting. Barlow wears the regulation uniform, and, on his shoulders, the single star of a Brigadier General in the United States Army. The Union soldiers are also dressed in regulation uniform (Figure 4), even to their shoes (Figure 5). The Confederate prisoners, too, wear what was, by the end of the war, their usual, though hardly regulation, dress (Figure 6). The escort at the right carries a white flag with a red cloverleaf. This was the insignia of the 1st Division of the 2nd Corps (Figure 7), of which Barlow was in command. The Union soldier in the center wears, according to regulation, the same insignia on his cap, beneath which is the number of his regiment, 61, for the 61st New York Volunteers, one of the units comprising the 1st Division of the 2nd Corps. The Confederate officer also wears clearly legible, though not identifiable, insignia on his right sleeve.

Homer obviously took great pains to include these details and to make them both correct and coherent. He must have done this for some purpose, for he could easily have dispensed with them. One purpose that comes immediately to mind, surely, was to represent some specific incident in the war involving General Barlow and the 2nd Corps.²⁵

The possibility that Homer depicted a particular incident in *Prisoners from the Front* has never seriously been

23. Meade's Headquarters, letter of July 7, 1864, p. 186.

24. *Life Sketches of the Government Officers and Members of the Legislature of the State of New York* (Albany, 1867) p. 23.

25. However, in many of his paintings and prints of the 1860s Homer was unusually attentive to modes of dress, to the point even of a resemblance to fashion plates. This is particularly true of works like *Croquet* (1866) (Art Institute of Chicago), which is very like a fashion plate of the same year and same subject (*Godey's Lady's Book*, 72 [March 1866] following p. 292), *Initials* (1864), *Long Branch* (1869), or, to bring it closer home, of a military subject such as *Officers at Camp Benton, Maryland* (about 1861). For a parallel phenomenon among Homer's French contemporaries, Mark W. Roskill, "Early Impressionism and the Fashion Print," *Burlington Magazine*, 112 (June 1970) pp. 391-395.

entertained. Yet Henry Tuckerman, in his *Book of the Artists*, published the year after the painting was first exhibited and therefore presumably speaking with some authority, said it was an “actual scene,”²⁶ and Homer’s friend in the 1860s, John La Farge, implied that it had a specific subject when at the end of his life he described it as “the painting of the prisoners at the front when General Barlow received the surrender of the Confederates.”²⁷ (He implied further, in mentioning Barlow, that his presence in the picture is neither gratuitous nor incidental to its meaning.) Homer himself lent indirect support to the possibility of actuality. When he showed his work to James E. Kelly in the early 1870s, among which was at least one Civil War drawing (of Lincoln and Grant at City Point), Kelly reported that “he had a story to tell of each.”²⁸ And Homer described an 1887 watercolor, *Two Federal Scouts*, as “drawn from life, when in advance of the Army on its last campaign, March 29th, 1865.”²⁹ More generally, all of his Civil War work carries the flavor and conviction of actuality.

Francis Channing Barlow’s military career was a brilliant one. Although not a professional soldier—he was a lawyer by training—he rose from the rank of private, at which he elected to enlist at the beginning of the war, to Major General at its end. As part of the Army of the Potomac he and units under his command served with great distinction in the battles of Fair Oaks, Antietam (in which he was seriously wounded), Gettysburg (in which he was wounded again and left for dead),³⁰ the bitterly fought Battle of the Wilderness, and the movement on Richmond that bloodily brought the war to its conclusion. He was, despite his eccentricities, a very gallant officer whose career was rich in heroic acts, and an attractive personality. It is not at all difficult to see why Homer painted him. But what incident from his colorful career, if any, did Homer depict?

The details of the painting itself help to limit the range of possible circumstances from which such an incident might have been drawn, for in it Barlow has

26. *Book of the Artists* (New York, 1867) p. 491.

27. *New York Herald*, December 4, 1919, p. 11.

28. Goodrich, *Homer*, p. 48.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 230. *Two Federal Scouts* is reproduced in Grossman, *Echo*, p. 183.

30. T. J. Mackey, “An Incident at Gettysburg,” *McClure’s Magazine*, 3 (1894) pp. 68–70.



FIGURE 6
Confederate soldiers captured at Gettysburg. Photograph, 1863. Library of Congress

FIGURE 7
United States Army Corps Badges, 1865. From *Uniforms of the Civil War*

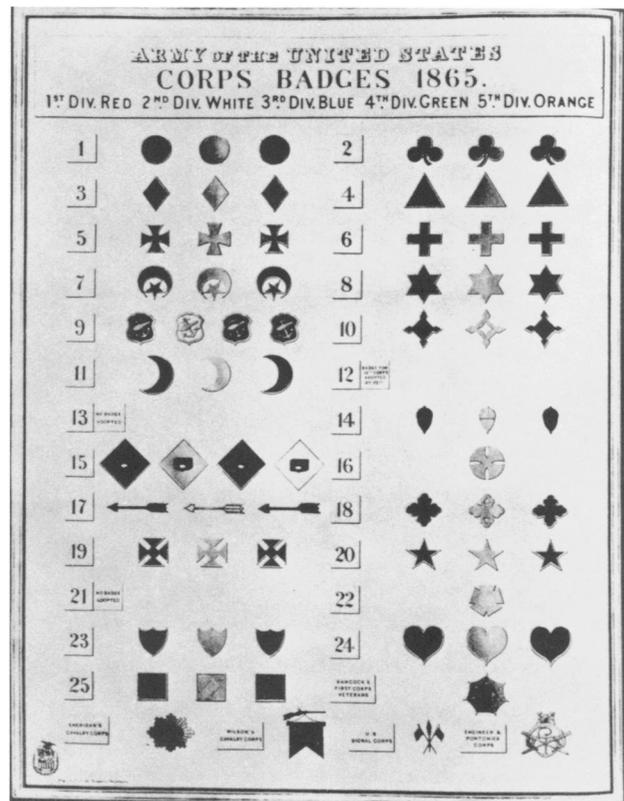




FIGURE 8

Winslow Homer, *Skirmish in the Wilderness*. Oil on canvas, 1864. 18×26 inches. New Britain Museum of American Art, New Britain, Connecticut, Harriet Russell Stanley Fund

the rank of Brigadier General and is also clearly associated with the 1st Division of the 2nd Corps. He commanded this division only from April to August, 1864, when he relinquished his command because of illness. The subject of the painting, therefore, can only have occurred during the late spring and summer of 1864, which excludes from consideration such earlier events as those connected with the battles of Fair Oaks, Antietam, and Gettysburg.³¹ But during this period the 2nd Corps, with Barlow's 1st Division, played a prominent role in Grant's move on Richmond, and it ought to be among the events of this campaign—the battles of Spot-

31. It excludes, too, the later event of the surrender at Appomattox, at which Barlow was present, but not as a member of the 2nd Corps.

sylvania Courthouse, or Cold Harbor, or the siege of Petersburg—that the subject of the painting is to be found.

There is indeed one event with which Barlow was particularly associated: the assault on the salient, the so-called "bloody angle," at Spotsylvania Courthouse. There, on the morning of May 12, Barlow's troops (with others of the 2nd Corps) accomplished a daring capture of the Confederate positions, the fruits of which were the taking of a division of three to four thousand prisoners, twenty-two standards, and the generals Edward Johnson and George Steuart. It was a stunning victory, one mentioned in every contemporary account of Barlow's military exploits, and the one, more than any other, by which he became, as it was put shortly there-

after, “one of the most conspicuous soldiers of the war—one of its most heroic and romantic figures.”³² It was so memorable that it was recalled a year later: “His capture of Gen. EDWARD JOHNSON and his entire division . . . is too recent in the story of the war to have been forgotten. It was the first substantial success of the new campaign, and Gen. BARLOW was brought prominently before the people by his gallantry in these actions.”³³ At about the same time (the occasion for these remarks has a possible connection with the painting and will be considered further below), another writer spoke of Barlow as “one of the most heroic and skillful of our soldiers,” and adduced as proof that “One of his

achievements, the capture of a whole rebel division with its Generals at Spotsylvania, was perhaps the most brilliant single feat of the war.”³⁴ Barlow’s fame, which was considerable,³⁵ rested very largely upon the capture of numerous and prominent Confederate prisoners at Spotsylvania, and it is therefore a perfectly plausible, indeed an almost inescapable supposition that this is what the painting is about.

This supposition is enhanced by Homer’s presence at the front in the summer of 1864, at which time he gathered material for *A Skirmish in the Wilderness* (Figure 8) and *Defiance: Inviting a Shot Before Petersburg* (Figure 9), both painted later that year.³⁶ It must have been at this

32. “General F. C. Barlow,” *Harper’s Weekly*, July 9, 1864, p. 445.

33. “The Union Candidates. Gen. Barlow’s Military Career,” *New York Times*, September 23, 1865.

34. “General Barlow,” *Harper’s Weekly*, October 7, 1865, p. 629.

