

Volume 1 / 1968

METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM
JOURNAL

Editorial Board

BRIAN F. COOK

Associate Curator of Greek and Roman Art

HELMUT NICKEL

Curator of Arms and Armor

OLGA RAGGIO

Curator of Western European Arts

CLAUS VIRCH

Curator of European Paintings

Managing Editor: ANNE PREUSS

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is published annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fifth Avenue and 82nd Street, New York, New York 10028. The price is \$10.00 per issue. Correspondence regarding manuscripts should be directed to the Editorial Board.

Copyright © 1968 The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 68-28799

Designed by Peter Oldenburg. Composition by Clarke
& Way, Inc.; printed by The Meriden Gravure Company;
bound by Russell-Rutter Co., Inc.

Contents

Winged Bull Cauldron Attachments from Iran	7
OSCAR WHITE MUSCARELLA	
Portrait Bust of a Young Lady of the Time of Justinian	19
ELISABETH ALFÖLDI-ROSENBAUM	
A Group of Fourteenth-Century Mosan Sculptures	41
WILLIAM H. FORSYTH	
Ceremonial Arrowheads from Bohemia	61
HELMUT NICKEL	
A Spinettina for the Duchess of Urbino	95
EMANUEL WINTERNITZ	
Patrons of Robert Adam at the Metropolitan Museum	109
JAMES PARKER	
The Pictures within Degas's Pictures	125
THEODORE REFF	
Notes	
Two Etruscan Bronze Statuettes	167
BRIAN F. COOK	
Three Berry Mourners	171
BELLA BESSARD	

Foreword

THE METROPOLITAN Museum of Art was founded almost a century ago, and it has since grown to be one of the world's major museums. The basis of its program of acquisition, exhibition, and education has been the research carried out by the members of its staff, but this research has remained one of the least known of the Museum's activities. The responsibility of the Museum as an institution for research was fully recognized by Thomas P. F. Hoving when he became Director in 1967. Realizing the need, he immediately proposed a scholarly journal to make better known this part of the Museum's function. Mr. Hoving's project was emphatically supported by Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., the Museum's President, and by the Trustees, who approved the publication of a new periodical, the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*. This marks one more important step in the history of the Museum's progress.

The *Journal* will be published annually and will contain articles and shorter notes in all fields of art represented in the Museum. Written both by members of the staff and by other scholars, they will reflect in their diversity the wide range of our holdings. The need for a periodical to present in a scholarly manner the results of our research has been felt ever since the *Metropolitan Museum Studies* were discontinued in 1936. While the *Journal* is devoted to scholarship, the Museum's *Bulletin* will continue to widen its appeal to the members of the Museum and the general public, and lengthier studies will be presented occasionally in the *Papers*.

The Editors are proud to present this first issue of the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, hoping that it is the beginning of a new and significant contribution to scholarship concerned with the history of art.

BRIAN F. COOK
HELMUT NICKEL
OLGA RAGGIO
CLAUS VIRCH

Winged Bull Cauldron Attachments from Iran

OSCAR WHITE MUSCARELLA

Assistant Curator of Ancient Near Eastern Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

IN 1967 The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired a bronze handle attachment in the form of a winged bull (Figures 1–4).¹ It is one of a pair; the other attachment, its mate, exactly the same in all details and perhaps made from the same mould (Figure 5), is now in the collection of Norbert Schimmel. Both pieces were acquired in Tehran, according to the dealer from whom they were purchased.

Each attachment consists of the head, neck, and chest of a bull joined with the wings and tail of a bird, all cast as one unit. A ring, cast with the other parts, is situated at the rear of the bull; it holds a separately made loop handle which swings freely.

The eyes and brows of each bull are well modeled. The muzzle is delineated by two vertical grooves coming down from the inner corner of the eyes, and a horizontal groove above the nostrils. The nostrils are marked by two depressions, the mouth by a short groove. A hatched collar, or ruff, connects the mouth and ears on each side of the face. The horns project forward, curving initially outward, then inward, and finally outward again, forming an S curve. The ears are thrust forward under the horns at a slight decline. The forelock, placed below the horns, is rounded at the base and is decorated with simple vertical hatching in four levels. The stylized mane at the back of the neck is decorated with a herringbone pattern divided and bordered by incised dots framed within

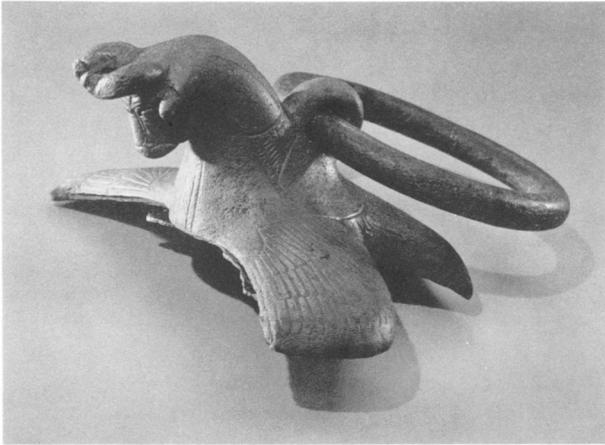
two grooves. The chest hair is decorated in the same fashion, and a lock of hair, resembling a tassel more than animal hair, hangs down on both sides of the mane. The wings and tail have a feather pattern but are otherwise plain, without hatching.

Both attachments were originally applied to the rim of a large cauldron by means of a rivet at each wing. These rivets were hammered through the wings and the underlying cauldron, a fragment of which is still attached. The bulls faced into the cauldron.

Winged bull attachments used as cauldron handles are found in several areas of the Near East. They occur at Gordion in Phrygia (ten); at Zincirli (one), Tell Rifa'at (two), and possibly at Aleppo (one), in North Syria; at Toprakkale (four), Altintepe (four), and Karmir Blur (one), in Urartu; at a site near Guschi (four) on the west shore of Lake Urmia, and at a site near Alishar (one) on the Araxes River, both sites in Northwest Iran²; an example in the British Museum is

1. Acc. no. 67.106; wing span: 15.7 cm.; length from tail to horns: 13.9 cm.; height from chest to top of horns: 5.5 cm.; outer diameter of the loop handle: 9.3 cm.; weight of attachment without the ring: 1194 grams; weight of the loop handle: 192 grams.

2. Gordion: R. S. Young, "The Gordion Campaign of 1957: Preliminary Report," *American Journal of Archaeology* 62 (1958) p. 151, pl. 26, fig. 18, pl. 25, fig. 15 right for the cauldron; *Kunst und Kultur der Hethiter* (Kunsthaus, Zurich, 1961) p. 102, no. 198 for one dinos; R. S. Young, "The Gordion Campaign of 1959: Preliminary Report," *AJA* 64 (1960) pp. 231 ff., pl. 55, fig. 11 for the examples



FIGURES 1-4

Bull cauldron attachment, about 600 B.C., from Iran. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of H. Dunscombe Colt, 67.106



FIGURES 6, 7 (OPPOSITE)

Bull cauldron attachment, from Amyclae. Athens National Museum, no. 7763



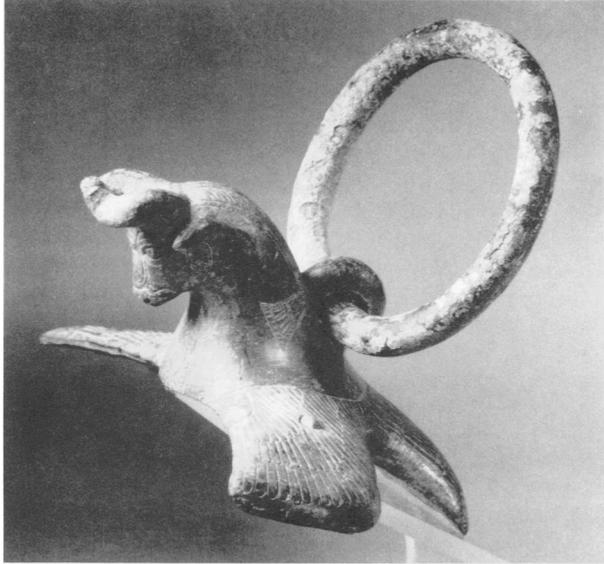
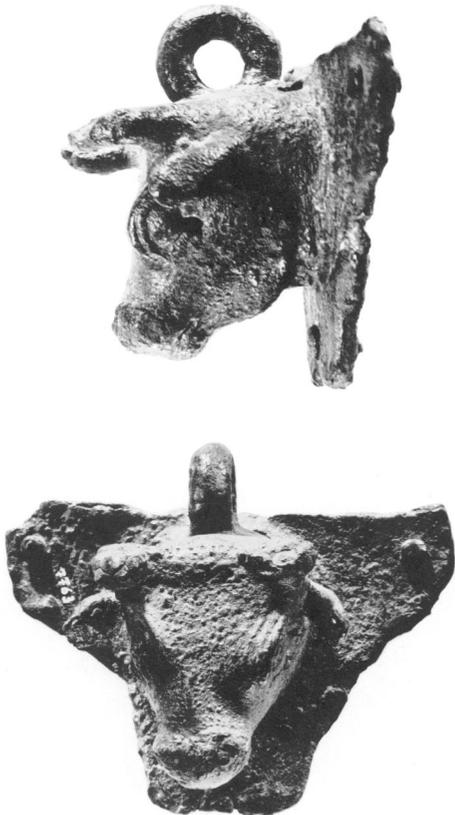


FIGURE 5
Bull cauldron attachment, about 600 B.C., from Iran. Courtesy of the Norbert Schimmel collection, New York



also reported to have been found near Lake Urmia.³

Similar bull attachments, some imported, some locally made, are known from the west: from the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Samos; from Greek mainland sanctuaries, Olympia, Delphi, Athens, the Argive Heraeum, and from Amyclae (Figures 6–7).⁴ Finally, two bull attachments on a cauldron are said to have been found at Cumae in Italy and are now in Copenhagen.

from Tumulus W; G. Roger Edwards, "Gordion: 1962," *Expedition* 5 (1963) p. 45, no. 22 for one city mound example. North Syria: W. Andrae, *Die Kleinfunde von Sendschirli* (Berlin, 1943) p. 107, pl. 49, g; M. V. Seton-Williams, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tell Rifa'at," *Iraq* 23 (1961) p. 79, pl. 41, no. 14; R. Dussaud, "Hadad et le Soleil," *Syria* 11 (1930) p. 366, fig. 2, bought at Aleppo and presumably found there or in the vicinity; it is now in the Louvre. Urartu and northwest Iran: R. D. Barnett, "The Excavations of the Br. Museum at Toprak Kale near Van," *Iraq* 12 (1950) p. 19, pl. 16; "Russian Excav. in Armenia," *Iraq* 14 (1952) p. 137, fig. 8, p. 142; P. Amandry, "Chaudrons à Protomes de Taureau en Orient et en Grèce," *The Aegean and the Near East*, ed. S. Weinberg (New York, 1956) pp. 239 ff., pls. 24–27; G. M. A. Hanfmann, "Four Urartian Bull Heads," *Anatolian Studies* 6 (1956) pp. 205 ff., p. 211 and notes 14 and 15; M. N. van Loon, *Urartian Art* (Istanbul, 1966) pp. 103 ff. The Alishar bull was found with a siren attachment. See also C. F. C. Hawkes, M. A. Smith, "On Some Buckets and Cauldrons of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages," *Antiquaries' Journal* 37 (1957) p. 169. B. Goldman in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 20 (1961) p. 243, note 16, mentions a Near-Eastern-type bull attachment in the Brussels Royal Museum of Art and History; it is otherwise unknown to me.

3. Amandry, "Chaudrons," p. 260, pl. 32, p. 3.

4. For a discussion of examples found in Greece and the Aegean see: Amandry, "Chaudrons," pp. 242 ff., pp. 249 ff.; P. Amandry, "Objets Orientaux en Grèce," *Syria* 35 (1958) pp. 73 ff.; "Grèce et Orient," *Études D'Archéologie Classique* (Paris, 1958) p. 9; U. Jantzen, *Griechische Griefenkessel* (Berlin, 1955) p. 50, pl. 60, 3; E. Kunze, "Verkannter orientalischer Kesselschmuck aus dem argivischen Heraion," *Reinecke Festschrift* (Mainz, 1950) pp. 96 ff.; H. Herrmann, *Die Kessel der orientalisierenden Zeit* (Berlin, 1966) pp. 114 ff., 129. (This volume reached me when this manuscript was basically completed.) An attachment from Idalion, H. Catling, *Cypriote Bronzework in the Mycenaean World* (Oxford, 1964) pp. 154–155, pl. 21, e, seems to me to be eighth- or seventh-century B.C. in date; it may also be a Greek copy. Catling sees a resemblance to Urartian examples but believes it to be late Mycenaean in date; see also E. Gjerstad et al., *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* (Stockholm, 1935) II, p. 540, no. 290, pl. CLXXIX, nos. 14, 15; p. 602 and p. 624 where the object is said to be from Period 3, late Cypriote III. For another series of Cypriote bull attachments see V. Karageorghis, "Chronique des Fouilles à Chypre en 1966," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 91, 1 (1967) p. 346, p. 344 and fig. 149. Each handle has three bulls, a feature not known in the Near East, to my knowledge. The example cited here from Amyclae has not hitherto been published. It is in the National Museum in Athens, no. 7763; it is 6 cm. in height. I am indebted to Dr. George Dontas for permission to publish the object in this *Journal*.

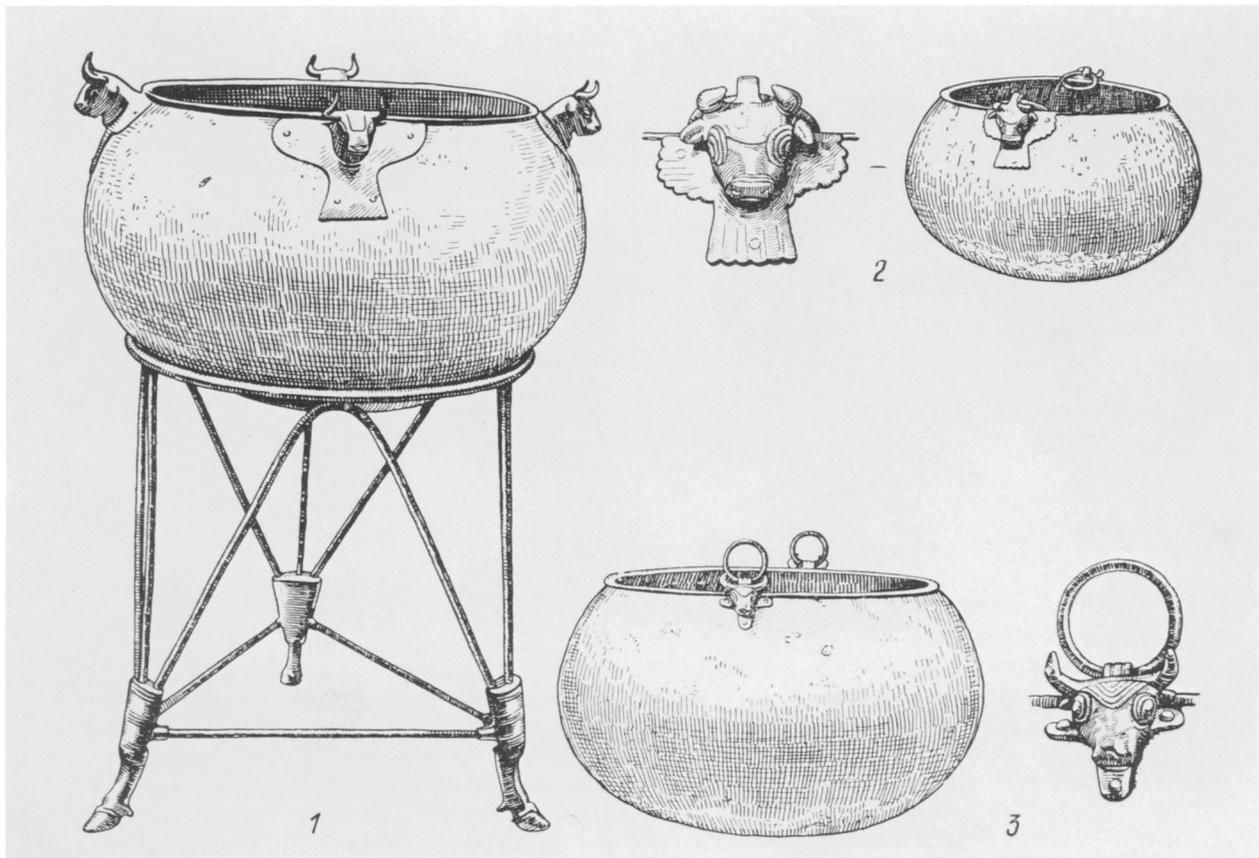


FIGURE 8

Types of Urartian and Near Eastern cauldron attachments. No. 1, Altintepe, VIII century B.C.; no. 2, Cumae, probably VIII century B.C., Copenhagen; no. 3, Gordion, Tumulus MM, VIII century B.C. From B. B. Piotrovsky, *Iskusstvo Urartu* (Leningrad, 1962) fig. 32

Bull attachments seem to have been manufactured in the eighth and early seventh centuries B.C. Some of the earliest examples that can be dated without much controversy are ten attachments (five pairs) found at Gordion. One pair was found on a cauldron (Figure 8, no. 3) and a pair on each of two dinoi (Figure 9), all three vessels from the King's Tomb, Tumulus MM, which is dated to the last third of the eighth century B.C. A pair was found on a cauldron in Tumulus W also dated to the last third of the eighth century; and another pair was recovered on a cauldron from the debris of the Phrygian city destroyed by the Kimmerians in the early seventh century B.C. (Figure 10).²

The two examples, a pair, from Tell Rifa'at in North Syria (Figure 11) were found in what appears to be a late eighth- or early seventh-century B.C. con-

text.³ All the examples from Urartu—except the one from Karmir Blur—are from the eighth century; the examples from northwest Iran presumably also belong to this period.⁵

A stylistic analysis of the bull attachments found in the various areas of the Near East yields evidence that enables us to conclude that there were basically two different groups manufactured.

All of the bull attachments found in Urartu, except the one from Karmir Blur, and those from northwest Iran form an easily recognizable group that has been called Urartian by several scholars (Figure 8, no. 1; Figure 12). The Urartian group shares certain characteristics in common, although one notes that each at-

5. Hanfmann, *AnatSt* 6 (1956) p. 212; *Urartian Art*, pp. 104-105; Amandry, "Chaudrons," p. 243.



FIGURE 9
 Dinos from Gordion, Tumulus MM, 4789 B803,
 VIII century B.C. One of the two dinoi found in
 the tomb. University Museum, Philadelphia

FIGURE 10
 Bull cauldron attachment from Gordion, 7055
 B1398, from the burned Phrygian city, early VII
 century B.C. University Museum, Philadelphia

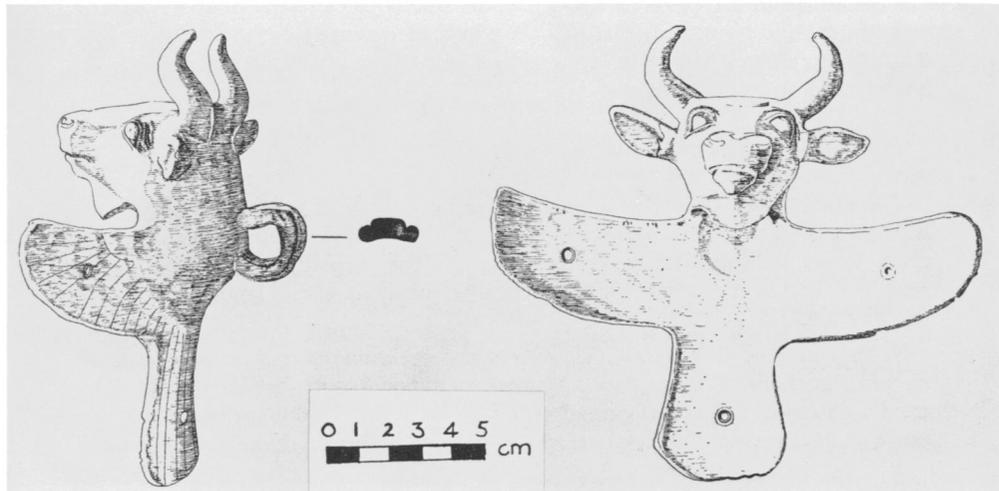


FIGURE 11
 Bull cauldron attachment from Tell Rifa'at,
 North Syria, VIII-VII century B.C. Courtesy of M.
 V. Seton-Williams

FIGURE 12
 Bull cauldron attachment from Toprakkale,
 Urartu, VIII century B.C. Copyright British Mu-
 seum



tachment or unit of attachments exhibits individuality. The examples from this group consist of a head and neck joined at a right angle onto a separately-made wing and tail apparatus, which is sometimes decorated with a herringbone pattern. The ears of the bull stick out horizontally from the head and the horns are spread wide apart, curving outward and then upward; often there is an engraved or raised decorated ring at the base of each horn. A ruff decorated with stylized spiral curls passes around the neck from ear to ear. (The four examples from the site near Guschi have separately-made horns that do not have a ring at the base; none of these examples has a ruff.) A rectangular forelock between the horns continues over the head onto the back of the neck; it is decorated on the forehead and on the neck with two levels of spiral curls. There are usually heavy eyebrows, which are sometimes decorated with a herringbone pattern; and two vertical grooves down the muzzle and across the nose are found on most of the examples (the bulls from Altintepe do not have vertical grooves and they do not have a ring at the base of the horns). The four attachments from Toprakkale have, in addition, a hook-like motif extending out from the vertical muzzle (Figure 12).

The attachments of the Urartian group never have a ring at the rear to hold a free-swinging handle and it is presumed that the attachment itself served as a handle.⁶ Moreover, bulls of the Urartian type always face outward from the cauldron, toward the viewer, rather than into the vessel. Apparently, in all cases four bulls were placed on a cauldron.

A second group of attachments is formed by the other examples found in the Near East and referred to above. This group shares certain characteristics in common and, like the Urartian group, the individual examples or pairs exhibit individuality and differ one from the other in stylistic details. In this group the head of the bull and a plain, undecorated wing and tail—more like a T-shaped plaque in some cases—are cast together as one unit. In most examples there is a fixed ring, cast with the rest, at the rear of the head or neck for the purpose of inserting a free-swinging handle. Usually there is a round or triangular-shaped forelock on the forehead of the bull. Only two bulls were placed on a cauldron.

The bulls on the large cauldron from Tumulus MM at Gordion have a ring at the rear with a free-swinging

loop handle *in situ* (Figure 8, no. 3). The forelocks are triangular in shape,⁷ decorated with incisions that repeat the triangle several times. The bulls on the smaller dinoi (Figure 9) also have a ring at the rear, but they hold a different type of handle than that found on the cauldron, one that could be grasped by a single person. The forelocks on the bulls are round, and, unlike those on the cauldron, they are undecorated. In addition to the shapes and decoration of the forelocks, the bulls from the cauldron and the dinoi differ in other respects as well. One of the bulls on one of the dinoi has a long muzzle, the other a slightly shorter one; all have long attenuated wings and tails. The difference in proportion among the bull heads certainly implies that each was manufactured in a separate one-piece mould. The bulls on the cauldron are more naturalistic in style, and they have short wings and tails. Their eyes bulge and are surrounded by thick swellings or ridges.

The bull attachments on the cauldron from Tumulus W represent a unique and interesting type, inasmuch as cast and beaten bronze were combined to form the head.⁸ Moreover, the head was riveted onto the separately-made wing and tail apparatus. In this respect one is reminded of the Urartian examples where, as has been noted, the head is made separately from the wings and tail. They are unlike the latter examples, however, both in style and in the fact that they have a round forelock and a ring behind the bull's head for the insertion of a free-swinging handle.

The bulls on the cauldron from the burned Phrygian level on the city mound (Figure 10) are quite small. They do not have a ring at the rear for a handle; their forelocks are round. These bull attachments differ from the others of the group in size and because they lack a rear ring, a feature unknown on any other attachment of this group found in the Near East.

All of the attachments from Gordion were applied

6. Amandry, "Chaudrons," p. 247; *Urartian Art*, p. 112.

7. Apparently representing a continuation of that motif from the III and II millennia B.C. when animals were often represented with triangular forelocks, *viz.* T. Özgüç, M. Akok, "Objects from Horoztepe," *Bellesten* 21 (Ankara, 1957) p. 214, figs. 10, 27; H. Kosay, *Les Fouilles d'Alaca Höyük* (Ankara, 1951) pls. 70, fig. 2, 72, fig. 1, 73, fig. 2.

8. *AJA* 64 (1960) pp. 231–232, pl. 55, fig. 11, published upside down. I have seen photographs of this attachment in the University Museum. On p. 230, "two cauldrons, each with bull attachments," are mentioned; this seems to be an error.

to the cauldron in pairs and they face outward from the vessel.

The problems inherent in describing any of the pairs from Gordion as having been either locally made, and typically “Phrygian,” or as having been imported from a particular area in the Near East are evident when one considers the stylistic variety of these bull attachments, and the fact that four different types come from the same site.

M. van Loon has recently suggested that the bull attachments on the cauldron found in Tumulus MM were locally made.⁹ He sees some relationship in style between these bulls and a lion carved in stone that was found in the Phrygian level of the city mound.¹⁰ However, although the eyes of both the bronze bulls and the stone lion are similar, the creatures have different types of forelocks, and the lion has more linear decoration on the eyes and head, as well as on the forelock. I would therefore reserve judgement at present on the nature of Phrygian-style bull attachments. In this context, however, it should be kept in mind that Gordion had a major bronze industry, and it would not offend the archaeological evidence from that site if one accepts the possibility that all or some of the attachments were local products.¹¹

The bull attachment from Karmir Blur in Urartu has its head and thin wings and tail cast in one unit; it has a ring at the back and it faced outward from the cauldron. In lieu of the usual type of forelock, round or triangular, there is a small round depression. This attachment is closer in style and in technique of manufacture to the Gordion examples, in particular to the pair on the dinos, than to any of the others found in Urartu and in northwest Iran. Although the attachment was found in the debris of the city, which was

destroyed about 600 B.C.,¹² it is probable that the object was made sometime before that date, and was imported into Karmir Blur from another area.¹³

All the bull attachments from North Syria are likewise cast in one unit with a ring at the rear, and, like those from Gordion, each has individuality in style, both in the manner of sculpting the head and in the representation of the forelock.

A close parallel in form and proportion is to be seen between the pair of attachments from Tell Rifa’at (Figure 11) and an example found at Olympia.¹⁴ Perhaps a cultural relationship exists between the two pieces, and if we conclude that the Tell Rifa’at examples were indeed locally made we may then conclude that the Olympia attachment came from North Syria. It may also be of some importance to note here that in addition to stylistic similarities, both attachments faced into the cauldron, reminding us of the well-known siren attachments that also faced into the cauldron. These siren attachments consist of the body of a male or female cast together with the wing and tail apparatus; they also have rings at the rear to hold free-swinging loop handles. These features relate them in general to the bull attachments of the Near Eastern group under discussion, but *not* to the Urartian examples discussed above.¹⁵ A growing number of scholars are accepting the conclusion that the siren attachments were manufactured in North Syria—and not in Urartu, as had previously been suggested.¹⁶ Since the two bull attachments from North Syrian Tell Rifa’at faced into the cauldron, just like the North Syrian sirens, we may consider the suggestion that the former attachments were made locally in North Syria¹⁷; needless to say, one cannot push this thought too far. It would not necessarily follow that the bull attachments

9. *Urartian Art*, p. 105, note 119; see also Herrmann, *Die Kessel*, pp. 122, 128; he prefers a North Syrian origin for the Tumulus MM bulls but accepts the possibility that the bulls on the dinos were locally made.

10. *AJA* 62 (1957) pl. 21, fig. 4.

11. R. S. Young, *AJA* 62 (1958) p. 151; Oscar White Muscarella, *Phrygian Fibulae from Gordion* (London, 1967) chapter iii.

12. For a brief discussion of the date for the destruction of Karmir Blur see my article “A Fibula from Hasanlu,” *AJA* 69 (1965) p. 237 and notes 34 to 36.

13. Herrmann, *Die Kessel*, p. 129, comes to the same conclusion; he compares the attachment to his North Syrian group.

14. For a good photograph of the Olympia example, see Herrmann, *Die Kessel*, pl. 42; see also *Urartian Art*, p. 106.

15. Oscar White Muscarella, “The Oriental Origin of Siren Cauldron Attachments,” *Hesperia* 31 (1962) p. 325.

16. Muscarella, *Hesperia* 31 (1962) pp. 317 ff.; *Urartian Art*, pp. 107 ff.; *Die Kessel*, pp. 59 ff.; R. S. Young, “A Bronze Bowl in Philadelphia,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26 (1967) pp. 150–151, note 19.

17. Note, however, that the Tell Rifa’at attachments do not have the typical herringbone decoration found on the sirens—and also on some of the Urartian bull attachments. Compare Amandry’s comments regarding the position of the attachments on the cauldron, “Chaudrons,” p. 247.

from Zincirli and Aleppo were not themselves locally made: the diversity of culture in the North Syrian cities would allow for a variety in the position of the bulls on the cauldron.

Tentatively, I would recognize a North Syrian center (or centers) in addition to a tentative Phrygian center for the manufacturing of Near Eastern bull attachments.

FIGURE 13
Silver handle found in Iraq. Copyright British Museum



The two well-known bull attachments on the cauldron from Cumae, now in Copenhagen, have a ring and loop handle at the back and they face outward from the cauldron (Figure 8, no. 2). The bulls have short wings and tails and a round forelock. They are differentiated from the other bulls of this group in that their wings and tails have scalloped edges and are decorated with a herringbone pattern; they also have very short thick necks and large decorated ridges around each eye that overlap slightly onto the forelock.¹⁸

Another bull attachment that should be mentioned is an example formerly in the Clausen and Brummer collections.¹⁹ It was cast in one unit with a ring at the rear and it faced into the cauldron. The bull has a long neck, short and thick upright ears, and no decoration on the head; there seems to be a round forelock on the forehead. The wings and tail are plain, with no feather pattern. Unfortunately the object did not come from a controlled excavation, and hence nothing is known about its provenience.

It should be understood from the preceding comments that because of the stylistic variety of the excavated attachments, one is not in a position to speak dogmatically about a specific area or city in the Near East where the examples from Cumae and the Brummer collection may have originated; and I would add here in this context examples from Samos and Amyclae, and some examples from Olympia and the Argive Heraeum.²⁰ Surely one must think of more

18. Herrmann, *Die Kessel*, pp. 122, 128, calls the Copenhagen attachments North Syrian; van Loon, *Urartian Art*, p. 106, calls them Cypriote; Young, *AJA* 62 (1958) p. 151, note 25, says they may be Phrygian.

19. *The Catalogue of the E. Brummer Collection*, Sotheby's, London, November 16–17, 1964, pp. 66–67, no. 160; it is said to have come from Anatolia and is "probably . . . Phrygian." Herrmann, *Die Kessel*, pp. 128–129, calls it North Syrian.

20. See notes 18 and 19. I find it difficult to come to a strong conclusion about the place of manufacture of most of the bull attachments found in the Greek sanctuaries. Thus, for example, I am not fully convinced that the bull attachments from Olympia illustrated in *Die Kessel*, pls. 43, 45–50, 51; those from Delphi, P. Perdrizet, *Fouilles de Delphes* (Paris, 1908) V, pp. 76–77, nos. 327, 328, 330–332; *Syria* 35 (1958) pl. 5, d, pl. 6, c; and examples from Samos, *Die Kessel*, pl. 52, 2, p. 129, note 46, are Near Eastern imports. These attachments could very well be good Greek copies of imported examples. Many have a head without a wing and tail apparatus, or they have only a triangular plate; few, if any, have forelocks. Compare the comments by Herrmann, *Die Kessel*, pp. 124 ff., 128–129), who appreciates the problem and comes to a different conclusion than the one expressed here. I also find it difficult to

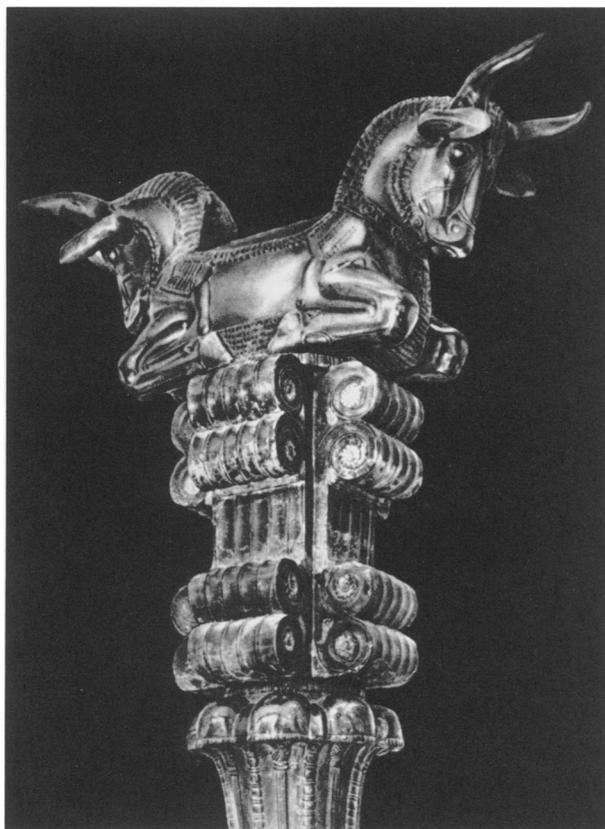


FIGURE 14
Addorsed bull capital from Persepolis. Iran Bastan Museum, Tehran. From Ghirshman, *The Arts of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1964)

arrive at a definite conclusion about the example from Idalion, Catling, *Cypriote Bronzework*, pl. 21, e; an example from Delphi, *FdD*, V, p. 79, no. 329, pl. 14, 2; and an example from Argos, C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum* (Cambridge, Mass., 1905) II, pl. 75, no. 25. However, I would suggest that the attachments from Amyclae (Figure 7); one from Samos, *Griech. Griefenkessel*, pl. 60, 3; one from Olympia, *Die Kessel*, pl. 42; and one from Argos, *Argive Heraeum*, II, pl. 75, no. 23 (Herrmann, *Die Kessel*, p. 129, Amandry, "Chaudrons," p. 249, Kunze, *Reinecke Festschrift*, p. 98, agree that this latter piece is an import) are genuine imported pieces from the Near East. In any event, whether a given attachment is Greek or Near Eastern in origin of manufacture is an academic question: what is established in either case is that the Greeks came in contact with and used oriental objects in the eighth–seventh centuries B.C. Note that there does not seem to be a single bull attachment in the Greek world that belongs to the Urartian group. If this statement holds up against future examination of the bull attachments by classical scholars—a deed which is very necessary given the inadequate publication and reproduction of many examples—it

than one artistic center in the Near East where these attachments might have been made: Phrygia and North Syria seem to represent two of these centers but there may have been others. I therefore suggest that a term such as "Near Eastern" be used to describe these attachments and others of similar type, and that scholars refrain from assigning them specifically to Phrygia or North Syria until more information is available.

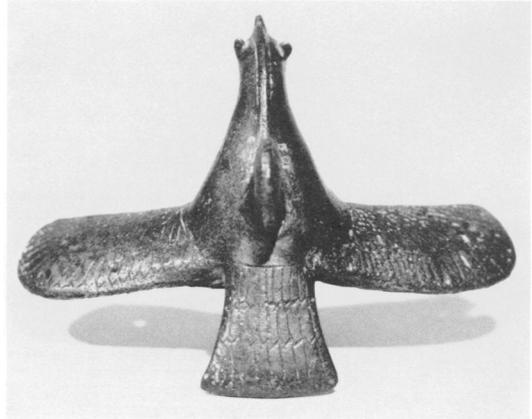
The only bull cauldron attachments excavated in Iran up to the present time are those examples of the Urartian type that were found in the northwest, near Guschi and Alishar; no Achaemenid examples are known.

Artists of the Achaemenid period were fond of using the bodies of bulls and other creatures as vase handles (Figure 13).²¹ Indeed, they were fond of bulls in general and often represented them on reliefs and in the round as jewelry, as rhytons, and, more impressively, on column capitals.²² These Achaemenid bulls have well-sculpted muzzles with modeled veining and carefully delineated nostrils and mouths. The eyes are thick, and the brows are heavy, usually sculpted in several sections. The ears are usually set at a right angle to the uplifted and forward-projecting horns. In the Tehran Museum there is a column from Persepolis which has an addorsed bull capital. The ears of both bulls are exhibited projecting forward below the horns (Figure 14). The museum authorities have kindly informed me that the ears have been restored in modern times. Because of this fact one cannot be certain that they have

would be a significant fact in any discussion of oriental influences on Greek culture; see Amandry, *Syria* 35 (1958) p. 78; *Die Kessel*, p. 128; *Urartian Art*, p. 106. For a different type of animal handle in Greece, see N. R. Oakeshott, "Horned-head Vase Handles," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 86 (1966) pp. 114 ff.

21. P. Amandry, "Toreutique Achéménide," *Antike Kunst* (1959) pp. 38 ff.; E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I (Chicago, 1953) pl. 29; II (Chicago, 1957) pl. 70, D, F; R. Ghirshman, *The Arts of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1964) p. 174, fig. 220, p. 176, fig. 222. The use of animals or animal heads as handles is documented in the ninth century at Hasanlu, and among Luristan bronze vessels. The Achaemenid examples continue this tradition.

22. *Persepolis*, I, pls. 19, 20, 45, 62, etc.; *The Arts of Ancient Iran*, figs. 186, 192, 263–266, 281, 286, 448: found near Sidon, not at Bustanesh-Sheikh; see comments by M.-L. Buhl, "Anfang, Verbreitung u. Dauer der phoenikischen anthropoiden Steinsarkophage," *Acta Archaeologica* 35 (1964) p. 78; and also in Buhl, pp. 72 ff., figs. 12 A, B, 14 A, B, 15.



FIGURES 15, 16
Griffin attachment from Iran. Iran Bastan Museum, Tehran

been placed in their original position.²³ It is therefore suggested that one may not make use of the position of the ears on the Tehran bulls as a parallel for the ear position on our attachments.

The forelock of Achaemenid bulls is usually decorated with spiral curls and is rounded at the lower border. The chest is also decorated with spiral curls, and so is the ruff that connects the mouth and the ear on each side. The spiral-curl forelock and ruff, the heavy eyes and brows, and the veining of the muzzle remind us of the earlier Urartian bulls found on the attachments discussed above, and we may conclude that there is some Urartian influence to be seen here.

One also notes some general parallels between these Achaemenid bull heads and our bronze bulls: the round forelock, stylized chest hair, muzzle decoration, and the ruff connecting the mouth and ears. Yet there are differences in the position of the ears, the curve of the horns, and in the more elaborate stylization of the hair decoration to be seen on the Archaemenid bulls when compared to our bronze examples. These latter features might have some bearing on chronology, apparently suggesting an earlier stage for the bronze attachments.

Some other parallels for the bull heads of our attachments exist both in pre-Achaemenid and apparently

23. I wish to thank Dr. Neghaban, Mr. Safaraz, and Mr. Piramoon of Tehran for their cooperation in discussing the matter with me. Mr. Piramoon is quite certain that the ears are correctly restored. See *Acta Archaeologica* 35 (1964) pp. 72 ff., figs. 12 A and B for a bull column, the one from near Sidon referred to in note 22,

also in early Achaemenid art. The head of the silver bull handle in the British Museum (Figure 13), dated by Jacobsthal and Amandry to the first half of the fifth century B.C.,²⁴ but perhaps actually a little earlier, has inward-curving horns, ears projecting forward under the horns, a hatched ruff, and a round forelock with decoration similar to that on the forelock and mane of our bulls; its wings are also decorated with a plain feather pattern.

Finally, we would call attention to some features on our bulls that remind us of the Urartian bronze bull attachments: a forelock decorated in zones, a decorated ruff at the side of the head, and linear muzzle decoration.

In the Tehran Museum there is a bronze cauldron attachment in the form of a winged griffin (Figures 15, 16).²⁵ The head and upper part of the griffin is cast in one piece with the wings and tail, and with the ring for holding a free-swinging handle which is now missing. The wings and tail are decorated with a plain feather pattern and there is a hatched area on the chest that apparently represents hair. A characteristic griffin-knob exists at the crown of the head from which a crest extends down to the middle of the back; the mouth is closed. The griffin faced into the cauldron. This latter feature, and the plain feather pattern on the wings and

either provincial Achaemenid or post-Achaemenid in date, where the ears were placed forward under the horns.

24. "Toreutique Achéménide," pp. 47-48.

25. I wish to thank Dr. Neghaban for sending me photographs of this attachment.

tail, the stylized hatched chest hair, the general proportions, the technique of manufacture, as well as the fact that the griffin was found in Iran, relate this attachment to those in the Metropolitan Museum and the Schimmel collection.

The specific provenience in Iran of this griffin is not known, but Ghirshman has suggested that it came from Luristan and dated it to the eighth-seventh centuries B.C.²⁶ Actually, there is no proof for a Luristan provenience, nor is the griffin related stylistically to typical “Luristan” bronzes.

A bronze eagle attachment (there is no evidence for calling it a griffin) found many years ago on the Acropolis at Athens is closely paralleled by the Tehran griffin.²⁷ The eagle has all its components cast together in one unit, including the ring (which rests on a plinth) for a separate free-swinging handle. Moreover, the bird faced into the cauldron. The attachment was apparently imported from the Near East (or else it is a good local copy!), but the style is not clear enough to warrant any statement about a specific provenience. Surely one need not call the eagle attachment “Iranian” simply because of the Iranian provenience of the Tehran griffin; I prefer to call it simply a Near Eastern attachment (see below).

We are now in a position to present some conclusions concerning the chronological and historical position of the attachments in the Metropolitan Museum and the Schimmel collection. When we compare them to the bull attachments from the various areas in the Near East it will be seen that there is no relationship with the Urartian group. On the other hand there is a definite relationship with the other examples cited in this study, the examples I call Near Eastern. However, I have stressed that among each of the pairs or individual pieces within this group, even with those found within one cultural area, there are notable differences. These are expressed in the form of decorative detail—some face into the cauldron, others face outward; some have round, others have triangular forelocks; some have a plain feather pattern on the wings and tail, others are

26. *The Arts of Ancient Iran*, pp. 80, 295, fig. 353, also p. 432; there is no evidence to support the suggestion that the piece was of “Urartian workmanship.”

27. A. de Ridder, *Bronzes Trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes* (Paris, 1896) p. 197, no. 538, fig. 177; for a better photograph now see *Die Kessel*, pp. 70, 136, pl. 58; Herrmann suggests that the attachment is Assyrian.

undecorated—and also in the manner in which the heads and neck were sculpted. These differences prevent not only a strong conclusion about a specific cultural and stylistic relationship of each of these attachments to one another, but also a conclusion about a direct link between any given one of the examples and ours. In other words, we may conclude either that the Iranian artisans who manufactured our attachments were generally influenced by various bull attachments and cauldrons from several areas with which they came in contact, or that they were influenced by attachments and cauldrons from one particular source that is at present unknown to us.

The parallels in style that, I believe, exist between our bulls and the heads of the bulls on the handle in the British Museum (Figure 13) seem to suggest that both may have been manufactured somewhere in western Iran within a relatively short period of time. At the same time the stylistic parallels that exist with the Urartian bull heads (Figure 12) seem to suggest a date not too far removed from the time when the latter were made. It was also suggested that the parallels existing with the Achaemenid bull heads were not close enough to conclude that our attachments are contemporary, but rather to suggest an earlier date. All these comments add up to a conclusion that our attachments were made sometime between the late eighth and the second half of the sixth centuries B.C. It is plausible, therefore, to state that our attachments were made somewhere in western Iran in the seventh century B.C., perhaps even as late as the early sixth century B.C.

If this dating is generally correct, the attachments would be among the latest in the series of bull attachments discussed in this study. I would also venture to suggest that Ghirshman's dating of the griffin in Tehran to the eighth-seventh centuries be accepted, with the provision that the seventh century B.C. may be more likely.

A date in the late seventh century B.C. for the attachments would mean that they were manufactured during the time that the Medes were in political control of western Iran. This naturally raises the possibility that the attachments represent examples of Median art. Such a conclusion is cautiously stated as an “intelligent guess,” for we have no archaeological (i.e., scientifically excavated) material that we can claim as examples of Median art. Our knowledge of this art is at present

based on archaeological inference, and the evidence exists only in the form of isolated objects gathered together by art historians or archaeologists, such, for example, as presented in this study. Objects have been called “Median” on the basis of stylistic analysis and historical conclusions, as I have done above, and while

this is indeed viable, one must continuously be aware of the limitations of the methods employed.²⁸

The nature of Median art will become better understood only from a study of objects found *in situ* by archaeologists; it cannot be understood if one is limited to a study of non-excavated material.²⁹

28. H. J. Kantor, “A Gold Applique from Ziwiye,” *JNES* 19 (1960) pp. 13–14; R. D. Barnett, “Median Art,” *Iranica Antiqua* 2 (1962) pp. 77 ff.; R. Ghirshman, “Le trésor de l’Oxus, les bronzes du Luristan et l’art mède,” *Vorderasiatische Archaeologie* (Moortgat Festschrift) (Berlin, 1964) pp. 88 ff.; *Urartian Art*, pp. 178 ff.

29. After this study had been completed I was shown photographs of some bronze objects, which allegedly came from the Lake Van area in eastern Turkey. The objects include fragments of a boss or shield, fragments of a helmet, and a fragment of a quiver. The human and animal decoration on these objects does seem to be Urartian.

Among the objects there is a pair of goat attachments and a pair of ibex attachments. In each case the whole animal is represented and the front and rear legs rest on a single plinth. Apparently each pair was attached to a cauldron. These animals are similar to some attachments found in Greece, *viz.* *Die Kessel*, pl. 63, Kunze, *Reinecke Festschrift*, pl. 18, 1, 2, 4, and *Olympia Bericht*, V (Berlin, 1956) p. 81, note 11; “Chaudrons,” pl. 29, 2. In addition to these objects the cache (?) contained three winged bull attachments, all of which have the head and the wing and tail apparatus cast in one unit; the latter in all three cases is plain and undecorated. The bulls faced outward from the cauldron. Two of the heads seem to be exactly the same in all details: round forelock ending in a raised ridge, forward-projecting ears and horns, the latter of which are short, and heavy eyes. Yet they differ in that their wings and tails are of

different proportions, and only one has a fixed ring, in the form of a long spool, at the back of the neck. The other attachment is in a different style: thin wing and tail apparatus, and outward-curving horns. I cannot tell from the photograph if there is a forelock. There are no ears present, and there is no ring for a handle. It is obvious that these attachments are not like the Urartian examples described above. Certain possible conclusions follow from a study of this group: 1) since they are objects belonging to a dealer, one may not accept without reservations the claim that they form a single cache; 2) the group does represent a single find from Urartu, but the bull attachments were imported and not locally made (like the example from Karmir Blur, above); or 3) the attachments were indeed made in Urartu along with the other objects. If the third conclusion is correct, then it would seem that the ideas expressed in this study—that there is a division between Urartian and Near Eastern bull attachments, based on stylistic and technical differences—is not valid. And therefore one is left with some confusion both about the nature of Urartian bull attachments and the origin or place of manufacture of those examples found in the Aegean and the Near East. The problem rests until archaeologists excavate similar bulls in good contexts or, luckily, find a mould; one cannot solve the problem with objects from the antiquities market. However, I believe the second possibility best explains the situation—that the bull attachments were imported into Urartu.

Portrait Bust of a Young Lady of the Time of Justinian

ELISABETH ALFÖLDI-ROSENBAUM

Assistant Professor of Fine Art, University of Toronto

THE METROPOLITAN Museum has recently acquired the marble bust of a young lady (Figures 1–5, 8, 10) said to originate in the region of Constantinople.¹ The bust is made of very fine-grained white marble, the texture closely resembling that of a variety of marble found in several quarries in the neighborhood of Dokimion in Phrygia.² Its total height is 53.0 cm. (20 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.). The head measures from chin to crown 22.0 cm. (8 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.), and the face (from chin to hairline) is 15.5 cm. (6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.) high. The width of the bust at the shoulders is 27.5 cm. (10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), that of the head at the level of the eyes (including the hair) is 18.0 cm. (7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.). Head and bust were carved originally from one block of marble. When found, the head was broken diagonally across the lower part of the face, through the mouth. The two sections have been joined to make a perfect fit, and only a few missing chips along the break have been filled in. The bridge and tip of the nose are missing. Some insignificant chips are missing from various parts of the head, neck, and drapery, and the surface

of the bonnet has flaked off here and there. There are some incrustations on parts of the garment, the hand, the neck, and the head, and there are also a few root marks. The entire surface has been finely polished, giving the marble an alabaster-like sheen. Even the top of the scroll, which the lady is holding, the bonnet, and the garment at the back have this polished finish. Only around the bottom edge of the bust and on the underside of the bonnet at the back do some rasp marks appear.

The bust is cut at the right side so that the right shoulder and the entire right arm are missing. At the bottom, it is cut in line with the lower end of the scroll. Both these cuts were made with a saw, so they cannot be accidental breaks. At the back, the bust is hollowed out, with a shallow protuberance left in the middle toward the lower edge. The surface of the back, both of the hollowed part and of the framing edge, has been treated with a fine chisel. In addition, there are marks of a coarser tool on the bottom edge. On the underside,

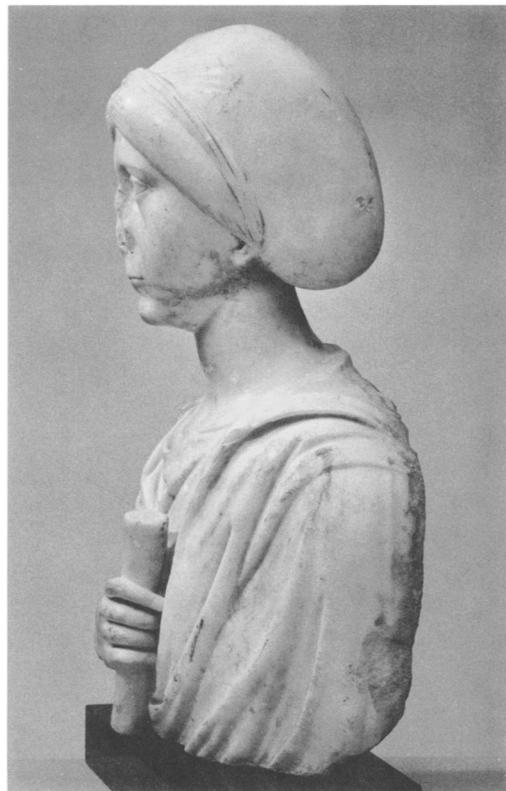
1. I am indebted to Mr. William H. Forsyth, Research Curator in Charge of the Medieval Department and The Cloisters for entrusting me with the publication of the piece. He gave me all available information and all facilities for an examination of the original sculpture, and he had the photographs reproduced here made by the Museum's photographer. See also his article "Byzantine Bust of a Woman," *Burlington Magazine* 109 (1967) pp. 304–306, figs. 55, 56. I should also like to express my thanks to the various colleagues and photographic archives that contributed the

photographs of comparative material, especially to Dr. H. Sichtermann of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome.

2. Michael Ballance (Eton College) kindly sent me a sample from one of these quarries, and the Metropolitan Museum had this analyzed together with a sample from the bust. The result of the analysis is the certainty that the two samples do not come from the same quarry. This does, however, not exclude the possibility that the bust was made of marble from one of the other quarries in the neighborhood.



FIGURE 1
Portrait bust of a
young lady. The
Metropolitan Mu-
seum of Art,
Cloisters Fund,
66.45



FIGURES 2-5
Views of the
Metropolitan Mu-
seum's portrait bust



FIGURE 6
Bust of a woman from a sarcophagus in Tarragona. From A. Garcia y Bellido, *Esculturas Romanas de España y Portugal*, no. 274, pl. 227

a little behind the lower end of the scroll, is a deep circular hole (more than 3 cm. [$1\frac{1}{8}$ in.] deep) with the remains of a metal pin still in position.