35. “He has already made a name that the history of American Liberty will forever honor”: *Harper’s Weekly*, July 9, 1864, p. 445; “What general in the Union army can show a more brilliant career?": *New York Times*, September 23, 1865.

36. The suggestion in the entry on *Prisoners from the Front in Life*

FIGURE 9

Winslow Homer, *Defiance: Inviting a Shot before Petersburg, Virginia*. Oil on panel, 1864. 12 × 18 inches. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Dexter M. Ferry, Jr.





FIGURE 10
Winslow Homer, *Bust Portrait of an Officer* [General Francis Channing Barlow]. Undated drawing, 24×33.4 cm. (1912.12.272 verso). Courtesy Cooper-Hewitt Museum, The Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Design

time, too, that he sketched Barlow's portrait (Figure 10), for not only does it appear on the verso of a sheet that also contains studies of the war-scarred landscape

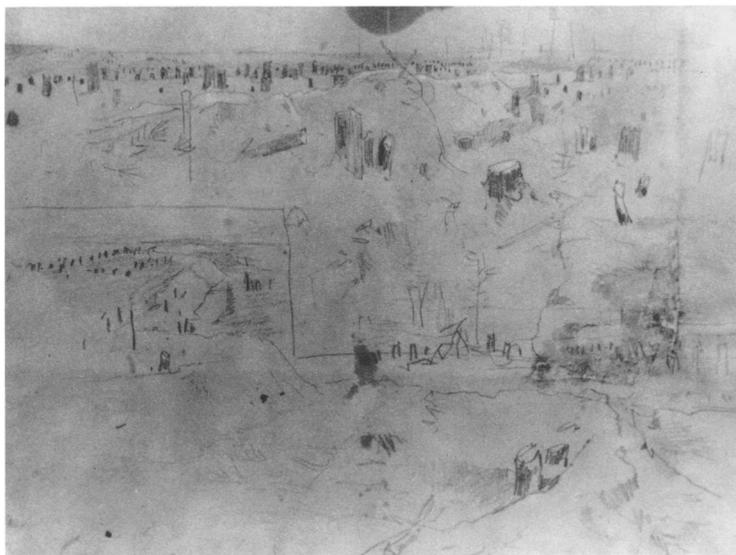
in *America* that material for this picture was gathered while Homer was attached to the 61st New York Volunteers in 1861 or, more likely, 1862, is clearly mistaken. It is possible that the officer in *A Skirmish in the Wilderness* carrying a long sword and bearing on his cap a red dot, which could be the badge of the 1st Division of the 2nd Corps, may be General Barlow, but he is too sketchily indicated to be sure. *Defiance* almost certainly depicts Confederate, not Union, positions; the gray uniforms, black banjo player, and, especially, the virtual identity between the defiant young soldier and the "cracker" in *Prisoners from the Front*, all indicate this. There was considerable fraternization during the siege of Petersburg, and Homer may actually have visited the Confederate side.

of Petersburg (Figure 11), but his emaciated features reflect the wound he suffered at Gettysburg the previous summer, from which he had not fully recovered and which would compel him to resign his command in August, 1864. In other words, Homer was present at the time and in the vicinity of the assault at Spotsylvania, although he probably did not witness the event itself, and had direct access to Barlow as well.³⁷

But the matter is not so simple. For if Homer's subject is the battle and surrender at Spotsylvania, it is a greatly distilled version of it—a ceremonial or symbolic re-enactment by five main actors of an event that involved thousands, and which is more accurately conveyed, despite its conventionalism, by the anonymous Currier and Ives lithograph of the *Glorious Charge of Hancock's Division (2nd) of the Army of the Potomac at the Battle near Spotsylvania Court House, Va., May 12th, 1864* (Figure 12), or in A. R. Waud's double-page wood

37. Homer did, however, inform an official of the Union League Club, which at one time owned *A Skirmish in the Wilderness*, that "it was painted from sketches made on the spot at the time of the battle": (Goodrich, *Homer*, p. 230). Other evidence of his association with the 1st Division of the 2nd Corps at about this time is *Army Boots* (1865) (The Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution), for its cloverleaf emblem can be seen on the tent at the upper right.

FIGURE 11
Winslow Homer, *Landscape with Tree Stumps* [*Petersburg, Virginia*]. Undated drawing, recto of Figure 10



engraving, *Army of the Potomac—The Struggle for the Salient, near Spotsylvania, Virginia, May 12, 1864* (*Harper's Weekly*, June 11, 1864).³⁸ This may have been the only way in which Homer, given his distaste for such military pageants as these, could handle this subject. But the painting cannot, at the same time, make any great claim to strict historical accuracy in so greatly transformed and abbreviated a state. Another difficulty is

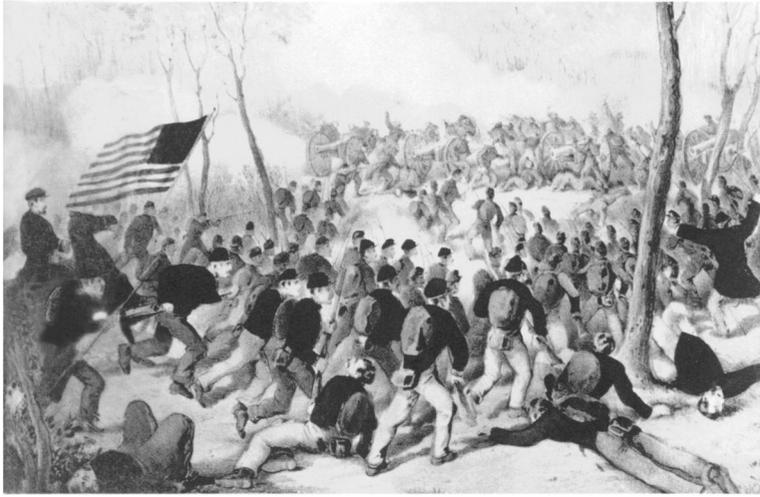


FIGURE 12

Glorious Charge of Hancock's Division (2nd) of the Army of the Army of the Potomac at the Battle near Spotsylvania Court House Va, May 12th, 1864. Currier & Ives lithograph, undated. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 12 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Museum of the City of New York, The Harry T. Peters Collection

38. Descriptions of the surrender accord in no way with the painting. Barlow himself, admittedly drawing on vague memory many years later (in 1879), said, "There was a little pattering of bullets, and I saw a few of our men on the ground; one discharge of artillery, that I remember, and we were up on the works with our hands full of guns, prisoners, colors": "Capture of the Salient, May 12, 1864," *Papers of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts*, IV (Boston, 1905) p. 275. Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel William R. Driver wrote that "the rebel defenders surrendered after short resistance, and were immediately marched to the Federal rear and placed in charge of the provost marshal of the army": *ibid.*, p. 281. A method of handling prisoners shortly after battle is depicted in the lower right corner of A. R. Waud's drawing and wood engraving, *General Barlow's Charge at Cold Harbor, June 3, 1864*: Frederick E. Ray, *A. R. Waud, Civil War Artist* (New York, 1974) pl. 73, and *Harper's Weekly*, June 11, 1864.

that the landscape setting is not at all like that of the wilderness at Spotsylvania, with its dense foliage that Homer painted in *A Skirmish in the Wilderness* (and which is sketchily indicated in the Currier and Ives *Glorious Charge* as well as Waud's *Struggle for the Salient*) but is decidedly more like the desolate, stump-filled wasteland of Petersburg.

The supposition that the painting is about a specific event at a specific place is also challenged by what is known or can be surmised about how it was made. No single study for the picture, or, for that matter, for any of its principal figural groups has survived, although a substantial number of Homer's Civil War sketches, some of them related to *Prisoners from the Front*, do exist. Visitors to Homer's New York studio in the University Building early in 1866, when he was working on *Prisoners from the Front*, all describe it as densely filled with drawings and oil sketches of war subjects as well as with military artifacts. One said his walls were "crowded with drawings, and sketches in oil, of incidents and episodes of war,"³⁹ another mentioned "walls covered with drawings of soldiers and girls, and battles, and episodes of the camp and march,"⁴⁰ and Thomas Bailey Aldrich inventoried "A crayon sketch of camp-life here and there on rough walls, a soldier's over-coat dangling from a wooden peg, and suggesting a military execution, and a rusty regulation musket in one corner."⁴¹

Although two of these visitors described *Prisoners from the Front*, upon which Homer was then at work, and which they presumably examined in his presence, neither mentioned any specific incident as its subject. There are also stories relating to this and other paintings of the time (and later ones, too) of how Homer employed live models and manikins for his figures.⁴² All

39. "Art Feuilleton," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, February 20, 1866.

40. "About New York Painters. Works Now on their Easels," *New York Evening Post*, February 21, 1866.

41. "Among the Studios. IV," *Our Young Folks*, 2 (September 1866) p. 574.