The bust cannot have had its present shape originally. First of all, there must have been a foot. As it is now, we must assume that after the surviving part was sawn off it was fixed to some kind of base by means of a dowel. When and why the right arm and shoulder were sawn off is difficult to conjecture: we will have to return to this question when we have examined the sculpture in more detail.

The bust is the portrait of a young lady. She wears a tunic³ and a mantle that is draped over the greater part of her body and envelops the left arm completely.

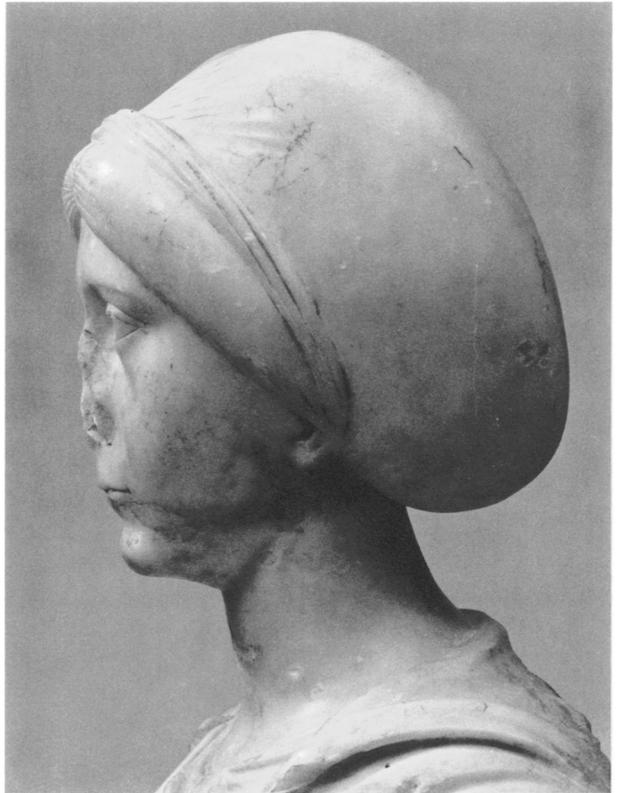
3. It is possible that the tunic was a long-sleeved one, but the edge of a garment around the wrist could also belong to the mantle.

The drapery is arranged in softly modeled folds, some of which are gently curved. Only here and there a harder line appears (for instance, on one of the V-folds below the neckline). In her right hand, which has thin, elegant fingers, the lady holds a book scroll. On her head, which rises from a long, slender neck, she wears a scarf of a thin silk-like material that covers her entire hair like a bonnet, leaving only the earlobes showing. The ends of the scarf are wound around the head like a wreath, in a tightly twisted roll, and disappear behind the ears; they were obviously tied and tucked under at the back. In the center above the forehead the scarf is held by a clip to prevent it from slipping onto the forehead. We can see outlined beneath the scarf two heavy plaits of her coiffure which were pulled up from the nape of the neck to the crown of the head, where they were probably turned under. Between them is a very shallow indentation. In front, the hair forms a thickish roll that frames the forehead in a flat triangle. The long, oval face shows extremely delicate modeling. The parts below the eyes, around the nostrils, and below the mouth should be noted in particular. The eyes with their gently curved lids are set under almost straight brows. The pupils are rendered by large circular cavities (1 cm. [$\frac{3}{8}$ in.] in diameter), and the irises have not been indicated. In contrast to the fine modeling of the cheeks, the lower lip, and the chin, the parting of the lips is indicated only by a rather schematized line.

The head of the lady is slightly turned to the right, but her eyes seem to look straight ahead at the beholder and not at whoever once may have been to her right. The expression is largely centered on the eyes, and yet they are not overlarge or staring and do not convey any otherworldly quality. The head is distinguished by the tenderness of its features, the sweetness of its expression, and by its immensely human quality, which has an immediate appeal.

FIGURES 7, 9
Portrait head of Theodora. Castello Sforzesco, Milan (photo: German Archaeological Institute, Rome)

FIGURES 8, 10
Details of the Metropolitan Museum's portrait bust



FIGURES 11, 12

Portrait head of Ariadne. Lateran, Rome (photo: German Archaeological Institute, Rome)



FIGURES 13, 14

Portrait head of Ariadne. Musée du Louvre

The scroll she holds identifies her as a lady of intellectual ambitions: in general, men of learning are represented holding book scrolls, but there are also many examples of women with this attribute. It seems that originally it belonged to one of the Muses, Polyhymnia,⁴ but was taken over by a large number of women, mainly on sarcophagi, to denote their literary leanings.⁵ Some of the sarcophagi with a woman holding a scroll also show “philosopher” types of men, who are depicted as teaching them; and there cannot be much doubt that the scroll as such is simply a “badge” to denote a claim to intellectual activities. Nearly always, when women on sarcophagi are shown holding scrolls, they have them in their left hands (Figure 6), putting the fingers of their right hands on the tops of the scrolls. Our lady holds her scroll in her right hand, the left arm not being rendered at all. How the scroll is held does not seem particularly significant, and we have one example of royalty represented with this attribute: a coin of Justin II with his wife Sophia shows both of them holding an upright scroll.⁶

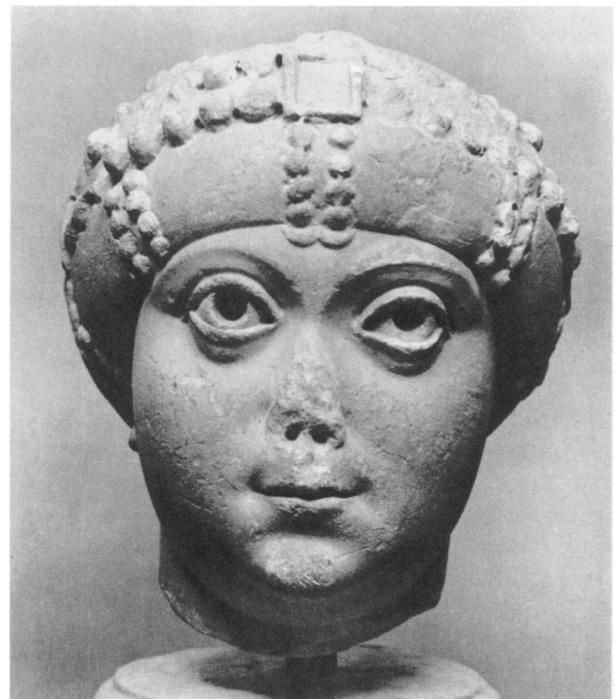
This scroll is the only insigne displayed by the young lady, and it is not one that would give us any indication about the date or the identity of the portrait. Stylistically, however, it appears that the bust is comparable, in varying degrees, only to a group of portraits of early Byzantine empresses.

This group consists of three heads in the Lateran (Figures 11, 12), the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Figures 15, 16), and the Louvre (Figures 13, 14), respectively, which in all probability portray Ariadne, the wife first

4. See examples on sarcophagi, e.g. M. Wegner, *Musensarkophage*, nos. 183, 208, 231, pls. 33 a, 34, 36.

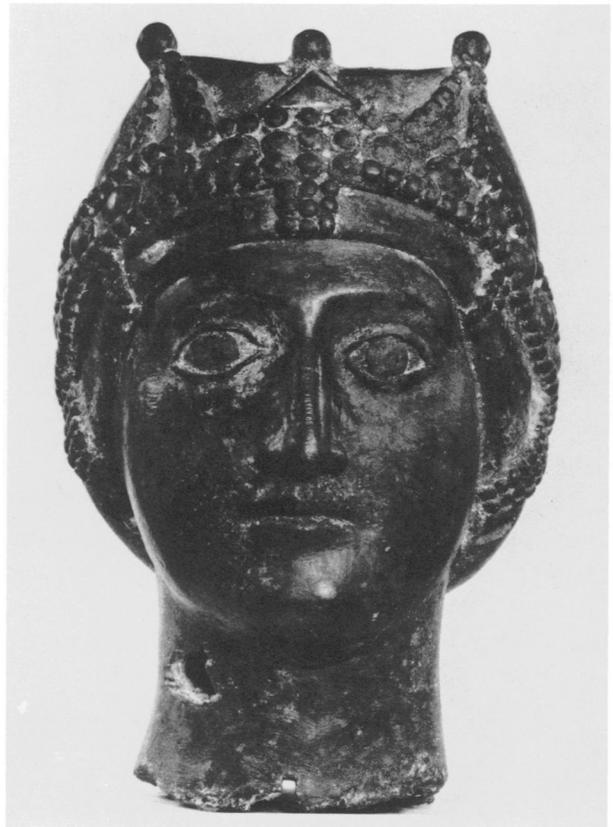
5. Examples are too numerous to be listed in full here. Most of them are on sarcophagi. Cf., for instance, Wegner, *Musensarkophage*, no. 35 (pl. 151 a), no. 116 (pl. 71), no. 133 (pl. 60), no. 135 (pl. 55 a); W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, I (Berlin, 1903) Giardino della Pigna Ost IX, no. 65, pl. 96; A. Garcia y Bellido, *Esculturas Romanas de España y Portugal* (Madrid, 1949) no. 274, pls. 226, 227. Further references will be found in Th. Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst* (Leipzig, 1907) pp. 98, 105 ff.

6. W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, I (London, 1908) Justin II, no. 26, pl. 11.6; Bellinger, *Dumbarton Oaks*, Justin II, no. 19.



FIGURES 15, 16

Portrait head of Ariadne. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome (photo: German Archaeological Institute, Rome)



FIGURES 17, 18

Bronze portrait head of Euphemia, from Balajnac. National Museum, Niš

of Zenon, and, from 491, of Anastasius (she died in 515);⁷ a bronze head, possibly of the empress Euphemia, wife of Justin I, found recently in Balajnac near Niš in Yugoslavia (Figures 17, 18);⁸ and the marble head of an empress in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan

(Figures 7, 9), most probably a portrait of Theodora, the wife of Justinian I.⁹ To these portraits in the round may be added a number of ivory carvings on Consular diptychs, showing portraits in medallions on a very small scale of Ariadne (Figure 19),¹⁰ Amalasueta,¹¹ and

7. R. Delbrueck, *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 28 (1913) no. 2, pp. 318 ff., fig. 5, pls. 11–13 (Lateran); no. 3, pp. 323–324, pls. 14, 15 (Palazzo dei Conservatori); no. 4, pp. 324 ff., pls. 16, 17 (Louvre). K. Wessel, *VIII Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* (1961) pp. 357 ff.; K. Wessel, *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 77 (1962) pp. 246–247. Illustrations especially of the Louvre head are also found in general works, e.g., A. Grabar, *L'âge d'or de Justinien* (Paris, 1966) p. 226, fig. 253. Further bibliography will be found in the two articles by K. Wessel.

8. D. Srejić and A. Simović, "Portrait d'une impératrice Byzantine de Balajnac," *Starinar* n.s. 9–10 (1958–1959) pp. 77 ff., French summary pp. 86–87; K. Wessel, *JdI* 77 (1962) pp. 247–248.

9. R. Delbrueck, *RM* 28 (1913) no. 1, pp. 310 ff., figs. 1 a, 1 b, 4, pls. 9, 10; K. Wessel, *JdI* 77 (1962) pp. 240 ff., figs. 1, 2, with previous bibliography. The head has been illustrated in several general works, all of which we cannot list here. Some of

them are quoted in the article by K. Wessel, cited above. Some additional bibliography may be found in M. Bonicatti, *Studi di storia dell'arte sulla Tarda antichità e sull'Alto Medioevo* (Rome, n.d.) pp. 198 ff. (fig. 255). See also H. v. Heintze, *Römische Porträt-Plastik aus sieben Jahrhunderten* (Stuttgart, 1961) pp. 18, 20, pl. 48.

10. In the Diptychs of Clementinus in Liverpool, Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 16, Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 15; Delbrueck, *RM* 28 (1913) p. 339, fig. 13a; of Anthemius, formerly Limoges, Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 17, Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 16, Delbrueck, *RM* 28 (1913) p. 339, fig. 13b; of Anastasius, Berlin, Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 20, Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 17; London, Victoria & Albert Museum, Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 20, Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 18; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 21, Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 21; Verona, Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 19; Delbrueck *RM* 28 (1913) pp. 339–340, figs. 13c–e.

11. Diptych of Orestes, London, Victoria & Albert Museum,

Theodora (Figure 20);¹² the ivory panels in Florence (Figure 21) and Vienna, showing the full figure of an empress, probably again Ariadne, once standing, once seated;¹³ and finally the mosaic portrait of Theodora in San Vitale in Ravenna (Figure 24).¹⁴

The imperial character of all these portraits is assured by their headdress. This consists of a scarf of thin material covering the hair entirely,¹⁵ and in most cases a bonnet made of stiffer material, to which a more or less elaborate crown is attached. Ariadne in the Palazzo dei Conservatori wears only the scarf to which the diadem is fitted, and the same appears to be the case with the bronze head from Balajnac.¹⁶ The portraits in

Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 32, Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 31, Delbrueck, *RM* 28 (1913) p. 341, fig. 13g. On the attempts to identify the marble portraits of Ariadne and the two ivory portraits cited below in note 13 with Amalasueta, see S. Fuchs, *Kunst der Ostgotenzeit* (Berlin, 1944) pp. 66 ff.; see also K. Wessel, *JdI* 77 (1962) p. 244, note 27.

12. Diptych of Justinus (540), Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 34, Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 33, Delbrueck, *RM* 28 (1913) p. 341, fig. 13h, K. Wessel, *JdI* 77 (1962) p. 254, fig. 9a.

13. Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, nos. 51, 52, Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, nos. 51, 52; Delbrueck, *RM* 28 (1913) p. 341, figs. 14, 16 (here still as Theodora, as against his later view in *Consulardiptychen*, text, pp. 201 ff., especially p. 204), Wessel, *JdI* 77 (1962) pp. 250–251, figs. 5a, b. Of other illustrations of these ivories I should like to refer only to the excellent reproduction of a detail of the Florence panel in A. Grabar, *L'age d'or de Justinien* (Paris, 1966) fig. 318 (opposite p. 277).

14. No detailed bibliography of this famous work is necessary. For discussions on the portrait value of this mosaic and on the headdress, see the works quoted in notes 7–13. See also G. Rodenwaldt, *JdI* 59–60 (1944–1945) pp. 96 ff. Of the numerous color reproductions of the panel I should like to mention in particular those in A. Grabar, *L'age d'or de Justinien* (Paris, 1966) figs. 172, 173.

15. The marble portraits of Ariadne show two very stylized small locks emerging from under the scarf in the center of the forehead, in addition to which the heads in the Lateran and in the Louvre have some ornamental-looking strands of hair at the nape of the neck.

16. The most detailed and, in my opinion, the most accurate description of the headdresses of these women is given by Delbrueck in his article in *RM* 28 (1913). He distinguishes clearly between the scarf of thin material and the bonnet of stiffer stuff. Wessel, in his discussion in *JdI* 77 (1962) does not make this distinction but speaks generally of a “Kronhaube.” In particular, he seems to think that the front hair of Theodora in the Milan head is uncovered, which would mean that the piece of cloth covering the hair at the back and over the ears is an extension of the bonnet. This interpretation would give the bonnet a very peculiar shape and would also make the rendering of the front hair very difficult to explain. A comparison between the relevant details of the new Metropolitan head and the Milan one seems to make it fairly certain that Delbrueck’s distinction between the scarf and the bonnet in the Milan headdress is correct. Wessel (p. 252) also



FIGURE 19
Ivory Consular diptych of Clementinus, detail of the left wing. Liverpool Museum (photo: Giraudon)



FIGURE 20
Ivory Consular diptych of Justinus, detail of the right wing. Berlin Museum



FIGURE 21
Portrait of Ariadne, detail of an ivory panel. Museo Archeologico, Florence (photo: German Archaeological Institute, Rome)

the round apart from the Milan one have the earlobes uncovered. The coiffure, as outlined under the scarf and bonnet, shows the front hair forming a thickish roll, smooth in most cases, but sectioned, as if arranged in very stiff narrow waves, on the Milan head, and the mass of the hair gathered in the nape of the neck and taken up to the crown: divided in two parts, probably plaits, in the Lateran and the Louvre Ariadne and the Milan Theodora, whereas no such division can be seen in the Ariadne in the Palazzo dei Conservatori and the "Euphemia."

The identification of the portraits of Ariadne and Theodora was established in a brilliant article by Richard Delbrueck in 1913.¹⁷ His results have, in the main points, been accepted by K. Wessel, who re-examined the problems involved in two recent studies,¹⁸ and have also been adopted by most other scholars who have had occasion to refer to these portraits in one or another context.¹⁹ The date assigned to the head from Balajnac by D. Srejić and A. Simović seems to be the only possible one, and hence their identification will also have to be accepted. The problems arising from the shape of the crowns worn by these empresses have no bearing on our present argument, and their identification is relevant only so far as it affects chronology.

A bonnet or scarf covering the entire hair without a diadem or crown is not part of imperial costume but occurs on portraits of other women, both in the sixth century and earlier. Delbrueck has referred to examples such as Serena on the diptych in Monza²⁰ (beginning

states that Theodora's hair on the mosaic in San Vitale is uncovered in front and at the back (what he means must be "at the sides"): an examination of several color reproductions suggests that Delbrueck's description of the headdress (p. 344) is the correct one, and that here, too, we have a scarf covering the entire hair and, in addition, a bonnet over the top of the head.

17. *RM* 28 (1913) pp. 310 ff. The results of this study seem to be valid still today except for the identification of the empress in the ivories in Florence and Vienna (see above, note 13) as Theodora, a view which he corrected himself in his later standard work on the Consular diptychs (*Consulardiptychen*, nos. 51–52, text, pp. 201 ff., especially p. 204).

18. *VIII Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* (1961) pp. 351 ff.; *JdI* 77 (1962) pp. 240 ff. These articles resulted only in some modification of detail, but basically reconfirmed Delbrueck's original views. Some of these modifications do not seem to me to be improvements, for instance, when he would like to date the model of the portrait of Theodora in San Vitale (on the strength of the development of the form of the "Kronhaube") around 527

of the fifth century), Juliana Anicia in the Vienna Dioscorides manuscript²¹ (beginning of the sixth century), and various representations on mosaics. Whereas this kind of headdress seems to be the exception in earlier centuries, it appears to become the rule in the sixth century, where it is worn, for example, by the ladies of Theodora's court in the mosaic in San Vitale (Figure 24), by female saints in the archepiscopal chapel in Ravenna, by the Virgin in the apse mosaic in Parenzo, and on a number of ivory book covers.²² The closest parallel to the type of scarf worn by our young lady appears, however, on a portrait head in Toulouse (Figures 22, 25–28), which, to judge from the photographs at my disposal, is hardly later than the time around 400.²³ Even the way the scarf is gathered in the center above the forehead seems to be similar. But in spite of this striking similarity of the headdress, the two portraits are in general style and in the treatment of facial details, such as the eyes, so different from each other that they cannot be contemporary.

The headdress, then, taken in isolation, does not lead to a closer dating of our portrait. The same is true of the coiffure, which is a variant of one worn by women from the time of Constantine onward right into the sixth century at least.²⁴ Thus, in order to substantiate our assertion that the Metropolitan portrait bust is contemporary with the portraits of sixth-century empresses listed above, we have to examine other details.

The form of the pupils of the eyes is very similar to that seen in the three marble portraits of Ariadne:

(*JdI*, p. 252), whereas he virtually retained Delbrueck's date of the marble head in Milan (*RM* 28 [1913] p. 348: preferably 538; Wessel, p. 255: about 540). All the same, these articles have real merit, because they disprove the various erroneous theories set up in the nearly fifty years that had elapsed since Delbrueck's basic treatment of the subject.

19. See the bibliography in the articles by K. Wessel cited in note 18, and in the relevant chapter of M. Bonicatti's book, quoted in note 9.

20. Delbrueck, *RM* 28 (1913) p. 335, fig. 11; *Consulardiptychen*, no. 63, Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 63.

21. Delbrueck, *RM* 28 (1913) pp. 337–338, fig. 12; P. Buberl, *JdI* 51 (1936) pp. 121 ff., fig. 12; *id.*, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften* (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, N.F. IV, pt. IV, 1) p. 27, pl. 5.

22. To cite only one of several examples: the diptych in Berlin, Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 137, pl. 42.

23. See Appendix, pp. 35 ff.

24. Cf. Delbrueck, *RM* 28 (1913) pp. 326 ff.



FIGURE 22
Detail from a portrait head of a woman. Musée St.-Raymond, Toulouse (photo: Michel Labrousse)

large circular hollows, without a surrounding incised line. In the case of the Ariadne portraits, the hollows are deeper, and they were certainly originally inlaid with glass paste or a similar substance.²⁵ No trace of an adhesive is visible on the eyes of the Metropolitan lady, and my general impression is that the shadows created by these hollows were sufficient to evoke the illusion of irises and pupils, without the aid of any filling. The diameter and the depth of the hollows are comparable to the pupils of the Milan Theodora, which have, however, a little wedge on the upper side to denote the highlight, and which are furthermore surrounded by an incised line indicating the iris. This latter form of pupils and irises occurs frequently already on portraits throughout the fourth century and occasionally even earlier, whereas the form of the pupils seen in the Ariadne heads appears in nearly all of the few portraits in the round datable with any reasonable degree of certainty to the sixth century or the end of the fifth.²⁶ The mouth of the Metropolitan lady, with its lips firmly pressed together, may be compared to the mouth of Ariadne, especially in the Louvre version. The triangular depressions at the corners of the mouth,

25. Delbrueck, *RM* 28 (1913) p. 323, describes traces of a white adhesive in the cavity in the right eye of the head in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

26. See, e.g., the portraits from Ephesus, J. Inan and E. Rosen-

which are found in both portraits, occur also in the Milan head, which has, however, fuller lips. Similar in all five heads is the modeling around the mouth and in particular the groove separating the lower lip from the chin. The area surrounding the eyes is modeled with much greater delicacy on our present portrait than on any of the imperial ones, but we may point to the rather deep groove that outlines the upper lid against the flesh fold above, to be noticed in all five heads.

These details link the Metropolitan lady with the marble portraits of Ariadne and Theodora. But the modeling of the facial details and the delicate surface treatment are comparable only to the Milan Theodora. We should notice in particular the rendering of the faint depressions leading from the nostrils toward the corners of the mouth; the swellings and depressions below the eyes; the area of the chin with the slight swelling on the underside; and the play of light and shade on the surface, which gives life to both these faces. Furthermore, only in these two heads is the material of the scarf realistically rendered, as we can see especially on the part where it is tautly drawn over the heavy hair behind the ears. Compared with the Milan and the Metropolitan heads the portraits of Ariadne appear like lifeless masks, summary and coarse in the execution of detail.

But there are also marked differences between the two sculptures. The Milan head portrays a mature woman displaying the signs of approaching old age, noticeable above all in the slightly hollow cheeks and the heavy bags below the eyes. The Metropolitan bust, on the other hand, is the portrait of a young woman with full cheeks and the fresh and clear complexion of youth. But it is not only this difference in age that causes the contrast between the two portraits. The Metropolitan bust is the portrayal of a young woman not encumbered with any burden of rank or office, showing, in its freshness of concept and natural rendering of detail, hardly a trace of the stylization that characterizes late Roman and early Byzantine portraiture. Both the sweet physical beauty and the appealing earnestness of the sitter's mind have been

baum, *Roman and Early Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (London, 1966) nos. 198 (pl. 185, 1-2), 200 (pl. 186, 3), and 202 (pl. 186, 4-5); and the portraits probably of Leon I, father of Ariadne, V. Poulsen, *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* 13 (1956) pp. 41 ff., *Byzantion* 25-27 (1955-1957) pp. 509 ff.

brought out with the skill of a truly great portrait artist who seems to have been unhampered by the rules of convention. The Milan head is also the work of an artist of high quality and is a true likeness of a particular individual, not the rendering of a type or the personification of an idea.²⁷ But the subject is an empress, wearing the insignia of her office and displaying in the expression of her face the majesty of her elevated position. Thus we see in this portrait a certain degree of stylization, especially in the rendering of the eyes and their surroundings. But even this seems to be the portrayal of reality, not a device of artistic convention. We know of Theodora that she was extremely aware and proud of her exalted position, and thus she would have adopted a stern and somewhat forced expression as something natural to her. Procopius says that her glance was always stern and tense.²⁸ It would appear, then, that the differences between the two portraits are due mainly to the different status of the sitters. What might appear at first glance as abstract stylization in the Milan portrait is in fact as much the representation of reality as is the ease and naturalness of forms that give the Metropolitan bust its distinction. In both works we can observe a breaking away from the rigid conventionalism prevailing in the portraits of Ariadne and, in a different manner, also in the bronze head of Euphemia, and the awakening of a somewhat sublimated feeling for the realities of the individual human countenance and character.

No parts of the statues to which the portrait heads of the empresses of the first half of the sixth century once belonged have survived. Thus we cannot know whether observations made with regard to the style of the heads would also apply to the drapery style. Not many sculptures in the round dating from the sixth century

have survived, and there are few enough from the fifth century. Thus, in order to evaluate the drapery style of our bust we will have to consider reliefs in ivory and silver as well as paintings and mosaics.

The outstanding qualities of the drapery style of our bust are the fluid softness of the modeling, the almost entire absence of hard lines and grooves, the delicacy and refinement of the surface finish, and the natural fall of the drapery over the shoulder and across the chest. None of these qualities appears in the toga statues of officials from the time of Theodosius down to the Justinianic era, and even the relative softness of the draperies of the Aphrodisias *chlamydati* appears hard and wooden by comparison.²⁹ We have to go a long way back in the history of Roman sculpture to find a similar rendering of drapery folds, and it is among works showing "classicistic" tendencies that we find the closest parallels for the style of our bust. We may compare, for instance, the Hadrianic tondi on the Arch of Constantine,³⁰ and some of the reliefs of the Ara Pacis.³¹ The differences are, however, as obvious as the similarities, and even if the bust had survived without its head one would not have thought of a date in the earlier Roman imperial period. In spite of the meticulous rendering of detail, the Metropolitan bust appears flatter, less voluminous than even the Ara Pacis reliefs. And above all, the treatment of the drapery along the surviving left side with its rather incongruous vertical lines seems different from that on any piece of sculpture made within an uninterrupted development of classical tradition. However, the fact that the rendering of the drapery folds across the chest and on the left shoulder so obviously reflects a Graeco-Roman tradition seems to show that we are in the presence of one of the various classical "revivals," or,

27. And certainly not "nur Symbol der kaiserlichen Macht, ein Götzenbild, das angebetet werden will," as H. v. Heintze, *Römische Portrait-Plastik aus sieben Jahrhunderten* (Stuttgart, 1961) p. 18, says.

28. Procopius, *Historia Arcana* 10: γοργόν τε καὶ συνεστραμμένον αἰεὶ βλέπουσα.

On Theodora, see C. Diehl, *Byzantine Empresses* (New York, 1963) chapter III (a translation of the corresponding chapter in *Figures byzantines* [Paris, 1906], this being a condensation of *Théodora, impératrice de Byzance* [Paris, 1904]); W. Schubart, *Justinian und Theodora* (Munich, 1943) pp. 50 ff.; B. Rubin, *Das Zeitalter Justinians, I* (Berlin, 1960) pp. 98 ff. For the "official" face of an emperor in office cf. the description of Constantius II's entry into Rome in Ammianus Marcellinus, Book 16, 9 ff.: "Augustus . . . talem se tamque immobilem, qualis in provinciis suis visebatur,

ostendens. Nam et corpus perhumile curvabat portas ingrediens celsas, et velut collo munito rectam aciem luminum tendens nec dextra vultum nec laeva flectebat tamquam figmentum hominis, . . ."

29. For late toga statues see Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik*, pls. 24-29, 31-33; J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (London, 1966) no. 244 (pl. 177, 3, Aphrodisias), no. 202 (pl. 177, 4, Ephesus), and the bust of a togatus from Ephesus, no. 201 (pl. 184, 2); for the Aphrodisias *chlamydati* see Inan and Rosenbaum, nos. 242 and 243 (pl. 178, 1-2, text with further bibliography pp. 179 ff.).

30. A. Giuliano, *Arco di Costantino* (Milan, 1955) figs. 9-16.

31. G. Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Rome, 1948) e.g., text, p. 17, fig. 7; and the Tellus relief, pl. 17.

perhaps more properly, of a style that owes its continual existence to local workshop traditions in the eastern part of the Roman Empire, and especially in Asia Minor, the natural hinterland for Byzantium as Italy had been for Rome in previous centuries. One of these waves of classical “revivals” occurred in the period of the Theodosian dynasty, and from this period we have reliefs in marble as well as in ivory that are closer to the style of our bust than the Hadrianic or Augustan reliefs quoted. Some of the Ravenna sarcophagi display this “classicizing” trend,³² and we have also a few reliefs from Constantinople showing a similar drapery style.³³ Closer parallels are provided by ivory carvings datable around 400, such as the Trivulzio panel with the Marys at the empty tomb (Figure 23). A similar tendency toward classicism in the rendering of drapery can also be observed in some ivory carvings and silver works of the first half of the sixth century: the much-quoted and well-known London archangel³⁴ is a case in point, and of the silver works dated by hallmarks we may refer to the plate with “Theocritus” in the Hermitage,³⁵ and to the figure of Venus in the Anchises plate, also in the Hermitage,³⁶ both of the time of Justinian. These works are all more or less isolated pieces, forming a minority within the bulk of sculpture in every possible medium known from Constantinople. But with all the efforts in recent years to establish a valid picture of early Byzantine court art, we are, as regards sculpture, faced with the fact that the most representative pieces of this art, which must have existed, have perished, the majority of what has survived being mediocre and rustic in the extreme.³⁷ All the same, the few pieces in the field of the minor arts that display this classicizing style show that Constantinople benefited from artistic traditions still existing in various centers of the eastern empire. Thus, we can see, for instance, in a portrait bust probably of Constantinian date from Ephesus, a



FIGURE 23
Angel, detail from the Trivulzio ivory panel.
Castello Sforzesco, Milan (photo: Dr. A. Schug)

drapery style that is perhaps more akin to our Metropolitan lady than any of the works quoted so far,³⁸ and at the same time totally different from contemporary Roman works. Another bust from Asia Minor, of uncertain date, but probably of the fifth century, also displays a remarkably “classical” drapery style, un-

32. See good reproductions in A. Grabar, *L'age d'or de Justinien* (Paris, 1966) figs. 286, 288, 290, 293.

33. M. Bonicatti, *Studi di storia dell'arte sulla Tarda antichità e sull'Alto Medioevo* (Rome, n.d.) figs. 237, 240.

34. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 109; for its date in the time of Justin I see A. A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies I, 1950) pp. 418–426.

35. Erica Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies VII, 1961) no. 9, p. 70; L. Matsulevich, *Byzantinische Antike* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929) pp. 4, 112, no. 4, pls. 31–32.

36. Erica Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps* (Dumbarton

Oaks Studies VII, 1961) no. 16; L. Matsulevich, *Byzantinische Antike* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929) pp. 3–4, 22–31, no. 3, pls. 3–4.

37. For this “rustic” character of Byzantine sculpture see A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople (IV^e–X^e siècle)* (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie d'Istanbul, XVII, Paris, 1963).

38. J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (London, 1966) no. 187 (pl. 101, 2); W. Oberleitner, “Beiträge zur Geschichte der spätantiken Porträtplastik aus Ephesos,” *Jahreshefte des oesterreichischen archäologischen Instituts* 47 (1964–1965) pp. 5 ff., figs. 1–5.



FIGURE 24
Detail from the
Theodora mosaic
panel. Church of San
Vitale, Ravenna
(photo: Anderson)

paralleled in contemporary sculpture from the West.³⁹

Of the very few works of secular court art of the time of Justinian, the mosaics in San Vitale in Ravenna are the most important. If we wish to compare these mosaics with our bust we have to consider, of course, the difference of medium above all. But even so, I think we cannot fail to notice the close similarity in drapery style between our bust and the young ladies of Theodora's court, especially the girl third from the right, one of the four ladies depicted in full (Figure 24). In the illustration, I have deliberately chosen a section equivalent to our bust, and in my opinion, the drapery style, if translated into sculpture, would be very similar to that of our new portrait. Moreover, the hand looks like a direct adaptation of the mosaic hand to sculpture.

Is our new Metropolitan bust really a bust, that is, was it originally conceived as a bust? I do not think so, although I am aware of the fact that I cannot definitely prove this point. First, we have established that the cut surface on the right side is not an accidental break, but was produced by a saw, and the same is true for the

underside. Secondly, the rear is not worked in the way normal for a bust, there is no central support, and the tool marks seem odd. There have been known instances of a statue recut into a bust, or at least suggestions have been made that this might have been the case. One of these is the bust of a togatus, probably of the fifth century, in the National Museum in Athens, published by Kollwitz as recut from a statue.⁴⁰ Dr. V. G. Callipolitis of the National Museum kindly examined the piece for me, sent me photographs of the rear, and expressed the opinion that the tool marks on the rear were made by modern tools. This, to judge by the photographs, seems to be very likely correct,⁴¹ and here we would have a case of modern reworking. The Constantinian bust in Ephesus, quoted above, may also have been originally part of a statue: here, too, the central support normal with ancient busts is absent, and in this case, the recutting would have been done in antiquity, since the piece was found in the excavations in its present state.⁴² Another such case may be the bust of a chlamydatus from Sebastopolis in the museum in

39. J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (London, 1966) no. 107 (pl. 184, 1).

40. Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik*, p. 91, no. 18, pl. 41, Cavvadias no. 423.

41. The present state of the bust differs from that seen in the

reproductions in Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik*: the missing right shoulder and side is now restored in plaster whereas the plaster at the rear has been removed.

42. See, on the problem of recutting, W. Oberleitner (article quoted above in note 38), p. 8; fig. 4 shows the rear view.

Tokat, also cited above.⁴³ Here, too, there is no central support, but the spot where it should have been is outlined. This bust, like the Metropolitan one, has a small metal pin on the underside for fixing it onto some kind of a pedestal. There are no records in the small provincial museum of Tokat to show how the piece came into the museum's possession, but since Sebastopolis is very close to Tokat it is likely that it was a chance find. In any case, if this bust was recut from a statue, the work would have been done in antiquity. A possible explanation for such a procedure could be that the statue was broken at one time and that the lower part was damaged to such an extent that rather than piece it together again the undamaged upper part was made into a bust. But since all the pieces quoted are comparatively late it is difficult to figure out a likely date for this reworking.

However this may have been in the case of our Metropolitan bust, we have here the added difficulty that the right shoulder and arm also seem to have been cut off deliberately. The fact that the head is slightly turned to the right suggests that there should have been something on that side to which to turn, for isolated figures at this late date are usually strictly frontal.⁴⁴ In the Justinianic mosaics in Ravenna we frequently find heads shown full-face even if the persons are depicted walking.⁴⁵ Is it possible that our bust was originally part of a double portrait, perhaps of husband and wife, rendered in a way similar to the double portraits of emperor and empress on Byzantine coins, i.e., with the husband's body shown as if sitting or standing slightly in front of the wife so that her right shoulder and arm are obscured from view by his left shoulder and arm? Since Theodora did not claim the right to appear on coins, we have no examples of this practice from the coinage of Justinian, but there are many examples from the coinage of his nephew and successor Justin II, who was married to Theodora's niece Sophia. The coins show this arrangement whether Justin and Sophia are

represented in full figure, seated on a double throne, or simply as busts, side by side.⁴⁶ There are also coins where Sophia appears in full, covering part of the bust of Justin.⁴⁷ The section of the body appearing in these cases is about the same as the surviving part of our bust. The young lady in the retinue of Theodora on the San Vitale mosaic, which we adduced above as a parallel for the drapery style of our bust, is also very similar to the latter with regard to the section of the body shown: her right arm is partly hidden by the figure of the girl in the white pallium to her right. I know of no double figure in the round in which the bodies are closely attached to one another at the side after the Greek archaic period,⁴⁸ but this may be simply a chance of survival; and the coins prove that the idea as such was not alien to the early Byzantine period. Besides we have, of course, many examples of such groups in relief, on tombstones, throughout the Roman period. If our bust in fact was part of such a group, we still could only conjecture a reason as to why the figure to the right was cut off, but the peculiar line of the cut on the right side could be better explained—an entire figure would have been removed, not just the right shoulder and arm of the present bust. However, as pointed out above, we are in no position to prove any of these theories.

The absence of any insignia makes it impossible to identify the sitter of our portrait. The exceptionally high quality of the work and the nobility of posture and features that characterizes this portrait suggest, however, that the subject was somehow connected with the court circles of Constantinople at the time of Justinian. The Theodora panel in San Vitale may help us to determine at least the milieu from which the sitter came. Theodora is here represented surrounded by her own household: two male officials and her ladies in waiting. The faces of these figures show a high degree of stylization, which is due not only to the exigencies of official court art but also to the medium. But even so there is no doubt that at least the principal figures are

43. See note 39.

44. This rule is, however, not without exceptions; as an example of this see the bust in Tokat, cited above (note 39).

45. For example, in San Vitale Theodora and the two ladies to her left, and many of the holy virgins and martyrs in San Apollinare Nuovo.

46. Seated: Bellinger, *Dumbarton Oaks*, Justin II, no. 25c.3 (pl. 50), dated 565/6; busts: Bellinger, *Dumbarton Oaks*, Justin II, nos. 199.1, 200.1, 200.2, and 200.6 (pl. 58).

47. Bellinger, *Dumbarton Oaks*, Justin II, no. 198.2 (pl. 58).

48. Athens, Nat. Mus., stele (in very high relief) of Dermys and Kittylos, G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi*, 2nd ed. (London, 1960) no. 11, figs. 76–77. Delbrueck, *RM* 28 (1913) p. 317, suggested the possibility that the Milan head of Theodora might have been part of a statue that had a neighbor to its right “wie bei den Kaiserpaaren auf byzantinischen Münzen.”

characterized as portraits of particular individuals. A comparison between Theodora and the marble head in Milan shows quite clearly, in my opinion, that these are portraits of the same person.⁴⁹ It has been suggested that the two ladies to the left of Theodora represent Antonina, the wife of Belisarius and the “second lady” in the empire, and her daughter Johannina.⁵⁰ The suggestion is attractive, although the age difference between the two does not seem to be that between mother and daughter. The group of five young ladies that concludes the train, shows, as has been pointed out frequently, far less individualization, but in my opinion the attempt to depict five different individuals is not completely lacking. All five, however, are shown as young women compared with Theodora and the two ladies next to her. They have fuller faces with rounded cheeks and fuller lips. Their costumes and jewelry vary from one another: the girl on the extreme right of the panel, partially hidden by the figure next to her, even wears a jewel-studded diadem. The girl in the center of the three in the foreground, whom we have already cited above in connection with the drapery style and the section of our bust, wears no jewelry at all, except for earrings. Her relationship to Theodora seems to be comparable to that of the Metropolitan lady to the marble portrait of Theodora in Milan. Thus it seems possible that the young woman portrayed in our bust could have belonged to the entourage of Theodora. And in this case the scroll she holds might not be quite such a conventional attribute but might denote that this lady had received a literary education and had distinguished herself in the field of learning.⁵¹ The portrait might have been made on the occasion of her marriage, and the work must have been entrusted to one of the best sculptors available in the capital.

Much in the evaluation of this portrait must remain conjecture. But one thing is certain: we are in the presence here of one of the best surviving works of Justinianic court art in the field of sculpture, and the only one of its kind that is undoubtedly of metropolitan

provenance. In recent years much work has been done in an effort to gain more precise knowledge about the art of Constantinople in the first three centuries after its foundation by Constantine. As a reaction to the tendency of previous generations of scholars to attribute the surviving works of art of the fifth and sixth centuries to one or another of the older centers of art in the eastern Roman Empire, such as Antioch and Alexandria, we observe now the opposite trend to assign almost everything of some artistic merit to the capital of the empire. The evidence on which these attributions are based is slender, to say the least, and more often than not it is a subjective aesthetic judgment that has led scholars to their opinions. The sculpture that has so far come out of the soil of Constantinople is to a large extent very mediocre and rustic in appearance (especially after the Theodosian period) and is certainly no testimony to a superior court art. As proof for the existence of the latter we usually find works quoted that were found, and very probably made, elsewhere. Constantinople did not have an artistic tradition of its own: when Constantine transferred his capital to the site, he found there an insignificant provincial town and one that most probably had not quite recovered from the last great disaster under Septimius Severus. In order to give his new capital some luster, he not only removed there works of art from Rome and elsewhere, but also most probably had to induce artists from places with an uninterrupted tradition to work in the new capital. Thus we should not be surprised to find among the artistic output of Constantinople works of different quality and of divergent stylistic trends, ranging from the Balkan provinces to Coptic Egypt.⁵² Some of the surviving hallmarked silver work and illuminated manuscripts of the quality of the Vienna Dioscorides as well as ivory carvings of more or less undisputed Constantinopolitan origin prove that artists from the old established artistic centers of Alexander’s empire also went to work in the new capital. The superb quality of the decorative sculpture in Hagia Sophia and in

49. They also seem to be of about the same age, which, if the Milan head is datable around 540, would be in favor of a date for the San Vitale portrait shortly before Theodora’s death (cf. above, note 18).

50. See, e.g., C. O. Nordström, *Ravennastudien* (Stockholm, 1953) p. 90. The opinion is found repeatedly in works dealing with the Ravenna mosaics.

51. Juliana Anicia, the patrician lady for whom the Vienna Dioscorides codex was made (see above, note 21), is a good example of the role that could be played in the sixth century by a woman of good family and shows also what kind of sitter we might postulate for a private portrait of high quality.

52. See the work by A. Grabar, cited above, note 37. See also J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople* (London, 1961).

lesser churches such as SS. Sergius and Bacchus as well as that of the mass-produced articles of church furniture, such as chancel screens and pulpits exported from the capital or rather its “house”-quarries of Proconnesus, prove that by the sixth century Constantinople had outstanding sculptors’ workshops. But with regard to sculpture in the round or even relief sculpture of a nondecorative nature we did not have, so far, a single piece for which a metropolitan provenance was assured. It has been taken more or less for granted that works like the Milan head of Theodora were made in Constantinople, and even the portraits of Ariadne have been attributed to the capital: but in no case has there been conclusive evidence for such an assertion. Our new bust came to the Metropolitan Museum through the art market, so that we do not know the precise findspot nor the topographical context to which it belonged. But a provenance from “greater Constantinople” is assured. And considering its affinities to the one surviving portrait in the round of Theodora and to the Ravenna mosaics that were at least inspired by imperial patronage, we can probably say that at last

53. P. 311. To my knowledge, Delbrueck is the only scholar dealing with this head who makes any mention of the material from which it is made. He also seems to be the only one who states correctly that the dimensions of the head along with those of the three portraits of Ariadne are life-size. Usually we find the Milan

we have a genuine representative of Justinianic court sculpture in Constantinople. This, in turn, brings new certainty to the problem of the provenance of the Milan head: the stylistic affinities between the two portraits are so close that we can safely assume the same workshop for their manufacture, if not the same hand. We have not been able, for the purpose of the present article, to have the marble of the Milan head examined, and I have not seen the head at first hand for quite some time. But I think here, as elsewhere, we can rely on Delbrueck’s observations in 1913,⁵³ that the head is made of fine-grained marble “der mir nicht lunensisch zu sein schien.” Fine-grained marble of a quality that will at all evoke Luna marble is, so far as I know, found only in Phrygia, and this marble is eminently suited to sculpture of refined quality. It does not seem impossible that both pieces were made from marble from the Phrygian quarries.

The history of early Byzantine court sculpture still has to be written. The new Metropolitan portrait bust seems to me the first piece known so far that is likely to provide a firm basis for such a history.

head referred to as small. Approximately 15 cm. (about 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.) from chin to hairline is not large, but certainly a natural size: many women have smaller faces than that. Procopius (*Historia Arcana* 10) describes Theodora as beautiful and graceful, but short: the word he uses ($\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$) can even mean “undersized.”

Appendix: Portrait Head of a Woman in Toulouse

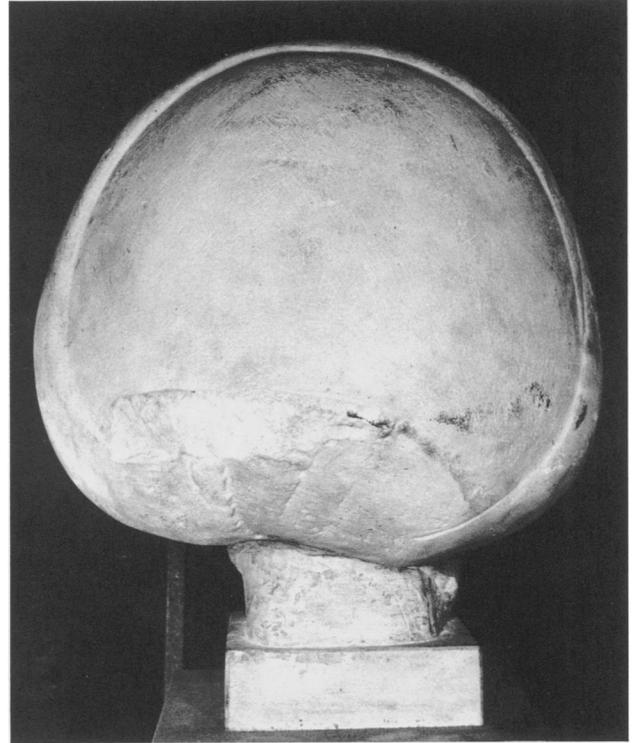
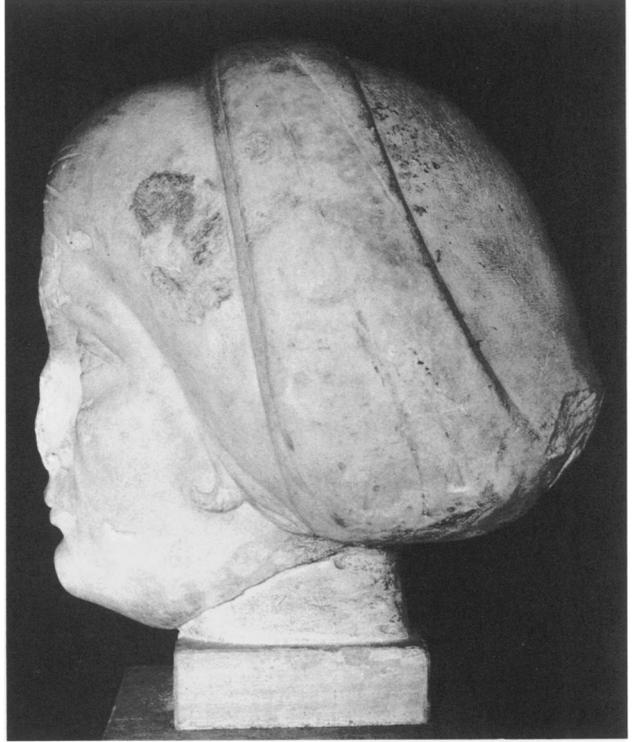
THE MUSÉE St.-Raymond in Toulouse houses a portrait head of a woman of great interest, which is little known (Figures 22, 25–28). It was published by Espérandieu in 1908¹ with only a full-face illustration, and dated in the second century A.D. Richard Delbrueck quoted it in an article on a bronze head of a woman of about A.D. 400 as a contemporary example of the head-dress of the latter.² The head, which had escaped my notice, was brought to my attention by Vera K. Ostoia of the Metropolitan Museum,³ for, on account of this head-dress, the portrait is of interest in connection with the new Metropolitan bust. M. Michel Labrousse, Directeur of the Circonscription des Antiquités His-

toriques de la Région Midi-Pyrénées at Toulouse, had the great kindness to examine the head for me, take new photographs of it, and send me all available information. It is on the basis of M. Labrousse’s photographs and notes that I wish to present here a new evaluation of this important piece of late antique portrait sculpture.

1. E. Espérandieu, *Recueil Général des Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Romaine*, II (Paris, 1908) p. 103, no. 1030.

2. R. Delbrueck, “Bronzener Frauenkopf, um 400 n.Chr.,” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 150 (1950) p. 89 with note 8.

3. I wish to thank Mrs. Ostoia for her generosity in giving me this reference and other information that she had collected in connection with the Metropolitan bust.



FIGURES 25-28
Portrait head of a woman. Musée St.-Raymond, Toulouse (photo: Michel Labrousse)

The description of the head by M. Labrousse reads as follows:⁴

La tête, de provenance inconnue, est conservée dans les réserves et fixée sur un socle qui porte le n° 82 inscrit au crayon. Le cou a été coupé à la base même du menton et la hauteur totale est de 0,31 m, non de 0,36 comme le disait Espérandieu. Le marbre est blanc, à peine jaunâtre, poli et comme lustré. Il ne semble pas d'origine pyrénéenne. L'état de conservation est excellent. Seuls sont abimés le nez et l'arrière du cou. Quelques meurtrissures se marquent sur les pommettes des joues, au-dessus de l'arcade sourcilière gauche et à la partie supérieure de la chevelure. Toutes les restaurations en plâtre ont été supprimées et les photographies vous donnent l'état de conservation exact.

A mon avis, toute la partie arrière de la chevelure est couverte d'une sorte de bonnet plutôt que deux tresses de cheveux repliées comme le disait Espérandieu.

Nothing is known of the provenance. In the old catalogues of the museum by Ernest Roschach (1865) and Henri Rachou (1912) the piece was listed with the sculptures found in the villa of Chiragan, at Martres-Tolosane (Haute-Garonne).⁵ M. Labrousse doubts the correctness of this assertion and thinks it more likely that the portrait was in one of the private collections that existed in Toulouse in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁶ Indeed, the piece does not have the appearance of local provincial manufacture,⁷ and it seems more probable that it was made in one of the greater art centers. We shall have to return to this point.

The head portrays a young woman, probably not older than thirty, with a full, oval face and striking features. Her narrow eyes are set fairly wide apart and slightly oblique. The eyebrows are raised and form sharp, highly arched ridges. There are prominent flesh

folks between the upper lids and the eyebrows, and finely modeled depressions below the lower lids. The pupils are crescent-shaped with a semicircular dot indicating the highlight, and the irises have been incised in the form of large half-circles. The narrow-bridged nose seems to have been curved and well shaped. The modeling of the cheeks can best be observed in the profile views. The lips are full, the lower lip slightly pouting. The round chin is prominent. The heavy hair is almost entirely covered by a scarf, apparently of thin material, but not thin enough to reveal the coiffure underneath clearly. It seems that the hair was parted in the center: two thin strands of hair on either side of the part emerge in the center of the forehead from underneath the scarf. The mass of the hair is brushed down and to the sides, covering the ears completely. A small portion of the hair over the ears and a short curved lock in front of either ear have been left uncovered by the scarf. At the nape of the neck the hair is divided in two broad flat strands that are laid around the head in such a manner that in the front view they frame the head like a narrow halo. The ends of the scarf are wound around this part and apparently tucked under it. The scarf is pulled rather tight. A thin long clip seems to hold it in position in the center; on either side of this clip thin creases appear. There are also some creases on the portion wound around the head.

We are unable to say whether the head once belonged to a bust or a statue. But the strongly marked asymmetry of the face shows that the head was turned considerably to its left.

The coiffure seems to be a variant of the "turban" type, which was current throughout the fourth cen-

4. I quote from his letter dated December 4, 1967.

5. The following extracts from these catalogues were kindly supplied by M. Labrousse: "Ernest Roschach, *Musées de Toulouse, Antiquités . . . Objects d'art . . .* (Toulouse, 1865) p. 38, no. 79: 79 Tête de femme: marbre blanc. Travail extrêmement barbare; coiffure très volumineuse et si grossièrement traitée qu'on ne peut en déterminer la nature, pommettes très saillantes, menton étroit et anguleux: le nez manque; l'arcade sourcilière est creusée avec une exagération brutale qui se retrouve dans l'évidement des prunelles. Cette tête est certainement un portrait de femme indigène exécuté par un sculpteur réaliste.