42. "While Homer was painting 'Prisoners from the Front' and the rest of the army subjects of that period, he had a lay figure, which was alternately dressed up in the blue uniform of the Union soldier and the butter nut gray of the Confederate soldier, serving with soulless impartiality, now as a Northerner and now as a Southerner": Downes, *The Life*, p. 55. Barlow's son said Homer had General Nelson A. Miles, who served under his father in the war, pose for his figure in *Prisoners from the Front* (letter of April 4, 1938, Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives), which, in view of



FIGURE 13
Winslow Homer, *Six Studies of Soldiers' Heads*. Undated drawing, 24.3×29 cm. Courtesy Cooper-Hewitt Museum

of this strongly suggests that the picture, rather than being based on a single incident, was contrived in the studio from a number of sources, like the surviving sketches of Barlow and the Petersburg landscape, or even from material not in origin directly connected with the subject of the picture: for example, the sketch of a soldier's head which Homer used for the figure to the left of Barlow (Figure 13) has the number 28 on his cap, but in the painting this has been changed to 61,

the survival of a sketch only of Barlow's head but none of the entire figure and, too, of the almost monstrous proportion of head to body in the painting, may be true. And Thomas Baily Aldrich told how Homer, needing a model for *The Bright Side* (1865), went into the streets in search of one: "Among the Studios. III," *Our Young Folks*, 2 (July 1866) p. 397.

43. The drawing *Escort of a General* (Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute), unquestionably related to *Prisoners from the Front*, was surely made after the painting rather than as a study for it, intended, but not used, as an illustration for post-Civil War publications. Drawings of this kind by Homer appeared in *The Century*, 35 (November 1887) pp. 132, 134; (February 1888) p. 324. Abundant examples of this type of illustration can be found in *The American Heritage Collection of Civil War Art* (New York, 1974).

44. *Winslow Homer* (New York, 1972) pp. 42–43.

45. *Ibid.* Wilmerding also speaks of "the close-up point of view, [and] the occasionally cropped or carefully framed compositions"

to make the figure better serve a purpose to be mentioned below.⁴³

This is the place for a few remarks about various sources lying outside Homer's own art or his studio practice that have been proposed for *Prisoners from the Front*. John Wilmerding has recently suggested photographic affinities, if not, quite wisely, specific photographic sources, for *Prisoners from the Front*.⁴⁴ It would be fitting and therefore attractive in light of what has been said above of the painting's modern character to find that it had some real relationship to the modern imagery and technology of photography. But there is no substantial evidence in this case to compel one to yield to the current enthusiasm for discovering, or imagining, photographic sources. It is impossible to find among the multitude of photographs of the Civil War any directly related to the painting, nor is there mention of photographs in the descriptions of Homer's richly stocked studio. On the contrary, everything discoverable about how the painting was made points to entirely conventional procedures. These are reflected in the painting's formality of pose and composition (although this has to do also, of course, with the formal or ceremonial nature of the subject), and there is nothing about it, Wilmerding's suggestions notwithstanding, to support an assertion of photographic inspiration, for the "posed stability" that he takes to be "characteristic of photography" is in this case much more plausibly a trait of a painting concocted in the studio.⁴⁵

Ellwood Parry has suggested a pictorial source for *Prisoners from the Front*, Baron Gros's *Capitulation of Madrid, December 4th, 1808* (Figure 14).⁴⁶ The paintings

as other attributes of Homer's photographic inspiration, but they are quite absent from *Prisoners from the Front*. He also takes as a sure sign of Homer's knowledge and use of photography his *Gargoyles of Notre Dame* (private collection), painted the year after *Prisoners from the Front* and allegedly based directly upon Charles Nègre's 1853 calotype, *Henri Le Secq at Notre Dame Cathedral* (p. 43 and ills. 2–31, 2–33). But it is obvious that the painting and its putative source are not the same: the placement and pose of the figure, the gargoyles and other architectural details, and the view of Paris are all different; for Homer's painting depicts the South Tower of Notre Dame, not the North, as does Nègre's calotype (see Le Secq's *Gargoyles on the South Tower of Notre Dame*, in Eugenia Parry Janis, "The Man on the Tower of Notre Dame: New Light on Henri Le Secq," *Image* 19 [December, 1976] p. 20. Janis proposes an 1853 date for Nègre's photograph on the basis of its affinities with Charles Meryon's 1853 etching, *Le Stryge*). It is fully within the range of possibility that Homer could have created this image unaided by

FIGURE 14
 Antoine-Jean Gros,
*The Capitulation of
 Madrid, December 4th,
 1808*. Oil on canvas,
 3.61 × 5 m. Musée du
 Château, Versailles



are appropriately related in subject, and there are certainly similarities in pose and arrangement. But it is difficult, first, to imagine how Homer would have had access to this painting; and, second, their apparent similarities may be as easily explained by the inherently formal nature of their subjects as by any direct contact. But what most argues against this, as against any source, is that the construction of *Prisoners from the Front* is so simple, so lacking in intricacies or subtleties of pictorial—as distinct from psychological or sociological—organization, that it is almost absurd to think that Homer would have needed to seek inspiration or guidance in a formal model.

Nègre's photograph, particularly since both painter and photographer were alike inhibited by architectural constraints in their freedom of movement and consequently in their choice of view, and in consideration of the fact, too, that Homer had earlier employed the same principle of composition in his wood engraving *Great Sumter Meeting in Union Square, New York, April 11, 1863: Harper's Weekly*, April 25, 1863. That Homer in his early work for *Ballou's Weekly* and *Harper's Weekly* drew from photographic portraits (Van Deren Coke, *The Painter and the Photograph* [Albuquerque, 1972] pp. 44–45) or that he took and apparently used photographs in the 1890s cannot be taken as evidence of a similar practice in the mid-1860s.

46. *The Image of the Indian and the Black Man in American Art 1590–1900* (New York, 1974) p. 140.

It is evident that *Prisoners from the Front* cannot be, strictly speaking, an “actual scene.” It may have been based upon an incident that Homer actually witnessed, which his presence at the front in the summer of 1864 makes entirely possible, but it was fully recast in his New York studio more than a year later using material available to him there, at least some of which was unrelated to the episode which he created, or recreated. But if the painting is an invention or confection and not an “actual scene,” or at best a synoptic and symbolic reference to one, why did Homer take such care, well beyond what would be required to give the aroma of authenticity, to insure the accuracy of detail? And why is Barlow its protagonist instead of someone more famous or even some totally invented type?

It is interesting, and cannot be entirely beside the point, to know that during the autumn of 1865, at about the time Homer must have conceived his picture, Barlow was running for high political office, Secretary of State on the Union or Republican ticket, in New York. And it is interesting and possibly significant, too, that Homer and Barlow, who were almost exactly the same age, were friends at this time. Their friendship probably began in the winter of 1861 or the summer of 1862, when Homer, on his first visit to the front as a

pictorial reporter, was attached to the 61st New York Volunteer Infantry, in command of then Colonel Barlow;⁴⁷ it was resumed in the summer of 1864 (if not before), when now Brigadier General Barlow commanded the 1st Division of the 2nd Corps.

It is therefore possible that the painting had a bearing on Barlow's campaign for political office, or that it was in some way the product of the friendship between Homer and Barlow. But the first possibility cannot be a real one, if only because the painting was not seen publicly until April, 1866, whereas Barlow had been elected the previous November. That the painting might have served a personal or private rather than public purpose is suggested, apart from the apparent friendship between the artist and his subject, by the reference, through the insignia that Homer added deliberately, to the 61st New York Infantry and thereby to the history of their friendship which dated to 1861 or 1862 when Barlow commanded that division. It is suggested also by the relatively small size of the painting, as though it had been designed for a private collection rather than for public display. Yet all of Homer's pictures of this period were small,⁴⁸ and Barlow himself never owned the picture.⁴⁹

But Barlow possessed virtues that belonged in the public domain and made him, friendship aside, an appropriate and attractive subject. One of them was his celebrity. Thanks to the publicity that accompanied

his campaign for political office, the gallant feats of his military career (particularly the capture at Spotsylvania) and his rise through the ranks were often rehearsed and consequently well known; he was, as one writer said, "one of the most conspicuous soldiers of the war."⁵² Another of his virtues was that, as a native New Yorker, he was a local hero for whom his fellow citizens could feel a special pride and have a special identification—a relationship that Homer understood, and underscored, by including in his picture a prominent representative of the 61st New York.⁵⁰ It was, moreover, to a New York audience that the painting was directed in its debut in the Academy exhibition, and it is not at all fanciful to think that the young Homer, seeking his first major success as a painter, knowingly chose a locally familiar and popular, and therefore appealing, subject.

If friendship and some degree of calculation played roles in Homer's selection of Barlow, in the final analysis it was probably dictated by loftier and more disinterested motives. For Barlow was, above all, an exemplary soldier: it was widely known that he was valiant and romantic,⁵¹ honest and upright in character, dutiful and diligent in conduct, modest in comportment, "animated by principle,"⁵² and motivated by deep moral conviction; that he was, in short, and as he was in fact described in 1865, "typical of the character of the ideal American,"⁵³ a living symbol of those traits which, in

47. Barlow was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 61st New York Volunteers on November 9, 1861; a letter of introduction from *Harper's*, saying that Homer "is at present detailed for duty with the Army of the Potomac," is dated October 8, 1861 (Goodrich, *Homer*, p. 230). But Downes (*The Life*, bet. pp. 34–35) reproduces a military pass issued to Homer, dated April 1, 1862, and it may have been at this time that he first met Barlow. Barlow, according to Downes (pp. 42–43), "did everything in his power to help the young artist and to facilitate his work."

48. Thomas Bailey Aldrich indicated that this was a function of the size of his studio: "It is remarkable for nothing but its contracted dimensions: it seems altogether too small for a man to have a large idea in. If Mr. Homer were to paint a big battle-piece, he would be in as awkward a predicament as was the amiable Dr. Primrose, when he had the portraits of all his family painted on one canvas. 'The picture,' says the good old Vicar of Wakefield, 'instead of gratifying our vanity, as we had hoped, leaned, in a mortifying manner, against the kitchen wall, where the canvas was stretched and painted, much too large to be got through any of the doors':" "Among the Studios. III," *Our Young Folks*, 2 (July 1866) pp. 395–396.

49. It was purchased by John Taylor Johnston, and while owned by him was part of the United States exhibition at the Paris Exposition of 1867. It was sold to Samuel P. Avery in 1876, who, in turn, sold it to a private collector.

50. Seven companies of the 61st were recruited from New York City.

51. The devoted service and tragic death of Barlow's wife during the war added another dimension of romantic appeal. "Married upon the eve of his departure for the war, his wife shared his fortunes, and with a zeal like that of her husband in the field, this accomplished and admirable woman devoted herself to the care of the sick and wounded soldiers in the hospitals. Her duties were most arduous; her devotion unwearied; and stricken at last by mortal illness in the Fredericksburg hospital, she died [in July, 1864] refusing to allow her husband to know of her peril until it was too late": "General Barlow," *Harper's Weekly*, October 7, 1865, p. 629.

52. *New York Evening Post*, April 28, 1866.

53. But "tempered," the writer added, "with more modesty and greater reticence": *New York Times*, September 23, 1865. His comrade-in-arms Nelson A. Miles said, "His integrity of purpose,

the collective view of the North, brought it victory in war and exemplified the institutions and beliefs from which that victory stemmed.

Barlow is not, however, the only conspicuous figure in the painting. His Southern counterpart, the Confederate officer, is equally prominent, and Homer took the same meticulous care with the details of his costume and insignia as he did with Barlow's. It has not been possible to name this officer nor to identify the military unit to which he belonged because it has not been possible to identify the insignia so conspicuously displayed on his right sleeve, and which Homer evidently found interesting and important not only because of the prominence he gave it in the painting, but because he made a diagrammatic notation of it on the same page on which he sketched Barlow's portrait (Figure 10). If there is any possibility that the painting represents an actual incident in the war it hinges almost entirely on the decipherment of that insignia, which, given the irregular and idiosyncratic nature of Confederate insignia and uniforms at the war's end, does not hold much promise. In fact, it apparently did not have any particular meaning for Homer's contemporaries, for one of the painting's critics identified the officer as a South Carolinian and another as a Virginian.

Yet if this figure (and his insignia) does not yet provide the key to the identity of the incident depicted, he may provide a key to the painting's meaning and to Homer's method of constructing it. For this very same figure, identical in pose and in insignia and differing only in details of costume, appears in a wood engraving after or by Homer that served as the frontispiece for John Esten Cooke's novel *Surrey of Eagle's Nest*, subtitled *The Memoirs of a Staff Officer Serving in Virginia*, which depicts Major Surry and the book's heroine, May Beverley (Figure 15). *Surrey of Eagle's Nest* was published in New York by Bunce and Huntington in February, 1866, only a month or so before the exhibition of *Prisoners from the Front*. The novel had a considerable success, in large part because it was the first literary work to deal with the war, although it did so with a strongly Confederate sympathy. It tells of the adventures of

independence of character, and sterling honesty in the assertion of what he believed to be right and just, made him a marked man among public men": quoted in Abbott, *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, p. 535.



FIGURE 15
Winslow Homer, frontispiece to John Esten
Cooke, *Surrey of Eagle's Nest* (New York, 1866).
Wood engraving, undated

Major Surry, member of an old Virginia family and aide to the most dashing of Confederate cavalry officers, General J. E. B. Stuart, closely following in these respects the life and experiences of the author himself, who had served as an aide to Stuart. The meat of the book consists of Cooke's first-hand descriptions of the war from the Confederate point of view; the pervasive subject is the celebration of the chivalric virtues of the South.

Yet what does the obvious similarity between the figures of Surry in the illustration and the Confederate officer in the painting actually disclose? It might reveal

the meaning of the insignia that both figures wear so conspicuously on their sleeves (and which is even more conspicuous in the illustration than in the painting). But the descriptions and circumstances of the novel are of no help in identifying it—except to indicate that it belongs to a Virginian. It might indicate that the painting is still another illustration of an episode from *Surry of Eagle's Nest*. Yet it is not.

If the resemblance is not so precisely helpful in these respects as one might hope or expect, it does with reasonable certainty point to the source of both figures, the prototype that inspired and suffused them, and the prototype, too, that must surely have resided in the minds of Homer's audience and served them as the instrument and standard for interpreting the meaning of his figure.

Whether the figures of Surry and the Confederate officer were based upon field sketches or were the artist's invention is not known; there are, at any rate, no surviving drawings for them. But however they were developed the process was largely simultaneous, for, as visitors to Homer's studio at the time noted, he was well at work on *Prisoners from the Front* in February, 1866, the same month in which *Surry of Eagle's Nest* was published. Both figures, therefore, and not only the one in the illustration, were bred in a mind steeped in the chivalric lore of the Confederacy, which Cooke's novel so fully, indeed fulsomely, describes, and both were designed to reflect it.

It is perhaps too much to expect that the audience for *Prisoners from the Front* would have been prepared in the same degree by a familiarity with *Surry of Eagle's Nest*, although its date of publication and favorable reception make it entirely possible that some portion of it would carry its ideals and images in their understanding. It was not the generalized descriptions of Confederate chivalry in Cooke's novel that supplied the clearest image of that trait of the South, however, but a historical figure, known to both North and South alike, who was its most concrete and perfect incarnation.

While the figures of Surry and the Confederate officer are nearly alike in bearing, dress, and insignia, they differ in several prominent details of costume. And while they were developed almost simultaneously, it is probable that the illustration may have slightly preceded the painting, just as the publication of the book in which it appeared preceded the exhibition of *Prison-*

ers from the Front. Its figure represents, at any rate, a lower order of generality than the painted figure, in the sense that it is closer to its—that is to say, their common—source of inspiration. This source is not the fictional character of Surry, but the personality upon whom Surry is so largely based, and who, in the novel, he served: General “Jeb” Stuart. Stuart was the most daring and elegant of Confederate cavalry officers, the one about whom “everything stirring, brilliant and picturesque seemed to centre . . . the cavalier par excellence.”⁵⁴ He was celebrated for his bold and sometimes reckless military exploits, but was marked equally by the manner, or mannerisms, of his dress—by the black ostrich-plumed hat, high leather boots, and tasseled yellow sash, all of which were not simply prominent articles of his attire but almost the attributes of his identity (Figure 16)—“the popular marks of the famous cavalier.”⁵⁵ They are also, of course, distinctive features of Surry's dress in the illustration, thus strongly pointing to Stuart as Homer's model. The figure in the painting has been shorn of Stuart's specific attributes, thereby making the connection with him less explicit, but he nevertheless corresponds in essential terms to Cooke's description of Stuart on the occasion of Surry's first meeting with him: “He was a man of twenty-five or thirty, of low stature, athletic figure, and with the air of a born cavalryman. There was no mistaking his arm of the service. He was the cavalier all over . . . evidently at home in the saddle, and who asked nothing better than ‘a fight or a frolic.’”⁵⁶ And if the figure in *Prisoners from the Front* is in no sense a portrait of Stuart, he still fully exemplifies the Confederate cavalier in large part because his entire being is shaped by and saturated with those chivalric ideals of which Stuart was the celebrated paradigm,⁵⁷ and to which the figure of Surry, in Homer's illustration, provides the convincing link, and

54. John Esten Cooke, *Wearing of the Gray* (New York, 1969; first edition, 1867) pp. 7, 12. The book was dedicated to Stuart, “Flower of Cavaliers.”

55. Edward A. Pollard, *Lee and His Lieutenants* (New York, 1867) p. 42.

56. *Surry of Eagle's Nest*, pp. 82–83. In *Wearing of the Gray* Cooke wrote (p. 7), “There was about the man a flavour of chivalry and adventure which made him more like a knight of the middle age than a soldier of the prosaic nineteenth century.”