"Henri Rachou, *Catalogue des collections de sculpture et d'épigraphie du musée de Toulouse* (Toulouse, 1912) p. 52, no. 82: 82 Tête de femme; marbre blanc.—H. 0.47 m. avec le piédestal. Tête plus

grande que nature, extrêmement barbare; coiffure très volumineuse et si grossièrement traitée qu'on ne peut en déterminer la nature; pommettes très saillantes, menton étroit et anguleux. Le nez est restauré au plâtre; les deux joues et l'arcade sourcilière sont érodées; la prunelle est incisée.

"Ce morceau est monté sur un socle en pierre composé de deux parallépipèdes rectangles superposés. (Cat. 1865, no. 79)."

M. Labrousse adds: "Roschach et Rachou classent cette tête parmi celles qui viennent de la villa de Chiragan, à Martres-Tolosane (Haute-Garonne)."

6. Letter by M. Labrousse, dated December 14, 1967.

7. Delbrueck, *BJb* 150 (1950) p. 89, thought the sitter might have been a Visigothic princess, but this seems to be highly unlikely.



FIGURE 29

Portrait head of a woman. Museo Capitolino, Rome (photo: German Archaeological Institute, Rome)

ture.⁸ In this coiffure, the hair is usually gathered in tresses that cross one another at the back and are wound around the head in one or more layers to form a kind of turban that comes down in front slightly above the forehead. Sometimes, however, the tresses are laid around the head in a manner that resembles the halo-like feature of the Toulouse head. A portrait in the Museo Capitolino (Figure 29)⁹ should be compared in particular. Here, the tresses do not cross at the back, and the center part of the hair is continued along the back of the head. The tresses are, however, so broad that in the profile view the entire back of the head is hidden beneath them. But seen from the front and the rear they form a kind of halo similar to that of the Toulouse head.

The coiffure does not help to date our portrait closely, and neither does the form of the headdress. Delbrueck has pointed out that the earliest examples of this fashion are from around A.D. 400,¹⁰ and no earlier example seems to have come to light since he studied the relevant material. We have seen above that the scarf fashion became more current at the end of the fifth and in the sixth century. The style of the Toulouse head, however, precludes such a late date. The most characteristic features of the face are the eyes and the surrounding area, and the modeling of the cheeks and

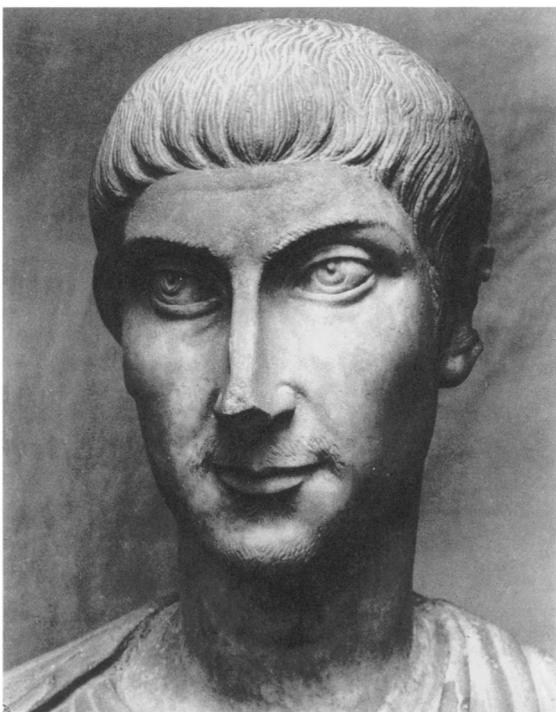


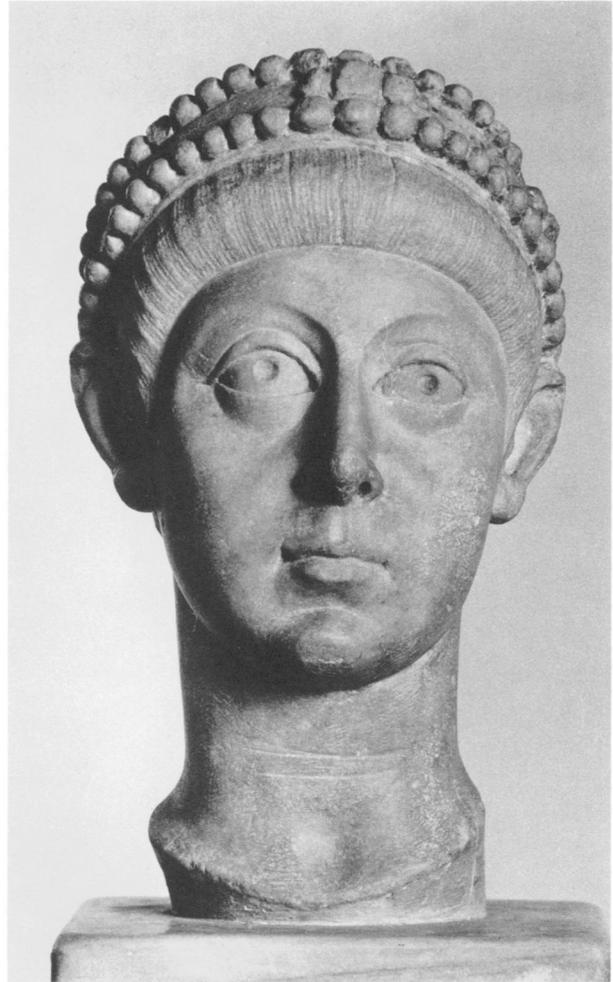
FIGURE 30

Portrait head of a young man. Museo Nazionale, Rome (photo: German Archaeological Institute, Rome)

8. See B. M. Felletti Maj, "Contributo alla iconografia del IV secolo D.C., Il ritratto femminile," *Critica d'Arte* 6 (1941) pp. 74–90, especially p. 76. R. Calza, "Cronologia ed identificazione dell' 'Agrippina' Capitolina," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Ser. III, Memorie* 8, II (1955) pp. 107–136, especially p. 118. H. P. L'Orange, "Der subtile Stil, eine Kunstströmung um 400 n.Chr.," *Antike Kunst* 4 (1961) pp. 68–74, especially p. 72. R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, pp. 46 ff.

9. Salone 57; R. Delbrueck, *RM* 28 (1913) p. 329, fig. 7; R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, p. 49, fig. 19; B. M. Felletti Maj, *Critica d'Arte* 6 (1941) p. 79, no. 10, pl. 46, 3.

10. See above, p. 28, note 20; further *BJb* 150 (1950) p. 89.



FIGURES 31, 32

Portrait head of Arcadius. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (photo: Hirmer, Munich)

the area around the mouth. We see here a treatment of facial forms that is different from the strong structure and sometimes highly differentiated modeling characteristic of Constantinian portrait sculpture as well as from both the utter smoothness of certain Theodosian portraits and the delicate and fluid modeling apparent in the Metropolitan bust.

L'Orange has repeatedly studied a group of portraits of the Theodosian period which share characteristics that distinguish them from such sculptures of the period as those on the base of the obelisk or the portrait of Valentinian II from Aphrodisias.¹¹ Combined with a sometimes china-like smoothness of the surface we find here a subtle differentiation of detail

brought about by essentially linear means, noticeable in particular in the treatment of the eyes, in the way in which they are embedded in their surroundings and set off sharply against the cheeks and the forehead, in the thin curved noses, and in the mouths that terminate at the corners in thin lines, a little upturned into a slightly mocking smile. These same characteristics are to be found in the Toulouse head. In particular we should compare the portraits of young men in the Museo

11. H. P. L'Orange, *Antike Kunst* 4 (1961) pp. 69 ff.; *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts* (Oslo, 1933) p. 76; see also G. von Kaschnitz-Weinberg, "Spätromische Porträts," *Die Antike* 2 (1926) pp. 36-60, especially pp. 54 ff.; C. Albizzati, *Historia* 3 (1929) pp. 422 ff.

Nazionale in Rome (Figure 30)¹² and in the Glyptothek in Munich.¹³ The head of Arcadius in Istanbul (Figures 31, 32)¹⁴ shows similar stylistic features that distinguish it from the portrait of Valentinian II from Aphrodisias.¹⁵ Among the few portraits of women of this period we find this style in the portrait of an empress in Timgad.¹⁶

L'Orange termed this style "subtiler Stil" and saw in it a further development of the "schöne Stil" under Theodosius, to be dated in the time of Arcadius and Honorius.¹⁷ It seems to me that these two styles could well have existed side by side in the period of the Theodosian dynasty. The portraits of Valentinian II and of Arcadius, mentioned above, are at the most ten years apart, and the portrait from Timgad may even be as early as about 370,¹⁸ so that if we consider it as showing the characteristics of the "subtile" style, the latter would appear during the entire last third of the fourth century. However this may be, the Toulouse head seems to belong stylistically to this group and should be dated, therefore, in the last decades of the fourth century and not later than the very beginning of the fifth century.

Since we have no precise data about the provenance of the head, we cannot determine the place of its origin

with any degree of certainty. However, the high quality of the workmanship makes it likely that it was made in one of the artistic centers of the late Roman world, and the fact that it seems to have been in Toulouse for some time before the compilation of the 1865 catalogue points perhaps to the West rather than the East. The only certainty seems to be that we have here one of the masterpieces of Theodosian portrait sculpture.

REFERENCES FREQUENTLY CITED

- Bellinger, *Dumbarton Oaks*—A. R. Bellinger, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection I* (Washington, D.C., 1966).
- Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*—R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte 2, Berlin and Leipzig, 1929).
- Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*—R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts von Constantinus Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreichs* (Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte 8, Berlin and Leipzig, 1933).
- Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik*—J. Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit* (Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte 12, Berlin, 1941).
- Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*—F. W. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 2nd ed. (Mainz, 1952).
- Wegner, *Musensarkophage*—M. Wegner, *Die Musensarkophage (Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, V, 3, Berlin, 1966)*.

12. G. von Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Die Antike* 2 (1926) pp. 56–57, fig. 12; L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts* (Oslo, 1933) cat. no. 102, figs. 194–195; *id.*, *Antike Kunst* 4 (1961) p. 69, pl. 28, 1–2. B. M. Felletti Maj, *Museo Nazionale Romano, I ritratti* (Rome, 1953) no. 323.

13. C. Albizzati, *Historia* 3 (1929) pp. 422 ff., figs. 13–15; L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts* (Oslo, 1933) cat. no. 101, figs. 192–193; *id.*, *Antike Kunst* 4 (1961) p. 69, pl. 28, 3–4.

14. N. Firath, "A Late Antique Imperial Portrait Recently Discovered at Istanbul," *American Journal of Archaeology* 55 (1951) pp. 67–71, with figs. 1–5; W. F. Volbach, *Frühchristliche Kunst* (Munich, 1958) pls. 56, 57.

15. Inan and Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (London, 1966) no. 66, pl. 42, 1–2 (with

further bibliography). Compare especially the profile views, where the difference between the two is most obvious and the stylistic affinity between the head of Arcadius and the Toulouse portrait most conspicuous, for instance in the modeling of the cheeks and the chin.

16. R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, pl. 89; B. M. Felletti Maj, *Critica d'Arte* 6 (1941) pp. 82–83, no. 25; compare also the head of a woman in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Poulsen, *Catalogue* (1951) no. 680 a, p. 474, *Billedtavler*, pl. 57; B. M. Felletti Maj, *Critica d'Arte* 6 (1941) p. 82, no. 23, pl. 47, 8.

17. *Antike Kunst* 4 (1961) p. 69; see also his earlier similar statements in *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts* (Oslo, 1933) pp. 76–77.

18. R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, pp. 192–193.

A Group of Fourteenth-Century Mosan Sculptures

WILLIAM H. FORSYTH

Curator of Medieval Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

AMERICAN museums are full of charming and sometimes beautiful statues of the Virgin and Child of the medieval period, most of them obviously French in origin. Many of them were given by American private collectors who acquired them in the first quarter of the twentieth century when such sculptures were more easily available than at present. Since these statues customarily passed through a number of hands, their places of origin have almost always been forgotten and are not now easily rediscovered.¹ Beyond a general attribution to the fourteenth century, their dates are also usually unknown. Indeed, it is rare to find any fourteenth-century Madonnas that can definitely be dated, even among those that have remained in their place of origin.²

Until recently one of the Museum's finest Madonnas

1. The author has sought where possible to form regional groups of French Virgins of the fourteenth century by analyzing their facial characteristics and other distinctive features of their style and iconography. See for instance, "Medieval Statues of the Virgin in Lorraine Related in Type to the Saint-Dié Virgin," *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 5, Part 2 (1936) pp. 235-258, and "The Virgin and Child in French Fourteenth-Century Sculpture. A Method of Classification," *Art Bulletin* 39 (1957) pp. 171-182.

2. Among the few securely dated French Madonnas of this period are those at Limoges Cathedral, tomb of Renaud de la Ponte, 1325; Sens Cathedral, 1334; a silver statuette in the Louvre from the abbey church of St. Denis, 1339; Magny-en-Vexin from the abbey church of St. Denis, 1340; Muneville-le-Bingard, 1343; Lesches (Seine-et-Marne), 1370. Other statues, like those at

of this period (Figure 1) shared the usual anonymity, and could only be labeled "French, xiv century." All that was known about the statue when it was acquired in 1924 was that it had previously been in the Economos collection in Paris and that it had passed through the hands of several international art dealers.³ It was a double satisfaction, therefore, to discover at the same time both its date and its origin.

A study of photographs of fourteenth-century sculpture had already indicated that our statue was extraordinarily like another marble Madonna, at Diest in eastern Belgium just west of the Meuse valley.⁴ A close examination of the Diest Madonna (Figure 2) revealed the astonishing fact that it was a modern copy of our figure. That it is a copy is apparent in many ways, some of which can be verified by a study of the com-

Coutances, Langres, and Dijon (portal of Chartreuse of Champmol) have terminal dates but not specific dates of manufacture.

3. Acc. no. 24.215. H. 46 in. (117 cm.). See Joseph Breck, "A Marble Statue of the Virgin," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 20 (1925) pp. 39-41, and Martin Konrad, *Meisterwerke der Skulptur in Flandern und Brabant* (Berlin, 1928) pp. 12, 13.

4. H. 46½ in. (118 cm.). The Virgin at Diest has been published by Marguerite Devigne, *La Sculpture mosane du XII^e au XVI^e siècle* (Paris and Brussels, 1932) p. 67, and Konrad, *Meisterwerke*, pp. 11-14, pl. III, who related it to the Metropolitan Museum figure. It was exhibited in Brussels twice, once in 1954 (*Trésors d'art du Brabant*) but not in the catalogue, and again in 1961 (*Collections de l'Assistance publique*, no. 6). I owe the last two references to the kindness of M. Didier, Librarian, Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, Brussels.



FIGURE 1

Virgin and Child, from Diest. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 24.215

FIGURE 2

Virgin and Child. Diest Museum (photo: Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, Brussels: ACL)

parative photographs: the lack of precision in such details as the carving of the hair and the mouth of the Virgin (Figures 3 and 4), the absence of grime, the imitation of some of the breaks around the base of our figure, and the extreme freshness of the chisel-work. Traces of the original painted border remain on the old statue, but are missing on the copy.

The copy, which is now in the local museum of Diest, came from the church of St. Catherine. One can presume that it was made to replace the original when that was sold from the church some time before the First World War.⁵ The church of St. Catherine belongs to the *beguinage* of Diest. The Beguines were a lay sisterhood then popular in the Lowlands; their male counterparts were known as Beghards, a name which soon became associated with wandering mendicants and which is related to the English word “beggar.”

A report of the church, dated 1345, states that the sister superior of the Beguines of Diest paid two pounds for the image “in alabaster stone,” a remarkably high

5. The same duplication occurs in another marble statue of the Virgin and Child now in the Metropolitan Museum from the Morgan collection, acc. no. 17.190.721. A modern copy of it is now in the church at Couilly, east of Paris, said to have come from the former abbey of Pont-aux-Dames nearby. The copy was probably also made when the statue was originally sold, about the beginning of the century. Here too the copy is betrayed, if examined closely, by the freshly cut surface, the lack of any wear, and a slight misunderstanding of some drapery. Mme Lefrançois-Pillion published both statues as original in “Les Statues de la Vierge à l’Enfant dans la sculpture française au XIV^e siècle,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 77 (1935) p. 14, figs. 5, 8.

FIGURE 3

Detail of the Metropolitan Museum’s Virgin, shown in Figure 1

FIGURE 4

Detail of the Diest Museum’s Virgin, shown in Figure 2 (photo: ACL, Brussels)





FIGURE 5
St. John supporting the Virgin, from Huy. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Archer M. Huntington, in memory of his father, Collis Potter Huntington, 26.101.6

price for the time.⁶ The statue is actually of marble, but a variety sometimes confused with alabaster. Cardinal Granville, in the middle of the sixteenth century, granted an indulgence of twenty days to those praying before the high altar on which stood the statue, then called Our Blessed Lady of Jerusalem.⁷ In an eighteenth-century letter of the archbishop there is a reference to the alabaster statue of Our Lady of Jerusalem, which had been moved from the high altar to the front of the choir.⁸ Another eighteenth-century description of the statue records that it was then placed “above the entrance to the choir.” By the early twentieth century the Virgin was standing in a central niche on the north wall of the nave. It is clearly and happily apparent, therefore, that our statue is one of the rare medieval Madonnas for which there is documentation.

Although the statue is also carved on its back side, it probably was not intended to be seen all around, as there are two metal bars by which it was once attached to a wall, as well as a long vertical slot cut in the middle of the back. There are traces of gilding on the hair, the belt, and the veil of the Virgin, as well as stains to indicate that there was a pattern painted on the border of her garments. (The modern statue at Diest has modern gilding and no traces of old paint.)

It is no surprise to find that the Museum’s statue, coming as it does from Diest, is related to sculptures of the middle Meuse valley and that in fact it belongs to a closely knit group, all probably carved in the same regional workshop and some even by the same hand. The group consists of six statuettes, all of about the same size, a small relief, and two life-size figures of the Madonna, all in marble, as well as a large-scale wood

6. F. J. E. Raymaekers, *Het Kerkelijk en Liefdadig Diest (Geschiedenis der Kerken, Kapellen, Kloosters, Liefdadige Gestichten, Enz.)* (Louvain, 1870) p. 450 (S. Beghuinarum Be Katine de Diest, from 1331 on), identifies the statue as that bought in 1345 by the head of the Beguines of Diest and described in the accounts of that year: “ITEM de una ymagine lapidis alabastris . . . 2 lb. gross. antiquorum.”

7. Raymaekers, *Diest*, p. 450.

8. “Haec imago divae virginis ex alabastro lapide sculpta, modo posita est ante chorum supra ostium chori” (Raymaekers, *Diest*, p. 450).

9. R. Koechlin, “La Sculpture belge et les influences françaises aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 45 (1903) pp. 338, 339. Konrad, *Meisterwerke*, pp. 12, 13. Devigne, *Sculpture*, pp.

relief. Koechlin, Konrad, and Devigne among others have alluded to various statues in the group and seen their similarities.⁹

Two sculptures of this group, now in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 5 and 6), are said to have been owned by a private collector of Le Huy and to have come from the church of Notre-Dame in that town.¹⁰ Their later history is fairly well recorded. They appeared in the sales of the Stein collection (Paris, 1886) and of the John Edward Taylor collection (London, 1912) before their acquisition by the American collector Arabella Huntington.¹¹ In 1926 they were given to the Museum by her son, Archer M. Huntington, who founded the Hispanic Society of America and formed its famous collection of Spanish art.

The sculptures must have originally stood on both sides of a Crucifixion, since one of them represents the Virgin fainting at the foot of the cross and the other the Centurion, raising his arm in testimony toward the crucified Christ, now missing. The back sides of both reliefs are flat and uncarved to allow them to be attached, probably to an altar retable in the church.

The provenance of Huy is an entirely credible one for these sculptures, since they evolve from other Mosan figures, in particular from the carving on the tympanum of the Bethlehem portal of Huy (Figure 7) adjacent to the same church from which the sculptures are said to have come. John's narrow shoulders, the drapery fall from his left arm, and the drapery pockets formed by the folds on the front of the Virgin's mantle repeat those on the figures of the tympanum. The facial types are also similar, and so is the armor worn by the soldiers in the right-hand sculpture and in the Mas-

58, 66, 67, and figs. 78-81, describes and illustrates most of these figures (without stressing their close relation).

10. Acc. nos. 26.101.6, 26.101.7. H. 22 in. (56 cm.) and 26 in. (66 cm.), respectively. Joseph Destrée, "Groupes en albâtre provenant de l'église collégiale de Huy," *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique liégeois* 41 (1911) pp. 75-80, pl. 1. *Idem*, "À propos des deux groupes en albâtre de l'église collégiale de Huy," *Chronique archéologique du Pays de Liège* 7 (1912) p. 85. Devigne, *Sculpture*, p. 58. J. Breck, "A Gift of Tapestries and Sculpture," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 21 (1926) pp. 142-146.

11. Sale catalogue of John Edward Taylor collection at Christie's, London, July 1912, no. 195, notes previous sale in Stein collection. A. Hyatt Mayor, President of the Hispanic Society, believes that Mr. Archer Huntington's mother probably acquired them before they passed into the possession of her son.



FIGURE 6

The Centurion and soldiers, from Huy. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Archer M. Huntington, in memory of his father, Collis Potter Huntington, 26.101.7

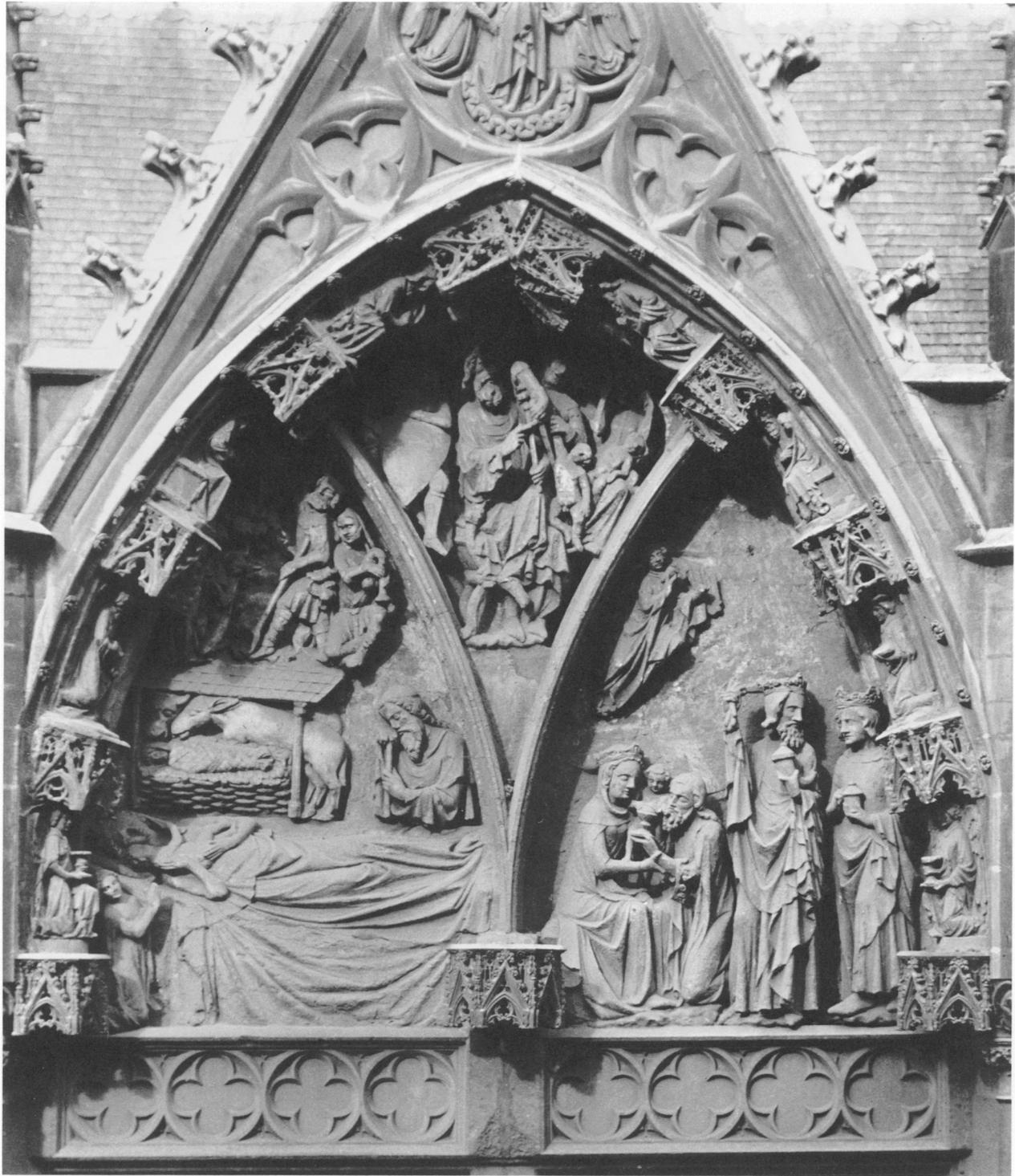


FIGURE 7
Tympanum of the Bethlehem portal, Huy (photo: ACL, Brussels)

FIGURE 8
The Entombment of Christ.
Chapelle du Calvaire, Liège
(photo: ACL, Brussels)



sacre of the Innocents at the top of the tympanum. The tympanum, therefore, must have been known to the sculptor who made the two Crucifixion sculptures. Since the present church was begun only in 1311, the portal could be considerably later in date, but probably earlier than 1345 when the Diest Virgin was made.¹²

Even closer comparisons can be made between the drapery folds and faces of the two Crucifixion sculptures and those of a small relief of the Entombment of Christ placed in the modern Chapelle du Calvaire at Liège, also on the Meuse just northeast of Huy (Figure 8). It too may have come from a retable depicting the Passion.

Two figures of the group were known only by casts

12. Various dates for the portal have been proposed. J. J. van Ysendyck, *Documents classés de l'art dans les Pays-Bas* III (Antwerp, 1886–1887) pl. 1, gives the thirteenth century. J. Helbig, *La Sculpture et les arts plastiques au pays de Liège et sur les bords de la Meuse* (Bruges, 1890) p. 72, gives the first half of the fourteenth century. E. Marchal, *La Sculpture et les chefs-d'œuvre de l'orfèvrerie belges* (Brussels, 1895) p. 238, reports finding a date, 1536, which obviously refers to a later addition to the door, since removed. J. Baum, "Die lütticher Bildnerkunst im 14. Jahrhundert," *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler* (Munich, 1923) I, p. 174, gives the second half of the fourteenth century. Koechlin, "Sculpture belge," pp. 341, 343, gives the fourteenth century. Canon H. Demaret, *La collégiale Notre-Dame à Huy. Notes et documents* (Huy, 1921), dates the doorway in the thirteenth century and believes it was moved in the fourteenth century from the north transept to its present location near the

in the Brussels Museum (Figures 9 and 10),¹³ until both recently turned up on the art market. They have been acquired by the Dayton Art Institute. The first, one of the Magi (Figure 11) from an Adoration of the Magi, seems patterned in costume and facial type after the two standing Magi of the Adoration scene on the Bethlehem portal (Figure 13). The other (Figure 12) is a standing Virgin from an Annunciation, especially close to the Diest and Huy Virgins in its facial type (Figures 3, 14).¹⁴ In the Brussels Museum catalogue both of the casts are called "liégeois work," thus attesting to their Mosan provenance. Their flat backs and their size suggest that they too were once part of altar retables.

chevet. Devigne, *Sculpture*, pp. 65, 66, gives the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

13. H. Rousseau, *Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire, Bruxelles. III^e section (Pavillon Nord) Catalogue sommaire des moulages* (Brussels, 1926) nos. v. 3018-1 (1154) and v. 3018-2 (1155), lists "un roi mage" and "une sainte portant un livre; figures debout en demi-bosse, paraissant provenir d'un retable liégeois, XIV^e siècle." Devigne, *Sculpture*, pl. xviii, nos. 78, 81, also publishes these two casts. Koechlin, "Sculpture belge," p. 338, first published these two casts along with the seated Virgin in the Van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp, and the Virgin in the Lille Museum, as all coming from one group.

14. Bruce H. Evans, "A Medieval Marble Virgin Annunciate," *Dayton Art Institute Bulletin* 26 (1967) pp. 1–6. The Virgin, acc. no. 67.53. H. 22 ¼ in. (56.5 cm.). The Magi, acc. no. 68.4. H. 22 in. (56 cm.).



FIGURE 9
Cast of one of the Magi. Brussels
Museum



FIGURE 10
Cast of the Virgin Annunciate.
Brussels Museum



FIGURE 11
One of the Magi, original of the
cast in Figure 9. Dayton
Art Institute, 68.4



FIGURE 12
Virgin Annunciate, original of the
cast in Figure 10. Dayton Art
Institute, 67.53

FIGURE 13

Adoration of the Magi, detail from the tympanum of the Bethlehem portal, Huy, shown in Figure 7 (photo: ACL, Brussels)

In the Mayer van den Bergh Museum of Antwerp is a seated Virgin, with the Child standing in her lap, which comes from the church of St. Pierre, at St. Trond, in the diocese of Liège.¹⁵ (Figure 15.) The position of the Child suggests that he is looking at other figures, now lost, but which must have represented the Magi. Perhaps the Dayton Magus is one of these lost figures, as Devigne has surmised. It is even possible that both figures were once in the same collection, that of Carlo Micheli¹⁶ and that they could have come from the same original source, the church at St. Trond. In fact, the posture of the Virgin, as well as her drapery and her facial type, seems to be derived from the Virgin of the Adoration of the Magi on the Bethlehem portal (Figure 16). Koechlin remarked on the facial type as a mark of a distinct atelier, and Devigne linked the atelier to the Huy portal.¹⁷ The face is also close to that of the Diest Virgin.

One of the finest of the group is a nursing Virgin and Child (Figure 17), since 1888 in the Lille Museum and said to have come from Bailleul, northwest of Lille, but doubtless originating in the Meuse valley like the

15. Devigne, *Sculpture*, p. 66, pl. xviii, no. 79.

16. Evans, *Dayton Bulletin*, pp. 5, 6, makes this suggestion. Micheli, who died about 1895, was the head of the cast atelier at the Louvre and could have made the casts both of the Antwerp seated Virgin and the Dayton standing Virgin and Magus. For the Micheli collection, see Jozef Coo, "La Collection Micheli au musée Mayer van den Bergh," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 107 (1965) pp. 344 ff.

17. Koechlin, "Sculpture belge," p. 338, and Devigne, *Sculpture*, p. 66.

FIGURE 14

Detail of the Metropolitan's St. John and the Virgin, shown in Figure 5

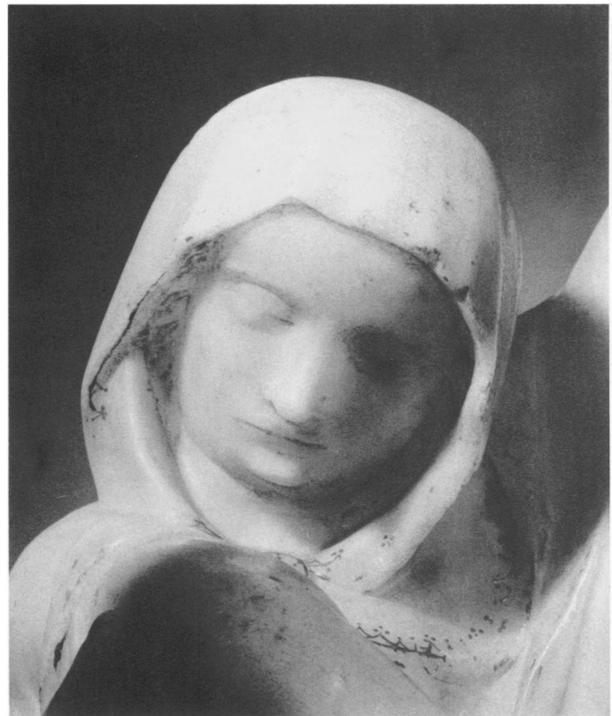




FIGURE 15
Virgin and Child. Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp (photo: ACL, Brussels)

FIGURE 16
Adoration of the Magi, detail from the tympanum of the Bethlehem portal, Huy, shown in Figure 7 (photo: ACL, Brussels)

rest.¹⁸ The Virgin's face is the closest to that of the Diest Virgin, but the folds do not have their sharpness and are softer and rounder.

There are other Mosan sculptures in the Museum in the same general style and of about the same scale. One of them, said to have come from the *beguinage* of Namur and now in the Cloisters Collection, is a seated king (Figure 18).¹⁹ Another represents a Holy Woman

18. H. 25½ in. (64 cm.). Exhibited in Paris at the Petit Palais. See the catalogue *La Vierge dans l'art français* (1950) no. 161, fig. 27. Here and in P. Vitry and G. Brière, *Documents de sculpture française du moyen âge* (Paris [1904]) pl. xcvi, 1, the statue is called French. M. Pinchart of Lille bought the figure before 1870 from a dealer who said it came from Bailleul nearby, but it must have come originally from the region of the Meuse. See J. Casier and P. Bergmans, *L'art ancien dans les Flandres (Région de l'Escaut)*. *Mémorial de l'Exposition rétrospective organisée à Gand en 1913*, I (Brussels, 1914) cat. no. 1027, pp. 44-45, pl. iv, and bibliography. See also Koechlin, "Sculpture belge," p. 338; Devigne, *Sculpture*, p. 66; and Konrad, *Meisterwerke*, p. 12.

19. Acc. no. 26.63.34. H. 19 in. (48.2 cm.). The head may be later in date.





FIGURE 17
Virgin and Child. Lille Museum (photo: ACL,
Brussels)

FIGURE 18
Seated king. The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
the Cloisters Collection, 26.63.34

with an ointment jar.²⁰ It may be Flemish or Mosan, and it has some resemblance to a kneeling donor in the Van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp. In the Museum of Art of the University of Michigan is a third Mosan figure with some resemblances to those of our workshop. Philippe Verdier has convincingly compared the Michigan figure to four other statuettes of apostles shown in the 1905 exposition at Liège, two of them coming from the local episcopal museum.²¹ Since he derives the style of these figures from the Huy portal and calls them Mosan, it is difficult to understand Verdier's

20. Acc. no. 21.171. H. 15¾ in. (40 cm.). It is probably from an Entombment group or from a scene of the Marys at the Easter Sepulcher.

21. P. Verdier, *The International Style, The Arts in Europe around 1400*, October 23–December 2, 1962, the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, cat. no. 94, pl. LXXVII, and M. G. Terme, *L'Art ancien au pays de Liège. Mobilier et sculptures de l'exposition universelle de Liège* (1905) nos. 1350; 1350, pl. 2.





FIGURE 19
Virgin and Child. Antwerp Cathedral (photo:
ACL, Brussels)

suggestion that they were made by a workshop in Lille in the time of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1364–1404). Even assuming a migrant Mosan workshop active in Lille, this dating is too late and the provenance of related sculptures too different to accept the hypothesis.

Several other pieces which are generally similar to those of the group exist in the Netherlands and have been kindly pointed out to me by Dr. Jaap van Leeuwenberg of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. They are either Mosan in origin or made under Mosan influence.

There is, in addition to these smaller scaled figures, a life-size statue of the Virgin and Child closely related to the Diest Virgin in the arrangement of the drapery, in the facial type, and in the Child. It is in a chapel of the ambulatory of Antwerp Cathedral (Figures 19 and 20). Another Virgin at Orval in southeastern Belgium, which is said to be of plaster cement,²² is a modern copy of the Antwerp statue. Casts of the Antwerp Virgin are indeed known to have been made.²³ The Antwerp Virgin itself, it must be admitted, looks remarkably fresh; perhaps it was overcleaned when the casts were made. It was not apparently recorded before 1880 when it was exhibited in Brussels. It is said to have come from “a former church of Liège.”²⁴ Often exhibited²⁵ and published since then,

22. Didier kindly writes that “la Vierge d’Orval est une copie récente, en ciment ou en pierre reconstituée, de la Vierge d’Anvers.”

23. Rousseau, *Catalogue sommaire des moulages*, p. 164, no. 1682, records one cast in the Brussels Museum.

24. H. about 50 in. (about 127 cm.). In the *Catalogue officiel de l’Exposition Nationale, IV^e section—Industries d’art en Belgique antérieure au XIX^e siècle* (Brussels, 1880) B 446, it is described: “La Vierge portant l’Enfant Jesus. Marbre XIII^e siècle. Provient d’une ancienne église de Liège. Cathédrale d’Anvers.” The *Guide Bleu* for Belgium (1958 ed.) p. 145, is even more explicit: “Vierge en marbre provenant de l’ancienne cathédrale Saint-Lambert, de Liège (1360 env.).” J. J. van Ysendyck, *Documents classés de l’art dans les Pays-Bas* (Antwerp, 1881–1889) p. 87, specifically reaffirms the Liège origin of the statue, again without giving his source. See also Konrad, *Meisterwerke*, pp. 12 and II.

25. It was exhibited again in Brussels and Paris in 1882 (*L’Art ancien à l’exposition nationale belge*, with illustration opposite p. 272); in Antwerp in 1948 (A. Jansen and C. Van Herck, *Kerkelijke Kunstschatten* [Antwerp, 1949] II, p. 51, cat. no. 236); in Liège in 1951 (*Art mosan et arts anciens du pays de Liège*, no. 434); again in Paris in 1951–1952 (*Trésors d’art de la vallée de la Meuse*, no. 180); and in Antwerp in 1954 (F. Baudouin, *De Madonna in de Kunst. Catalogus no. 138, Kon. Museum voor Schone Kunsten*). In Paris in 1968, *L’Europe gothique XII^e–XIV^e siècles*, Musée du Louvre, no. 165, bibliog.



FIGURE 20
Detail of the Virgin and Child shown in Figure 19 (photo: ACL, Brussels)

FIGURE 21
Front view of the Metropolitan's Virgin and Child from Diest, shown in Figure 1

FIGURE 22
Side view of the Metropolitan's Virgin and Child

the statue is clearly Mosan in style and can be considered a product of our workshop. Koechlin ²⁶ called her a typical "Vierge à la française," but Vöge²⁷ was probably more correct in relating her to French prototypes rather than in attributing her to a French workshop. Her supposed relation to a Virgin at Hal is hard to see.²⁸ Though there are superficial resemblances between our group and German sculpture, these may merely indicate parallel developments from a common French model.²⁹

The drapery of the Antwerp Virgin lacks some of the more sober architectural verticality of our Diest Virgin (Figures 21 and 22). And, like the Lille Virgin, she is

26. Koechlin, "Sculpture belge," p. 339.

27. Wilhelm Vöge, "Die Madonna der Sammlung Oppenheim," *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 29 (1908) pp. 217-219.

28. Georg Troescher, *Die burgundische Plastik des ausgehenden Mittelalters* (Frankfurt am Main, 1940) p. 72, also suggests some influence from the St. Catherine of Courtrai by Beauneveu. For the supposed relation to Hal and to German sculpture, see also bibliography quoted by Konrad, *Meisterwerke*, p. II.

29. Konrad, *Meisterwerke*, pp. 11-14, cites the Antwerp Virgin as having a more direct relation with Lorraine and Cologne sculpture than with that of Paris and as being slightly earlier than the Diest Virgin. There is some parallelism in posture between Antwerp and some Cologne sculpture but no true similarity.





FIGURE 23
Virgin and mourners from a Crucifixion group.
Church in Louviers, Normandy (photo: Archives
Photographiques)

somewhat more flexible in posture, bending her right leg so that her knee projects with the affected movement more common to later fourteenth-century sculpture. The swing of her body to one side has some of the exaggeration found in two Virgins of northern Lorraine, at Longuyon and at Munster, and in another Virgin at Saint-Sauveur-lès-Bray. Her hands are softer and less stiff. She probably, therefore, was done at a later time.

All of the sculptures so far discussed are of marble, but there are two large wood reliefs from a Crucifixion



FIGURE 24
Annunciate Virgin. La Gleize (photo: ACL, Brus-
sels)

group in the church at Louviers in Normandy that can be attributed to the same workshop. The left-hand group shows the Virgin and St. John with the Holy Women (Figure 23), the right-hand group the Centurion and the soldiers. The drapery style, the unusual facial types of the women and the men, including the soldiers, the carving of the hair, the modeling of the hands, and even the position of John's extended right thumb, all of these features are exactly the same as in other sculptures of our group. In the companion group of the Centurion and soldiers there are also details of

the armor similar to those of the Huy Crucifixion group in New York. The sculpture has been shown in at least four exhibitions since 1931, the last time in Cleveland in 1966–1967, and always labeled as French,³⁰ but there can be no doubt that it is by the same Mosan workshop which produced the other sculptures of our group. Certainly the style of the Louviers reliefs is unlike other Norman or indeed other French sculpture, and the comparisons to Crucifixion reliefs at St. Thibault in Burgundy or in the Van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp, or to French ivory carvings, has no real validity beyond a general similarity due to a contemporary date.³¹

Our group can be ascribed to not more than two masters probably active in the same workshop. One hand may have done the Diest, the Lille, and the two Antwerp Madonnas, and another most of the smaller sculptures, including the Museum's two Crucifixion



FIGURE 25
Coronation of the Virgin, from Walcourt. Musée des Arts Anciens, Namur (photo: ACL, Brussels)

sculptures from Huy. The workshop is surely to be located in the middle Meuse valley. Similar sculpture in and around Liège, Namur, and Huy, especially the Bethlehem portal, as well as the provenance of most of the pieces, prove this source.

The workshop was evidently not an isolated one, since there are other sculptures from the Meuse valley, a number in the museums of Liège and Namur, that have general similarities to those of our group. Among them is a wood Annunciate Virgin from La Gleize (Figure 24) and two wood statues of Mark and Luke, all with many resemblances to our workshop in the folds, the arrangements of the drapery, and the faces.

Other indications prove that the workshop was native to the Meuse valley. One finds the same widely spaced bulging eyes, the wide mouth and double chin of the Virgin, and the same bearded male heads, not only on the Bethlehem portal but appearing earlier on sculpture of the Coronation of the Virgin from the north porch of the collegiate church at Walcourt, now in the Musée des Arts Anciens at Namur (Figure 25), and on the Resurrection of Christ from the tympanum of the church of the Holy Cross at Liège and now in the Musée Diocésain of Liège.³²

A curious and fascinating series of sculptures in northern Italy are so close to those of our group that it has been suggested by Vöge, Middeldorf, and Weinberger either that Mosan sculptors went to Italy or, what is less likely, that some Italian sculptor trained in the Meuse valley went back home.³³ The angel and the Virgin of an Annunciation in the cathedral baptistry

30. In 1931 in Rouen, in 1934 and 1950 in Paris, and in 1966–1967 in Cleveland. See the catalogue of plates published with a preface by Paul Vitry and with notices by Fernand Guey and Jean Lafond, *Exposition d'art religieux ancien, mai-juin 1931, V^e centenaire de Jeanne d'Arc* (Rouen, 1932) pl. xxx of both reliefs; the catalogue *La Passion de Christ dans l'art français* (Paris, 1934) no. 52, illustrated, at the Musée du Trocadéro and the Sainte-Chapelle; the catalogue *La Vierge dans l'art français* (Paris, 1950) no. 172, pl. 29, at the Petit Palais; and the catalogue by William D. Wixom, *Treasures from Medieval France* (Cleveland, 1967) no. vi-13 on pp. 240 and 375.

31. See *Exposition*, Rouen, notice pp. 16, 51.

32. Devigne, *Sculpture*, pp. 51, 60, pls. xiv, xvi.

33. Vöge, *Jahrbuch*, pp. 217–219. U. Middeldorf and M. Weinberger, "Französische Figuren des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts in Toscana," *Pantheon* 1 (1928) pp. 187–190, and M. Weinberger, "Remarks on the Role of French Models within the Evolution of Gothic Tuscan Sculpture," *Romanesque and Gothic Art I* (International Congress of the History of Art, New York, 1963) p. 203.



FIGURE 26
Gabriel and the Virgin of the Annunciation.
Cathedral baptistry, Carrara



FIGURE 27
Virgin and Child, from Pisa. State Museums,
Berlin, Inv. 2301



of Carrara (Figure 26) have many trademarks that ally them closely to the group: the sharply funneled columnar folds below the large pocket of drapery in front of the Virgin,³⁴ the bent forefinger of the angel, the flattened folds of his garment around his neck, and the drapery fall below his hand and his face. The Carrara Virgin is comparable to the Annunciate Virgin now in Dayton and the Carrara John to the John of the Crucifixion group in our Museum. The most definite proof of the presence of a link between such Italian sculpture and the middle Meuse is given by a marble Virgin and Child from Pisa, now in the Berlin Museum (Figure 27), which is clearly modeled after the Diest and Antwerp Virgins.³⁵

There are also close connections between fourteenth-century sculptures of the Meuse valley and those of the region of Paris. Two of the most famous *tombiers*, or tomb carvers, of the period working in France came from the Meuse: Pépin de Huy and, later in the century, Jean de Liège. It was Jean who carved the head of Marie de France, a daughter of Charles IV, which comes from her lost funeral effigy in St. Denis and is now in the Museum (Figure 28). The face shows the subtle modeling characteristic of this great Mosan

34. Such abrupt vertical folds are typical of Mosan fourteenth-century sculpture. See the statue of St. Christopher at Hannut, for example. Devigne, *Sculpture*, pl. XIII.

35. Vöge, *Jahrbuch*, pp. 217, 218.

sculptor. The royal effigy of Charles IV, made about the time of his death in 1328 for his tomb in the abbey church of St. Denis (Figure 29), could well have been carved by one of the Mosan sculptors then active in Paris.³⁶ The sculpture has an arrangement of tubular drapery folds similar to those hanging down below the Child of the Diest Virgin; the eyes also show some similarity.

Jeanne d'Évreux, the widow of Charles, was a great patroness of the arts throughout most of the fourteenth century. The statue of Notre-Dame-la-Blanche that Jeanne d'Évreux ordered in 1340 for her chapel at St. Denis and which is now at Magny-en-Vexin (Figures 30, 31) has a system of drapery folds similar to those of the Diest Virgin and the effigy of Charles IV, and it may also be by a Mosan sculptor.³⁷ The same workshops could have produced such a marble Virgin and the royal effigies, to judge by their similarities of style.

Many other parallels exist between the Magny and the Diest Virgins.³⁸ The postures of both the Virgin and the Child are similar. The Magny Virgin's hair has the same kind of wave. The half-nude Child is carried



FIGURE 28
Head of Marie de France, from St. Denis. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of George Blumenthal, 41.100.132



FIGURE 29
Charles IV. St. Denis (photo: Archives Photographiques)

the same way, and he also holds a bird on his left knee pecking his finger. The Virgin's left forefinger is also slightly flexed. She too has dimples at the bases of her fingers where the joints should be. In her right hand she also carries a rusticated stump of branch open at the top, probably to receive a flowering staff, now

36. G. Brière and P. Vitry, *L'Église de Saint-Denis* (Paris, 1948) pp. 79–80. M. Pierre Pradel of the Louvre has been studying the oeuvre of Jean de Liège for many years.

37. Georges Huard, "Communication sur la Vierge de Magny-en-Vexin," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1938, séance du 16 février, has conclusively identified this Virgin after drawings by Lenoir made at the time of the Revolution. The Virgin and Child now at St.-Germain-des-Prés, Paris, usually said to be from St. Denis, he has proved to be from Notre-Dame, Paris.

38. Vöge, *Jahrbuch*, p. 218, relates the Antwerp Virgin to the Magny Virgin, and Baum, "Lütticher Bildnerkunst," p. 166, relates a Mosan Virgin and Child at St. Servatius, Liège, to the Magny Virgin. The St. Servatius Virgin has a general resemblance to the Diest Virgin.



FIGURE 30

Virgin and Child, from St. Denis. Church in Magny-en-Vexin (photo: Archives Photographiques)

FIGURE 31

Side view of the Virgin and Child shown in Figure 30 (photo: Claude Schaefer)

missing, which would perhaps have been made of precious metal. The arrangement of the folds of her gown around her feet are quite similar to those of the Diest Virgin. The relative size of the Virgin's head to her body is the same in both statues. Surely the sculptor of the Diest Virgin knew either the Magny Virgin or one like her.

The fact that the Magny Virgin may have been carved by a Mosan sculptor in no way implies that it derives from earlier Mosan sculpture. On the contrary, it follows earlier French Virgins, such as the so-called Virgin of Paris, now placed in the crossing of the cathedral of Notre-Dame. The Magny Virgin was one of four or five statues which may be considered the archetypes for the great majority of French Madonnas of the fourteenth century.³⁹ Two of the many Madonnas that may be said to follow in her train are in the Museum, one said to come from Cernay-lès-Reims, and the other possibly from southern France. It was natural, therefore, for the Diest sculptor to have been influenced by so famous an archetype, made five years earlier.

The attitude of the Child of the Diest Virgin, who

reaches out to touch his mother's cheek, may have been adopted from another French Madonna now in the Louvre, given to St. Denis by Jeanne d'Évreux, a silver statuette made in 1339.⁴⁰ This iconography was ultimately derived from Byzantine art through Italian sources.

The drapery formula of the Diest Virgin follows the pattern of the Magny Virgin but accentuates the abrupt transition between the large pocket fold of the cloak and the severely vertical columnar folds beneath. A similar kind of exaggeration of a French model also occurs in Germanic sculpture at Freiburg, Strasbourg, and elsewhere.

Whatever foreign influences there were upon it, however, fourteenth-century Mosan sculpture had its distinctive style. If the Meuse valley was no longer the dominating artistic center it had been in the twelfth century, the great period of its enamelers and metalworkers, it still could produce sculpture worthy of the name Mosan. Surely a province that supplied the French capital with some of its leading sculptors was not deficient itself in the art.

39. The other archetypes certainly include the Virgin and Child originally from a side portal and now within Notre-Dame, Paris, the Coutances Virgin, the Virgin from Notre-Dame now at St.-Germain-des-Prés, and the silver statuette given by Jeanne d'Évreux to St. Denis in 1339, now in the Louvre.

40. The inscription on the base of the statuette gives the donor and date: "Cette ymage dona ceans ma dame la Reine Jehē devreux, Roynē de France et de Navarre, compaignē du Roy Charles, le xxvii jour d'avril l'an mcccxxxix."

Ceremonial Arrowheads from Bohemia

HELMUT NICKEL

Curator of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

AT A LONDON auction in November 1966, the Metropolitan Museum bought a richly decorated head of a shafted weapon which had come from an English private collection (Figures 1, 2).¹ Though its considerable size—its length is $12\frac{1}{8}$ inches or 30.6 centimeters—would be adequate for a spearhead, its form, however, clearly indicates that it is meant to be an oversize head of a crossbow bolt far too large for any bow. Spears, javelins, and other polearms have their greatest width at about the last third of the blade, while crossbow bolts have their greatest width, for ballistic reasons, in the first third of their heads, which gives them their characteristic blunt-nosed appearance (Figure 3).

Our bolt head is of steel, covered with deeply cut engraving, and partially inlaid with brass. The brass inlay is on one flange of the blade—emphasizing the most important part of the decoration, and thus giving the blade an obverse and reverse side—and on the socket, where it consists of four encircling bands of ever-increasing width, and four strips set obliquely between the lower two bands to give a spiraling effect.

The first flange of the blade bears a large monogram somewhat like a Gothic *w*, but actually composed of

the two letters *a* and *r*, surmounted by a crown, from which a tall ostrich feather emerges. The monogram and the inner half of the feather are brass, as well as the separate field beneath it, which bears a flowing scroll with the inscription *mamyła* in Gothic letters. The second flange is engraved on its top with a crown; beneath it is a field with a scroll inscribed *warvy/woka*, followed by another, smaller field with an *a* intertwined crosswise with an *e*, and finally a large letter *t* (?) set in an irregular space. On the reverse side the flange to the left bears a large field charged with a letter *x* accompanied by two small *fleurs de lys*, and surmounted by a crown *fleur-de-lysee*; farther down, in a separate field, is a scroll inscribed *Zdar Z|bvo[h]*.² The flange to the right shows a field with an *s* formed out of fluttering ribbons under a crown; the lower part of the space is filled with floral scrollwork.

The most conspicuous decoration on the socket is a pattern of rounded scales that appears on the upper part, engraved into the iron, and on the lowest, widest brass ring. The uppermost and narrowest brass ring bears a scale pattern made of rectangular scales, identical to that on two of the narrow iron spaces showing

1. Sale, Sotheby's, London, November 7, 1966, lot 127: A. A. Lyster. "A rare and important Late Gothic arrow head . . . Central European, perhaps Bohemian, late 15th century." A note mentions that seven more of these arrowheads are known in Budapest, Vienna, and Munich. It further mentions the various theories as to the original purposes of these giant arrowheads, as discussed in articles by Johann von Kalmár, "Pfeilspitzen als Würdezeichen,"

Zeitschrift für Historische Waffenkunde NF 6 (1937–1939) pp. 218–221, and Charles Buttin, "La Flèche des Juges de Camp," *Armes Anciennes* 1 (1954) Part 3, pp. 57–64.

2. The description in the Sotheby sales catalogue erroneously quotes *Zdar Zdao*, but nevertheless it is the first source that suggests the possibility of a Bohemian origin for these arrowheads.



FIGURES 1, 2
Ceremonial arrowhead, Bohemian, xv century.
Steel inlaid with brass, engraved. L. $12\frac{1}{4}$ in.
(30.6 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Rogers Fund, 66.199



FIGURE 3
Spearhead of the bodyguard of Emperor Frederick III, South German or Austrian, about 1460.
Steel with applied openwork decoration in brass.
Waffensammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums, Vienna, Inv. no. A 10

FIGURE 4 (OPPOSITE)

Side view of the Metropolitan Museum arrow-head

between the spiraling brass strips on the wider part of the socket. After a space filled with floral scrollwork, the second brass ring—twice as wide as the first—sits at the beginning of the flare of the socket. It is engraved twice *mamyla*, the space between the words filled with foliate scrolls. Beneath the part with the scale pattern the third brass ring—again approximately of double width—is filled with floral scrolls repeating those on the blade. The four spiraling brass strips farther down are alternately engraved with a similar foliate design, and the inscriptions *marya/pano* terminated by heraldic roses (Figure 4). The same roses alternating with letters *m* are to be found on two of the spaces between the strips, the other two showing the already mentioned pattern of rectangular scales. A very wide brass ring with scale pattern forms the foot of the socket. The rim of the socket is pierced by a small hole on one side and an oblong slot on the opposite; these openings were for nails or rivets to secure the head to a shaft. The slot seems to be a later alteration. Another later addition is

3. The description in the Sotheby catalogue calls it the “Mamluke arsenal mark.” According to Ünsal Yücel, Assistant Curator at the Topkapi Sarayi Museum, Istanbul, this mark is derived

from the cattle brand  of the Kayi, one of the twenty-four Oghuz (Turkish) tribes of the twelfth century. It was used as a tribal symbol on tents, flags, and Ottoman coins, the earliest example known minted by Sultan Orkhan, 1326–1327. It was used with increasing frequency during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but is not found after the seventeenth century. It is used on all sorts of weapons and armor, but not on firearms, the only exception being a cannon dated 1522. The Ottomans claimed descent from the Kayi tribe. In Mr. Yücel’s opinion these ancient tribal marks might have been revived by some statesmen of Kayi origin during periods when national feelings were particularly strong, as for instance after the defeat of the Mongols (1402), and in the time of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent (1520–1566).

Eduard von Lenz, “Arsenalzeichen oder Beschau?” *ZHWK* 6 (1912–1914) pp. 299–303, suggests that the “arsenal mark” might be a proof mark. He points out that it looks like a simplified version

of the proof mark  *imtichan* = “fit,” stamped on barrels of Turkish firearms of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Furthermore, Lenz mentions that most of the objects stamped with



have old repairs. Therefore the proof mark theory could

FIGURE 5

Mark engraved on the socket



a small circular mark carved into the upper part of the socket; this emblem is known as the “Turkish arsenal mark” (Figure 5).³ The only damage on the otherwise excellently preserved piece is a large crescent-shaped notch in one of the edges at the greatest width of the blade.

The inscriptions have been identified as pious invocations of God and the Virgin in medieval Czech: *Ždarz buoh* = “All hail, oh God”; *marya pano* = “Virgin Mary”; *mamyla* = “my dear one”; *warvy/woka* = *varuj voka* = “protect your eye.”⁴ The letters *m* between the roses are certainly the initials of the name Maria.

The interpretation of the monograms and the cyphers is more difficult, and we must look at comparable objects before we attempt an explanation.

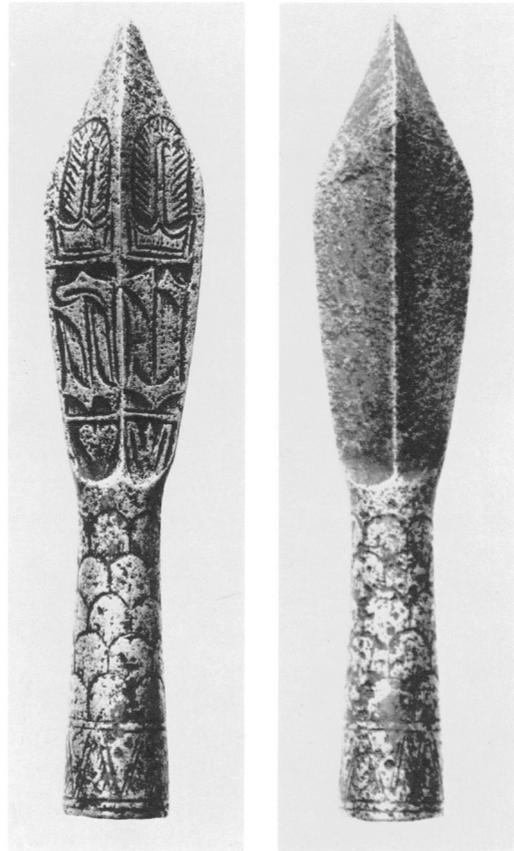
There are eleven more of these decorated arrowheads known, scattered among various museums. Ours, though, is by far the largest and the most extravagantly ornamented one of the whole group. The

be applied to our specific case very well; here a weapon picked up on a battlefield would be considered still usable, in spite of a damaged edge. In any case, it has been established that this mark was not only the mark of the Arsenal of St. Irene in Constantinople, and Lenz mentions fifteenth-century coins marked with this symbol and the inscription “minted in Adrianople.”

4. For the interpretations of the Czech inscriptions I am greatly indebted to Dr. Marica Vilcek, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Dr. Vladimír Denkstein, Director of the National Museum in Prague; Dr. Ivan Hlaváček, Docent for Art History and Archive Studies at the University Karlovy, Prague; Professor Dr. Jaromír Neumann, Director of the Institute for Fine Arts, Academy of Sciences, Prague. Professor Neumann suggested “Schütze dein Auge” as translation for *warvy/woka* in our correspondence conducted in German; according to Dr. Marica Vilcek it has a certain double meaning that could be expressed in English as either “Protect your eye, or Bless your eye” or “Beware of the eye [of God].” Dr. Denkstein suggested the possibility that *woka* might be a form of the ancient Bohemian personal name Vok or Wok, particularly popular during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. If this was the case, perhaps the two inscriptions on the obverse side were thought to be connected: *mamyla-warvy/woka* = “my dear [Virgin Mary]—protect Wok.” This would lead to the conclusion that someone named Wok was the original owner of the arrowhead. Dr. Hlaváček suggested the reading *swary wogak*—“beloved soldier,” which again could be connected with *mamyla*.



FIGURES 6, 7
Ceremonial arrowhead, Bohemian, xv century.
Steel, engraved. L. 115 mm. Bayerisches National-Museum, Munich, no. w 309



FIGURES 8, 9
Ceremonial arrowhead, Bohemian, xv century.
Steel, engraved, reverse side blank. L. 107 mm.
Hungarian National-Museum, Budapest

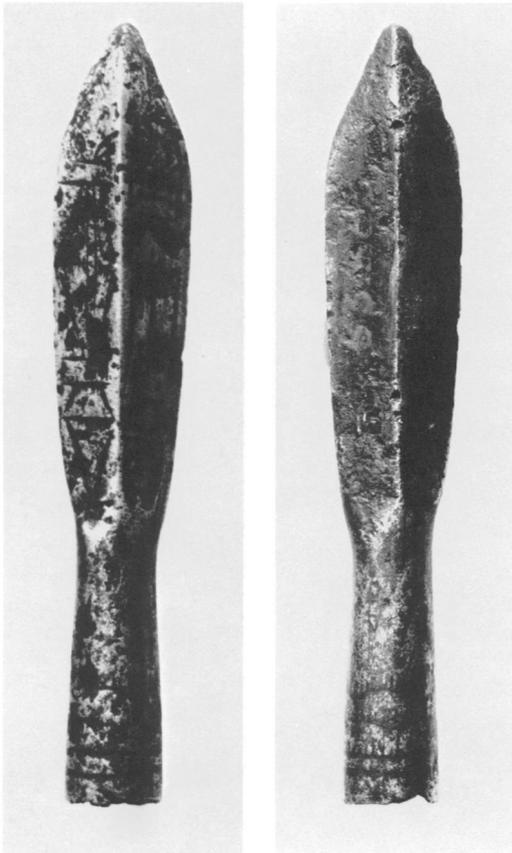
others have been published in two articles by Dr. János Kalmár, former curator of the Hungarian National-Museum—Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum—in Budapest,⁵ but our piece had escaped the attention of scholars until its appearance in the auction catalogue.

The National-Museum in Budapest has in its collections no less than three of them; three more are in local Hungarian museums—the Bakony Museum in Veszprém, the Balaton Museum in Keszthely, and the Municipal Museum in Pécs (Fünfkirchen). One is in

5. Kalmár, "Pfeilspitzen," pp. 218–221; János Kalmár, "Armbrust-Pfeilspitzen als Rangabzeichen" *Folia Archaeologica* 9 (1957) pp. 153–166. Since publication in the Sotheby sales catalogue our arrowhead has been illustrated in *Connoisseur* 164, no. 659 (January 1967) p. 56, fig. 9; *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 26 (1967) no. 2, p. 53; and *Art at Auction, The Year at Sotheby's & Parke-Bernet, 1966–1967* (New York, 1967) p. 404.

each of three different Austrian collections—the Waffensammlung in Vienna, the Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck, and the collection of Count Wilczek in Castle Kreuzenstein. Furthermore there is one in the Bayerische National-Museum in Munich, and the last one was published in 1896 as being in a private collection in Budapest, but since then it has vanished without a trace.

The one with the most elaborate decoration, next to ours, is the arrowhead in Munich (Figures 6, 7). Its blade is covered on either side with floral scrollwork carved into sharply defined sunken fields; the sinister flanges bear scrolls, inscribed *mamyla pan* and *mamyla panny* = "my dear Virgin" and "my dear Lady." The reading is made difficult by the artist's use of contractions of letters, such as in *my* and *ny*. The slightly



FIGURES 10, 11
Ceremonial arrowhead, Bohemian, xv century.
Steel, engraved, reverse side blank. L. 104 mm.
Hungarian National-Museum, Budapest

conical socket is engraved with spiraling bands similar to those on our piece; they are decorated alternately with scale pattern and the inscription *mmm*.⁶ With its length of 115 mm. and width of 20 mm., it is just a little more than one third the size of the Metropolitan Museum's specimen.

The first Budapest arrowhead (Figures 8, 9) is of about the same size, length 107 mm., width 22 mm. Its blade is engraved on one side only; the dexter flange with a letter *a* in a rectangular field under a stylized crown and surmounted by a stiff ostrich feather; at the bottom of the flange is carved a small object shaped like a heart or a linden-leaf. The sinister flange has a let-

6. Kalmár, "Pfeilspitzen," fig. 6 a, b; Kalmár, "Armbrust-Pfeilspitzen," pl. 25, figs. 6, 7; the inscriptions of the Munich arrowhead are interpreted as "manilia p[ro] amo[re]."

ter *v* under an identical crown, and a tiny broad-arrow head at its foot. Its socket is covered with a carefully drawn scale pattern; the base of the socket is encircled by a wide band filled with a zigzag pattern.⁷

The second Budapest piece (Figures 10, 11) is much simpler in appearance, but its size—length 104 mm., width 18 mm.—is nearly identical with the first one. Again the blade is decorated on one side only; its dexter flange bears a large symbol, unfortunately too much worn for definite identification, though a very stylized plumed crown seems to be part of the design. The sinister flange bears a large letter *d* surmounted by the plumed crown; at its foot is something that might be an *s*. The socket is encircled by a crudely cut double ring at its base, and two rows of scales higher up.⁸

The third Budapest specimen is of totally different form (Figures 12, 13). Its triangular outline and sharp barbs are those of a broad-arrow. On one sinister

7. Kalmár, "Pfeilspitzen," fig. 5; Kalmár, "Armbrust-Pfeilspitzen," pl. 25, fig. 2.

8. Kalmár, "Pfeilspitzen," fig. 3; Kalmár, "Armbrust-Pfeilspitzen," pl. 25, fig. 1.

FIGURES 12, 13
Ceremonial barbed arrowhead, Bohemian, xv century. Steel, engraved, reverse side blank. Hungarian National-Museum, Budapest

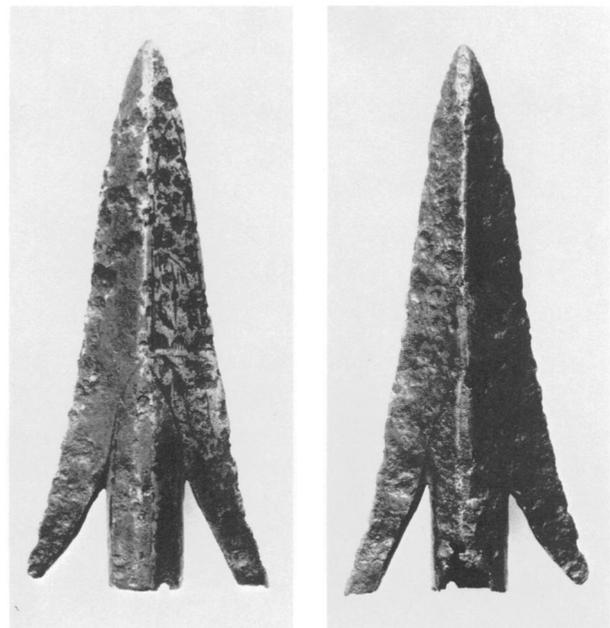




FIGURE 14
Ceremonial arrowhead,
Bohemian, xv century. Steel,
engraved, reverse side blank.
L. 110 mm. Waffensamm-
lung, Vienna, Inv. no. A 50

flange it has a large letter *a* surmounted by a plumed crown; further down a few incised lines continue the decoration, half obliterated by corrosion. The octagonal socket and the reverse side of the blade are blank without any decoration.⁹

The arrowhead in Vienna (Figure 14) bears on its decorated side a *t* surmounted by a single stiff ostrich feather on the dexter flange, and on the sinister a *d* surmounted by a crown, above a small *s* in a separate field; at the foot of either flange are triangular figures that might be representations of arrowheads too. Its conical socket is covered with rather a carelessly executed scale pattern. It is 110 mm. in length, and in width 20 mm.¹⁰

Nearly identical are the two specimens from the Balaton Museum in Keszthely, and the Bakony Museum in Veszprém (Figures 15, 16). The latter is 114 mm. in length, while the former measures 115 mm. and 18 mm. Each is without any decoration except a large

9. Kalmár, "Pfeilspitzen," fig. 1; Kalmár, "Armbrust-Pfeilspitzen," pl. 25, fig. 3.

10. Kalmár, "Pfeilspitzen," fig. 4; Kalmár, "Armbrust-Pfeilspitzen," pl. 25, fig. 5.

letter *l* or *i* surmounted by a very stylized ostrich feather, composed of a double row of punchmarks, on its sinister flanges. The arrowhead in Keszthely was found near the village of Csabrendek, four kilometers from the Castle Sümeg, and it is very likely to be the one illustrated in Szendrei's *Ungarische Kriegsgeschichtliche Denkmäler*¹¹ as a so-called *Hussiten-Pfeil* (Hussite arrow), and mentioned as being "inscribed with the numeral 1" and found near Castle "Sümegh" (Figure 17).

Of rather similar appearance is the arrowhead from Castle Kreuzenstein (Figure 18). Its length is 117 mm.; its width 17 mm. Its only decoration is a letter *s* surmounted by an elegantly drawn crown and triangular punchmarks arranged in two rows in the lower part of the blade.¹²

11. Kalmár, "Armbrust-Pfeilspitzen," figs. 31 a, b; 32 b, c; Johann Szendrei, *Ungarische Kriegsgeschichtliche Denkmäler in der Millenniums-Landes-Ausstellung* (Budapest, 1896) ill. p. 291.

12. Kalmár, "Pfeilspitzen," fig. 2, shows eight punchmarks; Kalmár, "Armbrust-Pfeilspitzen," fig. 31 d, shows seven marks.

FIGURE 15
Ceremonial arrowhead, Bohemian, xv century.
Steel, engraved, reverse side blank. L. 114 mm.
Bakony Museum, Veszprém. After Kalmár

FIGURE 16
Ceremonial arrowhead. Bohemian, xv century.
Steel, engraved, reverse side blank. L. 115 mm.
Balaton Museum, Keszthely. After Kalmár

FIGURE 17
Hussiten-Pfeil found near Castle Sümeg. After
Szendrei

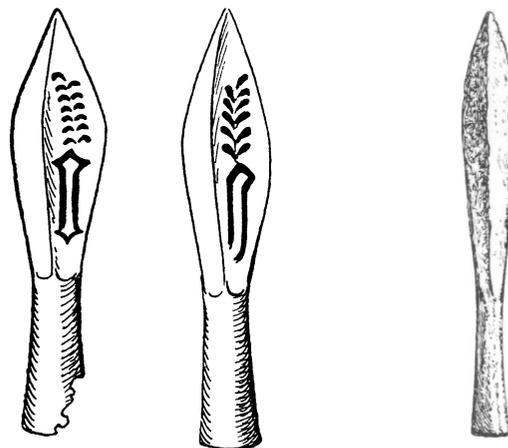




FIGURE 18
Ceremonial arrowhead, Bohemian, xv century. Steel, with engraved and punched decoration, reverse side blank. L. 117 mm. Collection of Count Wilczek, Burg Kreuzenstein. After Kalmár



FIGURE 19
Ceremonial arrowhead, probably Bohemian, xv century. Steel inlaid with brass, engraved. Formerly in the collection of Paul Jedlicska, Budapest, present whereabouts unknown. After Szendrei

Known only from the above-mentioned *Ungarische Kriegsgeschichtliche Denkmäler*¹³ is an arrowhead that, though it is there listed as “Oriental,” without doubt must have belonged to this group (Figure 19). Its blade seems to have been engraved all over, apparently in a fashion similar to the Munich specimen, and on its sinister flange it had a large inlay of brass. Two bands of brass were at the neck of the socket.

The arrowhead from Pécs (Fünfkirchen) is technically different (Figure 20). It has a tang for insertion into the shaft instead of a socket—a way of mounting that



FIGURE 20
Ceremonial arrowhead, probably Bohemian, xiv–xv century. Steel, partially plated with brass, engraved, the steel parts heavily corroded. Municipal Museum, Pécs (Fünfkirchen). After Kalmár



FIGURE 21
Ceremonial arrowhead, possibly Bohemian, xv century. Steel, with punched decoration, partially gilded. L. 73 mm., with shaft 39 cm. Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck, Inv. no. ES 36

was less common, but far from unusual—and the octagonal neck is coated with brass, engraved with alternating bands of angular scales and patterns of oblique stripes. Its blade is unfortunately too corroded for the identification of any decoration, though its general shape is still recognizable.¹⁴

The specimen in Innsbruck, finally (Figure 21), is

13. Szendrei, *Denkmäler*, pp. 137, 138, fig. 353; the arrowhead is mentioned as “Bolzeneisen, orientalisches,” and as being in the collection of Paul Jedlicska, Budapest.

14. Kalmár, “Armbrust-Pfeilspitzen,” pl. 25, fig. 4.



FIGURE 22

Pavise, Bohemian (Chomutov), 1441. Pinewood, covered with leather and canvas, painted black and red on a silvered background; central motive of a letter *y* in a sunburst, surmounted by a plume of ostrich feathers in a crown, the arms of Zwickau added later. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, funds from various donors, 29.158.595

considerably smaller than the others just mentioned; its length is only 73 mm., not more than an ordinary crossbow bolt. It is practically without any socket, and its blade is lozenge-shaped in section, coming to a sharp point abruptly at the last quarter of its length. With the exception of the first third, at the point, the head is gilded, and decorated with letters *b* surrounded by scrollwork on all four flanges. The decoration is not engraved like that on the other arrowheads, but is stamped by means of rows of closely set punchmarks. The head is still fitted to its shaft, bearing remnants of its fletching with white feathers; the total length of the bolt is 39 cm.¹⁵

It is evident from this list that there is a strong family likeness between these arrowheads, with the possible exception of the Innsbruck specimen. It is even likely that some of them have common workshops: the first Budapest piece and the Vienna piece; the second and the third Budapest pieces; and again the specimens from the Bakony Museum and Balaton Museum. Seven of them display a letter or a monogram surmounted by an ostrich feather or a crown as the main feature of their decoration, one—the Innsbruck piece—has a letter without plume or crown, another one has inscriptions in medieval Czech, and the two remaining ones have their iron parts too badly corroded for possible identification of cyphers, but their surviving decoration of scale patterns or floral scrollwork of a distinctive type on their brass inlays is shared by at least four others in the group.

An examination of the cyphers represented on these arrowheads reveals a re-occurrence of certain letters. Two of the Budapest specimens bear an *a*, one of them in addition to a *v*, the third one has a *d*, with an ad-

15. Kalmár, "Armbrust-Pfeilspitzen," fig. 31 c.

ditional small *s*. The Vienna piece has a *d* above an *s* too, though its main cypher is a *t* under an ostrich feather. Letters *l* or *i* under stylized feathers are on the two arrowheads in Keszthely and Veszprém; the one in Kreuzenstein has an *s*, the one in Innsbruck *b*, and the Munich specimen *mmmm* besides invocations of the Virgin Mary in Czech. On our own piece we find *ar*, *ae* intertwined, *t*, *X*, *S*, and *m*, in addition to religious invocations (see drawings on the following pages).

The country of origin thus being established by the reading of the Czech inscriptions, it seems obvious that one should look out for possible equivalents of the device of the ostrich feather surmounting a monogrammatic letter in the decorative arts, and preferably on arms, of Bohemia. In the Metropolitan Museum's collection we have a pavise painted with a *y* in a sunburst surmounted by a crown and ostrich plume (Figure 22). It is one of a group of shields from the armory of the town of Zwickau in Saxony, which bought it from the North Bohemian town of Chomutov (Komotau), famous for its shieldmakers' shops, in 1441.¹⁶ Out of the twelve surviving pieces of this sale there are no less than seven painted with a feather-and-letter device; five more have single letters as important parts of their decoration. There are more than sixty pavises of Bohemian origin known, and twenty-two of them are charged with monograms; it might be worth mentioning here that this use of monograms on shields was

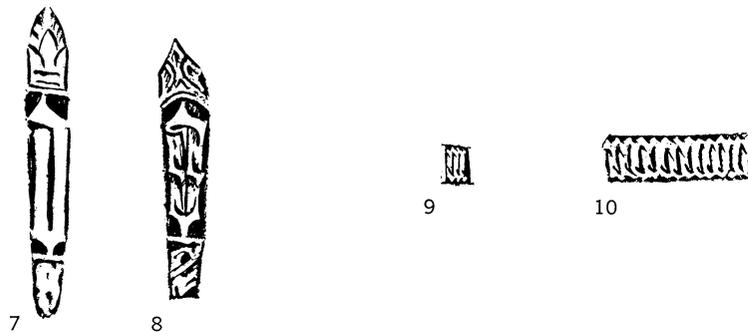
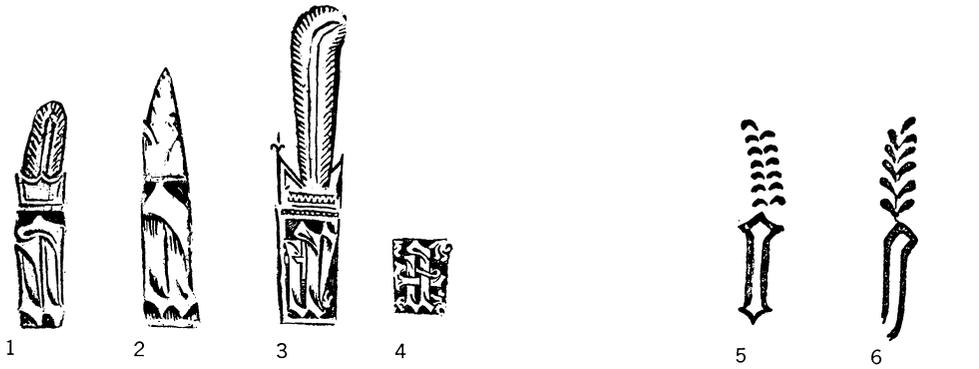
16. Alfons Diener von Schönberg, "Setzschilde der Stadt Zwickau aus der Werkstatt eines Schildmachers von Komotau 1441," *ZHWK NF* 8 (1944) pp. 45-56; Vladimír Denkstein, "Die Zwickauer Pavesen böhmischen Ursprungs," *Sächsische Heimatblätter* (1958) no. 9; Vladimír Denkstein, "Pavézy českého typu" ("Pavises of the Bohemian Type"), *Sborník Národního Muzea v Praze—Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae* series A, Historia, 16 (1962) nos. 4-5; 18 (1964) nos. 3-4; 19 (1965) nos. 1-5, with full translation in English. Within Denkstein's "Pavézy," the most comprehensive and authoritative work about pavises, the Zwickau group is treated in: 16, nos. 21, 24-26, 34, 35, 37-41, 43; 19, pp. 140-141, 170-177, no. 51.

In 1923 the teacher and local historian Kurt Vogel found two entries in the town accounts of Zwickau, dated 1441, concerning the commission of 40 pavises from Chomutov (Komotau) for the price of 14 groschen each: "Item wir habin vordingit czu machin eyn von Komethaw payssin xl und sullin öm ye vor ayne gebin xiiii gli . . . dedimus sibi xx gl . . . etiam dedimus sibi ii sso gl by nickel joco ff." Stadtrechnung 1437-1446, fol. 108 a. An additional payment was made to have the town's arms added: "Item dedimus viii sso gl vor xl payfossin, dy man hat lossin czu komethaw machin, mit der stad czeichin geczeichint." Stadtrechnung, fol. 110 b.



FIGURE 23

Pavise, Bohemian (Chomutov), 1441. Wood, covered with leather and canvas, painted black and red on a silvered background; central motive of a monogram *ar* in a sunburst, surmounted by a plume of ostrich feathers in a crown, the arms of Zwickau added later. Armouries, H. M. Tower of London, Inv. no. V/2. British Crown Copyright



**MONOGRAMS ON
ARROWHEADS**

1, 2. Letter **a**, Budapest I and III. Probably for **Albrecht**

3. Combined letters **a** and **r**, Metropolitan Museum. Probably for **Albertus Rex**

4. Intertwined letters **a** and **e**, Metropolitan Museum. Possibly for **Albrecht** and **Elisabeth**

5, 6. Letters **l**, Veszprém and Keszthely. Probably for **Ladislás**

7, 8. Letters **d** above **s**, Budapest II and Vienna

9, 10. Letters **m**, Metropolitan Museum and Munich. For **Maria**

11. Letter **s**, Kreuzenstein. Probably for **Sigismund**

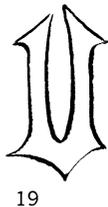
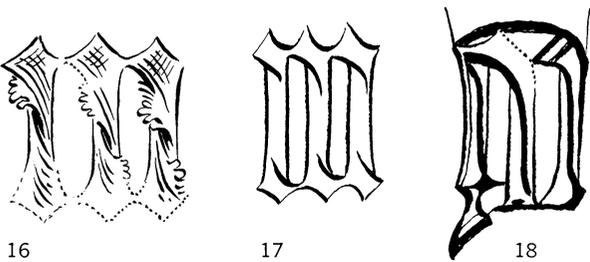
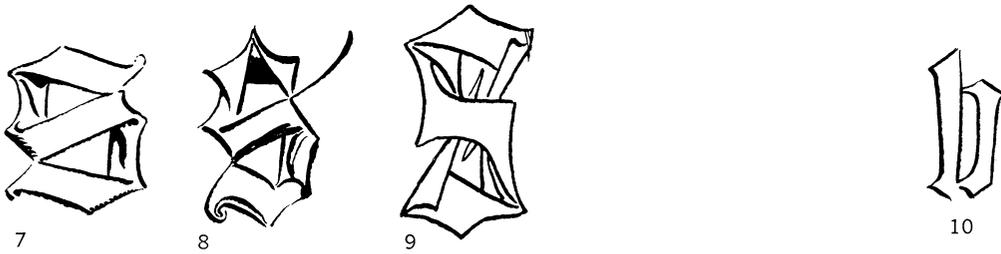
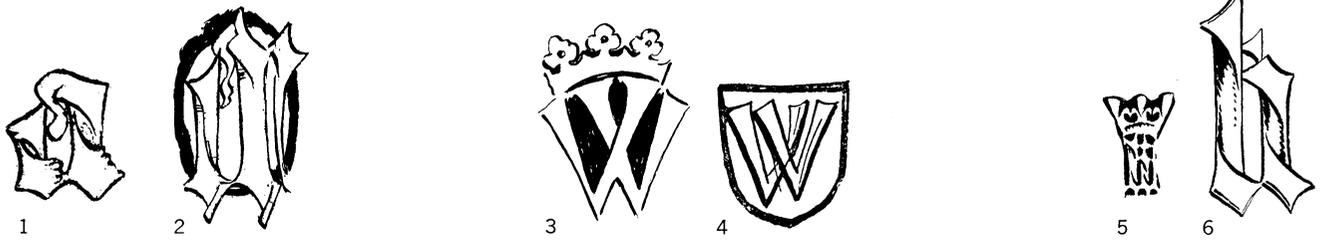
12. Letter **s**, Metropolitan Museum

13, 14. Letters **t**, Vienna and Metropolitan Museum

15. Letter **v**, Budapest I

16. Letter **x**, Metropolitan Museum. Probably for **Christus**

17. Letter **b**, Innsbruck



**MONOGRAMS ON PAVISES
AND OTHER OBJECTS**

1. Letter a, Turin. Probably for **Albrecht**
2. Combined letters a and r, London. Probably for **Albertus Rex**
- 3, 4. Letters W, Prague and Warsaw. For **Wladislaw Jagiello**
5. Letter k, spurs in Vienna. For **Kasimir**
6. Letter k, Prague. Possibly for **Kasimir**
- 7, 8, 9. Letters S, Berlin, New York, Warsaw. Probably for **Sigismund**
10. Letter b, Vienna. Possibly for **Boleslav**
- 11, 12, 13. Monogram Christi **ihs**, Warsaw, New York, Brno
14. Letter y, Metropolitan Museum and Zwickau. For **Yhesus**—Jesus
15. Letter g, Veste Coburg. For **Girzy**—George
- 16, 17, 18. Letters m, Paris and Dresden. For **Maria**
19. Letter v, Paris. Possibly for **Václav**—Wenceslas



FIGURE 24
 Pavise, Bohemian (Chomutov), 1441. Wood, covered with leather, painted black and red on a silvered background; central motive of a monogram of Christ, *ih̄s*, surmounted by a crown and six ostrich feathers, the arms of Zwickau added later. The original inscription on the upper border obliterated in an earlier restoration. Collection of Carl Otto Kretschmar von Kienbusch, New York

FIGURE 25
 Pavise, Bohemian (Chomutov), 1441. Wood, covered with leather and canvas, painted with an armored standard bearer in the upper field, and a letter *a* in the lower. On border, inscriptions in archaic Czech. The arms of Zwickau added later. Armeria Reale, Turin, Inv. no. F I





FIGURE 26

Design on pavis no. 1379, Museum of the Polish Army, Warsaw. The escutcheons with the cross and the *W* added later. Around the border, a German inscription



FIGURE 27

Design on pavis no. 1380, Museum of the Polish Army, Warsaw. The escutcheon with the cross and the *W* added later. Around the border, a German inscription

practically unknown in the rest of Europe during the fifteenth century.¹⁷

Virtually identical in design with our pavis is one of the four still kept by the City Museum of Zwickau, its letter *y* in a sunburst topped by a plume springing from a jeweled clasp.¹⁸ Two of the Zwickau group—one still in Zwickau, the other one in the Musée de Cluny in Paris—bear the letter *m* under a feathered crown; another one in the Musée de Cluny has a *v* under feathers.¹⁹ One in the Armouries of the Tower of London (Figure 23) bears the same monogram *ar* that is found on the Metropolitan Museum arrowhead;²⁰ the pavis of the Kienbusch collection in New York (Figure 24) has a similar design, but with a badly worn monogram of Christ, *ihs*, in its central medallion.²¹

Three pavises—one in the former Zeughaus in Berlin,²² the one in the Tower, and the one of the Kienbusch collection—have a letter *s* in a separate field at the foot of the shield; another one—in the Armeria Reale in Turin, Italy (Figure 25)—has there a letter *a*.²³ All of them have scale-patterned backgrounds.

Two similar pavises that do not belong to the Chomutov-Zwickau group are now in the Army Museum—Muzeum Wojska polskiego—in Warsaw; one of them bears the feathered crown, and in a separate field below, a letter *s* between two arms in long-flowing sleeves reaching down out of stylized clouds (Figure 26). The other one has the monogram of Christ, *ihs*, in a sunburst surmounted by the feathered crown, which is this time issuing two wings erect (Figure 27). Both

17. To my knowledge there is only one example of a non-Bohemian shield of the fifteenth century emblazoned with a monogrammatic letter. This is a small pavis in the collection of Mr. Carl Otto Kretschmar von Kienbusch, New York; the piece is painted red overall; in its upper part appear, between small sunbursts, the three white swans of the city arms of Zwickau; in the lower part is a large Gothic *h* in black. The meaning of the letter is unknown, perhaps an abbreviation of *Hilfgott* = "Help, O God," a favorite invocation. The Bohemian influence is obvious. *The Kretschmar von Kienbusch Collection of Armor and Arms* (Princeton, 1963) no. 281, pl. 87.

18. Diener von Schönberg, "Setzschilde," pl. 1, fig. 3; Denkstein, "Pavézy," *Sborník 16* (1962) no. 26.

19. Denkstein, "Pavézy," *Sborník 16* (1962) nos. 25, 40, 41.

20. Diener von Schönberg, "Setzschilde," p. 54, not illustrated; quotes description by Sir Guy Francis Laking, *A Record of European Armour and Arms* (London, 1920) II, p. 241; Denkstein, "Pavézy," *Sborník 16* (1962) no. 35.

21. Diener von Schönberg, "Setzschilde," pl. 3, fig. 14; Denkstein, "Pavézy," *Sborník 16* (1962) no. 38; *von Kienbusch Collection*, no. 282, pl. 87.

22. Diener von Schönberg, "Setzschilde," pl. 4, fig. 12; Denkstein, "Pavézy," *Sborník 16* (1962) no. 21. This pavis is now in the collections of the Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

23. Diener von Schönberg, "Setzschilde," pl. 2, fig. 7; Denkstein, "Pavézy," *Sborník 16* (1962) no. 43.



FIGURE 28

Pavise, Bohemian, thought to be from the army of King Wenceslas IV, about 1390. Wood, covered with leather and canvas, painted red and black with a crowned letter in gold. Historisches Museum, Dresden, N 33/Ehrt. A 56

shields have small escutcheons with a cross of St. George and the letter *W* painted on later, in the same way as the Zwickau shields had their city arms added.²⁴

Still another pavise, in the Historisches Museum in Dresden (Figure 28), has a letter *m* surmounted by a crown, flanked by two wings erect. The shield is party red and black, the wings counterchanged. Though no ostrich feathers are present, the wings it shares with the Warsaw pavise (Figure 27) indicate that it is part of the same iconographical group.²⁵

In attempting to interpret the cyphers and monograms found on ceremonial arrowheads it seems to be advisable to examine them in connection with those on pavises, especially since some of them appear on both types of objects.

ih̄s The most easily recognizable symbol is the monogram of Christ, *ih̄s*, which appears on at least half a dozen Bohemian pavises (Figures 24, 27).²⁶

y Sometimes this monogram was spelled *yhs*,²⁷ and therefore it seems to be safe to assume that the letter *y*

24. Denkstein, "Pavézy," *Sborník* 16 (1962) nos. 44, 45. The *W* is in the form used by Wladislaw Jagiello, King of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary (1471–1516), as his monogram; compare the escutcheon on the balcony in the cathedral of St. Vitus, Prague. For Wladislaw Jagiello and all other kings of Bohemia during the fifteenth century, see Wilhelm Karl Prinz von Isenburg, *Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der europäischen Staaten*, 2nd rev. ed. (Marburg, 1953) I, pl. 25. The cross, red on a white field, is nearly identical in shape with those on the banners of the crusaders fighting the Hussites illustrated in the Jena Codex, Sign. iv B 24, an early sixteenth-century manuscript. See Vladimír Denkstein, *Die revolutionäre Hussitenbewegung*, Exhibition of the National Museum, Prague, in the Museum für deutsche Geschichte, Berlin, 1958, no. 442. These pavises have German inscriptions around their borders, though they follow the Bohemian pattern in their decoration; from this it seems to be possible that they were used in one of the German-speaking towns of Bohemia, which were opposed to the nationalistic Czech Hussites. The emblem on pavise Figure 26 could be related to an armorial shield: Gules, a crown or issuant two arms with clasped hands proper, sculptured on the façade of the City Hall of Prague. According to kind information by Dr. Denkstein these armorial shields (19) are presumably the arms of the members of the city council of the period, when the City Hall was built, about 1470, but no documentary proof of any kind is available.

25. Denkstein, "Pavézy," *Sborník* 16 (1962) nos. 28, 45.

26. Denkstein, "Pavézy," *Sborník* 16 (1962) nos. 38, 45; 19 (1965) nos. 47, 60, 63, 65.

27. A roughly contemporaneous example is on the crozier of St. Wolfgang in the St. Wolfgang altarpiece by Michael Pacher, 1471–1481. See Bruno Grimschitz, *Ars Austriae* (Vienna, 1960) fig. 83. Another one is in the print St. Bernhardin of Siena by the Master E.S.; see Max Geisberg, *Die Kupferstiche des Meisters E.S.* (Berlin, 1924) pl. 98.

on the Metropolitan Museum's pavise (Figure 22) and its twin in Zwickau is supposed to be the initial of *Yhesus* = Jesus.

m The letters *m* on our arrowhead and the one in Munich (Figures 1, 2, 4, 6, 7) are certain to stand for Maria, as it is confirmed by the invocations of Mary engraved on them. The letter *m* emblazoned on three pavises²⁸ probably had the same meaning. It has been suggested that these letters *m* were the monogram of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary and titular King of Bohemia (1470–1490), but since two out of these three shields bear the Zwickau arms, they would have been made around 1440, long before Matthias' time.

W Definitely royal monograms are the letters *W* on a pavise in the National Museum in Prague²⁹ and the two pavises in Warsaw; this particular form of *W* was used by Wladislaw Jagiello, King of Poland and Bohemia (1471–1516).²⁴

s The possibility of its being a royal monogram instead of that of a protective saint is especially strong with the letters *s* that appear on the arrowhead in Castle Kreuzenstein (Figure 18), and on one of the Warsaw pavises (Figure 26). Here it might well be that this *s* stands for Emperor Sigismund, who was King of Bohemia from 1419 to 1437. The alternative would be the initial of St. Sebastian, patron saint of archers, but he seems to have played an important role only in the archers' guilds of Western Europe—in Bohemia he was apparently far less popular. On the other hand, these monogrammatic letters must not necessarily have had the same meaning in all cases. In particular, the letter *s* is sometimes used in quite inconspicuous places, such as on the second Budapest arrowhead (Figure 10) or on the Vienna piece (Figure 14), that make an explanation difficult.

X This letter engraved as a dominant feature of the reverse side of our arrowhead might be the abbreviation of *Christus*, commonly spelled *xpus* during the fifteenth century (Figure 2).

d Letters *d* appear on the Vienna arrowhead (Figure 14) and one of the Budapest pieces (Figure 10), each one with a small *s* at its foot. Perhaps the letters *s* could have something to do with the Czech words for crossbow or archer, *samostríl* or *střelec*. If this was the case, could they possibly be Gothic versions of the Roman numeral *D* = "500," thus indicating a captain over five hundred archers? The small symbols in the

shape of arrowheads that are engraved on the same pieces are at least strong hints in this direction.

t Appears under a single ostrich feather on the Vienna arrowhead (Figure 14). If the fact that it is preserved in Vienna can be considered to be more than a coincidence, it is interesting that the Historical Museum of the City of Vienna has a number of pavises with Hungarian, Bohemian, and Moravian arms in its collection, which were apparently left behind by the troops of Matthias Corvinus on their withdrawal from Vienna in 1490. Three of these pavises bear the arms of the bishopric of Olomouc (Olmütz), and one the arms of the Boskovic family. Taso of Boskovic, Bishop of Olomouc, was a staunch supporter of Matthias Corvinus, and a military leader in his campaigns against Austria. The *t* on the Vienna arrowhead (Figure 14) could be the monogram of Bishop Taso, though it should be pointed out that none of the surviving Moravian pavises is emblazoned with an ostrich plume, though Moravia was part of the kingdom of Bohemia.³⁰ If this explanation for the *t* on the Vienna arrowhead were accepted, it would not shed any light on the meaning of the *t* on the front side of our arrowhead (Figure 1).

b One of the Moravian pavises in Vienna bears the letter *b* surmounted by a crown in its main field. This *b* has been thought to be the monogram of Taso of Boskovic's predecessor, Bohuslav of Zvole (1454–1457), if not the initial of Taso's family name.³¹ Whether there is any connection between this *b* surmounted by a crown on this Moravian pavise, and the *b* on the Innsbruck arrowhead (Figure 21) with its atypical decoration, remains an open question.

a The letter *a* is one of the most frequently encountered on decorated arrowheads, either alone or in combinations with other letters. Singly we find it on the barbed arrowhead in Budapest (Figure 12); side by side with a *v* on the first Budapest piece (Figure 8); and combined with an *r* and intertwined with an *e* on our arrowhead (Figure 1). The monogram *ar* on our arrowhead is paralleled by a practically identical one on the pavise V/2 in the Tower of London (Figure 23). This pavise is one of the lot sold to Zwickau by the

28. Denkstein, "Pavézy," *Sborník* 16 (1962) nos. 25, 28, 41.

29. Denkstein, "Pavézy," *Sborník* 16 (1962) nos. 2, 44, 45.

30. Denkstein, "Pavézy," *Sborník* 19 (1965) pp. 184–189.

31. Denkstein, "Pavézy," *Sborník* 19 (1965) pp. 187–188, no. 57.

shieldmakers of Chomutov in 1441, and the similarity of the emblems suggests that our arrowhead must be of about the same date. This cypher cannot be explained as the monogram of a saint, but if it is assumed to be a royal emblem, the only king of Bohemia during the fifteenth century with the initial *a* was Albrecht of Austria (1437–1439), who came to the title after the death of his father-in-law, Emperor Sigismund, though he had been actually regent since 1423. Our monogram *ar* might well be an abbreviation of Albertus Rex, and the letters *a* on the Budapest arrowheads, and on one of the Zwickau pavises, now in the Armeria Reale in Turin (Figure 25),³² could be the initial of his name. The remaining cypher on our arrowhead—an *a* and *e* intertwined—is temptingly similar to the combined initials of married couples of the period, and it is even more so because the name of Albrecht’s wife was Elisabeth. Albrecht spent most of his life fighting enemies from outside, such as the Turks, or from inside, such as the revolutionary Hussites, and this extraordinary military activity seems to be reflected in the fact that the letter *a* is so frequent a monogram on Bohemian arms. The monogram *ar* on the Tower shield indicates that it was apparently made shortly before Albrecht’s sudden death, and presumably the shieldmaker was glad to have the opportunity to throw this unsold piece with the outdated royal cypher in with the sale to Zwickau in 1441.

v The *v* side-by-side with an *a*—both under plumed crowns—on the first Budapest arrowhead (Figure 8) is very difficult to explain. Perhaps it was supposed to be a title—*vojvod* = “prince”—or the initial of the patron saint of Bohemia, St. Wenceslas, in its Czech form as *Václav*. The latter explanation might apply to the *v* under a plume of five feathers on a pavise in the Musée de Cluny, Paris.³³

i or *l* The son of King Albrecht and Queen Elisabeth was Ladislav, surnamed Posthumus, for he was born after his father’s death. He was king of Bohemia from 1453 until 1457. On two arrowheads—in Kesz-

32. Szendrei, *Denkmäler*, no. 561; reads letter as *w*. Walter Rose “Die deutschen und italienischen schwarzen (grossen) Garden im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert,” *ZHWK* 6 (1912–1914) pp. 73–97; mentions the Turin pavise on p. 77, but interprets the letter as monogram of King Wenceslas IV. Denkstein, “Pavézy,” *Sborník* 16 (1962) no. 43; describes it as “Gothic letter (minuscule *a*?).”

33. Denkstein, “Pavézy,” *Sborník* 16 (1962) no. 40; 19 (1965) p. 173.

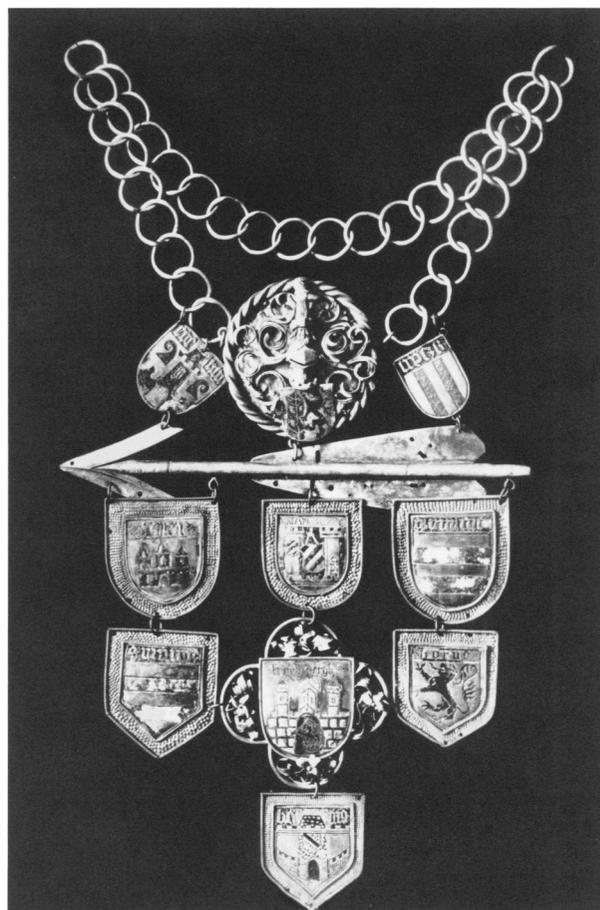


FIGURE 29
Silver collar, insigne of rank for the *Schützenkönig*, German, xv century. Museum des Kunsthandwerks, Leipzig, Inv. no. 408

thely and Veszprém—appear letters under a very stylized plume (Figures 15, 16) that could be read either *l* for Ladislav, or *i* possibly for *Jiří*—the Czech form of George. This could be the knightly saint who was very popular in Bohemia,³⁴ but perhaps even George of Podiebrad, who was regent for Ladislav, and in 1458 became elected king himself.

34. Out of twenty-five pavises with figural decoration illustrated in Denkstein’s “Pavézy,” sixteen have representations of St. George. It might be held against the interpretation of this letter as an *i* = *Jiří*, however, that the two pavises that bear invocations of St. George are using the spelling *girzy* (nos. 3, 27), and the pavise in Veste Coburg (no. 27) has a large monogrammatic *g* surmounting its representation of the dragon-slayer. An added escutcheon with the arms of Coburg indicates that this pavise has been used in

Most of the cyphers surmounted by ostrich feathers that are found on shields can be interpreted as symbols of religious significance, but those on the arrowheads seem to be royal monograms, or initials of a commander or warlord. This must be the result of these arrowheads' being personal insignia whereas the shields were made by private workshops to be sold whenever and wherever needed. Therefore, it was only practical to paint the shields with a generally acceptable badge, the individual charges to be added later, while the arrowheads as symbols of authority naturally had to display distinctly authoritative emblems.

It has been thought that the decorated giant arrowheads were insignia of rank for the commanders of local archers' guilds (*Schützenhauptmann*), or the winners of the annual archers' contests (*Schützenkönig*), which took place in practically every town of some importance.³⁵ However, it is difficult to establish if these commanders had ceremonial arrows as batons or scepters; and on the other hand, the distinctive badge of the *Schützenkönig* was an elaborate silver collar, though it sometimes had an arrow among its pendants, as was the case with the still surviving *Schützenkette* of the city of Leipzig (Figure 29).³⁶ The conclusion seems to be that the same motives of decoration were used both on ceremonial arrowheads and on such unquestionably military equipment as pavises (the pavisé in our own department has several holes from arrows

and sword slashes), a type of shield principally designed for the protection of crossbowmen;³⁷ for this reason it should be safe to conclude that these decorated arrowheads were badges of command for captains of crossbowmen.

To be sure, the archers' guilds of the fifteenth century were not only sports clubs, but also military units as part of the town's militia; however, it seems that the decorated arrowheads we are concerned with here were used by armies in the field rather than by burghers in defense of their hometown or even in celebration of a sports event. Not one of them is preserved among treasures of archers' guilds, which have been handed down to our day in considerable number; not a single known one is left in Bohemia, or even in what is now Czechoslovakia. Instead, the majority of surviving examples have turned up or still are in Hungary. The kings of Hungary, who were sometimes kings of Bohemia at the same time,³⁸ employed large numbers of Bohemian mercenaries—who were famous as crossbowmen—in their campaigns against the Turks. Irrefutable proof of these Turkish campaigns is the "Turkish arsenal mark" on the Metropolitan Museum's arrowhead.

Pictorial representations of the use of ceremonial arrows are rather scarce. The best-known examples are Rogier van der Weyden's portrait *Le Chevalier à la*

the armory of this town. Though Denkstein suggests a seventeenth-century origin of this escutcheon, its shape is the same as those on the Zwickau shields.

35. Kalmár, "Pfeilspitzen," p. 220; Kalmár, "Armbrust-Pfeilspitzen," pp. 158–166. About these archers' contests in general, see August Edelman, *Schützenwesen und Schützenfeste der deutschen Städte vom XIII. bis zum XVIII. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1890).

36. Ad. M. Hildebrandt, *Heraldische Meisterwerke von der internationalen Ausstellung für Heraldik* (Berlin, 1882) pl. 17; Kalmár, "Armbrust-Pfeilspitzen," p. 166, pl. 17, fig. 6. A silver arrow is one of the pendants on the collar of the archers' guild of Schmalkalden, Thuringia. See Hildebrandt, *Meisterwerke*, pl. 18, and Kalmár, "Armbrust-Pfeilspitzen," pl. 17, fig. 5.

37. Discussed at length in Denkstein, "Pavézy," *Sborník* 18 (1964) pp. 149–194; 19 (1965) pp. 123–130. The close connection of crossbowmen and pavisé-bearers in Bohemian tactics is reflected in the German ballad of the Battle of Regensburg, 1504, quoted from R. v. Liliencron, *Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1866) II, no. 242, p. 544: "die Behem hinder iren bafösen/mit schiessen triben solich wesen,/also kum ein man gesehen hat."

The best-known example for the interrelation between cross-

bowmen and pavises was the dismal failure of the Genoese crossbowmen in the Battle of Crécy, 1346, who were forced to attack without the protection of their pavises.