57. In his obituary in the *Richmond Examiner* (quoted in the *New York Times*, May 26, 1869) he was described as “the model of Vir-

indication that the relationship was not unknown to Homer.

In the final analysis, despite the many and faithful details and the presence of at least one identifiable historical personality and the allusion to another one, which raise the possibility that Homer may have represented a specific incident in the war, those commentators who understood, and who continue to understand, the painting as an epitome of the war prove to be correct. But what they failed to appreciate were the materials from, and the deliberate, methodical process by which Homer made an image of the war that was synoptic and endowed with symbolic authority and at the same time precise, credible, and convincingly real—to the degree that it seemed to a contemporary observer to represent an “actual scene.” He achieved this effective synthesis by drawing for each major and most meaningful part of the picture upon the best exemplification of its character and meaning that he knew of and had at his disposal. For his image of Union victory he depicted, or rather alluded to, the well-known surrender of the Confederate forces at Spotsylvania. For his image of the devastations of war he used the scarred and blighted landscape of Petersburg. (This landscape, which he studied at first hand, can, in its concise evocation of the ravages of war, be taken more as a symbol than as a geographic reality, and, though it is but the background, may carry an aspect of the painting’s profoundest meaning. For if the Civil War was the instrument of fundamental change in America through its destruction of the ideals that had nurtured and justified American nationality during the first half of the century, then the obliteration of the wilderness, which was the greatest symbol of that nationality, the token of its newness and innocence, the field of its enterprise, the relic of the country’s “national infancy,”⁵⁸ and the set-

ginia cavaliers.” Apart from the descriptions of Stuart and accounts of his deeds in *Surry of Eagle’s Nest* and elsewhere, Homer might have had a special identification with him because his death on May 11, 1864, occurred at the time that Homer was probably at the front, when he may first have learned of it. Stuart’s death preceded by a day Barlow’s success at Spotsylvania and thus strangely coincided with the event alluded to in *Prisoners from the Front*. Perhaps, in this connection, the black Latin cross that is so conspicuously a part of the officer’s insignia is intended to signify a post-humous figure.

58. *The Literary World*, 1 (May 15, 1847) p. 348.



FIGURE 16

James Ewell Brown Stuart. Undated photograph from *The Photographic History of the Civil War*, IV

ting of those temple-groves in which at least two generations of Americans approached the deity and learned of their national destiny and purpose—this obliteration could not be more starkly figured or better endowed with symbolic meaning than in Homer’s boundless war-scarred landscape. Furthermore, Homer’s post-Civil War image and its view of the war’s consequences is strikingly different from post-bellum paintings by American artists of earlier generations, such as Church, Inness, Cropsey, Gifford, and Durand, which stress renewal or a return to ante-bellum innocence: The cleansed new world of Church’s *Rainy Season in the*

Tropics [1866], the fruitful promise of Inness's *Peace and Plenty* [1865] [Metropolitan Museum of Art], the retrospection of Cropsey's *Valley of the Wyoming* [1865] [Metropolitan Museum of Art] and *Starucca Viaduct* [1865], Gifford's *Twilight on Hunter Mountain* [1866], and Durand's *Catskill Clove* [1866] are major instances of the prevailing interpretation, against which Homer's realistic assessment stands in marked contrast.) And, finally, for his representatives of North and South he chose the two most legible exemplifications of their respective traits that he knew, indeed, knew intimately,

from reality in one case and largely from literature in the other: his friend Francis Channing Barlow, represented in the fullness of his actual rank, position, and character, and a figure derived from, though not precisely depicting, "Jeb" Stuart, as the typification of the South, and the central figure in a group composed of other no less carefully selected social types. All of these different and even disparate elements Homer fused together in his studio into an entirely plausible and deeply meaningful blend of reality and fiction, of actuality and artifice.

NOTES

More Ancient Egyptian Names of Dogs and Other Animals

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ALTHOUGH I HAVE COLLECTED only a handful of further examples since the publication of Jozef Janssen's article on ancient Egyptian names of dogs in 1958¹ and my own supplement in 1961,² these additions extend the chronological scope of the previous repertory very considerably. In view of the fact that dogs generally shared the same names as humans, Janssen considered it strange that there seemed to be no evidence later than the Nineteenth Dynasty. The soundness of that expectation is now confirmed by three items in the following brief list. I have continued the previous sequence of numbers and, wherever possible, have referred both to that sequence and to Hermann Ranke's *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen* I and II (Glückstadt, 1935/52), abbreviated *PN* I, II; an asterisk is prefixed in the latter case (enclosed in parenthesis if the comparison is incomplete or uncertain).

68.  'Inhb. Old Kingdom. Wm. K. Simpson, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 63 (1977) p. 175. From Reisner's Giza tomb 2042a.³ Simpson suggests that the name may be foreign, and possibly Libyan.

69.  'Ir(w)-m-šsr(?). Old Kingdom. Hans Wolfgang Müller, *Ägyptische Kunstwerke, Kleinfunde und Glas in der Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger, Luzern (Münchener Ägyptologische Studien, Heft 5 [Berlin, 1964])* p. 57 and plate (A 90). This accompanies no. 49, another slab having been added to the piece mentioned previously.

*70.  'I[k]ni. Old Kingdom. Tomb of Htp-k3.i, Saqqara. Geoffrey Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqâra 1964-1973* (London, forthcoming) pl. 9 (6).³ I list this separately because of its incompleteness, but since  is well known from the Old Kingdom, attested both for dogs (nos. 7, 8)⁴ and for people (*PN* I, p. 48 [15-17]), there seems little doubt about the restoration.

71.  'Iknht. Old Kingdom relief in Cairo Museum, CG 57192, unpublished. The dog is beneath the chair of a man named 'Iti (.

*72.  nh-Pšmtk. Twenty-sixth Dynasty Theban tomb. To be published in Manfred Bietak and Elfrieda Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des Anch Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris (Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 3 [Vienna])*.⁵ Under the chair of

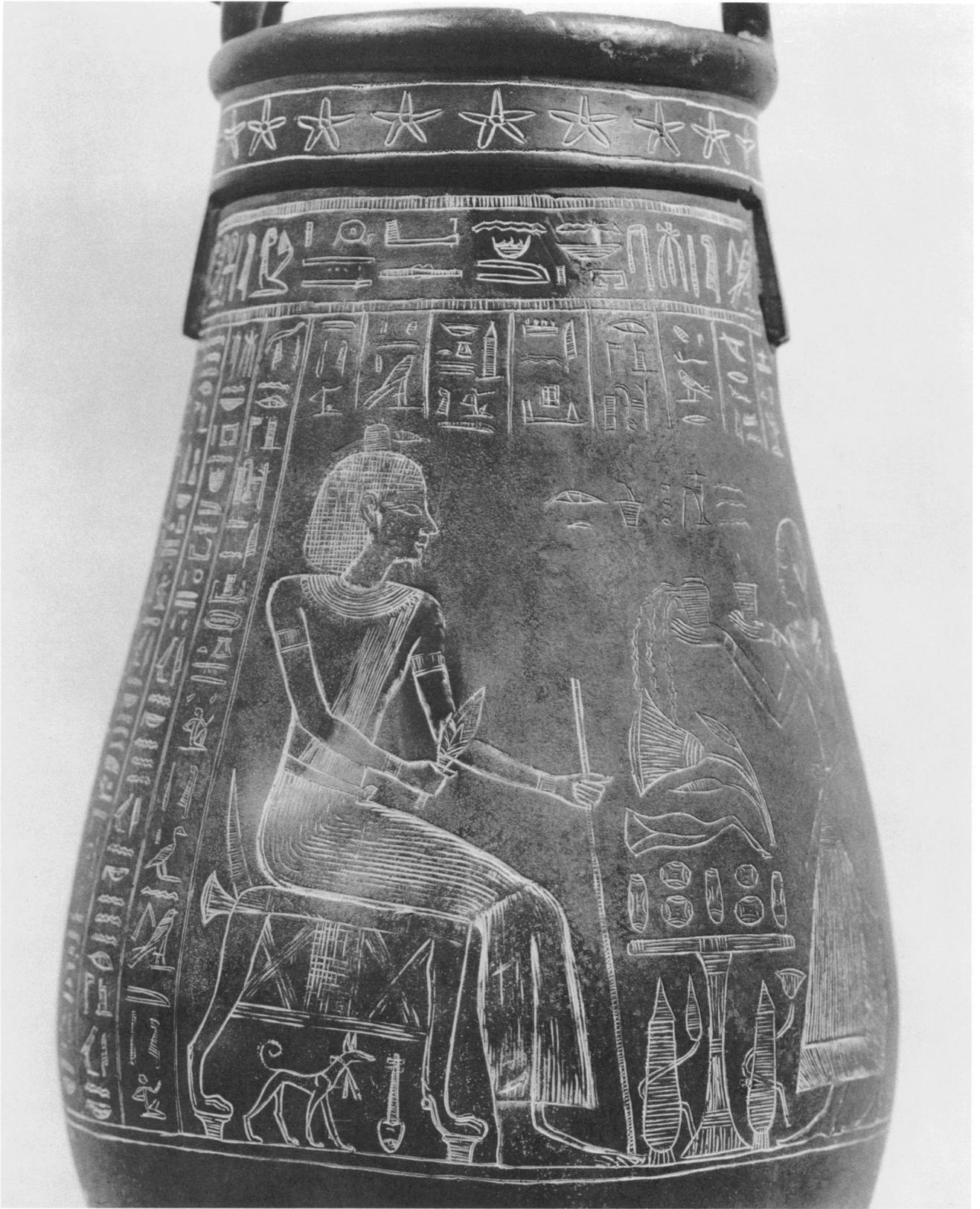
1. "Über Hundennamen im pharaonischen Ägypten," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, 16 (Wiesbaden, 1958) pp. 176-182.