38. About Bohemian mercenaries, see Rose, "Schwarze Garden," pp. 73–97, particularly p. 74: "Nachdem Kaiser Sigismund wieder in den Besitz von Böhmen gelangt war, suchte er (i.J. 1429) diese 'Kriegsbrüderschaften' . . . dadurch unschädlich zu machen, dass er sie in seinen Sold nahm und sich ihrer in Ungarn gegen die Türken bediente. Sein Nachfolger, Kaiser Albrecht II, ahmte dieses Beispiel nach. . . . Als Söldner dienten sie vorzugsweise dem Deutschen Orden in Preussen, den Polen und Ungarn, und trieben sich als gesuchte Mietsoldaten noch länger als ein halbes Jahrhundert auf allen Schlachtfeldern Europas umher. . . . (Palacki, *Geschichte von Böhmen*, IV, 1, pp. 495–504; 2, p. 399)."

Kings of Bohemia who were simultaneously kings of Hungary during the fifteenth century: Sigismund (1368–1437), King of Hungary 1387, of Bohemia 1419, Emperor 1433; Albrecht (1397–1439), King of Hungary 1437, of Bohemia 1438, Emperor 1438; Ladislav Posthumus (1440–1457), King of Bohemia and Hungary 1453; Matthias Corvinus (1443–1490), King of Hungary 1458, titular King of Bohemia 1470, acknowledged 1478; Wladislaw Jagiello (1456–1516), King of Bohemia 1471, of Hungary 1490.

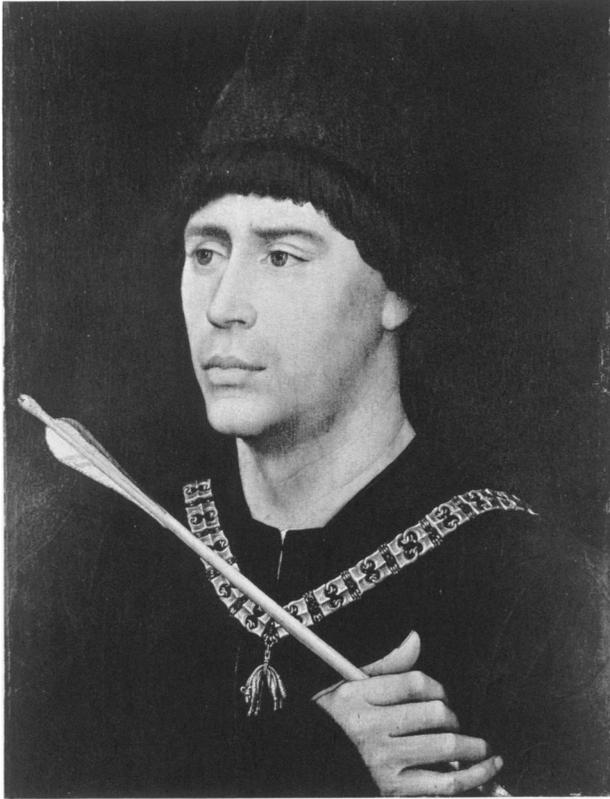


FIGURE 30

Portrait called *Le Chevalier à la Flèche*, possibly of Charles the Bold or Antoine of Burgundy, by Rogier van der Weyden, about 1460. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Musée d'Art Ancien, Brussels



Flèche in Brussels (Figure 30),³⁹ and a Memling portrait in the National Gallery in Washington (Figure 31).⁴⁰ Here and in the portrait of the Burgundian herald of arms by Rogier van der Weyden in Antwerp (Figure 32),⁴¹ as well as in the portrait of a bearded man with an arrow in his hand by Bernhard Strigel (Figure 33),⁴² the arrows are of normal size and without conspicuous decoration. A large crossbow bolt with a decorated head is held by Heinrich der Fromme, Duke of Saxony, in a portrait now in Schloss Moritzburg near Dresden (Figure 34).⁴³ In this portrait painted in 1526 the duke is shown in the puffed and slashed costume of a German footsoldier (*Landsknecht*), carrying the typical battle sword, the so-called *Katzbalger*. Oversized arrows can be found in three woodcuts portraying Emperor Maximilian (one in the *Ehrenpforte*, and two in the *Weisskunig*), in which he holds one like a scepter in a council of war, or acts as supreme warlord among representatives of the different ethnic groups of his army (Figures 35–37).⁴⁴

39. Kalmár, "Pfeilspitzen," fig. 9; Kalmár, "Armbrust-Pfeilspitzen," pl. 26, fig. 1; Buttin, "La Flèche des Juges," pl. 20.

40. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 17 (1922) p. 100.

41. Buttin, "La Flèche des Juges," pl. 20.

42. Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Tafelmalerei der deutschen Gotik* (Munich, 1922) p. 76; Kalmár, "Armbrust-Pfeilspitzen," pl. 26, fig. 3; according to information from the Hearst Corporation, New York, the present whereabouts of the painting is not known.

43. Otto Mörtzsch, "Das wehrhafte Freiberg im Mittelalter," *ZHWK* 7 (1915–1917) pp. 216–224, fig. 2.

44. *Ehrenpforte des Kaisers Maximilian*, by Albrecht Dürer, woodcut, German, 1515. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 28.82.22. *Der Weisskunig* (Vienna edition, reprinting the original blocks, 1775), woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and Leonhard Beck, German, 1514–1516.

FIGURE 31

Portrait of a Man with an Arrow, by Hans Memling, about 1470. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Andrew Mellon Collection, 1937



FIGURE 32
Portrait of Jean Lefèvre de St. Remy, Herald of Arms and Chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, by Rogier van der Weyden, about 1460. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, cat. no. 539

FIGURE 34 (RIGHT, ABOVE)
Detail from Portrait of Heinrich der Fromme, Duke of Saxony, school of Lucas Cranach, 1526 (?). Schloss Moritzburg. After Mörtzsch

FIGURE 35
Emperor Maximilian among Representatives of the Different Nationalities in His Army. Woodcut from the *Ehrenforte*, by Albrecht Dürer, 1515. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 28.82.22

FIGURE 33
Detail from Portrait of a Bearded Man with an Arrow in his Hand, by Bernhard Strigel, about 1510–1520. Formerly in the Hearst collection

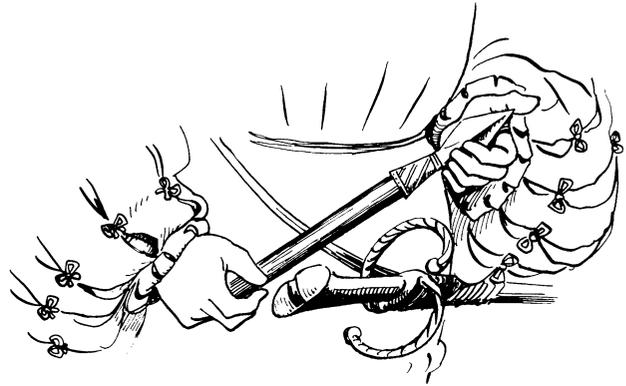
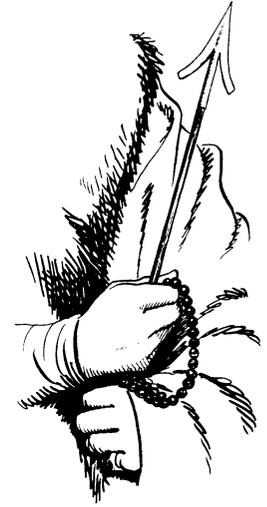




FIGURE 36
Emperor Maximilian in a Council of War. Woodcut from the *Weisskunig*, by Hans Burgkmair, 1514–1516. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Library



FIGURE 37
Emperor Maximilian Giving Orders to His Troops. Woodcut from the *Weisskunig*, by Leonhard Beck (?), 1514–1516. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Library

FIGURE 38
King Ludwig of Hungary Fighting the Turks. Votive panel from the altarpiece of St. Lambrecht, by Hans von Tübingen, about 1430. Alte Galerie am Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz, Inv. no. L 12





FIGURE 39
Three Landsknechts. Drawing by Albrecht Dürer, 1489. Kupferstichkabinett, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

FIGURE 40
Christ before Caiaphas the High Priest. Woodcut by Urs Graf, from *Leben Jesu Christi*, published by Johann Knoblouch, Strasbourg, 1508. After Muther

In the *Ehrenpforte* woodcut, incidentally, there is among the seven foreign captains, whose languages Maximilian knew how to speak, a Czech characterized by his typical Bohemian pavise painted with a sunburst. In Albrecht Dürer's drawing of the three landsknechts, dated 1489, the bearded man who seems to be the leader among the three holds a huge arrow (Figure 39).⁴⁵ It is interesting that the soldier in the middle has in his belt a throwing hatchet, a weapon considered to be typically Bohemian,⁴⁶ and the third one holds a *gläse*, a shafted weapon for stabbing and hewing that

was very popular in Eastern Europe. Similar polearms and a big arrow are wielded in the Battle against the Turks on the altarpiece of St. Lambrecht by Master Hans von Tübingen, about 1430, now in the Landesmuseum Joanneum in Graz, Austria (Figure 38).⁴⁷ In a woodcut by Urs Graf, an illustration of *Leben Jesu Christi*, published in Strasbourg by Johann Knoblouch, 1508, we see among the soldiers dragging the captive Christ before Caiaphas a man with a giant arrow (Figure 40).⁴⁸ Examples from an amusingly different field

45. Most recent publication: Fedja Anzelewsky, *Dürer and his Time*, an exhibition from the collection of the Print Room, State Museum, Berlin, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, circulated by the Smithsonian Institution, 1965–1966; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; Art Institute, Chicago; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; cat. no. 18.

46. Walther Rose, "Das mittelalterliche Wurfbeil und verwandte Wurf-Waffen," *ZHWK NF 1* (1923–1925) pp. 151–168; Hans Stöcklein, "Die Wurfbeile des Bayerischen National-Museums," *ZHWK NF 2* (1926–1928) pp. 17–23; E. A. Gessler, "Vom Wurfbeil des 15. Jahrhunderts," *ZHWK NF 2* (1926–1928) pp. 249–252.

47. Grimschitz, *Ars Austriae*, pl. 68.

48. Richard Muther, *Die deutsche Bücherillustration der Gothik und Frührenaissance* (Munich and Leipzig, 1884) pl. 216.





FIGURE 41 King of Spades, French, xv century. After D'Allemagne

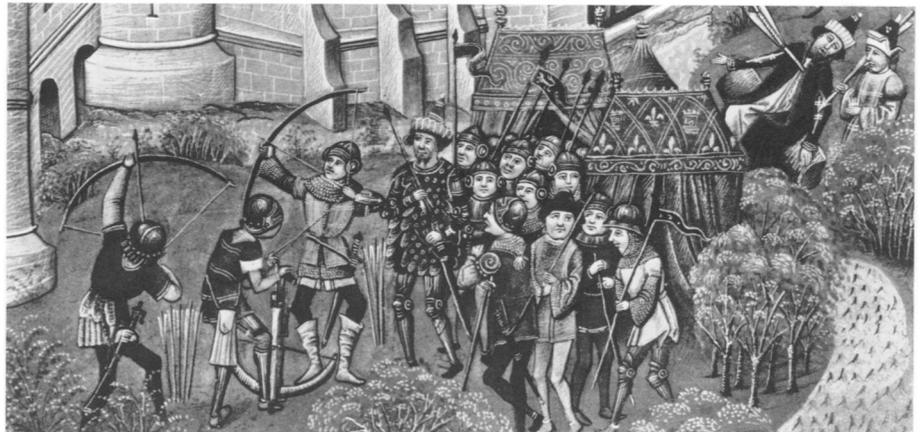


FIGURE 42 Honor cards, king, queen, knave, by Master Jaques, French (Lyon), 1472–1475. After D'Allemagne

FIGURE 43 Knaves, uncut sheet of playing cards, by Jehan de Dale, French (Lyon), 1485–1515. After D'Allemagne



FIGURE 44 Detail from The Siege of Castle Mortagne, Jean de Wavrin's *Chronique d'Angleterre*, Flemish, xv century. British Museum, ms Roy. 14 E.IV, fol. 23 r. By permission of the Trustees



are the representations on honor cards in French fifteenth-century playing cards, where a king might hold an arrow of normal size (Figure 41),⁴⁹ but valets carry either batons, halberds, or overlarge arrows (Figures 42, 43).⁵⁰ It is open to question whether Dürer's landsknecht and the fighter in Master Hans' battle scene hold a javelin⁵¹ rather than an arrow, but there is no doubt about the weapons of the card valets, because in some cases the artist took pains to indicate clearly the notch at the end of the shaft, which proves it to be a true arrow—though one of a size that could not possibly be fitted on a usable bow (Figure 43). A late example is to be found in the portrait of a man in armor, about 1580, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, holding a large crossbow bolt in his right hand (Figure 45).⁵² The most revealing evidence is to be found in a miniature in the British Museum (Figure 44), where a captain of foot soldiers holds an arrow as a staff of command.

From this it is clear that these representations fall into two groups. In one group oversize arrows appear in connection with armed men in a way that would indicate symbols of military rank; in the other group arrows of normal size in the hands of high-ranking personalities in courtly dress suggest a different *raison d'être*.

Charles Buttin in his "La Flèche des Juges de Camp" mentions that the lord presiding over a tournament—at least in French-speaking countries—held an arrow which he threw into the *champ clos* between the combatants when they were in danger of getting carried away by their fighting fury. Upon this signal the attendants in charge jumped in and separated the fighters before one of them was killed.⁵³ It is interesting that among

49. Henri René d'Allemagne, *Les Cartes à Jouer du Quatorzième au Vingtième Siècle* (Paris, 1906) I, p. 71.

50. D'Allemagne, *Cartes à Jouer*, I, p. 74; plate between pp. 68 and 69, p. 99. The overlarge arrows held by knaves appear until the eighteenth century in French playing cards, often misunderstood as staves topped with hearts, *fleurs de lys*, etc. They were copied in Netherlandish cards of the sixteenth century, English cards of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and early American cards of around 1800; see Catherine Perry Hargrave, *A History of Playing Cards* (New York, 1966) pp. 40, 43–45, 47, 161, 176, 181, 289, 291.

51. Giant arrows used as javelins are in engravings by the Master of the Playing Cards, see D'Allemagne, *Cartes à Jouer*, I, p. 41; and Master E.S., see Geisberg, *Kupferstiche des Meisters E.S.*, pls. 176, 177, 222. Denkstein, "Pavézy," *Sborník* 19 (1965) p. 109, illustrates a detail of Hubert and Jan van Eyck's painting *The Three Marys* (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam) where among the arms of the guardians of the grave is a Bohemian pavise lying on top of a large arrow with a rather elongated head.



FIGURE 45
Portrait of a Man in Armor, Netherlandish,
about 1580. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna,
Inv. no. GG 2747

Since the sleeping soldier next to them cradles an only partly visible spear with an identical head in his arms, it is possible that the painter intended them to be a pair of javelins. A non-military example is in the Franco-Flemish tapestry *The Stag Hunt*, in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (acc. no. 45.128.22) but the figure holding this javelin seems to be modeled—in a mirror image—after the soldier in Urs Graf's woodcut of 1508.

52. Kalmár, "Pfeilspitzen," fig. 11; Kalmár, "Armbrust-Pfeilspitzen," pl. 26, fig. 4, p. 165. Though the head of this weapon has the leaf shape of a lance head, the position of the man in relation to the wall and the table, on which his helmet is resting, makes it unlikely for the weapon to have a pike-length shaft.

53. Buttin, "La Flèche des Juges," p. 63, quotes the following examples from Jean Lefèvre, Seigneur de St. Remy, *Chronique* (Paris, 1881) II, pp. 318–319: "1435. Le duc [Philippe le Bon of Burgundy] tenoit une flesche en sa main; sy demanda aux gardes, c'est à entendre aux preneurs, s'ils congnoissoient bien le signe; et ils dirent, que oil. . . Quant ils se furent, une espasse, combatans de leurs haches, et fait l'un l'autre tourner et despasser, et monstré les tours d'armes qu'ils savoient, comme vaillans et hardis chevaliers, le duc gecta sa flesche en bas et dist 'Hola, hola.' Adont, les preneurs les prindrent subz en ce point"; and from Antoine de la Sale, *L'Hystoire et plaisante chronique du Petit Jehan de Saintré et de la*

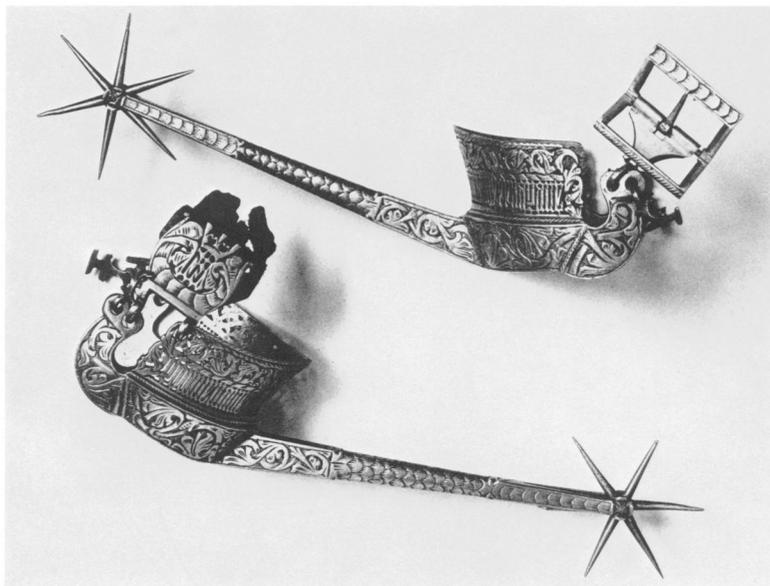


FIGURE 46
 Pair of spurs, Bohemian, third
 quarter of the xv century. Steel,
 engraved and perforated. Waffensammlung, Vienna, Inv. no. A 27



FIGURE 47
 Pair of stirrups, Bohemian, xv century. Steel, engraved and perforated. Waffensammlung, Vienna, Inv. no. A 28

FIGURE 48
 Pendant, Transylvanian, 1451. Silver and enamel. Hungarian National-Museum, Budapest





FIGURE 49
 Pair of spurs, probably
 Bohemian, late xv century.
 Thought to be the spurs of
 King Laszlo II, who was killed
 at Mohács, 1526. Hungarian
 National-Museum, Budapest

the great lords displaying this badge of office (Figures 30–33) is Jean Lefèvre de St. Remy, the herald of the dukes of Burgundy, whose professional duty was the arrangement and supervision of tournaments, and who gave us in his *Chronique* an example of the use of the arrow by the judge of the tournament.

Strangely enough, there are no representations of persons with ceremonial arrows known from Bohemia itself.

Motives used on ceremonial arrowheads and Bohemian pavises can be found on contemporary works of decorative art, such as the pair of spurs in the *Waffensammlung* in Vienna (Figure 46), which are thought to be made for King Kasimir IV of Poland (1427–1492) on the occasion of his marriage with Elisabeth (1437–1505)—the daughter of King Albrecht of Bohemia—in 1454. Here we find again the scale patterns, monogram,⁵⁴ and an inscription: *pomny na mye ma myla*

wyerna pany = “Remember me, my dear and faithful lady!” In fact, style and workmanship are so closely related to those in our arrowhead that both could well have been made by the same master. A pair of stirrups in the *Waffensammlung* (Figure 47) seems to belong to the same workshop. Besides scale patterns and flowing vines, their main decoration consists of four rows of the letter *a*, eighteen times in each row. Stylistically there are strong similarities between the floral scrollwork with its pointed leaves in the Metropolitan Museum’s arrowhead and the foliation on a pendant, dated 1451, in the Hungarian National-Museum (Figure 48),⁵⁵ or with the ornamental scrolls on the backgrounds of Bohemian miniatures, such as the complex of manuscripts made for King Wenceslas IV around 1400.⁵⁶ The ornamentation on the Munich arrowhead (Figures 6, 7), on the other hand, is very close in style to that on a pair of spurs in Budapest (Figure 49) traditionally at-

jeune Dame des Belles Cousines (Edition Guichard) chap. 56, p. 173: “1459. Saintré le poursuivoit très fièrement; quant le roy, pour garder l’honneur de l’ung et de l’autre, gecta sa fleiche, et furent prins. . . .”

54. During the troubled times of the Hussite Wars, Prince Kasimir had been elected king of Bohemia by the Taborites, the radical wing of the Hussites, after the death of Emperor Sigismund in 1437; see Veit Valentin, *Deutsche Geschichte* (Munich and Zürich, 1960) I, p. 159.

A very fine pavise, now in the National Museum in Prague, with the representation of David fighting Goliath—a favorite Hussite theme—and Hussite inscriptions, is emblazoned with a *k*. This shield came from Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg), one of the centers of

the revolutionary Hussite movement. Perhaps this *k* is meant to be Kasimir. Denkstein (“Pavézy,” *Sbornik* 16 [1962] no. 1) does not offer an explanation, but strictly rejects the idea that this *k* might be the initial of Kutná Hora or Kuttenberg, because no example of an initial of a town’s name used as a shield decoration is known. Another pavise, now in Berlin, bears the letter *K* repeated six times within its Moravian-style decoration; see Denkstein, “Pavézy,” *Sbornik* 18 (1964) fig. 24.

55. Erich Steingraber, *Antique Jewelry* (New York, 1957) p. 78; fig. 114.

56. Julius von Schlosser, “Die Bilderhandschriften Königs Wenzel I,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen* 14 (Vienna, 1893) pp. 214–317.

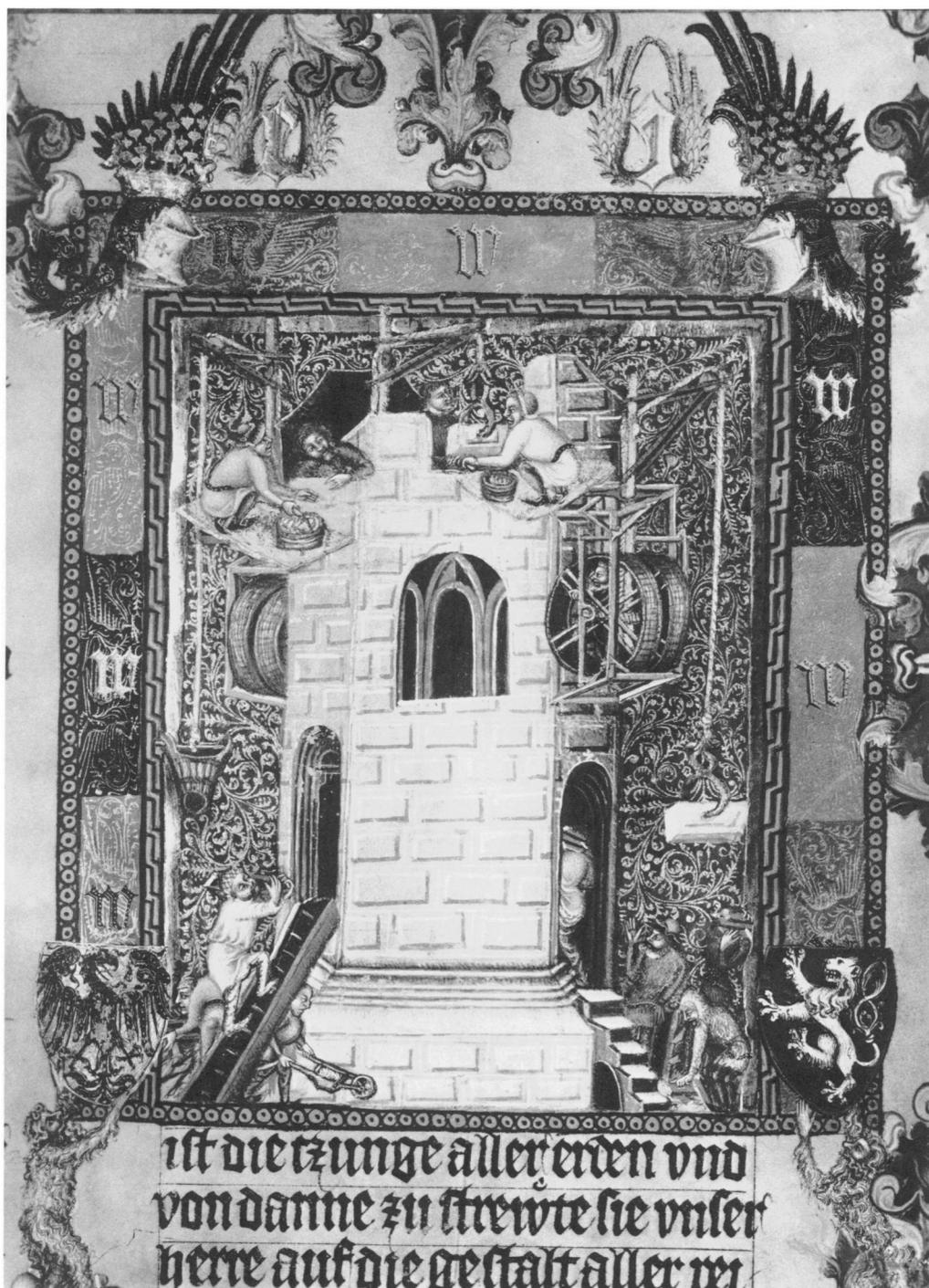


FIGURE 50

The Tower of Babel, illumination from the German Bible of King Wenceslas IV, Bohemian, about 1390. In the framework, the arms of the Empire (eagle) and of Bohemia (double-tailed lion), the monograms *w* (*wr?*) and *e* between wings erect. Bildarchiv der Österreichischen National-Bibliothek, Vienna, cod. 2.759, fol. 10

FIGURE 51

Title page of the *Bulla Aurea*, Bohemian, about 1390. Wenceslas sitting fettered in letter *w*, his doublet embroidered with the monograms *w* and *e* flanked by wings erect. The bathmaid to the left has her kirtle patterned with winged letters *e*. Bildarchiv der Österreichischen National-Bibliothek, Vienna, cod. 338, fol. 1



FIGURE 52 (FAR RIGHT)

First page of the *Willehalm*, Bohemian, 1387. Wenceslas and the bathmaid in the monogram *w* surmounted by a crowned *e* between kingfishers. At bottom, *e* between wings erect on a scale-patterned background. Bildarchiv der Österreichischen National-Bibliothek, Vienna, cod. ser. nov. 2.643, fol. 66



FIGURE 53

Marginal illumination from the German Bible of King Wenceslas IV, Bohemian, about 1390. Wenceslas having his hair washed by the bathmaid, monograms *e*, and scale pattern. Bildarchiv der Österreichischen National-Bibliothek, Vienna, cod. 2.759, fol. 347

FIGURE 54

Initial *A* with the monogram of King Wenceslas IV and his queen, Sophia, surnamed Euphemia (Offney), Bohemian, 1390–1400. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, cod. lat. 826, fol. 27 r



FIGURE 55 (BELOW, RIGHT)

Marginal illumination from the *Willehalm*, Bohemian, 1387. King Wenceslas's arms (quartered of the Empire and Bohemia) with wildmen as supporters, the monograms *w* and *e* crowned, and his badge of the kingfisher sitting on a knotted towel. Bildarchiv der Österreichischen National-Bibliothek, Vienna, cod. ser. nov. 2.643, fol. 200



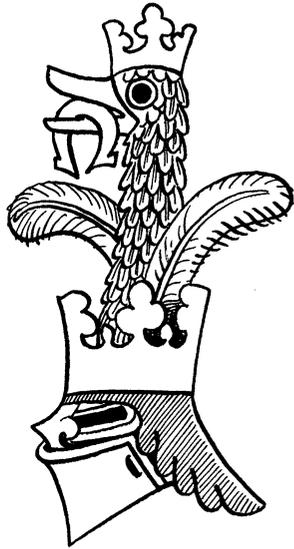


FIGURE 56
Crest of the kings of Hungary from the *Roll of Arms* of the herald Gelre, 1370–1395. After Adam-Even

tributed to King Laszlo II of Hungary (1506–1526), who was killed in the disastrous battle of Mohács. János Kalmár suggests that these spurs might date from the end of the fifteenth century. On the arrowhead as well as on the spurs appear the letters *mmmm*.⁵⁷

The stylistic relations between the spurs of King Kasimir and the Metropolitan Museum's arrowhead might even indicate that this arrowhead was a personal insigne of King Albrecht himself, but in any case they point to the source of these emblems and the peculiar style of decoration: the royal court of Bohemia. All the characteristic motives mentioned can be found in the illuminations of the above-mentioned manuscripts commissioned by King Wenceslas IV (1376–1419), the only major group of surviving pieces of this court art. The monogram *w* of Wenceslas, and *e* for Euphemia, the poetic surname of Wenceslas' second wife, Sophia of Bavaria, appear singly and combined as *we* (Figures 50–55); the scale pattern in the background of the miniatures is in a peculiar dotted form (Figures 52, 53)

57. Kalmár, "Pfeilspitzen," fig. 8; Kalmár, "Armbrust-Pfeilspitzen," pl. 28, fig. 1. The shanks of the spurs bear inscriptions *mvdrinoamm* and *mmaornidvm* in addition to monogrammatic letters *n* or *u*. Though *mudri* can be interpreted as the Czech word for "wise," these inscriptions are more likely compositions of initials of mottoes or invocations.

58. The intricacies of this courtly iconography are discussed and explained at great length in Schlosser, "Bilderhandschriften," pp. 214–217. Queen Sophia used her poetic surname "Euphemia" or

related to that on the Munich arrowhead—this might be derived from the plumage of the kingfisher, the personal device of Wenceslas.⁵⁸ The monograms appear surmounted by crowns or flanked by wings erect (Figures 50–52, 54, 55), a combination to be found on the Dresden shield (Figure 28) and, supplemented by ostrich feathers, on the Warsaw pavise with the monogram of Christ (Figure 27). These elements are certainly derived from the royal crest of Bohemia: two sable eagle's wings erect, spangled with golden linden leaves, issuant from a crown (Figures 50, 55)—here we have a probable source too for the leaf-like figure on one of the Budapest arrowheads (Figure 8). The omnipresent ostrich feathers are worn as headdresses not only by marginal figures, such as wildmen acting as armorial supporters (Figure 55), but also by Wenceslas himself and his "steady companion," the bathmaid (Figure 52). On the other hand, an ostrich's head flanked by two ostrich feathers issuant from a crown was the crest of the kings of Hungary (Figure 56).⁵⁹ Perhaps one of the kings of Bohemia who was king of Hungary at the same time, either Sigismund, the half brother of Wenceslas IV, or his son-in-law Albrecht, adopted the ostrich feather as a personal badge. Apparently these motives of royal iconography became *abgesunkenes Kulturgut*, and were then considered to be national emblems to be used as common badges.

In this context it is necessary to mention once more the often repeated legend of the origin of the famous badge of the Prince of Wales, the three ostrich feathers (Figures 57, 58). As the legend goes, Edward, the Black Prince, took these feathers from the helmet of John the Blind, King of Bohemia, who was killed in the Battle of Crécy. For many years King John had been regarded as the flower of chivalry, and in adopting his device—including the German motto *ich diene*—the Black Prince supposedly wanted to become his successor. This legend has been treated by historians at best with condescension; more often it has been rejected

its vernacular form "Offney," even for signing documents. The kingfisher was regarded as a symbol of marital love and fidelity. The scale pattern is often drawn to represent fur; parallels and prototypes can be found in Bohemian miniatures and sculpture, such as the statue of Emperor Charles IV at the Bridge Tower, Prague.

59. P. Adam-Even, "L'armorial universel du Heraut Gelre (1370–1395)," *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* 75 (1961) pp. 48, no. 500, pl. 3.

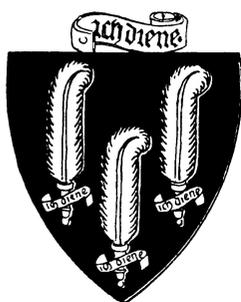


FIGURE 57
Shield for Peace of Edward, the Black Prince,
1330–1376. After Ströhl

outright,⁶⁰ but it has not been pointed out before in this connection that the ostrich feather was indeed a badge of Bohemia.

60. Walther Rose, “König Johann der Blinde von Böhmen und die Schlacht bei Crécy (1346),” *ZHWK* 7 (1915–1917) pp. 37–60. The legend of the Black Prince’s badge is told on p. 57, note 106, with its rejection quoted from Pauli, *Geschichte von England*, IV, p. 404, note 3. Martin Schweisthal, “Questions d’Héraldique, III. Le badge anglais et la devise du Prince de Galles,” *Annales de la Société Royale d’Archéologie de Bruxelles* 20 (1921) pp. 99–105, claims that the Black Prince used the ostrich feather badge even before Crécy, but gives no proof of this; the mottoes *ich dien* and *hou mout* are claimed to be Flemish. H. G. Ströhl, “Beiträge zur Geschichte der Badges,” *Jahrbuch der k.k. Heraldischen Gesellschaft ‘Adler,’* NF 12 (1902) pp. 75–113, figs. 52–56, 62, 69, 73, 88–91. Another theory about the possible origin of the badge of the Black Prince points out that his mother, Philippa of Hainault, used the ostrich feather as a badge in 1369. Here it is thought to be connected as a canting device to the lordship of Ostrevant, a title of the eldest sons of the counts of Hainault. However, the crowned ostrich feather and the sunburst both were used by King Edward III, father of the Black Prince. In the confusing play of dynastic marriages it came to pass that Wenceslas of Bohemia, Duke of Luxembourg, half brother of Charles IV, King of Bohemia and Emperor, was married to Johanna of Brabant, who had been married in her first marriage to William IV of Holland, the brother of Philippa of Hainault and the holder of the title of Ostrevant. Later the daughter of Emperor Charles IV, Anna of Bohemia, half sister of King Wenceslas IV and sister of Emperor Sigismund, was married to Richard II, King of England, son of the Black Prince. As a possible explanation for the ostrich feather as a Bohemian badge, Denkstein (“Pavézy,” *Sborník* 19 [1965] p. 200) mentions that St. George is frequently shown in fifteenth-century representations with a headband holding an ostrich plume in a jeweled clasp (Figure 59); see Max Lehrs, *The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet*, International Chalcographical Society, 1893/1894, pl. 34. The best-known example is probably the life-size sculpture in the Church of St. Nicolai (Storkyrka) in Stockholm, by Bernt Notke, finished 1489; see Walter Paatz, *Bernt Notke und sein Kreis* (Berlin, 1939) I, pp. 68–96; II, pls. 74–78. One of the pavises with Bohemian decoration from the town armory in Enns, Austria, shows a St. George with this type of headdress; see Gustav Stockhammer, “Ennsner Tartschen,” *ZHWK* 7 (1915–1917) pp. 130–135; Denkstein, “Pavézy,” *Sborník* 16 (1962) no. 31. It seems possible that this plume was to represent — *pars pro toto* — the popular knightly saint. The badge of the Black Prince might be a parallel to this, considering the fact that St. George was the patron saint of England.

FIGURE 58
Badges of Arthur, Prince of Wales, 1486–1502, in
Peterborough Cathedral. After Ströhl

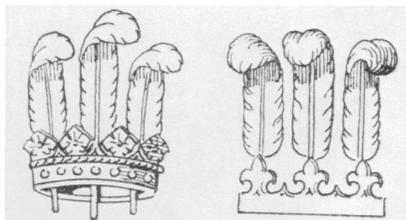
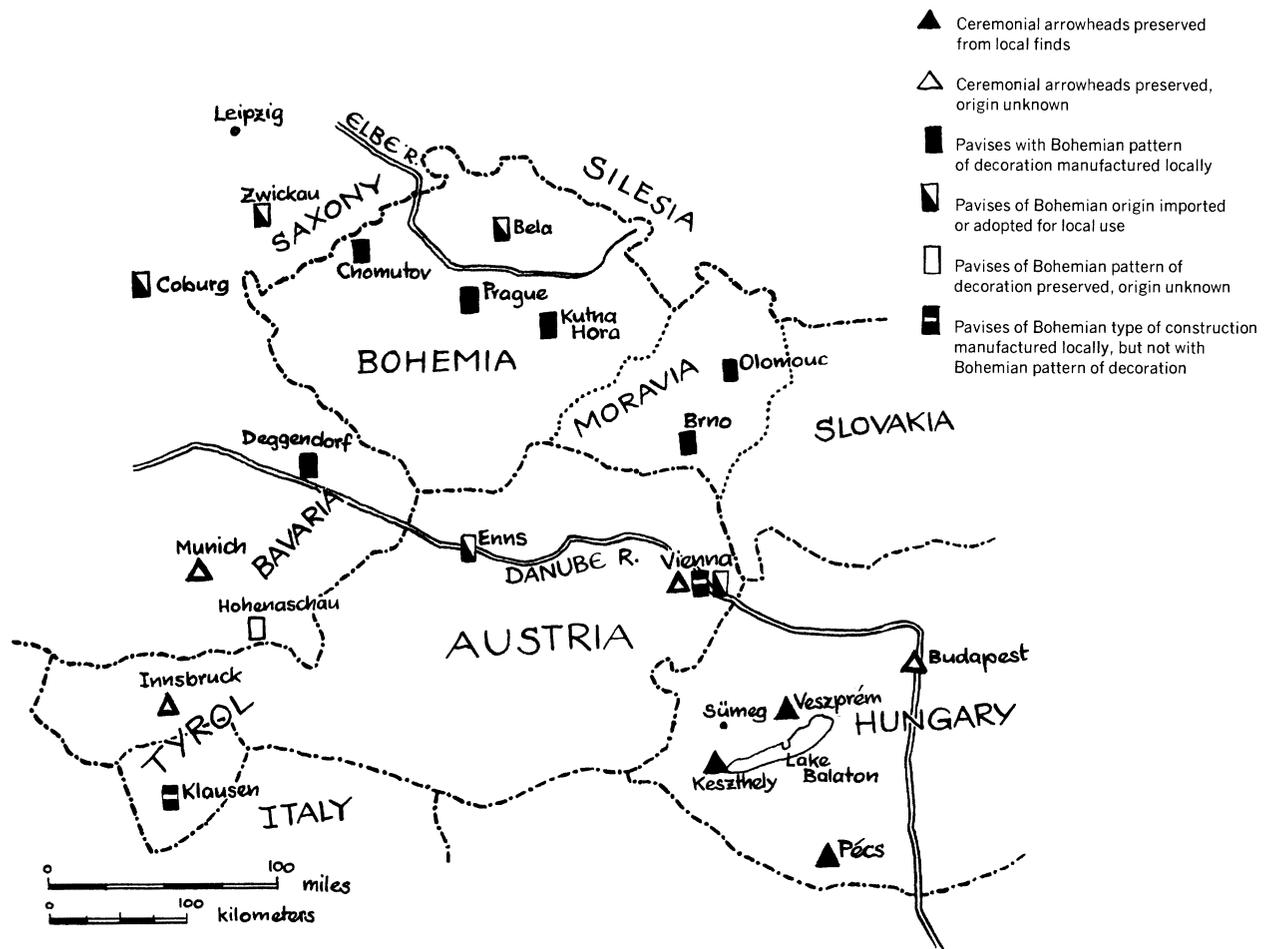


FIGURE 59
St. George. Detail of a pavise, Bohemian, last
quarter of the xv century. Museum, Enns, Austria





Map indicating locations of ceremonial arrowheads and pavisés of Bohemian type

I wish to express my warmest thanks for invaluable help and advice in interpreting the Czech inscriptions to Dr. Marica Vilcek, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Dr. Vladimír Denkstein, Director of the National-Museum, Prague; Dr. Ivan Hlaváček, Docent at the University Karlovy, Prague; Professor Dr. Jaromír Neumann, C. Sc., Director of the Institute for Art History, Academy of Sciences, Prague.

For important information about the subject I am especially obliged to Dr. János Kalmár, formerly of the Hungarian National-Museum, Budapest; and for great help in providing information and photographs for this publication I am deeply grateful to Dr. Fedja Anzelewsky, Kustos, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin; Dr. Erwin Auer, Director of the Reproduktions-Abteilung des Kunsthistorischen Museums, Vienna; J. P. Brooke-Little, Esq., Richmond Herald of Arms, College of Arms, London; Dr. Erich Egg, Director of the Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck; Dr. Anneliese Hanisch, Kustos, Museum für das Kunsthandwerk,

Leipzig; Dr. Wolfgang Hörmann, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; Major Francis Jones, T.D., M.A., Wales Herald Extraordinary, Carmarthen Castle; Dr. Peter Krenn, Alte Galerie am Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz; Mr. Carl Otto Kretzschmar von Kienbusch, New York; Dr. Sándor Mihálik, Vice-Director emeritus of the Hungarian National-Museum, Budapest; Dr. Raffaele Natta-Soleri, Inspector of the Armeria Reale, Turin; Hofrat Dr. Hans Pauer, Director of the Österreichische National-Bibliothek, Vienna; William Reid, F.S.A. SCOT., Assistant Keeper of the Armouries, H. M. Tower of London; Dr. Alexander Freiherr von Reitzenstein, Director of the Bayerisches Armeemuseum, Munich; Dipl. phil. Johannes Schöbel, Director of the Historisches Museum, Dresden; Dr. F. Temesvary, Department Head of the Hungarian National-Museum, Budapest; Dr. Bruno Thomas, Director of the Waffensammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums, Vienna; Ünsal Yücel, Assistant Curator at the Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul.

Böhmische Prunkpfeilspitzen

Im November 1966 erwarb das Metropolitan Museum auf einer Auktion bei Sotheby's, London, eine reichverzierte Pfeilspitze — genauer gesagt, die Spitze eines Armbrustbolzens — von ungewöhnlicher Grösse. Bei einer Gesamtlänge von 30 cm ist sie viel zu gross, um von einer noch so mächtigen Armbrust verschossen zu werden, dabei ist sie über und über im Eisenschnitt ornamentiert und teilweise mit Messing eingelegt. Hauptmotiv der Verzierung ist ein von einer mit einer grossen Straussenfeder besteckten Krone überragtes Monogramm "ar" in gotischen Lettern, begleitet von Anrufungen Gottes und Mariä in mittelalterlichem Tschechisch: "Zdarz bvo[h] = Wohlauf mit Gott, bzw. Hilfgott," "marya pano = Jungfrau Maria," "mamyla = meine Liebe [Jungfrau Maria]," "warvy woka = Behüt dein Auge, bzw. Hüt dich vor dem Auge [Gottes]," sowie verschiedenen, z.T. gekrönten, Einzelbuchstaben: "S," "X," "t," "m," und "a" und "e" über Kreuz gelegt. Auf der streifenartig mit Ranken- und Schuppenmustern verzierten Tülle befindet sich ein nachträglich eingeschlagenes Zeichen, die sogenannte Marke des türkischen Arsenal (Abb. 1, 2, 4, 5).

Es sind bisher elf verwandte Pfeilspitzen bekannt und von János Kalmár veröffentlicht worden (Anm. 5); die meisten von ihnen befinden oder befanden sich in Ungarn: drei im Ungarischen National-Museum zu Budapest, je eine im Bakony Museum in Veszprém, dem Balaton Museum in Keszthely, und dem Museum der Stadt Fünfkirchen (Pécs). Ferner ist je eine in der Waffensammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums zu Wien, dem Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck, der Sammlung Graf Wilczek auf Burg Kreuzenstein und dem Bayerischen National-Museum in München, während die letzte sich in der Sammlung Jedlicska in Budapest befand, wo sie in Szendreis Katalog der Millenniums-Ausstellung 1896 veröffentlicht

wurde, aber seitdem verschollen ist. Von diesen trägt die Münchner Spitze beidseitig alttschechische Anrufungen Mariä: "mamyla pan[o] = meine liebe Jungfrau" und "mamyla panny = meine liebe Herrin", sowie auf der Tülle ihr Monogramm gereiht "MMMM" (Abb. 6, 7). Alle übrigen Stücke — bis auf das Innsbrucker Exemplar — sind nur einseitig verziert. Die erste der Budapester Spitzen (Abb. 8, 9) trägt ein "a" und ein "v," je unter einer von einer Straussenfeder überragten Krone. Darunter sind kleine Beizeichen zu sehen, die einem Lindenblatte und einer mit Widerhaken versehenen Pfeilspitze ähneln. Die zweite (Abb. 10, 11) führt auf ihrer linken Klingenhälfte ein "d" über einem kleineren "s," das Ganze von einer sehr stilisierten befiederten Krone überragt; das Zeichen auf der rechten Klingenhälfte ist zu verwischt, als dass ausser einer gleichen Krone etwas Genaueres herausgelesen werden könnte. Die dritte Spitze in Budapest (Abb. 12, 13) ist insofern verschieden von allen anderen, als es sich bei ihr um eine sogenannte bärtige Pfeilspitze handelt. Die Wiener Spitze in der Waffensammlung (Abb. 14) hat ein "t" unter einer einzelnen, steif aufrechtstehenden Straussenfeder auf der einen Klingenhälfte, und auf der anderen ein "d" über einem kleinen "s", das Ganze unter einer einfachen Laubkrone. Dazu kommen noch zwei kleine Beizeichen, die bärtige Pfeilspitzen darstellen könnten. Die beiden Stücke aus Keszthely und Veszprém (Abb. 15, 16) sind nahezu identisch; beide haben einen Buchstaben "l" oder vielleicht "i" unter einer grob eingeschlagenen stilisierten Straussenfeder als einzige Verzierung. Ähnlich einfach ist die Spitze von Burg Kreuzenstein (Abb. 18), die ein "S" unter einer spitzgezackten Krone trägt. Die verschollene Spitze der Sammlung Jedlicska (Abb. 19) hatte mit Rankenwerk verzierte Messingeinlagen, die stilistisch dem Dekor der Münchener Spitze verwandt zu sein

scheinen. Das Exemplar in Fünfkirchen (Pécs) dagegen hat eine so völlig verrostete Klinge (Abb. 20), dass keinerlei Einzelheiten mehr erkennbar sind. Die messingplattierten Halsteile zeigen Schuppenmuster, die denen auf der Münchner, Wiener, auf zweien der Budapester und schliesslich auch unserer Spitze verwandt sind; völlig abweichend dagegen ist der Umstand, dass sie keine Tülle besitzt, sondern "im Dorn eingelassen" war. Von allen anderen verschieden ist das Innsbrucker Exemplar (Abb. 21); nicht nur ist es mit 73 mm wesentlich kleiner als die anderen Stücke, die 105 bis 115 mm messen, sondern es ist auch praktisch tüllenlos, dabei auf allen vier Seiten mit eingepunzten Buchstaben "b" in einfachem Rankenwerk geschmückt und darüberhinaus bis auf die Spitze vergoldet. Als einziges Stück besitzt es noch einen mit Resten von Befiederung versehenen Schaft.

Es fällt auf, dass unter diesen Pfeilspitzen sieben ein von einer Straussenfeder oder Krone überragtes Monogramm aufweisen, andere wieder verwandten Ranken- oder Schuppendekor.

Das Ursprungsland dieser Prunkpfeilspitzen ist durch die Deutung der Inschriften einwandfrei bestimmt; es ist nun angebracht, nach etwaigen Entsprechungen der Motive, insbesondere der charakteristischen Monogramme unter Straussenfedern, in der Kunst und dem Kunstgewerbe — und darin wieder besonders Waffen — Böhmens zu suchen. Es gibt eine Anzahl Schilde, sogenannte Pavesen, böhmischer Herkunft mit eben diesen Motiven bemalt und unter ihnen eine Gruppe, die genau datiert werden kann. Die letzteren sind zwölf Überlebende einer im Jahre 1441 erfolgten Bestellung von vierzig Pavesen seitens der Stadt Zwickau in Sachsen bei den rühmlich bekannten Schildmachern von Komotau (Chomutov). Unter ihnen sind nicht weniger als sieben mit dem Feder-und-Monogramm-Motiv (Abb. 22, 23, 24), doch ist dieses auch ausserhalb dieser Gruppe zu finden (Abb. 26, 27). Verhältnismässig leicht zu identifizieren sind die sog. Monogramme Christi "ihs" (Abb. 24, 27) und ihre Abart "y" (Abb. 22), sowie "X" für "xpus = Christus" (Abb. 2). Ähnlich liegt der Fall mit "m" für "Maria" (Abb. 4, 6, 7, 28). Das auf mehreren Pavesen (Abb. 26, 27) vorkommende "W" ist das Monogramm Königs Wladislaw Jagiello, 1470–1516. Einer der Zwickauer Schilde (Abb. 23) trägt ein Monogramm "ar," das mit dem auf unserer Prunkpfeilspitze

identisch ist. Das für die Zwickauer Schilde gesicherte Datum "vor 1441" kommt der Regierungszeit Königs Albrecht, 1438–1439, so nahe, dass man dieses Monogramm als "Albertus Rex" auflösen kann. Diese Deutung ist wegen des weiteren Monogrammes "a und e über Kreuz gelegt" besonders verlockend, da Albrecht mit Kaiser Sigismunds Tochter Elisabeth von Böhmen verheiratet war. Vielleicht sind die anderen "a" auf zwei der Budapester Pfeilspitzen (Abb. 8, 12) und einer Pavese (Abb. 25) ebenfalls auf Albrecht zu beziehen. Besonders häufig findet man den Buchstaben "S," sowohl auf Pfeilspitzen, als auch auf Pavesen. Mindestens bei der Kreuzensteiner Spitze könnte es sich dabei um den Anfangsbuchstaben Sigismunds handeln (Abb. 18). Wahrscheinlich haben die "s" aber nicht alle dieselbe Bedeutung; zum Beispiel wäre eine weitere Möglichkeit "Sebastian" als der Patron der Schützen. Allerdings scheint Sebastian gerade in Böhmen eine sehr untergeordnete Rolle zu spielen, während er im Westen — vor allem im Rheinlande — von grösster Wichtigkeit ist. Auf zwei Spitzen (Abb. 10, 14) befindet sich ein kleines "s" unterhalb eines grösseren "d." Falls hier ein Zusammenhang mit den tschechischen Worten für Armbrust oder Schütze — "samostřil" und "střelec" — vorläge, so könnte das "d" vielleicht für die römische Ziffer D = 500 stehen? Das auf der Wiener Spitze (Abb. 14) vorkommende "t" könnte das Monogramm des Olmützer Bischofs Taso von Boskowitz sein, der als Parteigänger Königs Matthias Corvinus in dessen Feldzügen gegen Österreich eine Rolle spielte. Im Historischen Museum der Stadt Wien sind mehrere Pavesen erhalten, die das Wappen von Olmütz und der Boskowitz tragen; sie stammen wahrscheinlich von der Besetzung Wiens durch Matthias Corvinus, 1485–1490. Allerdings steht das "t" unter einer Straussenfeder, während keine der mährischen Pavesen eine solche trägt, ausserdem würde diese Erklärung nicht für das "t" auf unserer Pfeilspitze in Frage kommen. Der Buchstabe "v" auf einer der Budapester Pfeilspitzen (Abb. 8) und einer Zwickauer Pavese soll vielleicht den Namen des Schutzpatrons von Böhmen, des heiligen Wenzel, in seiner tschechischen Form "Václav" andeuten. Die beiden Pfeilspitzen von Keszthely und Veszprém (Abb. 15, 16) tragen einen Buchstaben, der entweder "l" oder "i" bedeuten kann; "l" könnte für Ladislas Posthumus, 1453–1457, den Sohn Albrechts, stehen, "i" für "Jiří" = Georg,

entweder den ritterlichen Heiligen oder Georg von Podiebrad, den "Hussitenkönig," 1457–1469. Allerdings ist auf einer Pavese mit tschechischer Inschrift auf Veste Coburg der Buchstabe "g" als Beizeichen zu einem St. Georg zu finden.

Diese Prunkpfeilspitzen werden für Rangabzeichen von Schützenhauptleuten oder Schützenkönigen gehalten, die spärlichen Bildquellen jedoch zerfallen in zwei deutlich unterschiedene Gruppen: in der einen treten Personen in Hofkleidung auf repräsentativen Porträts mit einem Pfeil in der Hand auf (Abb. 30, 31, 32, 34, 41), in der anderen werden übergrosse Bolzen oder Pfeile von Gerüsteten oder als Krieger Gekennzeichneten getragen (Abb. 35–40, 42–45).

Charles Buttin hat festgestellt, dass — wenigstens in französisch sprechenden Landen — der Turnierherr einen Pfeil in der Hand trug, um ihn zwischen die Kämpen beim Fusturnier zu werfen, falls aus dem Spiele Ernst zu werden drohte, worauf dann die Grieswärtel einschritten und die Kämpfer mit Gewalt trennten. Die erste Gruppe, darunter der Herold von Burgund, sind solche Turnierrichter. Die zweite Gruppe lässt keinen Zweifel, dass der übergrosse Pfeil ein militärisches Rangabzeichen ist, was durch die engen ikonographischen Beziehungen seiner Schmuckmotive zu den ebenfalls eindeutig militärischen Pavesen — Schilden für Armbrustschützen — noch bekräftigt wird. Es ist auch bezeichnend, dass keine dieser Prunkpfeilspitzen im Besitze einer Schützengilde erhalten blieb, sondern dass sie meist in Ungarn auftauchen, wo böhmische Söldner — die ja besonders als Armbrustschützen gesucht waren — gegen die Türken eingesetzt waren; die "türkische Arsenalmarke" ist ja ein direkter Beweis, dass unsere Spitze einmal Kriegsbeute war. Seltsam ist und bleibt allerdings, dass aus Böhmen selbst keine Darstellung eines solchen Pfeiles als Würdezeichen bekannt ist.

Den Prunkpfeilspitzen nahverwandt sind ein Paar Sporen (Abb. 46) und ein Paar Steigbügel (Abb. 47) in der Wiener Waffensammlung; die Sporen tragen das Monogramm Königs Kasimir IV von Polen, der 1454 Elisabeth, die Tochter Albrechts, geheiratet hat, sowie eine tschechische Anrufung Mariä: "pomny na mye

mamyla wyerna pany = Gedenke mein, meine liebe und getreue Herrin!." Die Sporen scheinen von demselben Meister zu sein wie die Pfeilspitze des Metropolitan Museums, auch die Steigbügel stehen ihnen so nahe, dass sie vielleicht alle aus einer gemeinsamen Werkstatt stammen. Die Münchner Spitze wiederum (Abb. 6, 7) ist in ihrer Dekoration einem Paar Sporen (Abb. 49) im National-Museum Budapest verwandt; diese werden als die Sporen Königs Laszlo II, 1506–1526, angesprochen. Nach Kalmár dürften diese Sporen noch vom Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts sein.

Der Formenschatz der Verzierungsmotive an Pavesen und Prunkpfeilspitzen gleichermaßen kann eindeutig aus der Prager Hofkunst hergeleitet werden. In den Illuminationen der für Wenzel IV angefertigten Handschriften finden sich gekrönte und geflügelte Monogramme, die Flügel sicher von der Helmzier der Könige von Böhmen abgeleitet, dazu Schuppenmuster als Hintergründe und Straussenfedern als Kopfschmuck in Darstellungen Wenzels selbst und seiner Wapphalter (Abb. 50–54). Ein Straussenkopf und Straussenfedern sind allerdings auch die Helmzier der Könige von Ungarn (Abb. 56). Vielleicht hat Sigismund oder Albrecht, die ja gleichzeitig Könige von Ungarn waren, die Straussenfeder von dort als persönliches Abzeichen entliehen? Anscheinend sind diese ursprünglich königlichen Symbole sehr bald schon als abgesunkenes Kulturgut für nationale böhmische Abzeichen in Anspruch genommen worden, wobei die Königsmonogramme gelegentlich in Monogramme Christi und Mariä umgewandelt wurden.

Zum Schlusse sei hier auf die Sage von der Entstehung des "badge" des Prinzen von Wales hingewiesen. Angeblich soll Edward, der Schwarze Prinz, sein "badge," die drei Straussenfedern mit dem Motto "ich dien," nach der Schlacht von Crécy, 1346, zu Ehren des dort gefallenen Böhmenkönigs Johann des Blinden, der drei goldene Straussenfedern als Helmzier geführt haben soll, angenommen haben. Diese Sage ist oft wiederholt und öfter widerlegt worden, doch ist bisher noch nicht in diesem Zusammenhang darauf hingewiesen worden, dass die Straussenfeder tatsächlich ein königlich böhmisches Abzeichen war.

A Spinettina for the Duchess of Urbino

EMANUEL WINTERNITZ

Curator of Musical Instruments, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

THE REAPPEARANCE in our day of a well-preserved Renaissance keyboard instrument, never recorded throughout all the centuries, a beautiful spinettina (Figure 1) with the name of its princely owner and the history of its commission mentioned inside, is a boon for scholars, and to find a jewel like this in a town like New York is a startling adventure for a museum Curator of Musical Instruments.

The soundbox of our spinettina has the shape of an irregular pentagon¹ (Figure 2) (length 140 cm. [55½ in.]; width 47 cm. [18½ in.]; height 16.2 cm. [6⅜ in.]) with a very short side wall on the left and a long side wall on the right, while the back wall consists of two sections—a long one slanting back away from the keyboard, and the other short one nearly parallel with the front wall. This shape is by no means due to aesthetic—that is, visual—reasons, but strictly determined by functional necessity—that is, in the last end, by the

1. Sometimes this straight-line pentagon was replaced by a complex spherical contour—for instance, in the spinettina represented in the intarsias by Fra Giovanni da Verona that decorate the doors of the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican (Figure 3). I have tried to draw attention to these and other intarsias with musical subjects in my paper “The Importance of Quattrocento Intarsias in the History of Musical Instruments,” read at the Seventh International Congress, Cologne, 1958, reprinted in my recent book, *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art* (London and New York, 1967). The rendering of the spinettina by Fra Giovanni dates from about 1520, about twenty years before our spinettina; it is certainly a portrait of an actual instrument, precisely depicted in the quattrocento technique of geometric projection; on the other hand, it is made to float so beautifully in space that it has an almost surrealist effect.

stern, immutable laws of acoustics. Unlike the strings of a modern pianoforte, the strings in this kind of instrument run from left to right, parallel with the front wall, with the bass strings nearest to the player and the treble strings farthest away. In this design, the bass keys obviously can be very short (the shortest natural only 17.5 cm. [6⅞ in.]) while the treble keys must extend far toward the rear to reach their strings (the longest natural, 44.5 cm. [17½ in.]) (Figure 4). There are fifty strings running over graduated bridges, their vibrating length varying from 11.5 to 119 cm. (4⅝ to 46⅞ in.).

As usual in Italian keyboard instruments of that time, and unlike Flemish virginals, the keyboard projects from the front wall. The compass is four and a half octaves, C to f₃, with a short octave in the bass. The jacks, carrying on their movable tongues quills cut from bird feathers, are relatively short—8.0 cm. (3⅛ in.) (Figure 5) and move in rectangular slots which are cut directly in the soundboard itself. The beautifully decorated jack rail prevents the jacks from leaping out of their slots when they are pushed up by the rear end of the keys.

The early history of keyboard instruments is still very obscure and cannot be discussed here. Yet it is certain that in Italy, long before our spinettina, complicated instruments with keyboards were constructed: harpsichords, *spinette*, and clavichords. Perhaps the most precise depictions made in wood and in life-size are those in intarsias, of which I should like to mention here only the large, beautifully made clavichord



FIGURE 1 (OPPOSITE)
Spinettina made in Venice, 1540, for Eleonora,
Duchess of Urbino. The Metropolitan Museum of
Art, purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 53.6

FIGURE 2 (OPPOSITE, BELOW)
Bird's-eye view of the Metropolitan's spinettina

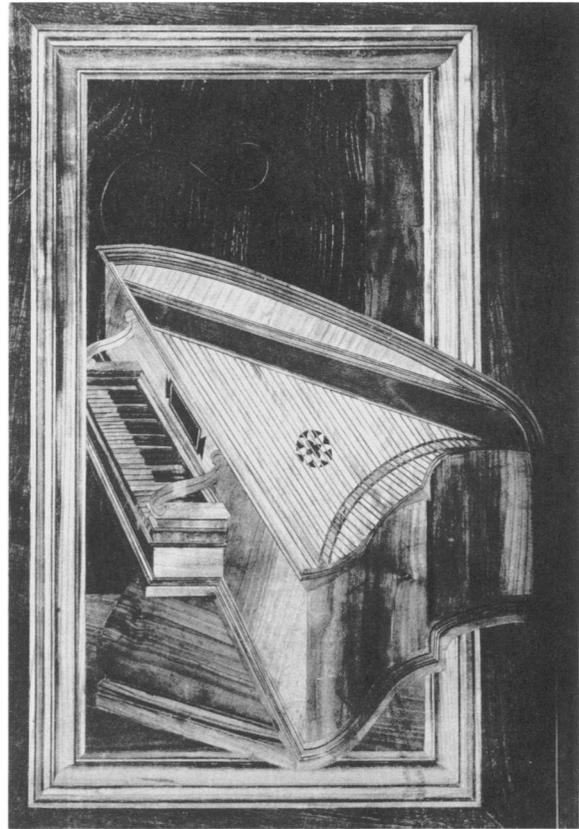
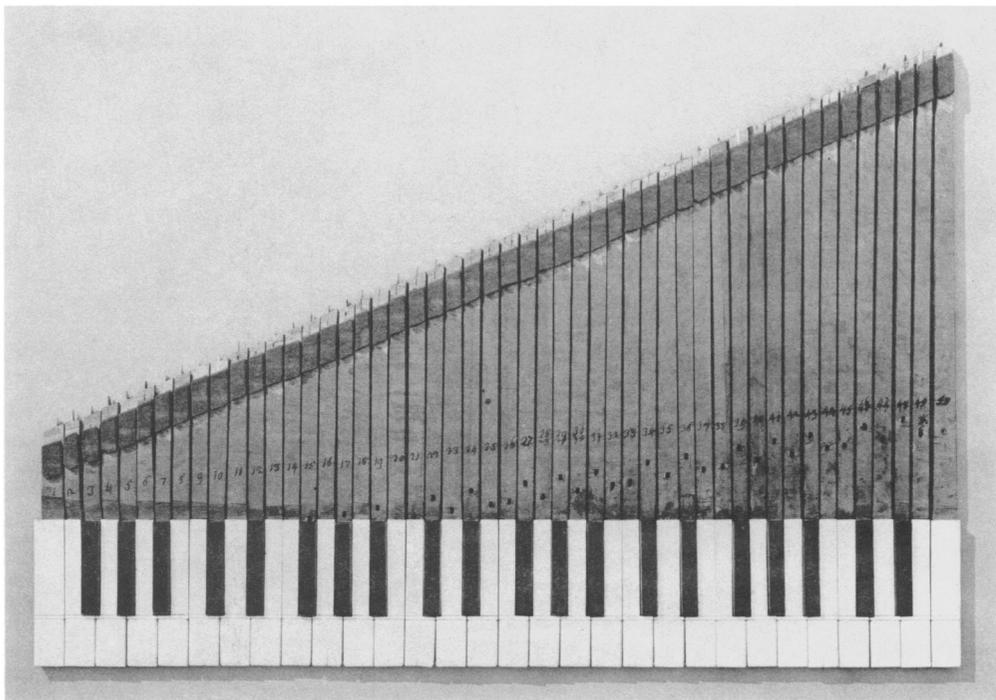


FIGURE 3
Spinettina in one of the doors of the Stanza della
Segnatura, Vatican, intarsied by Fra Giovanni
da Verona (photo: Musei Vaticani)

FIGURE 4
Layout of the keys



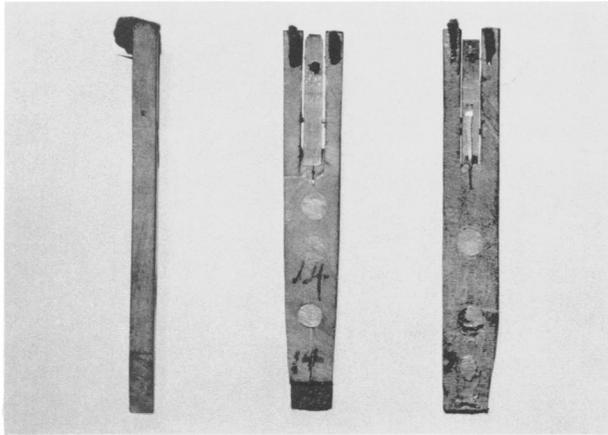


FIGURE 5
Jacks seen from the side, the front, and the rear

FIGURE 6
Clavichord detail from the intarsias in the studiolo of Federigo da Montefeltro in Urbino



depicted in the studiolo of the main residence of Federigo da Montefeltro in Urbino (Figure 6). This clavichord has no less than forty-seven keys. The intarsias were made by a master not yet identified, in the early 1470s, that is, about seventy years before our spinettina. The proportions, the mechanism, and the beauty of instruments like these justify the assumption that such keyboard instruments must have already had a considerable history before the date of this intarsia.

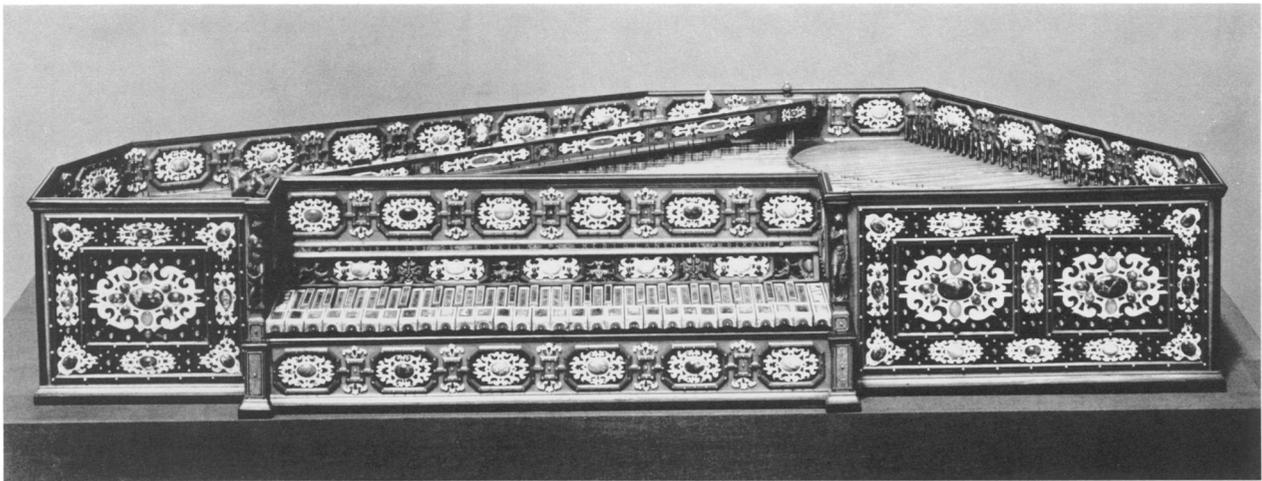
So much for the shape of our instrument as it was determined by its function and by traditions of workmanship. We now proceed to its decorative features and feel justified in describing them in detail, since the ornamentation makes this one of the most refined and exquisite Renaissance instruments extant, and probably one of the finest ever made.

The decoration is carefully planned and is executed in different media: intarsia, painting, certosina work, carving, and so on, each applied to a different and precisely limited area. The only large region where the wood is left bare is, of course, the soundboard. Any



FIGURE 7
Detail of the keyboard

FIGURE 8
Spinettina made in Milan, 1577, by Annibale Rossi, studded with 1,928 precious stones. Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 809-1869



inlay or carving there would have interfered with its vibration.² The soundboard is made of Italian cypress. The fifty keys are made of oak wood, the thirty naturals with ivory facings, the twenty sharps with ebony facings. The fronts, as usual at the time, are arcaded (Figure 7).

2. Only Flemish keyboard instruments, especially the virginals of the Ruckers tradition, have their soundboards decorated, but with nothing more substantial than painted flowers.

This spinettina is not showy and extravagantly ostentatious as is the one by Annibale Rossi, made in Milan in 1577 and preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. 809-1869) (Figure 8), which is studded with precious stones, large ivory plaques, and lapis lazuli panels, while ours is in the refined and dignified taste prevailing in the preceding generation, a work of art made by a master craftsman for connoisseurs.

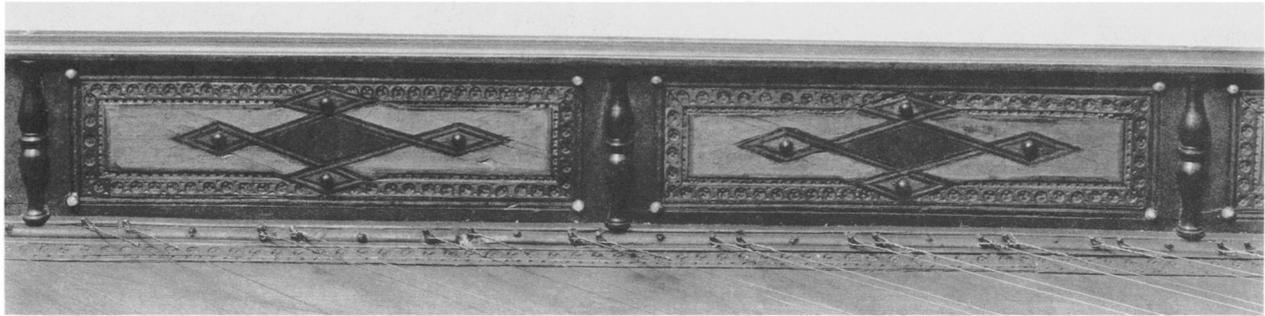
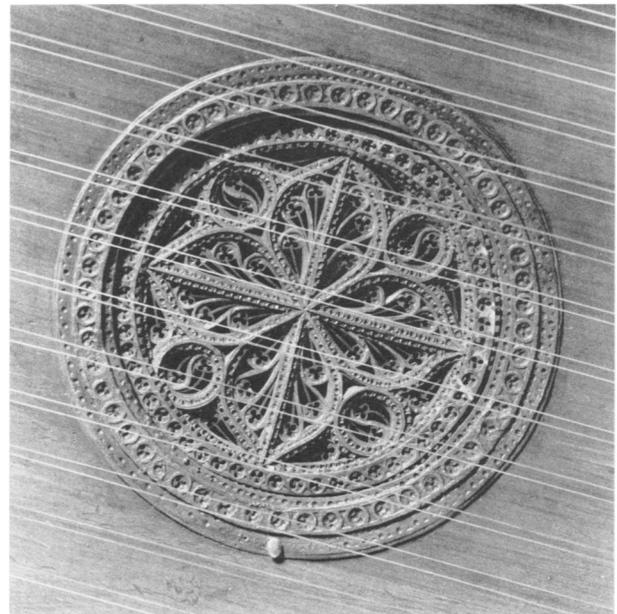


FIGURE 9
Detail of the inside of the back wall of the Metropolitan Museum's spinettina

FIGURE 10
Decoration of the soundhole



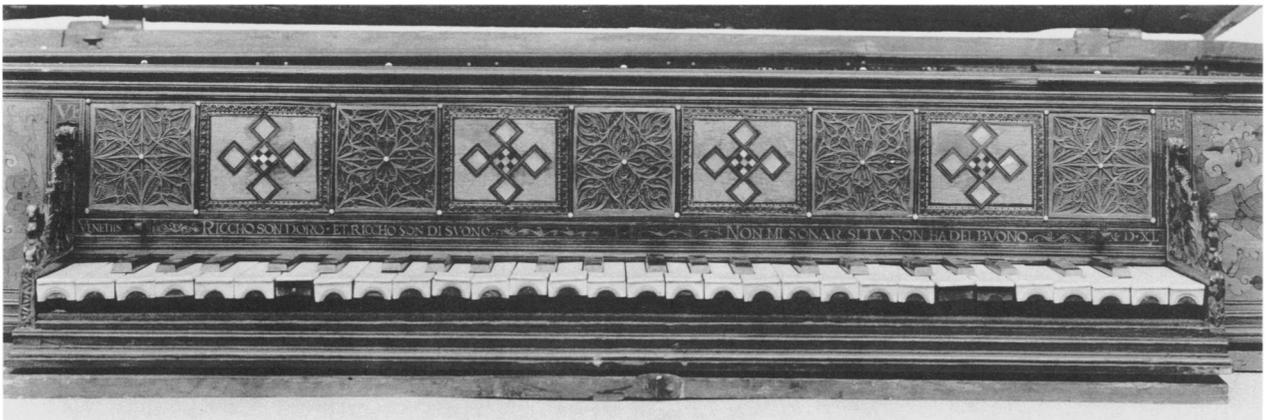
The inside walls of the soundbox above the soundboard are divided by engaged consoles into squares of identical decoration with geometrical designs based on rhomboids (Figure 9).

The jack rail is made of gum wood with inlaid strips of walnut and ebony and with eight decorative buttons of black and white segments in ivory and ebony.

The soundhole rose (Figure 10), that place par excellence for exquisite ornamentation, is made of several layers of parchment in flamboyant Gothic tracery and framed by several parchment rings.

The front wall above the keyboard is divided into nine squares of alternating decoration (Figure 11); four of the squares have a simple geometric design

FIGURE 11
Front wall above the keyboard



executed in inlay of mother-of-pearl (see Figure 7). The remaining five squares show exquisite stars done in Gothic tracery (Figures 12, 13). The corner stars are of identical design, and so are the two stars nearest to the middle one. Each of these stars has five studs, one in the center and the others in the four corners.

As mentioned before, the keyboard in all Italian *spinettine*, harpsichords, and clavichords projects from the front of the case instead of receding, as is the rule in Flemish virginals. This design leaves two large rectangles, left and right of the keyboard (Figures 14, 15). Both are decorated in “real” intarsia, meaning an inlay composed of different woods of various colors, instead of the cheaper mock intarsia, in which the whole area is of one single piece of wood made to resemble a real inlay of contrasting color sections—achieved by running slight grooves meant to simulate the glue joints of the supposed sections, which are then colored differently. Both panels have similar patterns, the right one (Figure 14) tending more toward plant forms. Both patterns are designed in double symmetry: left–right as well as top–bottom; they emanate from dolphins arranged in pairs in the center. These dolphins, stemming from Lombard candelabra designs, are arranged differently in each of the two intarsia panels. In the left panel (Figure 15), each dolphin—there are actually four because of the mirror reflection—has ribbons sprouting from its tail and its snout. A little more complicated is the center design in Figure 14. Each quarter of the whole intarsia design has two interconnecting dolphins—one dark and one light—resulting in eight dolphins because of symmetrical reflection. Each dolphin sprouts ribbons; moreover, each white dolphin’s tongue, terminating in a spiral, connects another spiral, which is nothing less than the upcurving snout of the neighboring dark dolphin.

Both intarsias employ a methodic graduation from dark to light, represented by maple, gum, pearwood, poplar, mahogany, and ebony.

The interlacing design of the ornaments is clearly in the Lombard-Venetian tradition. One finds similar patterns in the work of *intarsiatori* who had studied in Venice. I should like to mention here only two examples: some of the ornamental intarsia panels in the altar bench in the apse of the church of San Domenico in Bologna, made by Giovanni da Verona in Santa Maria in Organo in the 1520s and by Fra



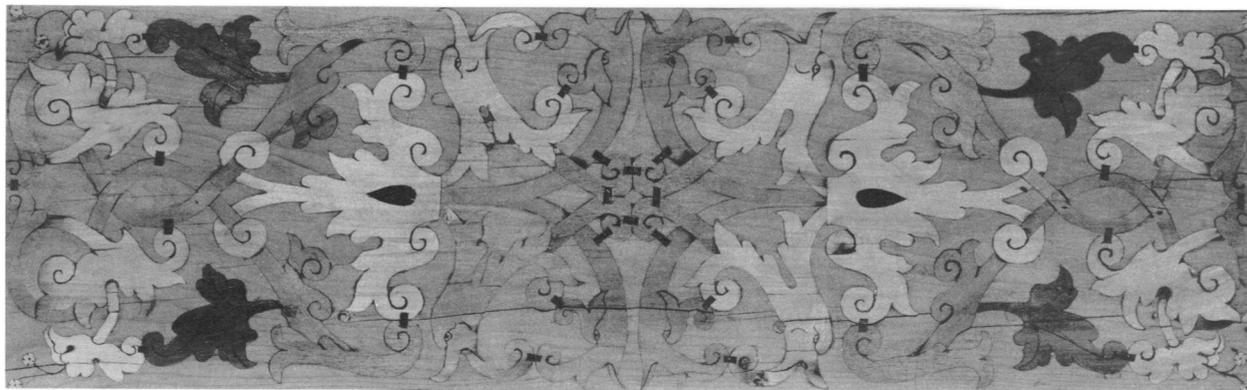
FIGURES 12, 13

Details of stars in the Gothic tracery above the keyboard

Damiano da Bergamo (Figure 16) in the 1540s. Both of these artists had been apprentices of Fra Sebastiano da Rovigo in Venice. Also very close to our patterns are some of the designs (Figures 17–19) by the North Italian Master F., tentatively identified by Rudolph Berliner³ as Domenico da Sera, called *il Franciosino*.

The keyboard is protected, left and right, by projecting walls (Figures 20, 21). Their outsides show spiral tendrils painted in gold on blue ground, recalling Venetian enamel patterns on metal (see Figure 21). On top of these walls are carvings analogous to the armrests in early cinquecento choir stalls, which are to be found, for instance, in Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo, in the cathedral of Pisa, and in Santa Maria in Organo in Verona. The inside and outside of these

3. *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter* (Leipzig, 1925) pp. 84–85.



FIGURES 14, 15
Intarsia panels on the right and left of
the keyboard

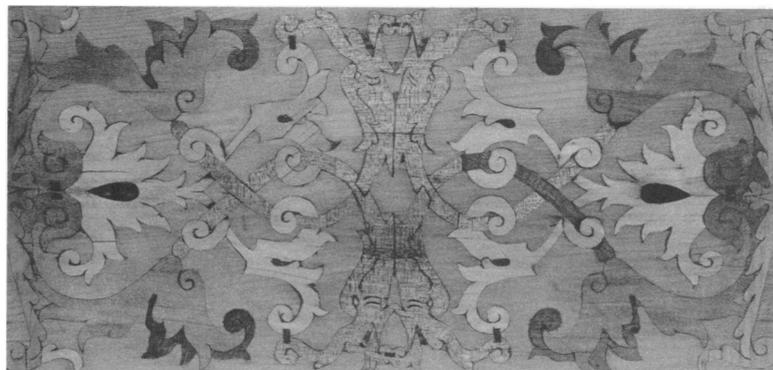
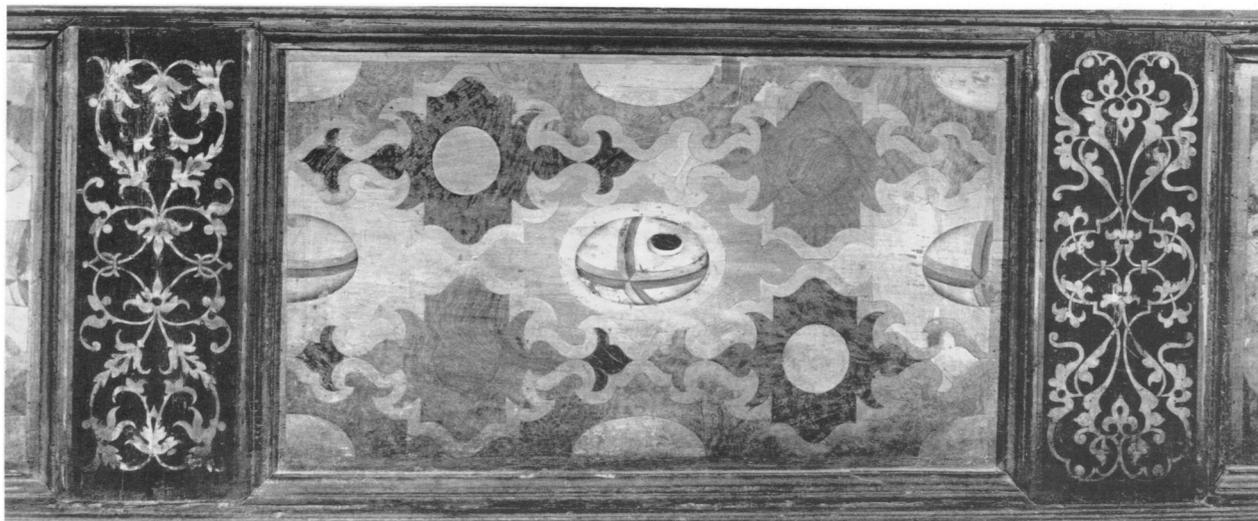


FIGURE 16
Detail of the intarsia panels in an altar
bench in the church of San Domenico,
Bologna (photo: Villani & Figli)



FIGURES 17–19 (OPPOSITE, ABOVE)
Ornamental patterns attributed to Domenico da Sera, called il Franciosino. From Rudolf
Berliner, *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter* (Leipzig, 1925) pls. 84, 85

FIGURES 20, 21 (OPPOSITE)
Carved walls protecting the left and right ends of the keyboard

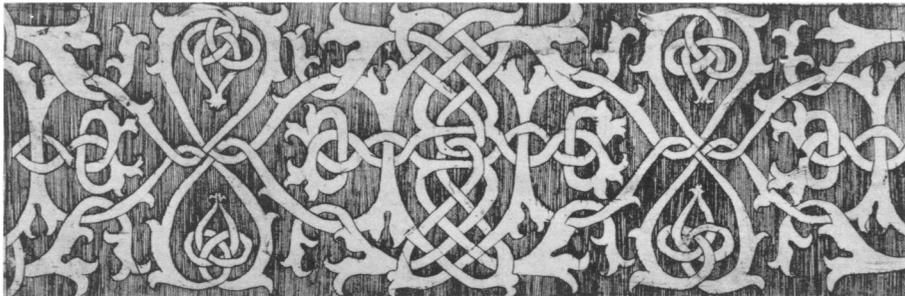
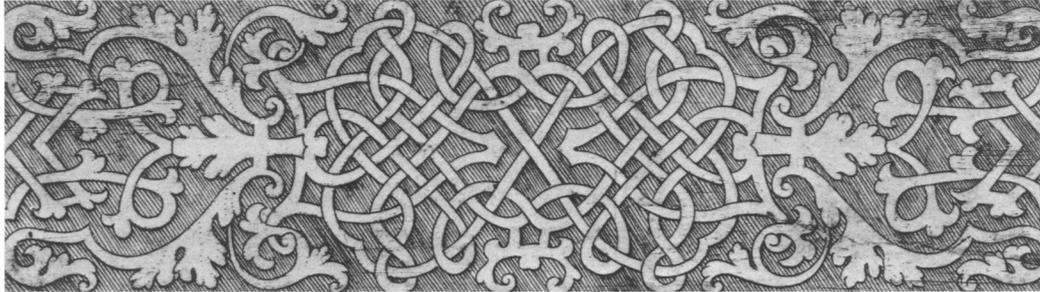
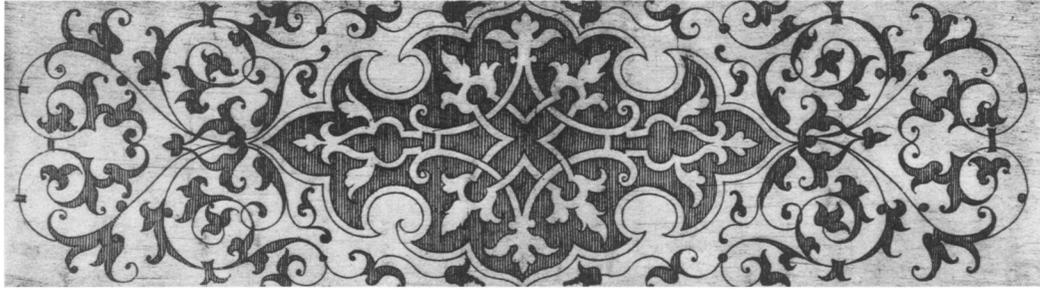




FIGURE 22

Inscription on the back of the wooden strip carrying the motto

carved walls show leaves and fruit in relief. Perched on them is a snake intertwining its tail with that of a dolphin, the body of which is covered by fin-like leaves. Riding on the snout of the dolphin is a goat-footed female winged monster.

Characteristic of the decoration are the numerous little ivory studs scattered all over the instrument, or rather—more precisely—attached to the upper rim of the case, to the corners of the decorative panels on the inside of the case, and to the center section of the front wall.

Viewing the different decorative patterns employed in this instrument stemming from vocabularies as different and distant as Gothic, arabesque, certosina, and Venetian textile design, one must admire the skill by which they are all absorbed and incorporated into one pleasing homogeneous scheme of decoration, which by itself strikes the eye as typical middle cinquecento by virtue of its neat, symmetrical arrangement of rectangular compartments.

Not the least effective part of the decoration is the motto painted in large, gold letters on blue ground over the keyboard (see Figures 7, 11):

Riccho son d'oro—et riccho son di suono,
 Non mi sonar si tu non ha del buono.
 (Rich am I in gold and rich in sound,
 Play me not, if no good tune is found.)

Left and right of the motto, the place and date of manufacturing are painted: VENETIIS—MDXL.

The impatient fingers of the connoisseur will want to slide up and remove the front board to gain direct access to the rear of the keys and the inside of the soundbox. However, the front board does not move, being firmly glued to the soundbox. It is the wooden strip carrying the motto that turns out to be removable—it is attached to the instrument by three small movable pegs. Its back harbors a surprise. There is a long inscription in ink, in Italian chancery of the time: “Ordinata e Fatta per Sua Eccellenza la Sig.^{ra} Duchesa

D’Urbino L’anno di Nostra Salute 1540 e pagata. 250 Scudi Romani.” (“Commissioned by and made for Her Excellency, the [Lady] Duchess of Urbino in the year of our Redemption 1540 and paid for with 250 Roman scudi.”) (Figure 22).

This is more information than we usually glean from old keyboard instruments, but unfortunately the name of the maker is not mentioned. This is an exceptionally beautiful instrument, and the price mentioned was a large one at the time of manufacture. As we know, Venice had a substantial number of good instrument makers at the time, but there is no instrument extant that would give us a clue or a basis for comparing shape and decoration.⁴

Knowing the place and date of manufacture, and even the name of the person who ordered it, invites us to place the instrument into its historic environment, the cultural life of the time, the musical tradition, and the role it may have played among the interests of its owner, Eleonora the Duchess of Urbino.

She was born in 1493 in Mantua, one of the leading towns in music and the arts, the first child of Francesco Gonzaga, the ruler of Mantua, and the celebrated Isabella d’Este, one of the most attractive, as well as gifted, women of the age.

Eleonora’s early years at the glamorous court of Mantua must have been rich in cultural impressions, but her life was not a happy one. Her relations with her mother were never very warm, perhaps because—as we know from letters—her mother had hoped to please her husband with a boy. When she was in her sixth year, the political power game began to affect her life. The queen of France offered to take her there for education. This offer, repeated in later years but al-

4. My search for the maker—unsuccessful up to now—was the reason for postponing the publication of a monograph on this instrument. A hypothesis pointing toward the Venetian workshop of the famous Lorenzo Gusnasco da Pavia will be mentioned later.

ways refused, was only one of many political devices to tie Mantua to the political aspirations of France in Italy. To use children as hostages to guarantee reliable political attitudes on the part of their parents was not uncommon in Renaissance politics. In Eleonora's eleventh year, 1505, after long negotiations, she was betrothed to the three-years-older Francesco Maria della Rovere—the nephew of Pope Julius II—who was destined to become Duke of Urbino after the death of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro. The betrothal was celebrated by a magnificent ceremony of merely official character in Rome in the absence of the betrothed couple, since they were too young for the consummation of marriage.

In 1508, after the sudden death of the last Montefeltro, Francesco Maria della Rovere became Duke of Urbino and visited Mantua to meet his future bride for the first time. The actual wedding took place in the following year in Urbino. The departure of Eleonora from her paternal home was not without strain: the court was in financial straits, but Eleonora, independent and adamant far beyond her age, insisted successfully on immediate cash payment of her dowry. Eleonora was only fifteen years old then, and the brutality of the marriage customs of the time appears sadly in letters of a court secretary, which report an early morning visit of the duke's mother to the bridal chamber to inquire into the bride's emotional reaction to the wedding night.

Her marriage was beset with tragic events. The power struggle in Italy between the Holy See, France, and Venice threatened the independence of Urbino. Leo X decided to capture it. In advance, Isabella d'Este traveled to Rome to intervene with the Pope, but in 1516 Urbino fell to the papal army. Eleonora and her little son, Guidobaldo, took refuge in Mantua. In 1517 Francesco Maria recaptured Urbino but had soon to give it up again and reconquered it only in 1522 during the interregnum after the death of Leo X.

Meanwhile, Eleonora lived an unhappy existence, penniless at her father's court in Mantua. Moreover, she was gravely ill, suffering from a lingering disease, which she had acquired from her husband. Her eyesight was seriously threatened, forcing her to withdraw gradually into religious seclusion. In 1538 Francesco Maria suddenly died and Eleonora's mother died the following year. Ill and in retirement, Eleonora lived

until 1549, surviving her great mother by only ten years.

Two portraits of Eleonora have survived. The first, by Lorenzo Costa, painted in 1508, now in the collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, shows the lovely face of a young woman with a meditative expression and unhappy eyes⁵ (Figure 23). The date of the

5. There is some close resemblance to her features in the left of the two allegorical figures sitting in the foreground of the allegorical painting which Lorenzo Costa made in 1506 for the studiolo of Isabella d'Este and which—without convincing reasons—is usually called *The Court of Muses of Isabella d'Este*. It would certainly seem quite possible that Costa would have introduced Isabella's daughter into this scene, which no doubt must have been discussed with Isabella. Georg Gronau, in "Frauenbildnisse des Mantuaner Hofes von Lorenzo Costa," *Pantheon* 1 (1928) p. 241, goes so far as to consider both female figures in the foreground as transfigured portraits (*verklärte Abbilder*) of Eleonora and Isabella.



FIGURE 23
Portrait of Eleonora d'Este, attributed to Lorenzo Costa, 1508. English Royal Collection. Crown copyright

picture can be precisely established by a letter of October 1, 1508, of Eleonora's father to Lorenzo Costa, in which he said, "Se havete finito il ritratto di Leonora nostra figlia mandatecelo fora, perchè lo volemo vedere." The second, painted by Titian in 1538 (Figure 24), now in the Uffizi, shows her similarly withdrawn, with an introverted expression. The mouth has acquired a somewhat hard and disappointed look. She was forty-five years old at the time—this was two years before our instrument was built.

It is in her last sad period that she must have commissioned our spinettina, and we may safely assume that music was her great consolation through these years and brought back many memories of feasts and concerts in Mantua and Urbino.

The girlhood years of Eleonora at the court of the Gonzagas in Mantua must have been extraordinarily rich in musical impressions and stimuli. The Mantuan court was famous for its musical life. A great number of celebrated composers and performers were employed there or visited there—for instance, Josquin, A. Agricola, Bartolommeo Tromboncino, the virtuoso on the trombone, and the famous singer and composer Marchetto Cara, to mention only a few. Many famous musical spectacles, such as *rappresentazioni* and *intermedii*, were performed there—for instance, the "Fabula d'Orfeo" by Polizian,⁶ in which the favorite pupil of Leonardo da Vinci, Atalante Migliorotti, played a leading role in 1490 reciting "sulla lira," that is, the *lira da braccio*,⁷ that exquisite seven-string fiddle taught to Atalante by Leonardo.

Eleonora's mother, the marchesa, was herself a passionate and well-trained musician, an expert singer, and a performer on the lute and various keyboard instruments such as the clavichord, the spinettina, and the organetto. Of her taste in commissioning beautiful instruments for herself, we will speak later. She studied lute with several masters—first with Girolamo Sextula from Ferrara, and later with the celebrated Giovanni Angelo Testagrossa.⁸ She was familiar with the many dances of the time, some of them quite complicated,

6. See Emanuel Winternitz, "Orpheus als Musikallegorie in Renaissance und Fruehbarock," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Volume 10 (1962) s.v. Orpheus, B.

7. See Emanuel Winternitz, "Lira da Braccio," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Volume 8 (1960).

8. Jan Lauts, *Isabella d'Este* (Hamburg, 1952) p. 54.



FIGURE 24

Portrait of Eleonora, Duchess of Urbino, by Titian, 1538. Uffizi (photo: Alinari)

and we know from contemporary records that she saw to it that her little four-year-old daughter received instruction in the *saltarello* and other dances.⁹ Her rooms in the ducal palace, whose soul she was, and their decoration speak of music. The intarsias in her famous studiolo include representations of beautiful musical instruments—for instance, a *lira da braccio*, guitar, and various wind instruments. The "grotta" beneath it, a small room serving to house her collections—and certainly also some of her exquisite musical instruments—showed in its ceiling decoration a musical motto: a symbolic combination of notes and pauses and four musical clefs, all on a five-line staff.

This was the environment in which little Eleonora grew up to her sixteenth year, and one can well imagine the early musical experiences that she retained in her memory during her later life in Urbino and Venice.

In Urbino also, music was held in high regard at the court as well as in the church. The great Federigo da Montefeltro (1422–1482) had been a musical con-

9. *Ibid.*

noisseur¹⁰ and had employed a considerable number of distinguished performers, vocal as well as instrumental, whose names have come down to us. Of his special taste, an interesting record can be found in Vespasiano da Bisticci “. . . dilettavasi più d’istrumenti sottili che grossi . . . ma organi e istrumenti sottili li piacevano assai.” (“He was fond of soft instruments rather than loud ones, but organs¹¹ and small instruments gave him great pleasure.”) Leonardo da Vinci must have been familiar with the many beautiful representations of *istrumenti sottili* among the inlaid walls and doors in the ducal palace of Urbino, especially in the studiolo there, including the lute, the *lira da braccio*, and the precisely delineated clavichord¹² (see Figure 6), the earliest representation in such detail and with such precision of this kind of keyboard instrument with forty-seven keys.

This intense musical tradition was still very much alive when Eleonora came to Urbino in 1509, and we know that just in that year Francesco Maria called to the Urbino court the famous lutenist Giovanni Maria da Crema, nicknamed Gianmaria Giudeo, another fact attesting to the predilection for *strumenti sottili*.

The third musical city that plays a role in the history of the owner of our spinettina is Venice. This is not the place to sing the glory of Venetian musical culture in the cinquecento, but a few hints as to the eminence of musical instruments may be appropriate. The surviving musical scores, sacred as well as secular, and the wealth of artistic representations of music, musical scenes, and musical instruments in paintings, prints, and sculpture eloquently testify to the rich instrumental life of the time. A great variety of beautiful instruments appear in the hands of angels in the foregrounds of the *sacre conversazioni* painted by Giovanni Bellini, Carpaccio, Montagna, Cima da Conegliano, and

others¹³ and later in paintings by Titian and Paolo Veronese. There we find an abundance of lutes, citterns, viols, *lire da braccio*, harps, psalteries, shawms, cromornes, transverse flutes, recorders, cornetti, trumpets, and trombones, to mention only the more fashionable ones. In addition, several kinds of keyboard instruments were used, apart from the organs: clavicords (often called *manicordi* or *monocordi*), and instruments with quill action called *arpicordi*, *clavizimbani*, and *spinette*. The city government encouraged outstanding instrument makers such as Bastiano da Verona, Guido Trasuntino,¹⁴ and Lorenzo da Pavia. Significantly, legal protection existed for inventors of new kinds of musical instruments.

Specialized private collections of musical instruments existed very early in Venice. One generation after Eleonora saw no less than four such treasuries (*studi di musica*), as mentioned in Francesco Sansovino’s *Venezia Descritta* (1581): the *studi* (music chambers) of the Cavaliere Sanudo; of Catarino Zeno, whose collection included a precious organ previously owned by King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary; of Luigi Balbi; and that of Agostino Amadi, containing “non pure stromenti alla moderna ma alla Greca et all’ antica,” that is, archeological reconstructions which had become so fashionable with the rise of musical humanism in the late quattrocento.

The name of one of the celebrated Venetian instrument makers mentioned above, Lorenzo da Pavia, must have often been heard by Eleonora during her girlhood at the ducal palace of Mantua. Lorenzo, whose family name was Gusnasco, played an important role in more than one respect in the artistic activities of Eleonora’s mother, Isabella.

Gusnasco attracted attention when he still lived in

10. See Emanuel Winternitz, “Quattrocento Science in the Gubbio Study,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 1 (1942–1943) p. 104.

11. Organs here do not mean church organs, but most likely the small portable organs that are often depicted in the hands of angels, or chamber organs such as those represented in the beautiful intarsias of the studiolo of Federigo from his palace in Gubbio, now preserved at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. (See Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art* (pl. 47A).

12. See Emanuel Winternitz, “Alcune Rappresentazioni di Antichi Strumenti Italiani a Tastiera,” *Collectanea II* (Florence, 1956) pp. 467, 468, and “Quattrocento-Intarsien als Quellen der

Instrumentengeschichte,” *Bericht über den siebenten Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Köln* (1958) p. 301, pl. 9.

13. See Emanuel Winternitz, “Lira da Braccio,” *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Volume 8 (1960) and “The Visual Arts as a Source for the Historian of Music,” *International Musicological Society Congress Report* (1961) pp. 111, 117.

14. There are at least four makers of keyboard instruments known with the name Trasuntino, probably all related, covering the span from 1530 to the end of the century. Of Alessandro Trasuntino, called Alessandro degli organi, it is known that he commissioned a portrait from Titian in 1540, the date of our spinettina, and paid the painter by making a musical instrument for him. Alessandro Trasuntino is also mentioned in the letters of Aretino.

Pavia as an outstanding maker of instruments, especially of lutes, viols, clavichords, and *organetti*. He was a master in the art of intarsia, especially in ebony and ivory. We mention Gusnasco because there exists a great wealth of revealing documents concerning his service to the great Lombard courts, and especially to Isabella d'Este.¹⁵ Whether Isabella ever met Lorenzo in person is not known, but the rich correspondence that is preserved furnishes a great number of interesting musical details. The correspondence began in the 1490s. Among other things, a lute was commissioned with a soundhole rose of ebony and ivory, “perchè lebano e lavelio sono doe bele compagnie insieme” (“because ebony and ivory make beautiful companions”).

In July of 1497, Isabella requests a lute “adapted to my voice,” but Lorenzo regrets not being able to oblige her because he cannot find ebony black and beautiful enough. He adds, in his somewhat stilted and subservient style, that he was very disconsolate since he had wanted badly to make that lute, that he was certain that he would have made the most beautiful object in Italy or anywhere, and that he had been most anxious to please the only person who would have understood the value of those objects—a fact which would have prompted him to produce something excellent.

In 1495, Isabella reminds him of a beautiful clavichord he had made for her sister, Beatrice, Duchess of Milan, and wants one of equal beauty for herself, adding, however, the special wish: “We want only to request that it should be played easily [that is, with light touch], for we have such a light hand that we cannot play well if we have to strain our hand because of the resistance of the keys. Please understand our wish and what we need: make it in the same shape as you are accustomed. The faster you serve us, the more we will be pleased.” Isabella was kept informed of the progress of the work. Incidentally, after Beatrice's death in Milan, Isabella managed to acquire her clavichord also.

Lorenzo da Pavia spent his last years in Venice, and not only continued there the manufacture of beautiful

15. See especially A. Luzio, “Isabella d'Este e la corte Sforza,” *Archivio Storico Lombardo* (1901); A. Luzio and R. Renier, *Mantova e Urbino* (Torino, 1893); A. Luzio and R. Renier, “Delle Relazioni di Isabella d'Este Gonzaga con Lodovico e Beatrice Sforza,” *Archivio Storico Lombardo* (1890) pp. 74 ff., pp. 364 ff., pp. 614 ff.;

instruments, but also became the trusted and shrewd agent of Isabella for procuring works of art for her collection, especially curiosities, antiquities, gems, cameos, small bronzes, and paintings.

A letter of Gusnasco to Isabella in April 1515, preserved in the Gonzaga archives, reports the shipping of musical instruments to the marchesa, especially “di liuti, viole, corone, buccettine, teste di morto ed altri soggetti di ebano e di avorio, oltre un bellissimo gravicembalo.”¹⁶ We do not know whether these instruments were made by Gusnasco or only procured for the marchesa. In any case, it is significant that keyboard instruments were ordered from Venice. “Gravicembalo” does not mean a heavy or especially large harpsichord. The word is rather equivalent, according to the usage of the time, to “clavicembalo,” that is, harpsichord.

The date of Gusnasco's death is not known. The most interesting treatise by Carlo Dell'Acqua: *Lorenzo Gusnasco e i Lingiardi da Pavia* (extract from *Perseveranza* [Milan, 1886]), which is based on profound familiarity with the Mantuan court archives, suggests 1517 as the year of death; other writers some years later. At any rate, Gusnasco must have died a few years before our spinettina was built in Venice, but we may not be too far from the truth if we associate the workmanship revealed by our spinettina—above all, the combination of ebony and ivory with other precious woods and the exquisite marquetry—with the Gusnasco tradition.

So much about the shape, decoration, history, and provenience of our instrument. Musical connoisseurs and historians of music will ask how it sounds and inquire whether the claim made by the motto painted on the front board, “Rich am I in sound,” is really true. The spinettina is in perfect playing condition and has a crisp, silvery, and—considering its modest dimensions—surprisingly clear and loud tone. Yet such an assertion, like all verbalizations of tonal qualities, is insufficient. We hope that in the near future, at one of the demonstrations in the galleries of musical instruments, our spinettina will appear as one of the protagonists, emitting the voice that must have charmed, four hundred years ago, its listeners in Venice and Urbino.

A. Luzio and R. Renier, “La cultura e le relazioni letterarie di Isabella d'Este Gonzaga,” *Giornale storico della letteratura Italiana*, *passim*.

16. Quoted in Antonio Bertolotti, *Artisti in relazione coi Gonzaga Signori di Mantova* (Modena, 1885) p. 108.

Patrons of Robert Adam at the Metropolitan Museum

JAMES PARKER

Curator of Western European Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

A RELATIVELY happy course through life could have been predicted for Lord Frederick Campbell (Figure 1) at birth. Among the advantages bestowed upon him then were intelligence, good looks, longevity (his own life span of eighty-seven years was to surpass that of his father, who lived to be seventy-seven, and of his brother who died at the age of eighty-three in 1806, ten years before himself), and an assured position, as the youngest son of a Scottish duke-to-be, in the social hierarchy of the time. Born in 1729, the fourth son of the heir to the dukedom of Argyll, he was educated at Westminster School and at Christ Church, Oxford, receiving permission to practice law in 1753. He chose to enter politics as a Scottish Member of Parliament, and represented Glasgow and Argyllshire from 1761 until 1799.¹ It was therefore possibly in London, early in his political career, that he met a fellow countryman, Robert Adam, who had settled there in 1758.

A strong fellow feeling existed at that time among the Scots who lived in London. Numbers of them were in the habit of foregathering at the British Coffee House in Cockspur Street, a building designed by Robert Adam, to discuss affairs of the nation, *their* nation. However Lord Frederick and Robert Adam happened to meet, it is certain that they were acquainted by 1767, the date written on the sketch for a bookcase, one of the large collection of Adam drawings in

1. Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, I, p. 384.

Sir John Soane's Museum, London.² The architect inscribed this sketch across the top: "Design of a Bookcase for The Right Honourable Lord Frederick Campbell" (Figure 2).