2. "A supplement to Janssen's list of dogs' names," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London) 47 (1961) pp. 152-153.

3. I am indebted to the author for allowing me to use this information in advance of publication.

4. As I note in my supplement (p. 153), the second of these examples (no. 8) is not complete.

5. I am indebted to Edna Russmann for calling my attention to this example, and to Dr. Bietak for permitting me to quote it.



the tomb owner, south wall of the open court. *PN I*, p. 63 (2, 4).

*73.  *Nfr*. Ptolemaic situla in the Cleveland Museum of Art, 32.32. (Figure 1).⁶ R. Mond, O. H. Myers, H. W. Fairman, *The Bucheum* (London, 1934) I, p. 98; II, p. 22 (45); III, pls. 85, 161. A common name at all periods: *PN I*, p. 194 (1).

*74.  *Hknw*. Twenty-sixth Dynasty Theban tomb 279 (Figure 2).⁷ Unpublished, but noted in Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, *Topographical Bibliography I, The Theban Necropolis, Part 1, Private Tombs*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1960) p. 358 (10, 15). Under the chair of the owner, east and west wall of the open court. *PN I*, p. 257 (3).

(*)75.  *Hknn*. Old Kingdom. Saqqara tomb of *Hnmw-htp* and *Ny-ꜥnh Hnmw*, on the south side of the Unis pyramid causeway. To be published by A. M. Moussa in the *Archäologischen Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*. Compare *PN I*, p. 257 (6), written .

(*)76.  *Hhf*. Old Kingdom. A. M. Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir IV* (London, 1924) p. 40 and pl. 15. The name is partly obliterated but seems certain. Compare *Hhi*, *Hhy*, *PN I*, p. 274 (5, 6).

*77.  *Kn-Imn*. Early Dyn. XVIII, temp. Amenophis I. Stela in Cairo Museum, J. 59636, from Karnak, unpublished. The dog is beneath the chair of the owner, a man named *Iꜥh-mš*. See *PN I*, p. 334 (18), and compare the shorter New Kingdom name *Kny* (no. 67).

A dog is also named on the curious Middle Kingdom monument in the Louvre published by Jacques Vandier in *La Revue du Louvre* 13/1 (1963), pp. 1–10, but the label is damaged (see his fig. 5, p. 6); just possibly it

6. The photograph has been generously supplied by John Cooney. As Miriam Lichtheim points out (*Journal of Near Eastern Studies* [Chicago] 6 [1947] p. 178), this situla can hardly be dated earlier than the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and is probably later. The border of stars at the top favors the second alternative as does the likelihood that the situla came from one of the Bucheum tombs.

7. From a field photograph made during the Metropolitan Museum's excavations of 1919–20; see Ambrose Lansing, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 15 (July, 1920) Part II, pp. 16–24.

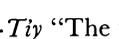
FIGURE 1

Bronze situla (photo: courtesy The Cleveland Museum of Art)



FIGURE 2

Detail, tomb of Pabasa, Thebes

might be read  as in Janssen's no. 19. This monument is also interesting because it represents a man holding two monkeys and three baboons⁸ on the end of leashes in addition to the dog. The baboons are similarly labeled with what appears to be names, but the names—as far as one can make them out—are very odd: one of them seems to read , apparently meaning “When the foreign country is pacified, the land is happy” (*Sgrh-hst-t3-hr(?)-nfrt*). Another is  “His father awaits him” (*Wh-sw-it.f*). A third is  *Smšw-Tiy* “The followers of

8. For a similar group of animals compare F. Ll. Griffith and P. E. Newberry, *El Bersheh II* (London [1895]) Pl. 11.

FIGURE 5
Sarcophagus of a
cat, Cairo Museum



(no. 72) “Psammetichus Lives.” This development—if such it can be called—seems rather surprising if one considers that dogs had acquired a rather pejorative aspect in addition to the favorable one they had always enjoyed. Their fawning, cringing nature was repeatedly attributed to Egypt’s enemies,¹² and in the Nineteenth Dynasty nothing could more effectively express the submission of those enemies to Pharaoh’s rule than the statement  “we are indeed thy dogs.”¹³

12. And even as early as the Middle Kingdom: Sinuhe B 222–3 (A. M. Blackman, *Middle-Egyptian Stories* [Brussels, 1932] p. 34). Compare H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen* (Leipzig, 1924) pp. 75–76.

13. On two pillars from Merneptah’s palace at Memphis, now in the University Museum, Philadelphia.

14. The following references are to Kenneth Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical I–VI* (Oxford, 1968–72).

15. I, p. 22 (11); V, pp. 33 (14), 113 (15).

16. II, p. 183 (5).

Dogs are not the only animals that acquired theophoric names, however. Such names predominate among those given to the king’s horses in the Ramesside battle scenes of the late New Kingdom.¹⁴ They not only include *Kn-’Imn* (no. 77),¹⁵ but also *’Imn-nht*,¹⁶ *’Imn-hrw*,¹⁷ and *Mry-’Imn*¹⁸—all of which are known for humans (*PN* I, pp. 29 [21], 30 [4], 158 [15])—as well as *Mwt-hrti*,¹⁹ *’ntit-hrti*,²⁰ *’nh-wds-snb-mry-’Imn*,²¹ *’Imn-hr-wd-n.f-ḫi-knt*,²² *’Imn-di.f-ḫi-ḫpš*,²³ and *’Imn-di.n.f-ḫi-ḫpš*.²⁴ The last three are clearly propitious names, intended to

17. II, p. 157 (4).

18. II, pp. 154 (7), 159 (2), 165 (6); V, pp. 8 (14), 12 (10), 44 (12).

19. II, p. 153 (15).

20. I, p. 7 (14).

21. II, pp. 176 (4), 181 (12).

22. I, p. 7 (14).

23. I, p. 9 (10); V, p. 30 (2).

24. I, p. 19 (4).

favor the king's success in battle: "Amun Decrees Valor for Him," "Amun, He Gives Might," "Amun Has Given Might." All the non-theophoric names given to horses similarly emphasize victory; although one of them—*ꜥꜣ-nḥt*,²⁵ "Great of Strength (or Victory)," was also frequently given to humans (*PN* I, p. 57 [24]), the others are more distinctively propagandistic: *Nḥt-w-Ḥst*,²⁶ "Victory in Thebes"; *Dr-pḏwt*,²⁷ "Repeller of Foreigners"; *Pḥt-ḥꜣswt*,²⁸ "Trampler of Foreign Countries." These recall the name of the lion that accompanied the king on his campaigns: *Sms-ḥrw.f*,²⁹ "Slayer of His Foes." This evidence doubtless explains why such names were sometimes applied to dogs in the New Kingdom; one of them, as we have seen, is attested both for a dog and a horse, and the other (no. 45) not only invokes the aid of a goddess—"Anath Is a Defender"—but occurs in the context of a battle scene, where the dog assists Ramesses II in attacking a Libyan (Figure 3).³⁰

Finally, to round out this brief survey of the names of domestic animals, it may be noted that the name  is applied to the half-obliterated figure of a cat facing

its master in an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb painting (Figure 4).³¹ This is either *Nḏm* or feminine *Nḏm[t]*, and in either case the meaning is "The Pleasant One"; both the masculine and feminine forms are well attested as names of persons (*PN* I, p. 215 [8, 24]). Although pet cats were represented from the Twelfth Dynasty onward,³² they are not otherwise known to have received personal names. One New Kingdom cat was so highly regarded by her master, the Memphite High Priest *Dḥwtj-ms*, a son of Amenophis III, that he had a limestone sarcophagus made for her, but in spite of this very special honor, she is only identified as "The Cat" (Figure 5).³³

ADDENDUM

Thanks to a query from Bernard Bothmer, I may correct one of the entries in my previous supplement (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 47 [1961] p. 153): in no. 60 the owner of the tomb is *Wnis-ḥꜣ-īšt.f*, not *Wnis-ḥꜣ-īšt.f*.