The piece of furniture that was executed from this design is now at the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 3). It is of pine, stained to resemble mahogany, with parts of the carved detail highlighted by gilding. The two doors below open on two cupboards, while the upper section consists of two compartments each enclosed behind a glass-fronted door. The insertion of panes of glass into these doors constitutes the most glaring departure from Adam's design, where the spaces between the upper door frames are occupied by a kind of trelliswork picked out in yellow wash on a light blue ground. Obviously Adam never intended that glass should be used in the doors: the books were to be protected by a metal grid, presumably of polished brass, behind which would hang a blue silk curtain, intended as a sort of dust sheet for the books (the practice of stretching silk artfully across shelves of books persisted well into the following century—as the cabinetmaker George Smith observes of a bookcase design published in 1828:³ "The central part with the wings, is represented as having the doors filled with silk . . . for nothing can distress the eye more than the

2. Soane Mus., Adam Drawings, XVII, no. 215.

3. Smith, *Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide*, p. 208, pl. CXLII.

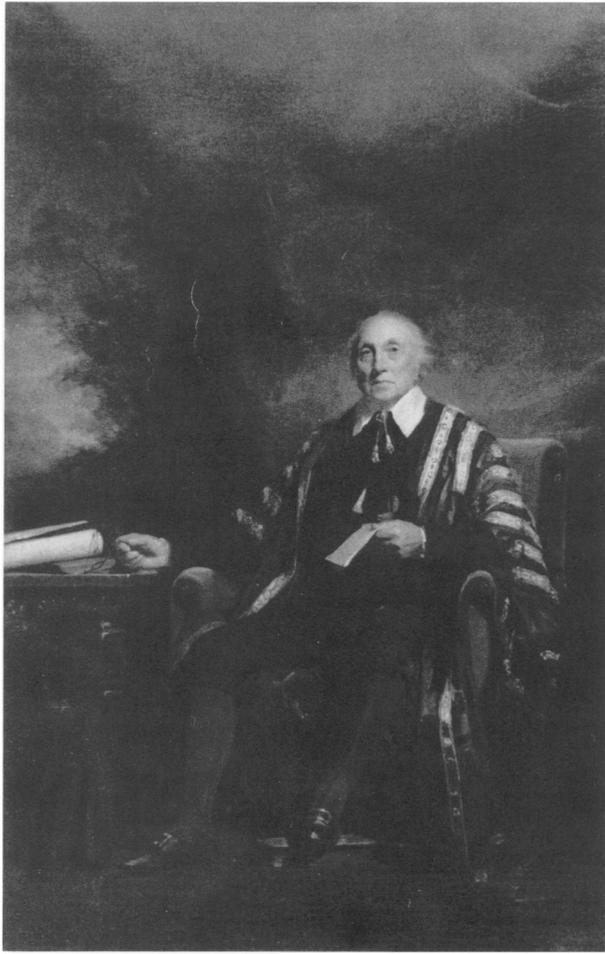


FIGURE 1
Lord Frederick Campbell, by Sir Henry Raeburn, Scottish, about 1810. General Register House, Edinburgh (photo: Francis C. Inglis & Sons Ltd)

sight of a countless number of volumes occupying one entire space.”). At an indeterminate date this grid-and-curtain device must have been discarded in favor of the more revealing glass, set into the door frames as they now appear. The keyhole covers, as executed, represent another divergence from the sketch: a gilt-bronze oval rosette has replaced the elongated-husk motif shown in the drawing. Economy might have suggested this change. The London cabinetmaker who was responsible for the bookcase may have hesitated to commission a specially designed mount from a foundry in Birmingham, as was the extravagant practice of the

day.⁴ Instead he may have chosen keyhole covers for the two sets of doors from his own stock on hand. Whatever the case, apart from these factors, the resemblance of Adam’s drawing to the finished product is quite close—the dimensions are even the same: the baseboard of the bookcase measures six feet across, the exact width indicated in the scale on the lower edge of the drawing.

In this drawing, Adam has finished off the top of the bookcase with a pair of vases and a sculptured head of a boy, evocations of classical antiquity which the architect was able to supply from his imagination. Such elements are mute witness of his ability “to seize . . . the beautiful spirit of antiquity, and to transfuse it, with novelty and variety. . . .”⁵ Both the drawing and the three-dimensional piece of furniture exhibit other freely interpreted classicizing motifs: guilloche mouldings and flutings, husk festoons, rosettes and paterae, trophies of urns and shields. In executing this decoration, the woodcarver’s chisel has not attenuated the strong rectangular lines of the bookcase, which stands as solid evidence of Robert Adam’s maturing style.

As was his custom when designing furniture, Adam must have had a specific setting for the bookcase in mind before taking the sketch in hand. Primarily an architect, he largely concerned himself with the façades and floor plans of buildings. Like other architects of the time, however, he annexed the province of what is now the interior decorator, surpassing himself in efforts to design subtly harmonious interiors for his architecture. Thus it seems likely that the bookcase, as well as an unidentified cabinet and mirror with similar decoration, which appear in another drawing, also dated 1767 and inscribed “For Lord Frederick Campbell,” were intended as part of a scheme for a room in Lord Frederick’s house, Combe Bank, in Kent.⁶

This house, which stands, much altered, a few miles to the west of Sevenoaks, was built for General John Campbell, Lord Frederick’s father, by the architect Roger Morris. Upon his succession to the dukedom in 1761, General Campbell relinquished the house, which consisted of a typical Palladian structure with square

4. Boynton, *Furniture History*, II, pp. 25–26.

5. Adam, *Works in Architecture*, I; preface, p. 6.

6. Soane Mus., Adam Drawings, XX, no. 31.

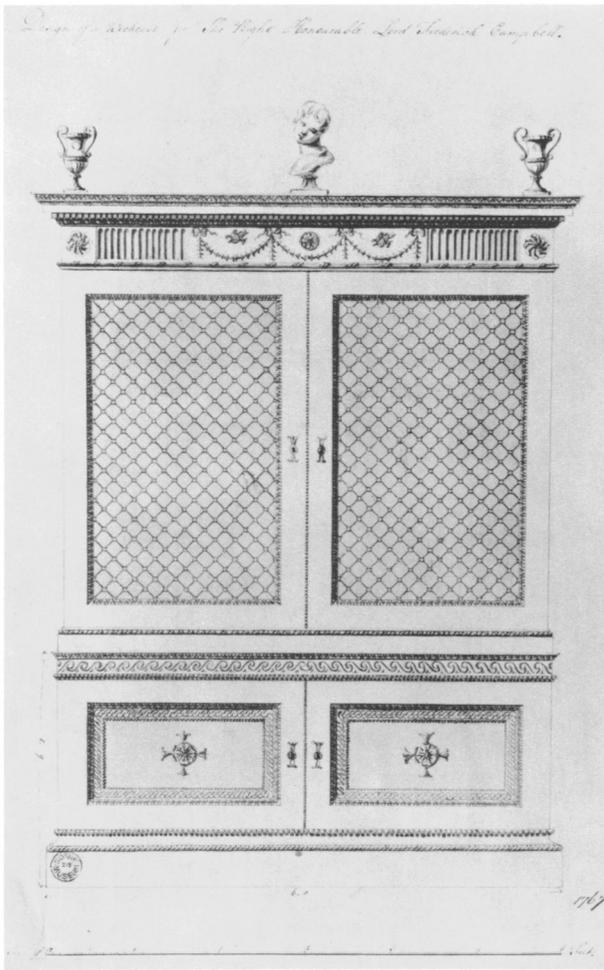


FIGURE 2

Pen and wash drawing of a bookcase, signed by Robert Adam. Scottish, dated 1767. Sir John Soane's Museum, London (photo: R. B. Fleming & Co. Ltd)

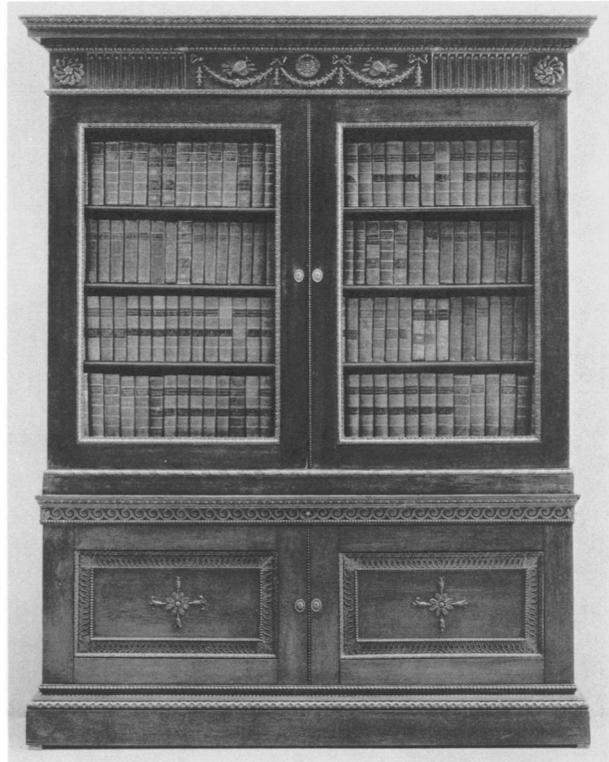
corner turrets,⁷ to his younger son, who subsequently asked Adam to supply drawings for a remodeling scheme of modest proportions.

The main lines of Lord Frederick's life and character are well known from observations in memoirs and letters of the time. When scarcely more than a boy he made the acquaintance of Horace Walpole, twelve years his senior, whom he was to encounter over a period of fifty years (Walpole named him an executor in the will that he drew up in 1796). A bachelor until the age of forty, it was Walpole who signaled his mar-

7. Woolfe and Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, IV, p. 9, figs. 75-77.

FIGURE 3

Bookcase. Pine, stained to resemble mahogany. Made for Lord Frederick Campbell's house, Combe Bank, in Kent. English, about 1767. H. 7 ft. 11½ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cadwalader Fund, 17.111.1



riage in a letter to George Montagu, dated March 26, 1769: "Lord Frederick Campbell is, at last, to be married this evening to the Dowager Countess of Ferrers."⁸

The new Lady Campbell had been married before, but was already separated from her first husband, Laurence, fourth Earl Ferrers, when he shot his steward in a fit of rage, a crime for which he was sentenced to the gallows. Horace Walpole details the carrying out of this sentence in a letter, dated May 7, 1760, written to Horace Mann in Florence,⁹ that opens with the rousing query: "What will your Italians say to a peer of England, an earl of one of the best families, tried for murdering his servant, with the utmost dignity and solemnity, and then hanged at the common place of

8. Walpole, *Letters*, VII, p. 264.

9. Walpole, *Letters*, IV, p. 378.

execution for highwaymen, and afterwards anatomized?" The streets of London were thronged with spectators hoping to see the condemned man ride in a carriage procession from the Tower of London to Tyburn, and it was on this occasion that Earl Ferrers is reported to have uttered the famous extenuating words, "But they never saw a lord hanged, and perhaps will never see another."

According to another account, Lord Frederick attended the trial as a lawyer, and caught the first glimpse of his future wife when she appeared on the witness stand to give evidence. Be that as it may, a few years were suffered to elapse before he married her in 1769, and took her off to live at Combe Bank.

In the year before his marriage, Lord Frederick had been named Lord Clerk Register of Scotland, a position that carried with it responsibility for all the Scottish public records. A new building to house these records was badly needed, and in 1769 Robert Adam was commissioned to draw up plans that began to take material shape in June 1774, when Lord Frederick laid the foundation stone of the Register House¹⁰ (Figure 4). This block-like structure, with its front two hundred

10. Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert & James Adam*, II, pp. 221–235.

feet in length, represents Adam's only project for a large public building ever to be brought to completion (it still stands at the corner of Prince's Street, across from the General Post Office in Edinburgh). Its massive scale contrasts with the work of small scope but great delicacy which Robert Adam carried out for Lord Frederick's personal account.

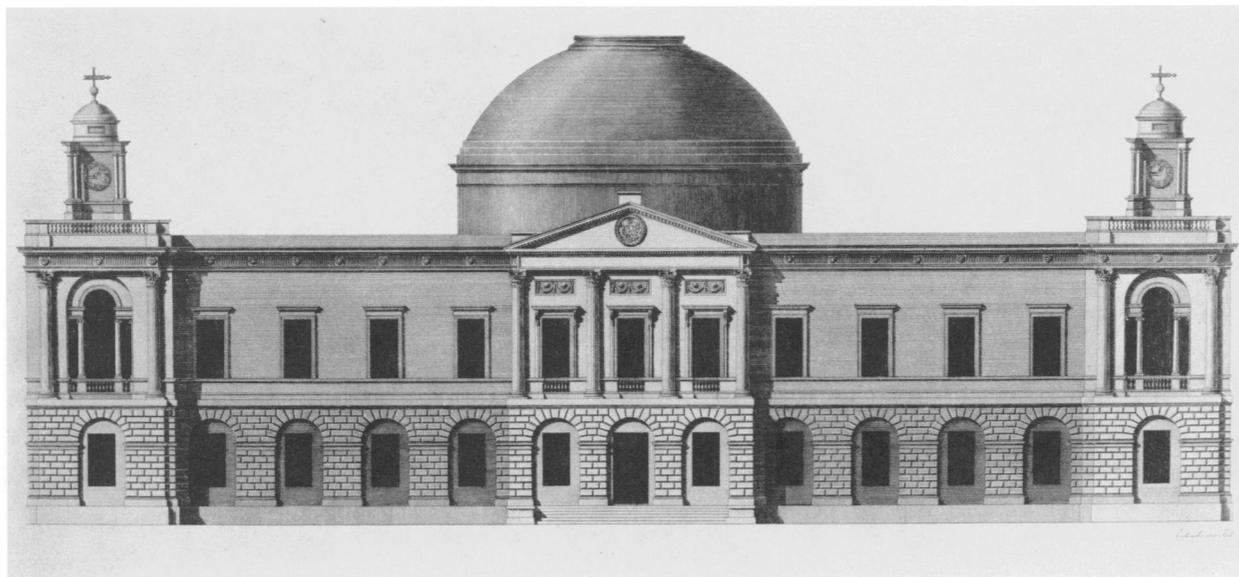
Sir Henry Raeburn painted the best-known portrait of Lord Frederick Campbell, which now hangs in the great rotunda of the Register House (Figure 1). Other portraits were painted by Thomas Gainsborough and Sir Thomas Lawrence, all of which show him seated, and wearing the robes of the Lord Clerk Register. Apparently Lord Frederick's qualities were not eclipsed with the passing of youth. Sir Nathaniel Wraxall described him as "still elegant and distinguished even in decay,"¹¹ while the English painter and diarist Joseph Farington could write of him in 1811:

Lord Frederick Campbell, brother to the late Duke of Argyll, came at noon and staid till the even'g.—He is 82 years of age, but excepting much deafness seemed to have nothing to complain of but the natural effects of Old age. He resides at Coombe bank near Sevenoaks, and abt. 12 miles from Red Leaf.

11. Wraxall, *Posthumous Memoirs*, I, p. 247.

FIGURE 4

Façade of the Register House, Edinburgh. Built from designs by Robert Adam, 1769–1788. Engraving from *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, I (London, 1775)



I remarked that Lord Frederick at table did not forbear from high dishes. He ate soup,—stewed Carp—Roast Pork, rich pye, and at dinner drank three glasses of Madeira. After dinner He ate grapes, and drank abt. 2 glasses of Madeira. . . .

Lord Frederick is reckoned to be a sensible man, He was long in Parliament in which He never spoke but twice, but those speeches raised His credit as they were made with considerable ability.—His understanding and agreeable manners have made Him much in request in Society. He has had many fancies in building, furnishing, &c. which have been expensive, and has always been in consequence of these indulgencies somewhat distressed, at least has had no superfluity.¹²

In 1759 Lord Frederick's older brother, the future fifth Duke of Argyll, had married Elizabeth Gunning, one of the two sisters renowned for their beauty. It cannot be said that Elizabeth Gunning's looks did not receive their due: the daughter of a penniless Irishman, she married into two Scottish ducal families, and was the mother of no fewer than four Scottish dukes. Her equally beautiful sister Maria, though she fell short of this mark, was accounted to have made an excellent match when, in 1752, she took George William, sixth Earl of Coventry (Figure 5), as her husband. Unfortunately "the charming countess," as Walpole called her, survived only eight years of married life. Her death at the age of twenty-seven in 1760 was laid to the overuse of cosmetics containing poisonous white lead pigment.

At the time of his first marriage, Horace Walpole described the Earl of Coventry (1722–1809) as ". . . a grave young lord, of the remains of the Patriot breed."¹³ The rare qualities implied by this description seem never to have been realized. Instead Lord Coventry became increasingly pedantic, overbearing, and self-centered as he grew older. These characteristics emerge from the letters which George James "Gilly" Williams wrote to George Selwyn, describing the Earl's new ménage (he married his second wife, Barbara St. John, in 1764), ". . . but as to his lordship, he certainly surpasses all you can conceive of him: his plantations, his house, his wife, his plate, his equipage, his—etc., etc., etc.—are all topics that call forth his genius continually."¹⁴ "Coventry has given us one din-

12. *The Farington Diary*, VII, pp. 49–51.

13. Walpole, *Letters*, III, p. 85.

14. Letter of October 8, 1764; Jesse, *Memoirs of George Selwyn*, I, p. 306.



FIGURE 5
George William, sixth Earl of Coventry, by Allan Ramsay. Scottish, 1764. Croome Estate Trust

ner in Margaret Street, and has been most excellent in his old way of disputation."¹⁵ "The countess . . . will, about the end of the nine months, do credit to our friend, who goes on just as usual, opposing and disputing with every person, every night at the old club [White's], to the no small surprise of some new members. . . ."¹⁶ "This house is full of tobacco; the yard is full of tenants, and the peer, with an important face, is telling us how much he pays to the land-tax."¹⁷

The "house" referred to in these letters was, of course, Croome Court, the earl's country seat in Worcestershire (Figure 6; the name derives from the ancient British word *crombe*, meaning "the winding stream," applicable to a nearby brook). The exterior architecture and some of the interiors of this house were the

15. Letter of January 4, 1765; Jesse, *Memoirs of George Selwyn*, I, p. 342.

16. Letter of February 22, 1765; Jesse, *Memoirs of George Selwyn*, I, p. 361.

17. Letter of October 21, 1765; Jesse, *Memoirs of George Selwyn*, I, p. 412.

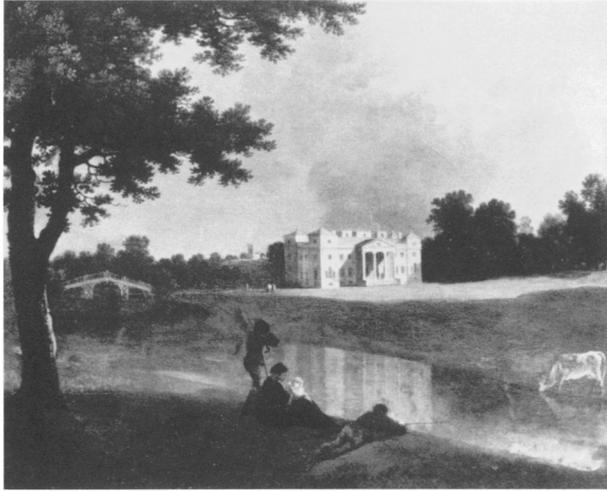


FIGURE 6
Detail of Croome Court, Worcestershire, by
Richard Wilson. Welsh, 1758. Croome Estate
Trust

work of Lancelot “Capability” Brown, better known for his landscaping schemes. In 1760, however, Brown was replaced by Robert Adam, who was asked to supply plans for the remaining rooms, and to put the finishing touches to the decoration of the house.¹⁸ The Metropolitan Museum is fortunate in owning a complete room from this house, the Tapestry Room, the architecture of which is largely due to Adam (this room, its Gobelin tapestries, and its furniture, all the gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation in 1958, are described in *Decorative Art from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Metropolitan Museum*, by Carl Christian Dauterman, James Parker, and Edith Appleton Standen [London, 1964] pp. 2–57).

Since that time the Museum has been able to acquire two more pieces of furniture from Croome Court, a table and mirror of carved and painted pine (Figure 7), one of a pair that was formerly placed against the piers of the window wall in the Gallery at Croome. This room occupied the space behind the east front, on the main floor of the side of the house facing the bridge in Wilson’s painting (Figure 6).

In 1760–1761, Adam supplied a preliminary design “for finishing the Gallery at Croome in the Manner of a Library.”¹⁹ This plan was abandoned, and in June 1763, he charged Lord Coventry £16 16s for a design “To a New Section of the Gallery finished in the Antique Taste with Statues Bas Reliefs &c.” This

18. Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert & James Adam*, I, pp. 178–191.

19. Extract from Adam’s bills at Croome Estate Office, Worcestershire.

FIGURE 7
Table and mirror. Painted pine. Made for the
Gallery at Croome Court. English, 1765. H. of
table 2 ft. 11½ in. H. of mirror 11 ft. 8 in. The
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund,
65.127, 60.31.2



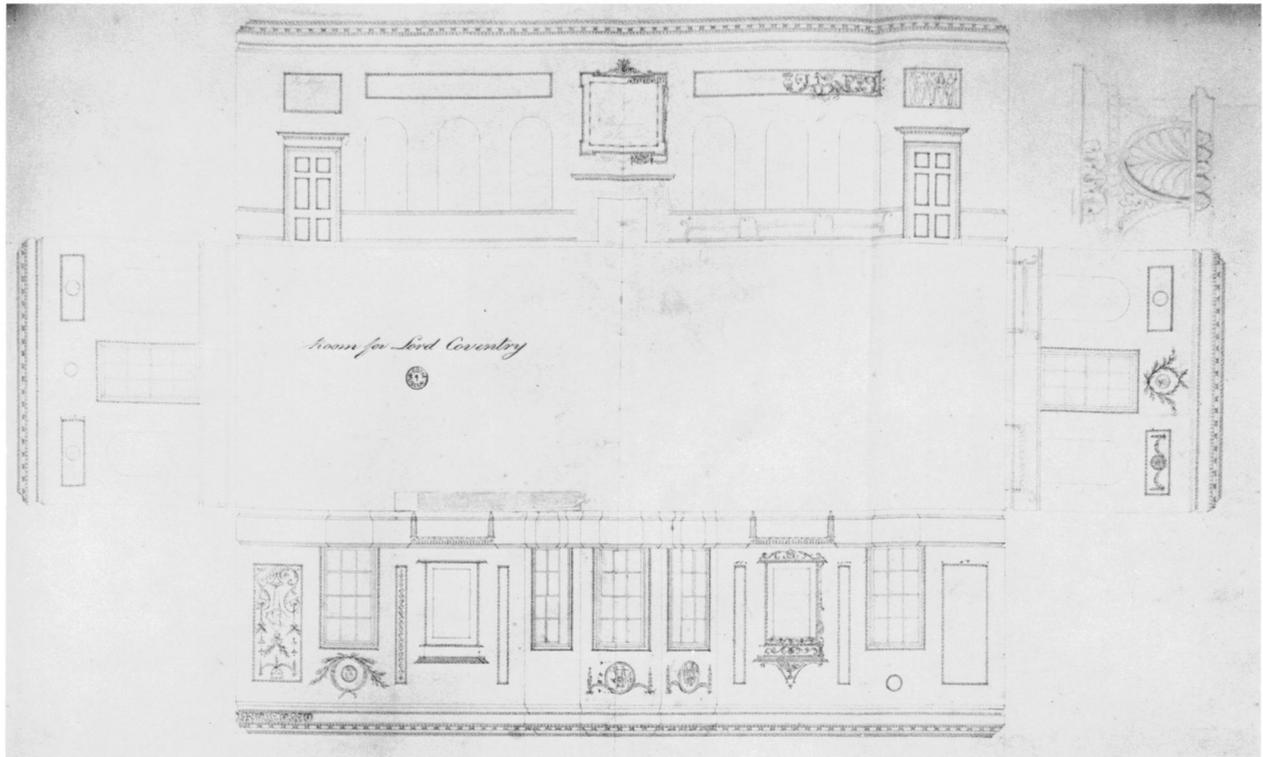


FIGURE 8

Pen and wash plan and elevation of the Gallery at Croome Court, by Robert Adam, 1763. Sir John Soane's Museum, London (photo: R. B. Fleming & Co. Ltd)

drawing, inscribed "Room for Lord Coventry," is also in Sir John Soane's Museum²⁰ (Figure 8). It shows most of the features of the room as it was carried out, and includes a sketchy indication of the chimneypiece commissioned from the sculptor Joseph Wilton, as well as ten niches for figures of standing classical subjects, which were to be modeled in stucco by John Cheere (two of these figures have recently been acquired by the Los Angeles County Museum²¹). This drawing, furthermore, clearly depicts a pair of tables and mirrors against the window wall.

The Museum's mirror derives quite closely from one of the mirrors shown in this sketch. The design for the tables shown under the mirrors was, however, not used; a separate drawing in the same collection, dated 1765 and inscribed "Table frame for the Drawing Room at Sion"²² (Figure 9), seems to have provided the main

outlines for the execution of these tables. The Earl of Northumberland, who was carrying out alterations on Syon House at this time, might have rejected this drawing, whereupon the architect may have submitted the same design to Lord Coventry. Whatever the procedure followed, Adam certainly prepared a sketch and his office furnished a large-scale working drawing of both pieces of furniture. His bills, which are among the many building and furnishing accounts kept by Lord Coventry (now the property of the Croome Estate Trust), contain the following entries, under the date July 1765:

Design of a Glass frame for the Gallery at Croome
£5 5s.

Drawings at full size of the parts of ditto for the execution
£2 2s.

Design of a Table frame for the Gallery at Croome
£3 3s.

Drawing of ditto at large £1 1s.

These highly pertinent drawings seem unfortunately to have disappeared, and may have been destroyed.

20. Soane Mus., Adam Drawings, L, no. 9.

21. Norman-Wilcox, *Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bulletin* 17, no. 3 (1965) pp. 14-31.

22. Soane Mus., Adam Drawings, XVII, no. 4.

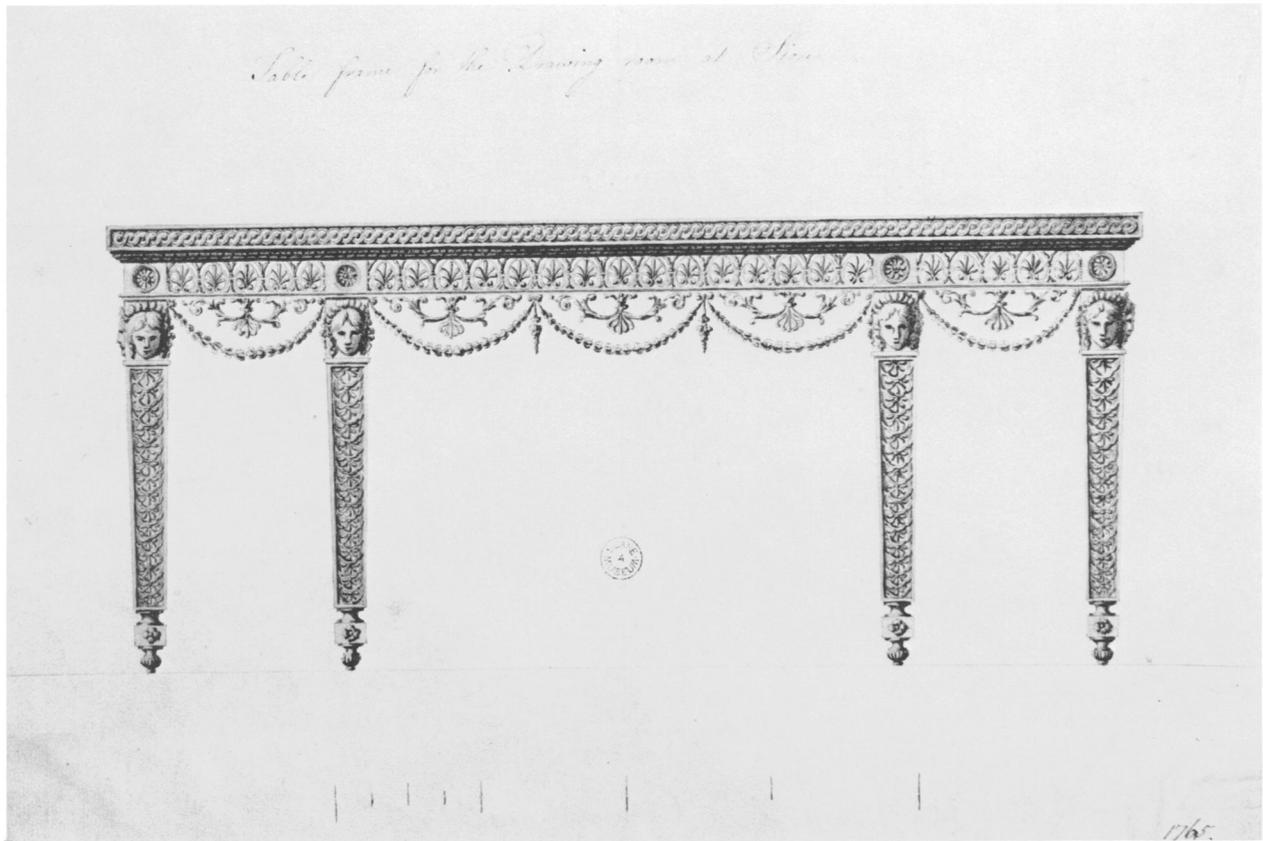


FIGURE 9

Pen and wash drawing of a table, probably the original sketch for the pair of tables in the Gallery, Croome Court, by Robert Adam, 1765. Sir John Soane's Museum, London (photo: R. B. Fleming & Co. Ltd)

Adam's bill was closely followed by one from the woodcarver Sefferin Alken for the execution of the tables and mirrors.²³ This bill is dated August 1765, and reads:

Carvers Work done for the Right Honble. the Earl of Coventry pr. Seffin. Alken, to long Gallery at Croome two Table frames to Slabs 7 ft. long by 2 ft. 10 wide, the legs panneld a Ornamt. in Do. [ditto] a Womans head over it & flower top & bottom &c. the Mouldings to Raile Enrichd, and a rich fret between,—Oramts. under the Raile—between the legs festoons of husks in swags & Drops with foilage &c. [these motifs between the legs are missing, though traces of them can be seen under the apron of the table—the drawing dated 1765, Figure 9, conveys an impression of these lost elements] Each at £25 13s . . . two glass frames over Do. Tables to Plates 7 ft. long by 4 ft. wide.—A Archite. [architrave] round 3 members Carvd, and Rich ornament to facia

23. Extract from bills at Croome Estate Office.

[fascia] between—at top a Ornament with 2 Carvd Scroles foilage & flooons &c. a rich vase between scroles—a Cove Cornice richly carvd—under Do. a frize with foilage & Ornamts. at ends—the bottom Ornamt. Carvd rich foilage & flowers A honey suckel & floron between, a large Oge [ogee moulding, i.e., an S-curve] over Do. with raffeld Lfe. [raffle = acanthus leaf] and water Lfes.—the side pieces Carvd a Womans head, large scrole with foilage & husks, a festoon of Leaves dropping on profile, part &c. Extent of Work 11 ft. 6 In. high by 5 ft. 10 In. wide. Each at £33 16s.

From the wording of this bill it is evident that the marble "Slabs" for the two tables and the glass "Plates" for the pair of mirrors were on hand before the furniture itself materialized.

The two table tops of green brecciated marble, cut in sheets and veneered on a cement core, may have been acquired by Lord Coventry from James Adam,

Robert's younger brother. Between 1760 and 1763, James Adam lived in Italy where he carried on a genteel trade in art works and executed a number of commissions for Englishmen. During that time he is known to have supplied just such marble slabs for Croome Court.²⁴

The mirror glass, on the other hand, was probably ordered in France. Large plates of glass, suitable for mirrors, were then prohibitively expensive—they might cost five or six times as much as their frames—and were often imported from Paris. This was because French craftsmen at this time had mastered, to a far greater degree than the English, the technique of casting such plates. Lord Coventry visited Paris in 1763 and 1764, and he may have ordered the mirror glass for the Museum's frame at that time. "Gilly" Williams even makes known his intention to this effect in a letter dated July 18, 1763²⁵: "Cov. is returned to town: he stays to relieve the distresses of half a dozen half-starved vestals, and then talks of setting out for France. . . . His errand is to buy furniture, to talk of tapestry and glasses, and to pay for importing a worse thing than an English courier could have helped him to."

In addition to carving the table and mirror frames, Sefferin Alken also carried out a great deal of other work at Croome. He was, in fact, responsible for the fine woodcarving on the paneling of the Tapestry Room. His name is, however, familiar from another context, for by his second marriage he became the father of the well-known line of sporting painters that included Samuel and Henry Thomas Alken.²⁶

The bills that Lord Coventry collected also disclose the name of the painter who gave the pair of tables and mirrors four coats of paint. Charles Aylmer's undated bill, paid on March 8, 1768,²⁷ specifies: "No 2 large Glass frames Very rich Carv'd done 4 times Dead Stone Colour in Great Room £2 os. . . . No 2 Frames to Sideboards in Do. Richly Carv'd, 4 times done £1 16s." Though the painted surface of the Museum's mirror and table has been renewed, its warm grey tone still closely approximates this "Dead Stone Colour."

24. Fleming, *Robert Adam and his Circle*, p. 376.

25. Jesse, *Memoirs of George Selwyn*, I, pp. 254–255.

26. Sparrow, *A Book of Sporting Painters*, pp. 128–129.

27. Extract from bills at Croome Estate Office.

In 1959 the Museum was able to buy the pair of mirrors, which until then had hung on the walls of the Gallery at Croome. They were shown in a room of late eighteenth-century English furniture until 1965, when an exchange was effected with the Philadelphia Museum, the purchaser, twenty years before, of the two tables designed to stand under them. That trade of a mirror for a table has made it possible for each museum to exhibit one group of this very fine documented furniture.²⁸

The last of Adam's clients is William Petty Fitzmaurice (1739–1805), second Earl of Shelburne, created first Marquis of Lansdowne in 1784 (Figure 10). Of the three patrons treated in this article, he was undeniably the richest (Joseph Farington allowed £5000 a year to Lord Frederick Campbell; the Earl of Coventry confessed to benefiting from annual rents of £10,000; Lord Lansdowne, however, was reputed to

28. The mirror and table at the Philadelphia Museum are illustrated in *Antiques* 91 (1967) no. 2, p. 200.

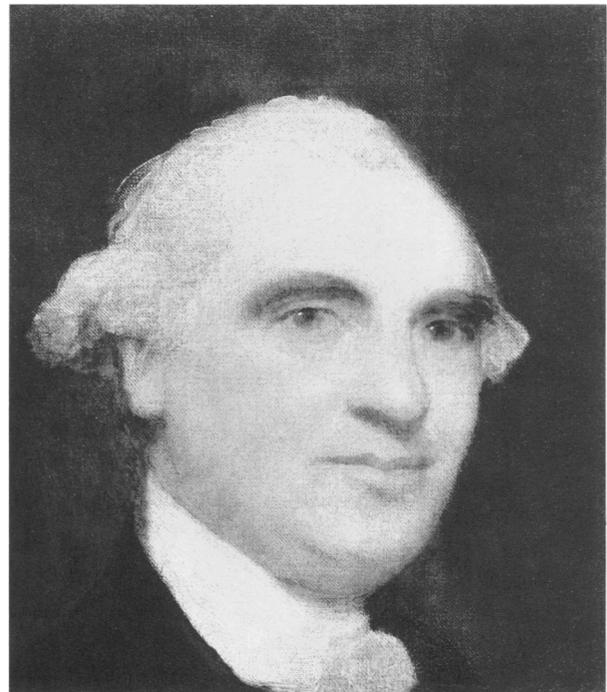


FIGURE 10

William, first Marquis of Lansdowne, by Sir Joshua Reynolds. English, about 1786. Courtesy of the Marquis of Lansdowne, Bowood, Wiltshire

enjoy a revenue of more than £30,000 a year, a huge sum for the time²⁹), and his residence on Berkeley Square (Figure 11), the dining room from which is now at the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 12), was quite often described as a “palace” in his own lifetime.

Unlike Lord Coventry, who aimed no higher than the post of Lord of the Bedchamber, and was content to wield power in local Worcestershire elections, Lord Lansdowne scorned the lesser political roles, and aspired to a position of prominence on the national scene. His ambition was rewarded by a succession of appointments, which he held for short intervals over a period of twenty years. He was President of the Board of

Trade for less than a year in 1763, and was subsequently named Secretary of State for the Southern Department by his preceptor, the Earl of Chatham, an appointment that he held in 1766 and 1767. During the twelve-year Tory ministry of Lord North, Lord Shelburne, as he was then called, languished in the relative obscurity of the opposition, but in July 1782 he was called to form his own ministry, which he headed as First Lord of the Treasury until February 1783. Although favorable to liberal solutions, and a partisan of free speech, free trade, a large degree of autonomy for the American colonies, and abolition of discrimination on grounds of religion, he never acquired the aura of a popular politician. His term as Prime Minister, in fact, generated a shower of brilliant invective:

29. *The Farington Diary*, I, p. 33.



FIGURE 11
Lansdowne House, Berkeley Square, 1763–1768, in a photograph taken about 1922 (photo: Country Life)

FIGURE 12 (OPPOSITE)
The dining room from Lansdowne House, 1766–1768. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 32.12 (photo: Taylor & Dull)



George III called him “the jesuit of Berkeley Square,” while Horace Walpole could write of him, “his falsehood was so constant and notorious that it was rather his profession than his instrument. . . .” and Edmund Burke could declare before Parliament, “If Lord Shelburne was not a Cataline or a Borgia in morals, it must not be ascribed to anything but his understanding.”³⁰ Many of his attitudes were advanced for the time and were widely misrepresented, while his actions were uniformly decried as autocratic. A suspicious and constrained public manner further alienated public opinion, and his resignation in 1783, brought about by the

peace treaty signed with the United States, effectively put an end to his career.

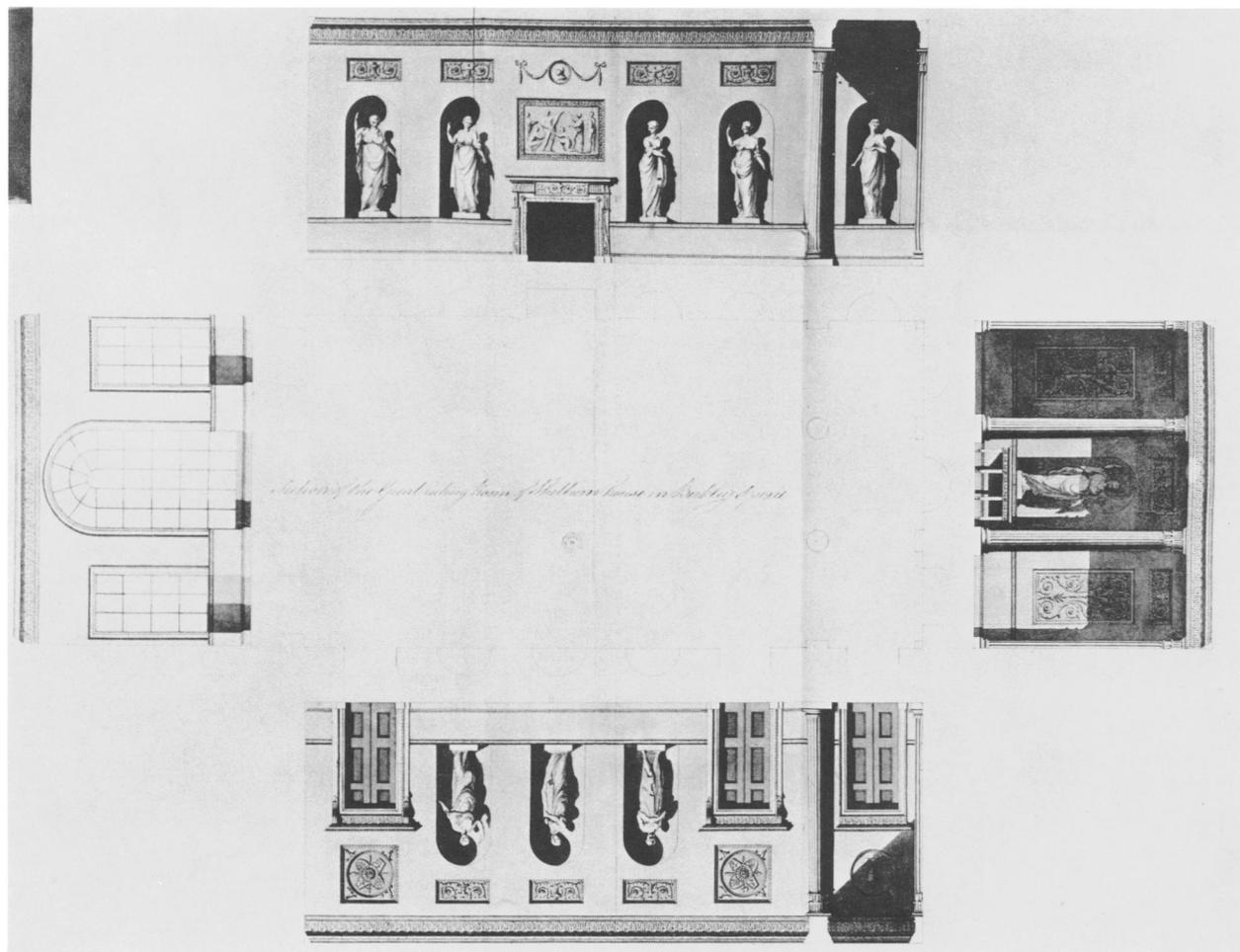
The building to be known as Lansdowne House owed its inception to another Prime Minister, the Earl of Bute, who had bought a wedge-shaped plot of land along the southern side of Berkeley Square, extending seventy-five yards to the west. Lord Bute’s choice seems naturally to have fallen on Robert Adam, a fellow Scotsman, as architect for the house that must actually have been begun during Bute’s ministry, which lasted from November 1761 until April 1763.

It had a favorable situation, set well back in its own grounds, and was described in 1838 as “one of the few [houses] in London, which, being situated in a garden

30. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XV, p. 1011.

FIGURE 13

Pen and wash drawing for the walls of the dining room at Lansdowne House, 1766, by Robert Adam. Sir John Soane’s Museum, London (photo: R. B. Fleming & Co. Ltd)



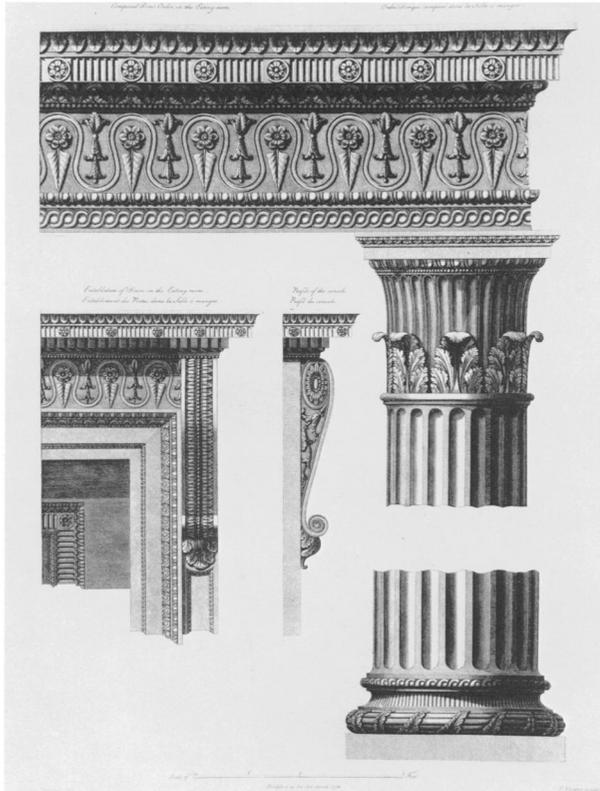


FIGURE 14
Detail of the ornament in the dining room. Engraving from *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam, II* (London, 1779)

surrounded with walls, unites the advantages of the most fashionable neighborhood with a certain retirement, and in the midst of pleasing natural scenery.”³¹ In September 1765, Lord Bute sold the partially built structure to his fellow peer, Lord Shelburne, then at the outset of his political career. At this time, the future Marquis of Lansdowne had almost three years to wait before he and his family could move in. Under the date of August 10, 1768, Lady Shelburne’s diary contains the following notation: “On the ground floor we have the Hall, Antichamber, & Dining Room, which are quite finished, except for the glasses, the window curtains & chairs, which makes it very doubtful if we can ask the King of Denmark to dinner.”³²

The dining room, an interior of imposing dimensions

31. Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists in England*, II, pp. 257–258.

32. Quoted in Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert & James Adam*, II, p. 8, pp. 312–314.

which measures 47 feet 2 inches long, 24 feet 6 inches wide, and 18 feet high, was originally on the ground floor in the south wing of the house. It lay behind the round-topped window on the left in the photograph, Figure 11 (the two end walls have since had to be interchanged in order to fit the room into the space assigned to it at the Museum).

In August 1766, Robert Adam charged Lord Shelburne £12 12s. “To a design of a section of four sides for the dining room”³³ (Figure 13). This drawing, also at the Soane Museum,³⁴ shows the room fitted with nine niches for classical sculpture, very much as it was later carried out. Several engraved plates of Lansdowne House furthermore appear in volume two of *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, published in London in 1779. The sixth plate of this series is devoted to details of the “Eating-room” (Figure 14), and shows the woodcarving on the top of a doorcase and on the base and capital of one of the two columns in the room. This and the other fine woodcarving in the room is due to the sculptor John Gilbert (according to his bills, he also provided carved wood examples of “6 Fig leaves to figures to ye niches . . . at 5s. each”³⁵). Adam’s design of a ribbon weaving around alternating motifs of husks and pendant leaves attached to rosettes (Figure 15), which Gilbert carved on the lintel of the doorcase, also occurs on the entablature of the marble chimneypiece, attributed to the sculptor Thomas Carter,³⁶ as well as on the plaster frieze, where the rosettes and leaves were cast upside down (compare Figures 14 and 15).

This anomaly must have resulted from an oversight on the part of Joseph Rose, who is known to have carried out the plasterwork of the room. For the completed job, Rose charged the sum of £298 15s 9½d, the largest item in his plastering account.³⁷ The sum seems justified by the effect produced, for the feathery arabesques of griffins and putti, vases and trophies of arms, marvelous leaf garlands, sprays, rosettes, Vitruvian

33. Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, II, p. 340.

34. Soane Mus., Adam Drawings, XXXIX, no. 56.

35. Quoted in Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert & James Adam*, II, p. 344.

36. Carter’s account for other chimneypieces which he carved for Lansdowne House is given in Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, II, p. 344.

37. Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert & James Adam*, II, pp. 342–344.



FIGURE 15
The chimneypiece, overmantel, and frieze of the dining room. The grisaille scene in the plaster frame is the overmantel painting from the Gallery, Croome Court. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 60.50a

scrolls and fan-shaped motifs, cast in plaster, constitute one of the glories of this room. They stand out in relief, heightened by white paint, against the slate-colored walls (a color scheme that matches quite closely the vestiges of original paint that were uncovered when areas of the wall surface were analyzed before the room was opened at the Museum). A drawing for this ceiling has recently been identified³⁸ (Figure 16) that shows motifs very close to those that were subsequently carried out in plaster. No color was employed in this drawing; the areas of flat plaster are indicated by grey-wash brushwork, as they are on the drawing for the “section of four sides” (Figure 13).

Irrefutable evidence that this plaster ornament was

38. Stillman, *Decorative Work of Robert Adam*, p. 70.

originally cast, rather than modeled by hand, is supplied by the surviving boxwood moulds for some of the plaster motifs to be seen in the room. These reverse moulds were carved by a man named George Jackson,³⁹ and delivered to the team of plasterworkers headed by Joseph Rose. The moulds must have reverted to the original carver, for some of them are now owned by his descendants, incorporated under the name of George Jackson & Sons, and listed in the London telephone directory as “Jackson G. & Sons Ltd. Archtr Relief Dectrs, Rathbone wks, Rainville rd W6.”

Upon the death of the first Lord Lansdowne in 1805, his son was obliged to sell the greater part of the collection of paintings, manuscripts (acquired by the British Museum), books, and furniture brought together by his father. The sales of paintings took place in 1806, and included works by Rubens, Claude Lorrain, and Nicolas Poussin.⁴⁰ At the same time, between March 21 and April 2, 1806, a sale of household effects was held on the premises of Lansdowne House. The catalogue of this sale⁴¹ contains brief but informative descriptions of the furnishings of the dining room, which probably at that time largely consisted of the original contents bought for it by the first marquis. According to the list, the dining room was furnished with eighteen “mahogany chairs, stuffed seats and backs, covered with Morocco [leather], brass-nailed . . .,” several tables including “A set of mahogany dining tables, 7 feet 9 by 4 feet 8,” a mahogany sideboard flanked by a pair of urns and pedestals (possibly executed from designs which Robert Adam itemized in his bill dated August 1766: “To a Design of a Table frame for the Dining Room, Shelburne House £3 3s. To a Pedestal and Vase for ditto £2 2s.”⁴²), as well as “A mahogany wine cooler, brass-hooped, on a stand.” It seems likely that the “Two [Derbyshire] spar vases, and a pyramid” mentioned in this catalogue were intended for the chimneypiece mantel, while the floor was covered with “An excellent Turkey carpet . . . cut to fire place,” and the windows hung with “Three crimson silk damask drapery window curtains, laths,

39. Jourdain, *English Decoration and Furniture of the Later XVIII Century*, p. 130, fig. 202.

40. Sutton, *Country Life* 106 (December 2, 1854) pp. 1958–1963.

41. A copy of this catalogue is in the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, press no. 23n.

42. Quoted in Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert & James Adam*, II, p. 340.

lines, cornices, &c.” The lighting seems to have been effected with the aid of a set of six candelabra, described as “3-light cut-glass lustres, ornamented with drops,” and a pair of chandeliers, each of which was “A 6-light cut-glass lustre, ornamented with drops, brass chain &c.”

In the first volume of *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, published in 1773, the authors give their measured opinion on the decoration proper for a dining room: “The eating rooms are considered as the apartments of conversation, in which we are to pass a great part of our time. This renders it desirable to have them fitted up with elegance and splendor, but in a style different from that of other apartments. Instead of being hung with damask, tapestry, &c. they are always finished with stucco, and adorned with statues and paintings, that they may not retain the smell of the victuals.”⁴³ The first patron of Lansdowne House must have been imbued with the same sentiments, for he seems to have decided at an early stage to show examples from his own collection of antique

43. Adam, *Works in Architecture*, I, p. 11.

sculpture in the dining room. Thus nine standing figures were placed in the nine niches of the room, and two classical busts stood against the piers of the window wall. These sculptures, together with the others in the house, were offered for sale in 1810, but were bought in by the third marquis, and remained in place until 1930, when they were sold at Christie’s ⁴⁴ (eight of the niches have been filled with plaster casts in the room as reconstituted at the Museum; the ninth is occupied by a figure of Tyche, goddess of fortune, Figure 17, a Roman statue largely copied from a Greek original, which the Museum bought in 1961, and which stood in a niche on the fireplace wall before 1930⁴⁵).

In 1929, the year before this sale, the house and property passed out of the possession of the Lansdowne family. In 1931, the Metropolitan acquired the dining room, the elements of which remained crated until space became available, when the room was installed over a period of months, and opened at the Museum in November 1954. The original furniture had long been

44. Christie’s, London, March 5, 1930.

45. Christie’s, London, March 5, 1930, no. 106.

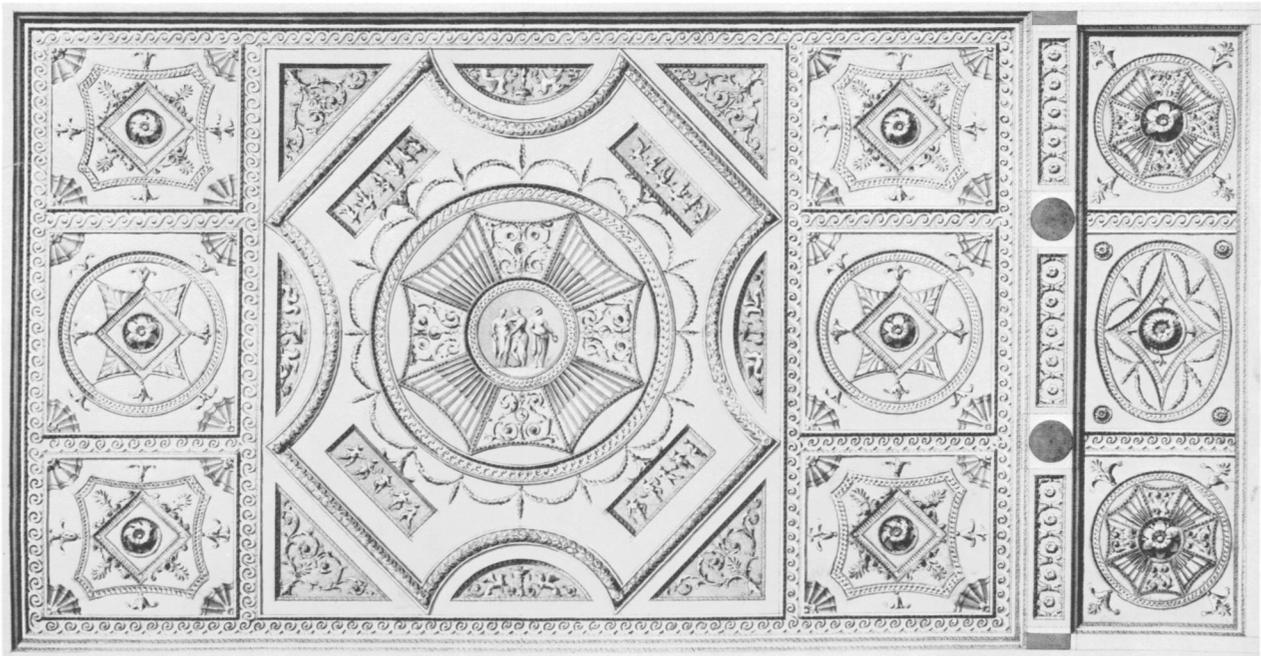


FIGURE 16

Pen and wash drawing for the ceiling of the Lansdowne House dining room, by Robert Adam, undated. Sir John Soane’s Museum, London (photo: R. B. Fleming & Co. Ltd)



FIGURE 17
Statue of Tyche, Roman
copy of a Greek original (a
Roman head of about the 11
century A.D. has been added).
Marble. H. 6 ft. 3 in. The
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Fletcher Fund, 61.82

dispersed, but other pieces of the period were found to complement the architecture. The tables in the room now serve to display fine examples of English silver from the Widener collection, installed in 1958 (see Figure 12).