25. I, p. 7 (14).

26. I, p. 8 (15); II, pp. 156 (4), 158 (4), 159 (9), 181 (5); V, pp. 16 (14), 31 (13), 44 (4), 80 (3).

27. V, p. 78 (11). Variant *Dr-pḏwt-psḏt* "Who Repels the Nine Bows": V, pp. 15 (14), 50 (5), 85 (5).

28. I, p. 20 (16).

29. II, p. 129 (6); also H. Ricke, G. Hughes, E. Wente, *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II* (*Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition* I [Chicago, 1967]) pl. 15.

30. From the same source, pl. 14. It may be no accident that the dog should have been enlisted in attacking the Libyans, for dogs were used in military operations through the Libyan Desert as early as the beginning of the Middle Kingdom: see R. Anthes, "Eine Polizeistreife des Mittleren Reiches in die westliche Oase," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Leipzig) 65 (1930) pp. 108–114. There is some evidence for the use of dogs against other foes, however, namely the painted box of Tutankhamun: C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Vie et mort d'un pharaon Toutankhamon* (Paris, 1963) pl. 17.

31. From N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes I* (New York, 1922) pl. 9. The length and shape of the tail make it almost certain that this animal is, in fact, a cat, as Davies supposes on p. 37; compare the quite different position of the dog's tail in similar scenes of the New Kingdom: N. de G. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* (London, 1913) pl. 25 (and 28); N. de G. Davies, *Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes* (New York, 1925) pl. 5.

32. Note, however, that the Eleventh Dynasty example shown by Arkell in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 48 (1962) p. 158, is actually Twelfth, as is shown by the epithet *wḥm-ꜥnḥ* following the name of the owner.

33. Cairo CG 5003; G. A. Reisner, *Canopics*, revised, annotated and completed by M. H. Abd-ul-Rahman (*Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 4001–4740 and 4977–5033* [Cairo, 1967]) pp. 392–394; The opposite side is illustrated by L. Borchardt, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 44 (1907) p. 97. Cats are similarly designated in some other cases, but there the intention is merely to identify the species of animal: P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan II* (London, 1893) pl. 6; G. Maspero, *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie* 2 (1880) p. 108.

And Behold, a White Horse . . .

Observations on the Colors of the Horses of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse

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“AND I SAW when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard, as it were the noise of thunder, one of the four beasts saying, Come and see.

2. And I saw, and behold, a white horse: and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.

3. And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second beast say, Come and see.

4. And there went out another horse that was red: and power was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another: and there was given unto him a great sword.

5. And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third beast say, Come and see. And I beheld, and

lo, a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand.

6. And I heard a voice in the midst of the four beasts say, A measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine.

7. And when he had opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth beast say, Come and see.

8. And I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and hell followed with him. And power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth.”

(Revelation 6:1–8)

THOUGH THE REVELATION of St. John is certainly the most thoroughly studied and exhaustingly interpreted single work in the world's literature, the detail of the color of the mounts of the Four Horsemen has received scant attention, in spite of the fact that the Vision of the Four Horsemen is one of the best known elements of the Apocalypse.

The four colors were generally accepted as means of identifying the individual riders, equivalent to the iconographical color scheme that serves for the three knightly saints, George, Theodore, and Demetrius: white horse for St. George, black horse for St. Theodore, and red horse for St. Demetrius. They also could indicate the characteristics of the apocalyptic horsemen. Thus, the crowned first horseman rides a white

horse, a color usually associated with a royal steed; the sword-wielding second horseman spurs a red horse, the color of blood; the third horseman with the scales of famine¹ sits on a gloomily black horse, and Death, the fourth horseman, comes astride a pale horse, the color of decay (Figures 1–4).² There is, however, reason to believe that the colors of the four horses were influenced by a cultural complex from beyond the confines of the Mediterranean world.

In chapter 99 of the early Chinese chronicle *Ts'ien*

1. For a different interpretation, Anna Maria Cetto, “Der Dritte Apokalyptische Reiter,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 9 (1974) pp. 203–210.

2. Strongly expressed in Luther's translation “ein fahl Pferd”; *fahl* meaning “bleached out, withered (as of leaves or grass).”



FIGURE 1
 “Et ecce equus albus”; the First Horseman on the white horse. Fol. 7v, *The Cloisters Apocalypse*, French (Normandy), first quarter of the 14th century. The Cloisters Collection, 68.174



FIGURE 2
 “Et exiuit alius equus rufus”; the Second Horseman on the red horse. *The Cloisters Apocalypse*, fol. 8r

Han shu,³ there is a report about the “Generals in Charge of the Enforcement of Imperial Power in the Five Directions of the World” who were sent out in the Christian year 9 to collect from all officials the obsolete seals of the old Han dynasty, and to issue new seals in the name of the new emperor, Wang Mang. The five generals were spectacularly outfitted for the occasion, with a military escort of five cohorts equipped thus: the vanguard was dressed in red and rode red horses, the rear guard was in black on black horses, the left wing was garbed in blue and mounted on grays, the right wing was in white on white horses, and the center column had yellow uniforms and rode yellow horses. These five colors correspond to the five cardinal directions of Chinese cosmology: red for the South, black for the North, blue for the East, white for the West, and yellow for the Center.⁴ Harmony with the universe was the underlying principle and paramount concern of Chi-

3. J. J. M. de Groot, *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit*, Vol. 1, *Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens* (Berlin/Leipzig, 1921) p. 268.

4. The same complex of colors connected with the cardinal directions is to be found in the New World, though the distribution of the colors is different. In pre-Columbian Mexico, for instance,

nese civilization. Thus, the emperor seated on his throne faced south, where the sun was brightest and highest in the heaven. Consequently, the South was considered to be the foremost of the cardinal directions, and therefore the vanguard of the “Generals in Charge of the Enforcement of Imperial Power” was clad in the red of the South direction and mounted on red sorrels. Following this pattern, North was the direction behind the throne, so the rear guard was dressed in black and had black horses. East, the direction where the sun rises, was at the throne’s left, therefore the left side was the side of honor in court ceremonial, and in military affairs the left wing took precedence.⁵ For this reason the left flank guard of the five generals was garbed in the blue of the East and mounted on grays, the closest approximation to blue in the natural color of horses. In the same way the white uniforms and horses of the right flank guard corresponded to the color of the West, and

the Maya assigned red to the East, black to the West, white to the North, yellow to the South, and green to the Center.

5. In contrast, the right side and the right wing took precedence in European usage, because of its “orientation” toward the sunrise; in facing the East the auspicious South would be at the viewer’s right.



FIGURE 3
 “Et ecce equus niger”; the Third Horseman on the black horse. *The Cloisters Apocalypse*, fol. 8v



FIGURE 4
 “Et ecce equus pallidus”; the Fourth Horseman on the pale horse. *The Cloisters Apocalypse*, fol. 9r

the yellow of the center cohort was that of the world center.

On an earlier occasion this traditional color scheme of Chinese cosmology had been adopted by one of the enemies of the Chinese empire, in order to secure military success by complying with the order of the universe.⁶ In 201 B.C. the Han emperor, Kao, personally led a great campaign against the Hung-no, steppe nomads who had become dangerous to the borderlands under their energetic chieftain, the *tan-hu* Mo-tun.⁷ The wily nomad succeeded in trapping the emperor with his entire army in their encampment at Pe'-teng. During the siege, which lasted for seven days, Mo-tun had his warriors distributed throughout the encircling ring

6. de Groot, p. 63.

7. *Mo-tun* (*Mao-dun*, *Maudun*) seems to be the Chinese transcription of the Turkic name *Bordur*: de Groot, p. 51; Franz Altheim, *Reich gegen Mitternacht* (Hamburg, 1955) pp. 20, 36; Hermann Schreiber, *Die Hunnen* (Vienna/Düsseldorf, 1976) p. 66. Most scholars consider the Hung-no to have been the ancestors of the Huns.

8. There is evidence that tribal groups of steppe nomads preferred horses of special coloring. In the frozen tombs of Pazyryk (6th–4th centuries B.C.) one kurgan contained a number of interred horses, all of them dark duns; another contained light sorrels. In 1971 a huge kurgan, dating to the 7th century B.C., was exca-

according to the colors of their horses: those on white horses at the West section, those on grays in the East, those on blacks in the North, and those on red or brown horses in the South.⁸ The finishing touch in this cosmological color scheme was that the center was occupied by the hapless Chinese army with their emperor, whose sacred color was yellow.

Interestingly enough, eight decades later, when the Han-emperors began another, this time successful, campaign⁹ against the Hung-no (121–117 B.C.), the victorious Chinese commander, Ho'-K'i-ping, bore the title P'iao-k'i-General. P'iao-k'i is the term for a yellow saddle horse with a white mane.¹⁰

It seems that the colors of the cardinal directions also

vated at the river Ujuk, in the Tuwa region; in three separate chambers it contained three groups of horses: 30 palominos, 30 bays, and 15 red sorrels: L. P. Potapov, “Über den Pferdekult bei den turksprachigen Völkern des Sajan-Altai-Gebirges,” *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden* 34 (1975) p. 486.

9. de Groot, pp. 120–144.

10. Horses of golden yellow hues are particularly frequent among the breeds of Central Asia: Sir Richard Glyn, *The World's Finest Horses and Ponies* (New York, 1971) pp. 107–109, 111, figs. 118, 120–123.

played a role in the names of nomad tribes and nations of Asia and eastern Europe, such as the White and Black Kumans, the White Huns, the Karakalpaks (*kara*=black), the Bjelo-Russians (*bjelo*=white)—the root of the word *rus* is probably “red”—and the various Sarmato-Alanic tribes, the Aorsi (*ors*=white) and the Roxolani (*rukhs*=light), famed for their “hoarfrost-colored” horses.

In the narrative scroll of the story of Lady Wen-chi, in the collections of the Museum’s Department of Far Eastern Art,¹¹ the Hung-no prince, one of the main characters of the story, is consistently represented as accompanied by five banners in the colors of the cardinal directions: white, black, blue, red, and yellow.¹² As the commander of the left (blue, or Eastern) wing of the Southern Hung-no, he rides a dappled gray (Figures 5, 6).

As might be expected, supernatural horses are subject to the same color scheme. In a study of the horse cult of the Turkic nomads of the Sajan-Altai region, the Leningrad anthropologist L. P. Potapov¹³ points out that the *bura*—ghost-horses¹⁴—painted on Siberian shamans’ drums and thought to carry the shamans on their spirit-travels through the heavens and the other-world, are regularly of the colors of four of the cardinal directions: “roe-deer-colored” (red), gray, white, and black (Figure 7). At the same time these *bura* of different colors are the distinctive mounts of individual tribal spirit-beings or demons, just like the distinctively colored horses of SS. George, Theodore, and Demetrius, or the gray horse Sleipnir of the Norse god Odin.¹⁵ It is

11. Published by the Metropolitan Museum, 1974: Robert A. Rorex and Wen Fong, *Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute: The Story of Lady Wen-chi*. The story is based upon an actual happening of about 195 A.D.

12. The banner of the Chinese envoy is shown as Imperial yellow.

13. Potapov, pp. 473–488, ill.

14. The *bura* are often represented as antlered, but are nevertheless called “horses.” Compare the antlered horse masks from the tombs of Pazyryk.

15. Odin has strong shamanistic features, and he is a god of the dead, leading the spirits of the warriors killed in battle riding through the sky as the Wild Hunt, very much like the fourth horseman on the pale horse, whose “name was Death, and hell followed with him.” The eight-legged gray horse Sleipnir may be a metaphor—*kenning*—for the dead man’s bier carried by four men, as suggested by H. R. Ellis Davidson, *Pagan Scandinavia* (New York, 1967) p. 125.



FIGURE 5
Lady Wen-chi’s abduction by Hung-no warriors, first picture of *Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute: The Story of Lady Wen-chi*, Chinese, 14th-century copy of an earlier scroll illustrating Liu Shang’s poems of about 773 A.D. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the Dillon Fund, 1973.120.3

interesting that among the Siberian *bura* the fifth color, yellow, is not to be found. In cases where a shaman’s drum shows a fifth *bura*, it may be a spotted horse.¹⁶

Asiatic shamanism¹⁷ has as one of its essential features elaborate dream visions following a well-defined pattern of specific motifs, such as the swallowing of strange food (often of an intoxicating nature that may provoke the visions in the first place), views of the World Tree,

16. Potapov, pp. 475–476, 485

17. Andreas Lommel, *Shamanism: The Beginnings of Art* (New York, 1967).

and realistically experienced flight. The dreaming shaman would be aided in these events by helping spirits in the shape of fantastic animals, such as the eight-legged elk of the Tungus shamans or the spirit-horses in the four colors of the cardinal directions among the Turkic nomads of the Altai region. Similar helpers and elements appear in the visions of St. John, for instance, in the eating of the book (10:10–11), the tree of life (22:1–2), the transport through the air by the angel (17:3), the Lamb with seven horns and seven eyes (5:6), and the Four Horsemen¹⁸ on their white, red, black, and pale horses.¹⁹

If the rules of Far Eastern cosmology were applied to the order of appearance of the four apocalyptic horsemen, it would be quite different from the marching order of the military escort of the “Generals of the Five Directions of the World.” The direction West would then come first, as symbolized by the white horse, then South (red horse), North (black horse) and East (pale horse). This order goes against the course of the sun and puts the rider Death in the position of the East, in striking contrast to the Western principle, “ex oriente lux.” However, this reversal of the natural order of things would be only too appropriate for the beginning of the end of the world.

FIGURE 6
The nomads turn back. *The Story of Lady Wen-chi*;
fifteenth picture

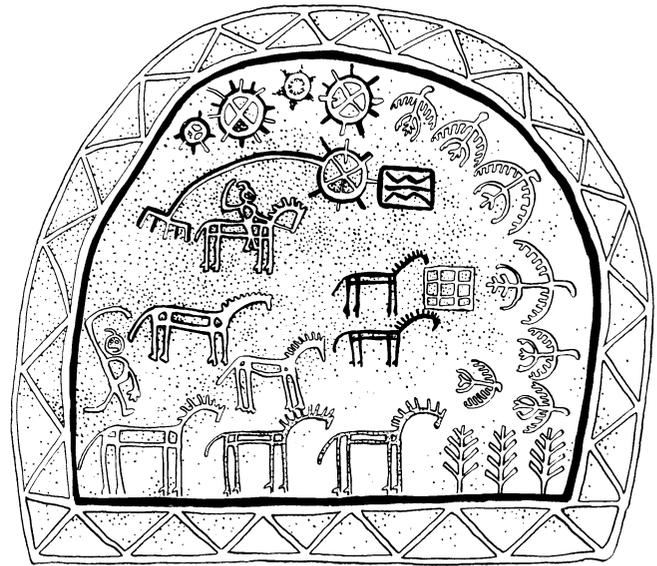
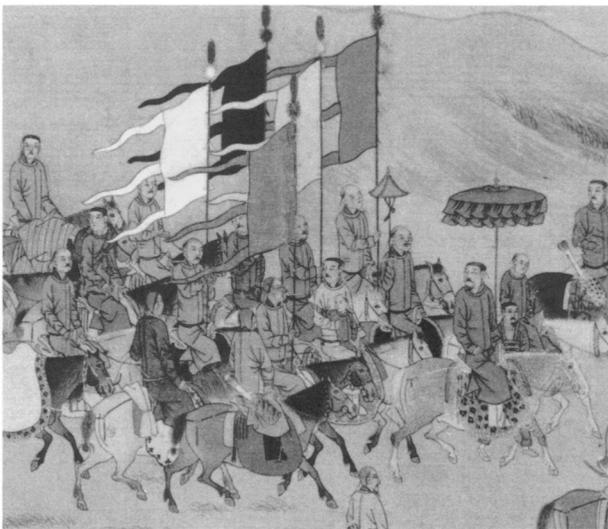


FIGURE 7
Design on a Teleut shaman's drum, representing
four pairs of horses colored white, black, red, and
gray. After Potapov

18. There is actually a fifth horse in Revelation (19:11–21), which is white, with his rider called Faithful and True, whose vesture was dipped in blood. This red-spotted rider offers a certain parallel to the fifth, spotted bura of the shamans' drums.

19. In Chinese cosmology, in addition to the five colors, there were tutelary spirits assigned to the cardinal directions: the Scarlet Bird or Phoenix to the South, the Green Dragon to the East (blue and green are interchangeable in most non-European color schemes), the White Tiger to the West, and the Dark Warrior (or Black Tortoise entwined with the Snake) to the North. These spirits correspond strangely with the four beasts of the Apocalypse (4:6–8) that call forth the Four Horsemen: the one that is like a lion calls forth the white horse, the one like a calf calls forth the red horse, the one with the face of a man calls forth the black horse and the fourth—like a flying eagle—the pale horse. Thus, the color white appears associated with tiger and lion—two aspects of the same feline creature—and the color black with man and warrior. The eagle and the phoenix are again both aspects of a bird creature, though the eagle is associated with the pale horse, and the phoenix with the color red. The calf, derived from Ezekiel's vision of the living creatures with the faces of an ox on the left side (Ezekiel 1:10), does not fit the pattern, but the green dragon of the East might be recognized in the yawning monster maw of Hell that followed the rider on the pale horse. Interestingly enough, the English text of the Confraternity-Douay Bible, used for the Museum's publication of *The Cloisters Apocalypse*, calls the equus pallidus a “pale-green horse.” For information about the spirits of the Chinese cardinal directions I would like to thank my colleagues Marilyn Fu and Suzanne G. Valenstein.