In 1930, the Philadelphia Museum had bought the First Drawing Room, which at that time still adjoined the dining room on the northwest. This room, with its beautiful ceiling vignettes painted by Giovanni Battista Cipriani and Antonio Zucchi, opened at the Philadelphia Museum in 1943,⁴⁶ where it completes the series of English period rooms.

In 1933, the Westminster City Council decided that the remaining elements of Lansdowne House should be displaced forty feet to the west in order to make way for a new street (Fitzmaurice Place). This move entailed alterations to the existing façade as well as to the interior apartments of the house, which were largely remodeled and expanded to accommodate what is now the Lansdowne Club.⁴⁷

Such were the vicissitudes that made it possible to recreate in America some of the perfection of interior design that was achieved for Lord Shelburne's "palace" on Berkeley Square.

46. Kimball, *Philadelphia Museum Bulletin* 39, no. 199 (November 1943).

47. *Country Life* 77 (May 11, 1935) pp. 490-495, and Graves, *Leather Armchairs*, pp. 168-169.

REFERENCES

- Robert and James Adam, *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (London, 1773-1822) I, preface p. 6, p. 11; II, no. III, pl. VI.
- Arthur T. Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert & James Adam (1758-1794)* (London, 1922) I, pp. 178-191; II, pp. 1-17, 221-235, 312-314, 340, 342-344.
- Lindsay Boynton, "An Ince and Mayhew Correspondence," *Furniture History, the Journal of the Furniture History Society* 2 (1966) pp. 25-26.
- Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, 15 (New York, London, 1908-1909) p. 1011.
- Joseph Farington, *The Farington Diary*, ed. James Greig (London, 1922-1928) I, p. 33; VII, pp. 49-51.
- John Fleming, *Robert Adam and his Circle in Edinburgh & Rome* (London, 1962) p. 376.
- Charles Graves, *Leather Armchairs, the Book of London Clubs* (New York, 1964) pp. 168-169.
- John Heneage Jesse, *Memoirs of George Selwyn* (Boston, 1902) I, pp. 254-255, 306, 342, 361, 412.
- M. Jourdain, *English Decoration and Furniture of the Later XVIIIth Century (1760-1820). An Account of its Development and Characteristic Forms* (London, 1922) p. 130, fig. 202.
- Fiske Kimball, "Lansdowne House Redivivus," *Philadelphia Museum Bulletin* 39 (November 1943).
- "Lansdowne House. A Great London House Reconstructed," *Country Life* 77 (May 11, 1935) pp. 490-494.
- Gregor Norman-Wilcox, "Two Figures from Croome Court," *Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bulletin* 17, no. 3 (1965) pp. 14-31.
- Sir James Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage Founded on Wood's Edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland . . .* (Edinburgh, 1904) I, p. 384.
- George Smith, *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide . . .* (London, 1828) p. 208, pl. CXLII.
- Walter Shaw Sparrow, *A Book of Sporting Painters* (London and New York, 1931) pp. 128-129.
- Damie Stillman, *The Decorative Work of Robert Adam* (New York, 1966) p. 70.
- Denys Sutton, "Pictures from the Lansdowne Collection" *Country Life* 116 (December 2, 1954) pp. 1958-1963.
- G. F. Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists in England* (London, 1838) II, pp. 257-258.
- Horace Walpole, *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Orford*, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee (Oxford, 1903-1905) III, p. 85; IV, p. 378; VII, p. 264.
- Alice Winchester, editorial, *Antiques* 91 (February 1967) pp. 200-201.
- John Woolfe and James Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus or the British Architect* (London, 1777) IV, p. 9, figs. 75-77.
- Sir N. W. Wraxall, *Posthumous Memoirs of His Own Time*, 2nd ed. (London, 1836) I, p. 247.

The Pictures within Degas's Pictures

THEODORE REFF

Professor of Art History, Columbia University

I. Three of the paintings in the Metropolitan Museum's great collection of works by Degas—The Collector of Prints, the Portrait of James Tissot, and Sulking (or The Banker)—are doubly intriguing as images because other images are shown within them.¹ The anonymous collector (Figure 7) is surrounded by a variety of objects, including color prints of flowers in the portfolio and on the table, a statuette of a horse in the cupboard, and what appear to be fragments of wallpaper, photographs, calling cards, etc., on the bulletin board. The artist Tissot (Figure 10) is shown in a studio amid paintings of remarkably diverse subjects and styles: at the top, an imitation of a Japanese garden scene; at the sides, landscapes with figures in modern costume; behind the easel, a dramatic, colorful sketch; and in the center, a small, sober portrait. And the two figures in Sulking (Figure 24) are seen against a large engraving of a steeplechase, whose strenuous action provides a foil for their brooding inertia and also seems to offer a solution to the mystery of their identity and relationship.

In each of these paintings, the presence of works of art that are distinctly different in subject, scale, and visual texture from the larger work complicates and enriches our experience of the latter to an extraordinary degree.² For the smaller picture or object is not only an independent creation with its own content and circumscribed field, but a means of extending or dividing the larger field and of deepening the content of its imagery through formal or iconographic analogies. In doing so, it also calls attention to the artificial aspects of the picture in which it occurs, reminding us that even The

Collector of Prints, Sulking, and the portrait of Tissot, all painted between 1866 and 1871, in the most naturalistic period of Degas's art, are after all products of the artist's mind and hand, like the more visibly contrived works within them.³

In these respects, the picture within the picture is analogous to the literary devices of the play within the play and the narrative flashback, which likewise reveal the ambiguous relation to reality of the works in which they appear. In the visual arts, it is similar to two other motives that Degas frequently employed, sometimes in conjunction with the motive of the picture; namely, the mirror whose surface reflects in a condensed and essentially pictorial form a sector of the visual field around it, and the window or doorway whose frame intercepts in a fixed and equally pictorial manner a sector of the larger field behind it. At times he even juxtaposed these effects in the same work: in the Portrait of Mme Gobillard-Morisot, by framing her head between a doorway at one side that opens onto a garden, and a mirror at the other that reflects a portion

1. C. Sterling and M. Salinger, *French Paintings, A Catalogue of the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1967) III, pp. 61, 62–64, and 71–73, respectively.

2. On the history of this motive in European art, see A. Chastel, "Le tableau dans le tableau," *Stil und Ueberlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes (Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte*; Berlin, 1967) I, pp. 15–29.

3. Traditionally, this has been the function of the paintings and prints represented in *trompe-l'oeil* still lifes, a genre that, however, had no appeal for Degas; see M. Faré, *La nature morte en France* (Geneva, 1962) II, pls. 103–112, 151–153, and 448–453; also note 146, below.

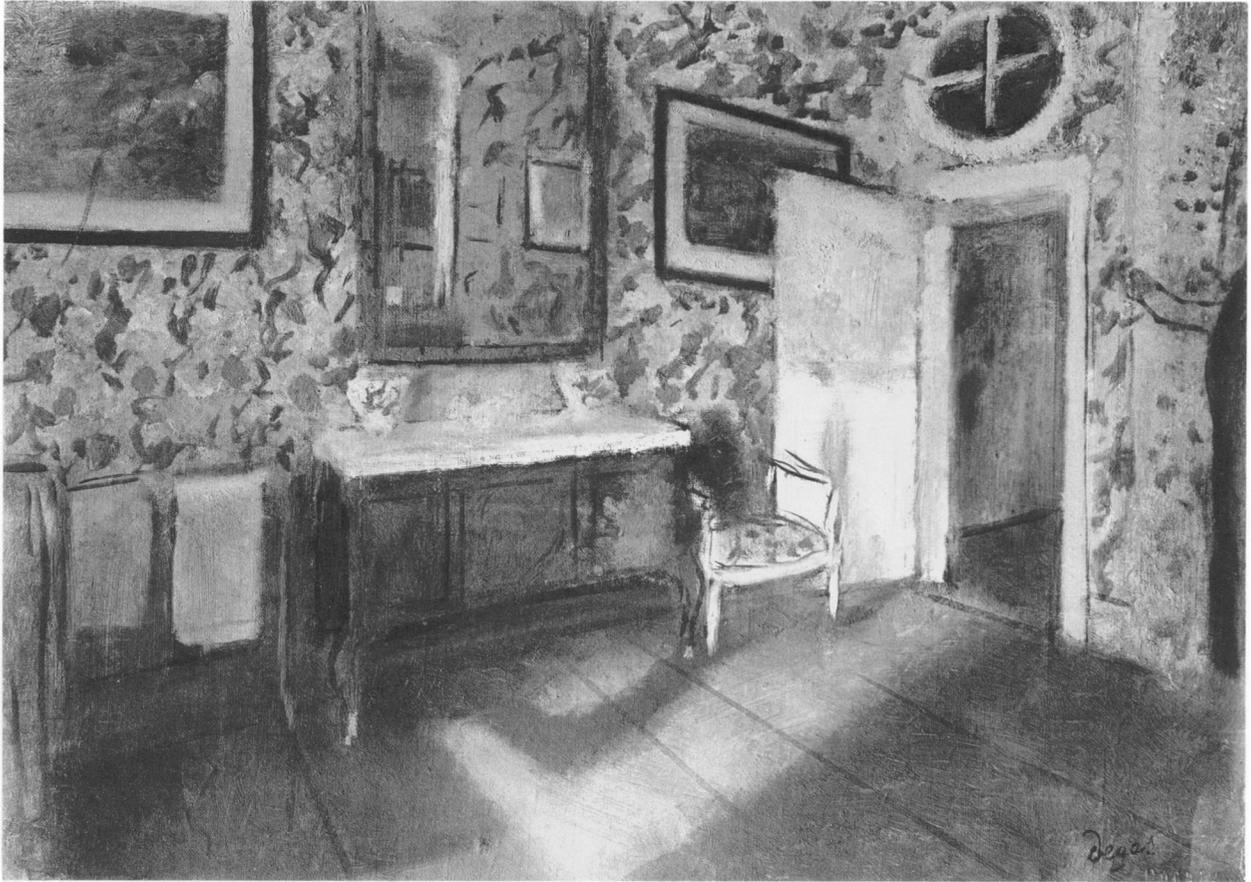


FIGURE 1

The Interior, by Edgar Degas. Oil on canvas. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Saul Horowitz, New York

of the room; and in *The Dancing Class*, by representing some of the figures in the background as reflected in a cheval glass and a wall mirror, and others as glimpsed through an opening into an adjacent room.⁴ In *The Interior* (Figure 1), painted in the home of his friend Paul Valpinçon in 1892, he achieved a tour de force in combining all three motives very inventively, playing on the similarities of shape between the framed pictures, the mirror reflections, and the doorway vista, while preserving an effect of informality through the choice of viewpoint.⁵

4. Lemoisne, nos. 213 and 297; Sterling and Salinger, *French Paintings*, pp. 65–66 and 69–71. Mirrors are also employed, sometimes very ingeniously, in Lemoisne, nos. 298, 348, 397, 516, 709, 768, and 1227; window views also occur in nos. 48, 116, 174, 303, 324, 447, and 700.

5. Lemoisne, no. 312; now in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Saul Horowitz, New York. Incorrectly identified and dated by Lemoisne, it in fact represents Degas's bedroom in the Valpinçons'

château at Ménil-Hubert, and was probably painted during a visit in August 1892 (see Degas, *Lettres*, pp. 192–194). I am indebted for this information to M. Paul Brame, who visited Ménil-Hubert after the war and recognized the room.

Surprisingly, this fascination with the artificial and the natural in the making of images, which seems so characteristic of the mature Degas, is already present in his earliest experiment with the picture in the picture. On a page in a notebook used around 1860 (Figure 2), he pasted two sketches of contemporary figures and a copy after Giorgione's *Fête Champêtre*, and then drew at the bottom a couple who appear to look at the Giorgione, thus converting the spatially neutral page into an illusion of a wall in the Louvre's Grande Galerie.⁶

6. B. N., Carnet 1, fol. 35; the whole notebook was used in 1859–1864, and this portion in 1859–1860; see Reff, "Degas's Notebooks," p. 612.

When its functions are conceived in the general terms just discussed, the motive of the picture obviously can occur in any image showing a conventional type of interior; hence in most of those painted by Degas, who was more deeply interested than any artist of his time in recording the appearance of the rehearsal rooms, laundries, offices, cafés, and salons in which his contemporaries worked and lived.⁷ Thus, when the novelist and critic Duranty declared in *La nouvelle peinture*: “Nous ne séparerons plus le personnage du fond d'appartement. . . . autour de lui et derrière lui sont des meubles, des cheminées, des tentures de murailles, une paroi qui exprime sa fortune, sa classe, son métier,” he illustrated this programme of pictorial naturalism with identifiable paintings by Degas.⁸ It is not surprising, then, that several of the ones we shall discuss are, like *Sulking*, images of an office or a drawing room, among

FIGURE 2

Page of studies, by Degas. Pencil drawings, Carnet 1, fol. 35. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



whose carefully depicted furnishings a picture seems naturally to belong. It may even allude to the profession of the person portrayed, like the lithograph behind the musician Pilet (Figure 30), or to his social status or aspirations, like the painting behind Thérèse Morbilli (Figure 19), or finally to his relation to the artist himself, like the drawing behind Degas's aunt in *The Bellelli Family* (Figure 3).

But if these works reflect the naturalism of his own age, they are also inspired by that of the seventeenth century, especially in Holland, where Hals, Rembrandt, and Vermeer had often depicted paintings, mirrors, even maps, in the backgrounds of their portraits and genre scenes in order to heighten their verisimilitude and deepen their visual “resonance.”⁹ Indeed, Degas himself later observed that “à nos débuts, Fantin, Whistler et moi”—and the other two also experimented frequently with the picture in the picture—“nous étions sur la même voie, la route de Hollande.”¹⁰

In most cases, however, the milieu in the paintings we shall discuss is not simply a contemporary interior, but that of an individual who is professionally concerned with the creation or appreciation of art. Like the portrait of Tissot, those of Henri Rouart (Figure 35) and a hitherto unidentified artist (Figure 33) show Degas's colleagues in their studios, surrounded by what appear to be their own works. And like the portrait of a print collector, those of Héléne Rouart (Figure 41) and the art critic Diego Martelli (Figure 36) show his friends in their apartments, with the paintings and objects in their collections. In a public version of the

7. The most thorough discussion of this interest remains that in J. K. Huysmans, “Le Salon de 1879,” *L'art moderne* (Paris, 1883) pp. 111–123. On the parallel tendency in Naturalist literature, see notes 55a and 150, below.

8. E. Duranty, *La nouvelle peinture*, ed. M. Guérin (Paris, 1946 [first ed. 1876]) p. 45. Several of the paintings he alludes to are identified in Lemoisne, I, p. 238, note 117.

9. Chastel, “Le tableau dans le tableau,” pp. 21–24. On Vermeer's use of the motive, see also L. Gowing, *Vermeer* (New York, 1953) pp. 48–53. Significantly, this was already observed by the Naturalists who rediscovered Vermeer in the 1860s; see W. Bürger [T. Thoré], “Van der Meer de Delft,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 21 (1866) pp. 460–461.

10. Reported by Paul Poujaud in a letter to Marcel Guérin, in Degas, *Lettres*, p. 256. Typical examples in which pictures appear are Fantin-Latour's *Two Sisters* and Whistler's *At the Piano*, both dated 1859, illustrated in Rewald, *Impressionism*, pp. 32–33.



FIGURE 3
The Bellelli Family, by Degas. Oil on canvas. Musée du Louvre (photo: Archives Photographiques)

latter type, Mary Cassatt is shown with a companion, contemplating an Etruscan sarcophagus in the Louvre (Figure 39) or the pictures in the Grande Galerie (Figure 37).¹¹ In these images, we recognize the studios, collections, and museums which constituted Degas's own world, where he was indeed known not only as an artist, but as a distinguished collector and indefatigable museum visitor. As pictures of a world in which pictures themselves are the most conspicuous objects, they are ideal expressions of that cult of art and the artificial which was so characteristic of him.

But like his images of more conventional interiors, they also belong to an historical tradition, that of representing the artist's studio and the collector's gal-

lery; for in the self-portraits and "painted galleries" that have been popular since the seventeenth century, the works of art surrounding the artist or collector serve also to identify his profession, characterize his taste, or symbolize the relation of art and nature.¹² As a

11. See also the other versions of the latter (Lemoisne, no. 583; Delteil, no. 29) and the slightly earlier Visit to the Museum (Lemoisne, nos. 464 and 465). On their place in the views of Louvre galleries which were popular at the time, see J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, "Répertoire des vues des salles du Musée du Louvre," *Archives de l'Art Français* 20 (1946) pp. 266-279.

12. Chastel, "Le tableau dans le tableau," pp. 18-19 and 25. On the "painted galleries" in particular, see T. von Frimmel, *Gemalte Galerien*, his *Kleine Galeriestudien* (Bamberg, 1893) III, Part 3.

student, Degas had copied one example of this type, Bronzino's *Portrait of a Sculptor*, and had made a variation on another, more important one, Velázquez's *Maids of Honor*, in which the pictures of mythological subjects in the background, the mirror reflecting the king and queen, and the doorway in which a figure is silhouetted, all are employed both as spatial and as symbolic motives.¹³

II. The ingenious use of these devices in works such as *The Maids of Honor*, an image of the artist's studio that is also a portrait of the royal family, is undoubtedly what inspired Degas to employ them in the impressive group portrait in which his early studies culminated, *The Bellelli Family* (Figure 3) of about 1860.¹⁴ Here, too, the picture, the mirror, and the doorway serve both to extend the interior space, which is much more shallow than in the Velázquez, and to deepen its expressive significance by means of analogies. Thus, the somber, upright figure of Degas's aunt is placed against a wall whose expanse is broken only by the narrow doorway and the sharply defined picture frame, while the lighter, more recessive figure of his uncle is seen against a mantelpiece surmounted by small objects and a mirror reflecting the blurred and luminous forms of a window and a chandelier.

Although this contrast corresponds to linear and coloristic tendencies which were already present in Degas's art at the time,¹⁵ it undoubtedly also expresses his insight into tensions within the Bellelli family. He had in fact been living with them in Florence for several months before he undertook this ambitious portrait, and must have perceived the great distance between husband and wife, a distance which he has in effect made visible in his composition. For shortly after he returned to Paris, his uncle Achille, apparently reply-

13. C. de Tolnay, "Velázquez' *Las Hilanderas* and *Las Meninas*," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 35 (1949) pp. 32–38. For Degas's variation, painted about 1857, see Reff, "Degas's Copies," p. 252 and fig. 4. For his copy after Bronzino, see Boggs, *Portraits by Degas*, p. 6.

14. Lemoisne, no. 79; dated there 1860–1862. But more probably painted about 1859–1860; see Boggs, *Portraits by Degas*, pp. 11–15; also her earlier study, "Edgar Degas and the Bellellis," *Art Bulletin* 37 (1955) pp. 127–136.

15. The outstanding examples are *The Bellelli Family* itself and *The Daughter of Jephthah* (Lemoisne, no. 94). On the colorism of the latter, see G. Fries, "Degas et les maîtres," *Art de France* 4 (1964) pp. 353–356.

ing to Degas's own observations, admitted: "La vie intérieure de la famille de Florence est un sujet de tristesse pour nous. Comme je le prévoyais, il y a beaucoup de la faute de l'un et un peu de notre soeur aussi. Incompatibilité de caractère et d'éducation et par suite un manque d'amitié et d'indulgence qui grossit comme une loupe les défauts naturels des individus."¹⁶ Expressive of this estrangement, and perhaps also of the couple's respective roles, are the dissimilar objects shown behind them in Degas's portrait—the ambiguous, receding images in the mirror and the clear, advancing shape of the drawing.

When its subject and author are recognized, the drawing (Figure 4) acquires additional significance. It is a study, evidently now lost, that Degas himself had made in Naples around 1857 for the etched and painted portraits of his father, which show him wearing the same hat and sitting in the same position (Figure 5).¹⁷ As an image of the Baroness Bellelli's brother, it is appropriately placed near her own head, and in this position it discreetly asserts the existence of the de Gas branch of this family at a moment when they were separated from their relatives in Naples and Paris, owing to the political exile of the baron. There was perhaps a deeper bond between Degas's father and aunt, since the former had lost his wife when the painter was still a child, and the latter was estranged from her husband, with the result that both devoted themselves to their children. As she wrote to Degas shortly after he returned to Paris: "Tu vas être bien heureux, de te retrouver en famille, au lieu d'être en face d'un visage triste tel que le mien et une mine désagréable telle que celle de mon mari. . . . Dieu me donnera peut être la force de traîner mes jours, jusqu'à ce que mes enfants auront besoin de moi."¹⁸

Thus the portrait of Degas's father plays essentially the same role in *The Bellelli Family* as the effigies of

16. Letter from Achille de Gas to Degas, May 14, 1859, collection the late Jean Nepveu-Degas, Paris. I am grateful to him for allowing me to consult his unpublished family papers.

17. Lemoisne, no. 33; the etching is Delteil, no. 2. On their relation to the drawing, also see M. Guérin, "Remarques sur des portraits de famille peints par Degas," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 17 (1928) pp. 378–379. According to R. Raimondi, *Degas e la sua famiglia in Napoli* (Naples, 1958) pp. 261–262, the drawing originally represented the Baron Bellelli and was repainted about 1900, but this is extremely unlikely.

18. Letter from Laura Bellelli to Degas, April 5, 1859, collection the late Jean Nepveu-Degas, Paris.

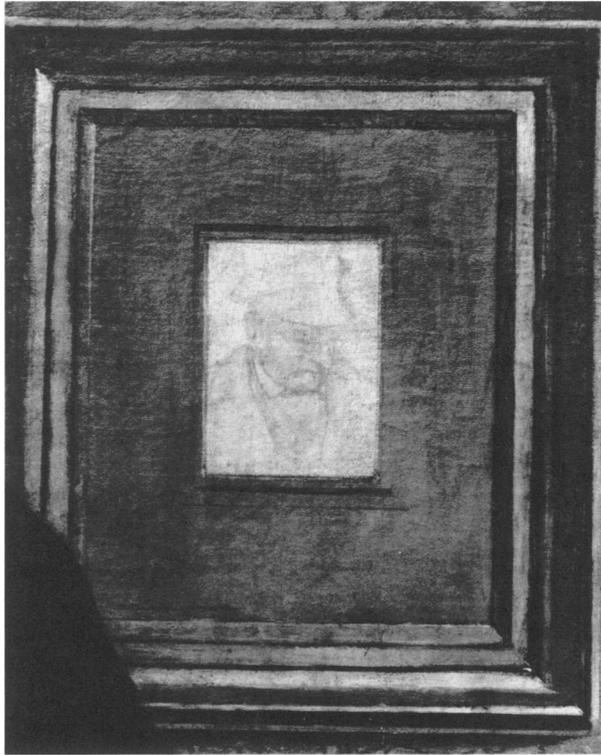


FIGURE 4
Detail from *The Bellelli Family* (photo: Agraci)

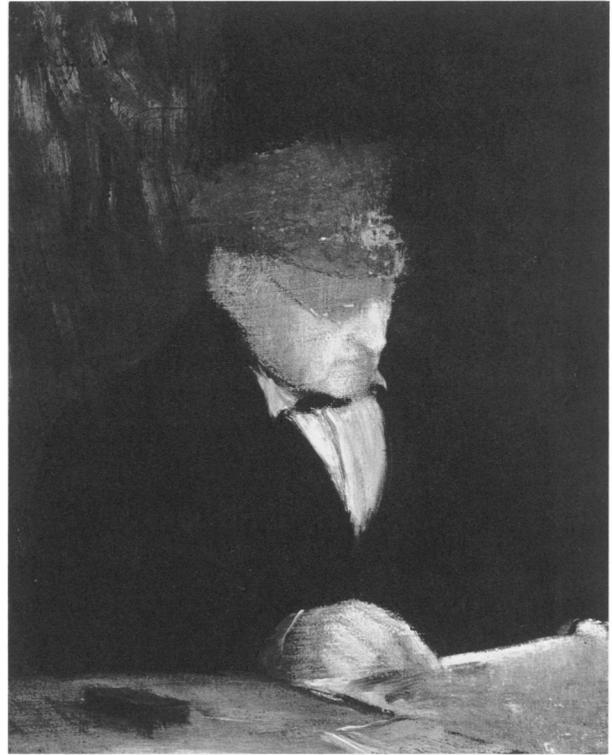


FIGURE 5
Portrait of Auguste de Gas, by Degas. Oil on canvas. Collection of M. Charles Durand-Ruel, Paris

ancestors which appear in European portraits since the Renaissance, especially in Netherlandish group portraits such as the Van Berchem Family by Frans Floris, where the prominently displayed image of the deceased member unites him with the living ones shown eating, conversing, and playing music.¹⁹

As one of Degas's works, the background picture in *The Bellelli Family* is no less significant, since it subtly identifies him with his aunt and affirms his presence, if only as an artist-observer, in this household whose members he has portrayed. It was probably his gift to them while living there, although its later history is unknown. As an accomplished portrait drawing, however, it also testifies to Degas's artistic progress, which was at the time most evident in just this type of dignified family portrait, and which he has characteristically identified with skillful draughtsmanship. At the same time, it hints at one of the sources of this early portraiture; for its three-quarter view of the head and

bust, its delicate red chalk technique, even its traditional blue mat and gold frame, give it the appearance of a Renaissance portrait drawing, especially one by the Clouets or their school, which it resembles also in its use of costume.²⁰ Before going to Italy in 1856, Degas had copied a red chalk drawing of this type, which was formerly considered a self-portrait by François Clouet; and on his return, he reproduced a portrait of Elizabeth of Austria attributed to the same artist.²¹

19. M. Friedländer, *Die Altniederländische Malerei* (Leiden, 1936) XIII, p. 69 and pl. xxxvii. I owe the knowledge of this example to Prof. Leo Steinberg.

20. For drawings by them in the Louvre, see E. Moreau-Nélaton, *Les Clouet et leurs émules* (Paris, 1924) II, figs. 298–313.

21. See Reff, "Degas's Copies," pp. 256 and 258. The former is after Moreau-Nélaton, *Les Clouet*, II, fig. 308, the latter after Louvre 130 (no longer attributed to Clouet). Degas refers to this painting—as "Janet, la Femme de Charles IX"—in planning his own portrait of a woman about 1860; see the notebook passage cited below, note 40.

This ambition to rival the perfection of Renaissance art is undoubtedly what led Degas to lavish so much attention on the background details of *The Bellelli Family*, including the carefully rendered frame on his own drawing. Among the many preparatory studies, there is even one (Figure 6) in which he envisaged the painting itself as it would appear in a frame, and drew in detail the type of Louis XVI moulding that he would use.²² Already present here is that characteristic conception of the work of art as an artifice which would lead him to reproduce with equal care the Renaissance frame in the background of his portrait of Tissot (Figure 11) and to copy part of a Baroque frame in the Louvre in preparation for his portrait of Mary Cassatt (Figure 38).

III. In *The Collector of Prints* (Figure 7), painted about six years later than *The Bellelli Family*, Degas virtually reversed the roles of the figure and the background picture, giving the latter a prominence and interest which almost outweigh those of the former.²³ Appropriately, the subject, whose identity remains unknown, must be considered as a type rather than an individual, the type of old-fashioned collector who flourished during the Second Empire, and whom Degas had met as a young man in the company of his father. Recalling these visits many years afterward, he dwelled on precisely that dedication to art and indifference to self which seem to characterize the anonymous figure in his painting: “Une chambre où les toiles s’entaissaient pêle-mêle . . . [Marcille] avait un paletot à pelerine et un chapeau usagé. Les gens de ce temps-là avaient tous des chapeaux usagés. Lacaze, ah! Lacaze avait aussi, lui, un chapeau usagé.”²⁴

Indeed, the description would apply equally well to

22. B. N., Carnet 16, fol. 10; used in 1859–1860, see Reff, “Degas’s Notebooks,” p. 612. The frame on the drawing is quite similar to the nineteenth-century one shown in Raimondi, *Degas e la sua famiglia*, pl. 20, but is not identical with it as is stated there. On Degas’s later concern with the framing of his pictures, see L. W. Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty, Memoirs of a Collector* (New York, 1961) p. 250.

23. Lemoisne, no. 138; signed and dated 1866. For the recent literature, see note 1, above.

24. E. Moreau-Nélaton, “Deux heures avec Degas,” *L’Amour de l’Art* 12 (1931) pp. 267–270. This type of collector is vividly described in E. de Goncourt, *La maison d’un artiste* (Paris, 1931 [first ed. 1881]) I, pp. 33–36.

Degas himself in his old age and to such dedicated *amateurs* among his friends as Paul Lafond and Christian Cherfils, of whom he painted a sympathetic double portrait around 1881 that shows them seated together, gazing intently at a small canvas.²⁵ Here, as in the roughly contemporary picture of an unidentified collector bending over a print to examine it, Degas was evidently inspired by the example of Daumier, whose paintings of *amateurs* scrutinizing the works on display in print sellers’ stalls or admiring the objects in each

25. Lemoisne, no. 647; dated there about 1881; now in the Cleveland Museum of Art. On Degas’s activities as a collector, see Lemoisne, I, pp. 173–182.

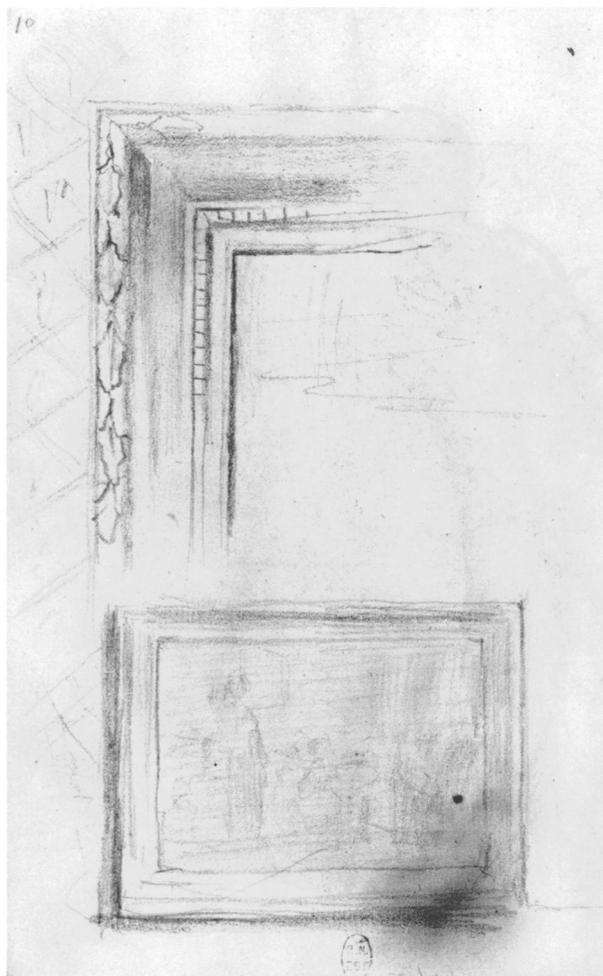
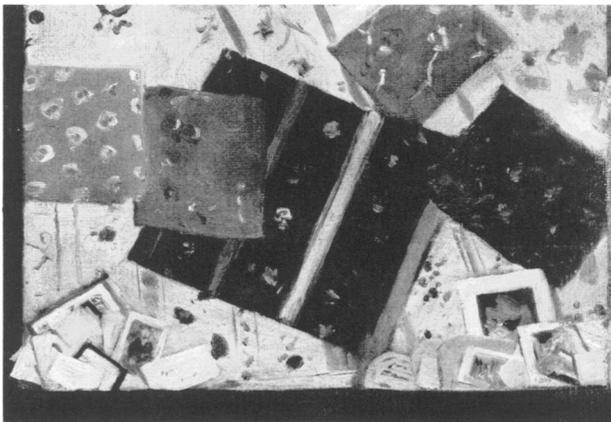


FIGURE 6
Page of studies, by Degas. Pencil drawings, Carnet 16, fol. 10. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



FIGURE 7
The Collector of Prints, by Degas. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, the H. O. Havemeyer Collection, 29.100.44

FIGURE 8
Detail from The Collector of Prints



other's apartments likewise focus on the intensity of their concentration, the consuming character of their passion.²⁶ In contrast to these, the Museum's Collector of Prints shows an introspective and disenchanted man, almost detached from the works of art that he idly handles or appears to place behind him in turning his back. As a result, the latter, in their fascinating diversity of styles, seem more expressive of his real interests than he himself.

The objects surrounding him are indeed remarkably varied, and include examples of popular as well as sophisticated art, from the Far East as well as Europe; and significantly, they are seen as examples of their types, rather than as unique works. Within the collector's portfolio, and placed on the table behind him, are some of the small color lithographs of roses for which Pierre Redouté, the so-called "Raphaël des fleurs," had become famous earlier in the century.²⁷ In the cupboard is a ceramic statuette of a horse, evidently one of those produced in China during the T'ang Dynasty; the positions of the legs on the small base, the bowed head, and the flaring nostrils are characteristic of this type, which Degas has westernized in rendering the anatomy and hair realistically.²⁸ Oriental and occidental styles are also juxtaposed in the objects placed on the bulletin board and inserted into its frame (Figure 8), for the smaller ones are such typically European products as envelopes, calling cards, notices, and photographs, placed against pieces of wallpaper, while the larger, more vividly colored ones are fragments of Japanese embroidered silk.²⁹ A daring composition, apparently without order yet ultimately balanced, the bulletin board symbolizes both the collector's fascina-

26. E. Fuchs, *Der Maler Daumier* (Munich, 1927) pls. 98–109 and 244–249; some of these figured in the great Daumier exhibition of 1878. Degas's painting *The Collector* is Lemoisne, no. 648; dated there about 1881.

27. H. Bérardi, *Les graveurs du XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1891) XI, pp. 177–178; see especially the two publications, *Les roses* (1835) and *Choix de soixante roses* (1836).

28. For similar examples, see E. Fuchs, *Tang-Plastik* (Munich, n.d. [1924] pls. 46 and 48; and especially Shensi Province, *Selected T'ang Dynasty Figurines* (Peking, 1958; in Chinese) pl. 160. I am indebted to my colleague Prof. Jane Gaston Mahler for this information.

29. See Victoria and Albert Museum, *Guide to the Japanese Textiles, Part I, Textile Fabrics* (London, 1919) pp. 20–21 and the examples reproduced on pl. x, all of which date from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

tion with even such small, almost worthless scraps of paper and fabric, and the artist's recognition of aesthetic qualities in their very profusion of overlapping shapes, diagonal stripes, and surprising spots of color.

By far the most important elements in this design are the fragments of Japanese embroidery, which were either cut from larger fabrics or manufactured as such, to be sewn into covers for pocketbooks. Popular among French collectors from the 1860s on, they were admired for their skillful workmanship and their rare color harmonies, what Edmond de Goncourt, a pioneer among these connoisseurs, described as "toutes couleurs rompues et charmeresses pour l'oeil d'un coloriste."³⁰ Degas and the Goncourts were, of course, not alone at the time in appreciating these novel qualities. Among the other writers, artists, and craftsmen in Paris who also began to collect Japanese art in these years were Degas's friends Manet, Whistler, Tissot, Fantin-Latour, Bracquemond, and Alfred Stevens.³¹ However, most of them were attracted primarily to its unusual forms and exotic appearance, hence painted interiors filled with Japanese screens, ceramics, costumes, and figures with vaguely oriental features, of which Whistler's *Golden Screen* (1864) and Tissot's *Young Woman Holding Japanese Objects* (1869) are good examples.³²

Degas was one of the few who attempted instead to assimilate the distinctive stylistic features of Japanese art. In contrast to the color woodcuts at the right side of *The Golden Screen*, which are cleverly arranged but within a traditional perspective space, the embroidered silks in the background of *The Collector of Prints* form a pattern of flat, piquantly silhouetted and colored shapes. Moreover, the pattern itself closely resembles one of those employed in Japanese fabrics of the type

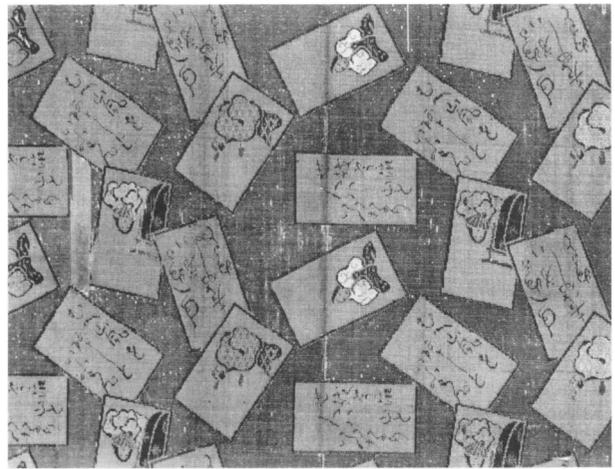


FIGURE 9
Pocketbook covers, Japanese, xviii–xix century.
Embroidered silk. Victoria and Albert Museum
(photo: Carlton Studios)

that Degas has shown (Figure 9).³³ It represents the scattered cards used in a popular poem game, some of which bear poems and others the portraits of well-known poets, the object being to match each poem card with the corresponding portrait card; and the resultant effects of condensation, random distribution, and cutting at the edges were obviously what appealed to him.

IV. An example of Japanese art, or rather an imitation of one, also appears in the background of Degas's *Portrait of James Tissot* (Figure 10), painted in the same years as *The Collector of Prints*;³⁴ and this time in a composition which, although severely classical in its pattern of overlapping and interlocking

30. Goncourt, *La maison d'un artiste*, I, pp. 182–183. On his own extensive collection of Japanese fabrics, especially the so-called "fukusas," small embroidered squares similar to those in Degas's painting, see I, pp. 11–17.

31. E. Chesneau, "Le Japon à Paris," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 18 (1878) p. 387; L. Bénédite, "Whistler—III," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 34 (1905) pp. 143–144. If the collector in Degas's portrait specialized in Japanese art, he is not one of those mentioned in these sources.

32. The former is reproduced in D. Sutton, *James McNeill Whistler* (London, 1966) pl. 30; the latter in *Apollo* 79 (January 1964), p. xiv. On the vogue of Japanese art in the 1860s, see

especially N. G. Sandblad, *Manet, Three Studies in Artistic Conception* (Lund, 1954) pp. 71–81.

33. See Victoria and Albert Museum, *Guide to the Japanese Textiles*, p. 21 and pl. x, no. 98. Degas's interest in exotic patterns at this time is also shown by a list of merchants specializing in "Indiennes de Rouen," "Indiennes de Suisse," "Imitations de Chiné," etc., in Guérin Carnet 3, fols. 30–30 verso. This notebook was used in 1865–1870; see Reff, "Degas's Notebooks," p. 613.

34. Lemoisne, no. 175; dated there 1868. In Boggs, *Portraits by Degas*, p. 106, it is dated 1866, but the study in Guérin Carnet 3, fol. 6 verso that is cited as evidence can in fact be dated only to 1865–1870; see note 33, above. For the recent literature, see note 1, above.

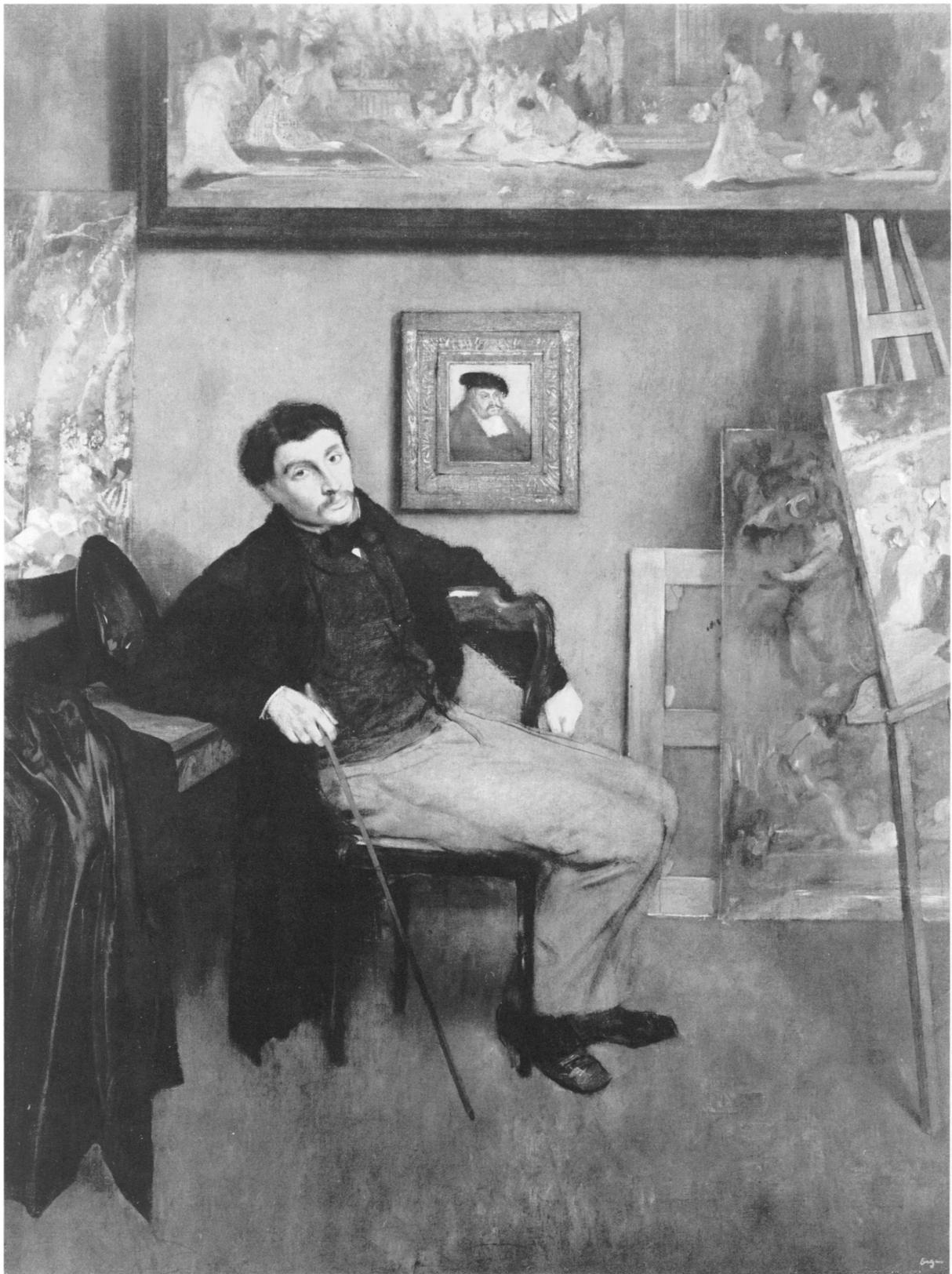


FIGURE 10

Portrait of James Tissot, by Degas. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 39.161

rectangles, shows an even greater taste for the cutting of forms at its edges. All but one of the six pictures in the background are intercepted by other elements, three of them by the frame. As a result, they seem more animated than Tissot himself, particularly since he assumes an attitude of passivity, a kind of elegant nonchalance. Neither actively at work in his own studio nor clearly a visitor to another artist's—and the slender walking stick that could also be a mahlstick held idly in his hand, the hat and coat placed casually on the table behind him, only heighten this ambiguity—he turns sideways on the chair and leans on the table, confronting us with an expression that is at once worldly and world-weary.³⁵

That this image of the artist as a dandy was an appropriate one for Tissot, who was already becoming the fashionable painter who would later specialize in scenes of Victorian high life, seems obvious enough. But that Degas also expressed in it his own conception of the artist becomes equally clear when it is compared with his self-portraits of these years, in which he appears as a somewhat haughty gentleman, defensive and slightly ironic.³⁶ Hence what is most characteristic in his portrait of Tissot, what distinguishes it from the more prosaic pictures of the artist in his studio painted by the young Impressionists at this time, derives as much from Degas himself as from his subject. And this identification manifests itself not only in the ambiguities already mentioned, but in the paintings surrounding him, since most of them could have been made by Degas as well as by Tissot at this moment in their careers.

Significantly, none of the five canvases whose faces

35. There is obviously an echo here of the Romantic tradition of the melancholy artist; see W. Hoffman, *The Earthly Paradise*, Eng. trans. (New York, 1961) pp. 227–231 and pls. 56–61. In a self-portrait of this period, Tissot appears in a similarly pensive mood; illustrated in *Art Quarterly* 24 (1961) p. 302.

36. See especially Lemoisne, nos. 105 and 116, the latter showing another colleague, De Valernes, in a posture almost identical with Tissot's. In a portrait etching of about 1865, Tissot in turn shows Degas as a melancholy type; illustrated in Lemoisne, I, opposite p. 62.



FIGURE 11

Detail from the Portrait of James Tissot

FIGURE 12

Portrait of Frederick the Wise, workshop of Lucas Cranach. Oil on panel. Musée du Louvre (photo: Archives Photographiques)



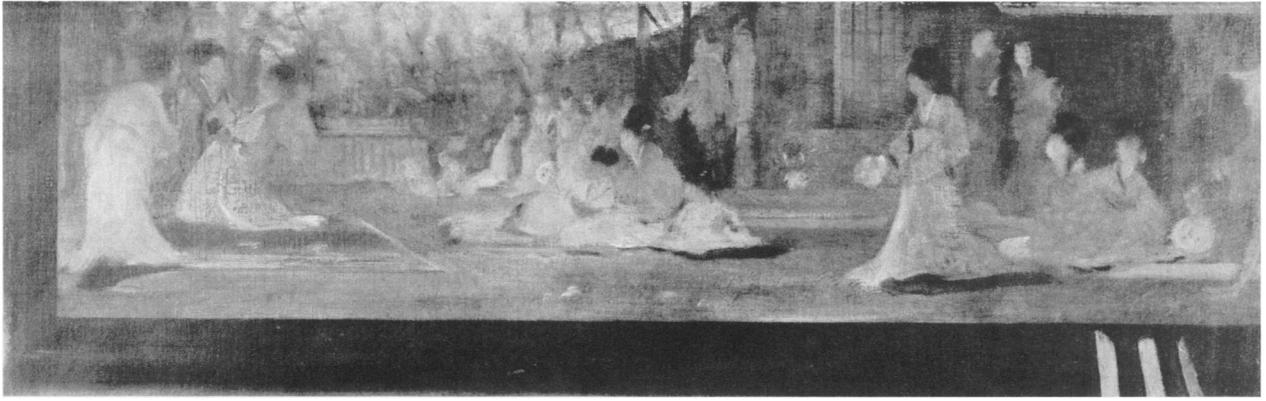


FIGURE 13
Detail from the Portrait of James Tissot



FIGURE 14
Evening under the Murmuring Pines, by Chobunsai Yeishi. Color woodcut. British Museum

we see is a known work by either artist, and only one can be identified at all. This is the small, handsomely framed picture hanging near Tissot's head (Figure 11), which is a free copy after a portrait of Frederick the Wise attributed to Cranach in the Louvre (Figure 12);³⁷ and such a copy could easily have existed in either artist's studio. More obviously perhaps in Tissot's, since the meticulously rendered genre scenes in which he had specialized in the early 1860s were clearly dependent on German Renaissance art, or rather on

the "neo-Germanic" art of Henrik Leys, a popular Belgian painter with whom he was often compared at the time.³⁸ This would account not only for the presence of a copy after Cranach in Tissot's studio, but for its

37. F. Villot, *Notice des tableaux . . . du Musée Impérial du Louvre* (Paris, 1855) II, no. 99. It is one of several workshop replicas of an earlier portrait; see M. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach* (Berlin, 1932) p. 58, no. 151.

38. On Tissot and Leys, see C. de Sault, *Essais de critique d'art* (Paris, 1864) pp. 73–74; on Leys and German art, E. Chesneau, *Les nations rivales dans l'art* (Paris, 1868) pp. 84–93.

evident analogies with the portrait of himself. Although they are subtly contrasted in coloring, both heads are turned toward the right, surmounted by a dark mass, and marked by a drooping moustache, as if to suggest the stylistic affinities of the two artists by a physiognomic one.

However, the manner in which the copyist has eliminated the Gothic features of his model and has made its forms more compact and legible suggests that he was a less pedantic artist than Tissot—in fact, was one with the classical taste of Degas. For it is also conceivable that this copy once hung in his own studio: he, too, admired German Renaissance art, had drawn repeatedly after pictures by Holbein and Dürer, and had collected photographs of others by Cranach and Dürer.³⁹ In fact, in a notebook of the early 1860s he referred to this very portrait of Frederick the Wise as a model of firm drawing and subtle coloring for a portrait of a woman that he was planning.⁴⁰

Like the copy after Cranach, the horizontal picture of Japanese women in a garden (Figure 13), which extends across the top of Degas's composition, is not the historical work it appears to be, but rather a modern copy or imitation. For if its format is that of a five-sheet Japanese woodcut or a scroll of the *makimono* type, and if its figures wear Japanese costumes and are seen against a background partly closed by partitions and latticed windows in the Japanese manner, the style in which it is painted is thoroughly Western. The modeling and cast shadows of the figures, their recession into depth, and the atmospheric landscape all point to that conclusion. Behind this "Japanese" picture is undoubtedly a polyptych color woodcut by one of the followers of Utamaro, such as *Evening Under the Murmuring Pines* by Yeishī (Figure 14), an artist

whose figural style it particularly recalls and who was among the first of the Ukiyo-e school to become known in France.⁴¹

That Tissot was one of the earliest collectors of this art we have already seen; that he was also one of the most enthusiastic we learn from a letter written by Rossetti in 1864: "I went to the Japanese shop [of Mme de Soye], but found that all the costumes were being snapped up by a French artist, Tissot, who it seems is doing three Japanese pictures, which the mistress of the shop described to me as the three wonders of the world."⁴² One of these was presumably *In a Foreign Land*, an episode in Tissot's series on the Prodigal Son that shows him being entertained by Japanese dancers; and if the picture in Degas's portrait, which represents a similar subject, does not reproduce the latter, it may nevertheless allude to it.⁴³ However, like the embroidered silks in *The Collector of Prints*, it also reflects Degas's own interest in Japanese art, an interest only slightly less keen than that of Tissot, according to Chesneau and other contemporaries.⁴⁴ And since it does not represent an actual work, whether Japanese or pseudo-Japanese, but is improvised in the manner of both, it may well be Degas's unique attempt to produce such a work—not altogether seriously, but in the guise of one that Tissot himself had painted, and in this friendly competition clearly capturing a more authentically Japanese look.

If the framed and relatively complete "Cranach" and "Japanese" pictures may never have existed, the three seen in an unframed, fragmentary state were even more obviously invented to fill the peripheral spaces they occupy. Pictorially, they represent styles which are distinctly different from those just discussed yet are equally indicative of interests shared by Degas and Tis-

39. The photographs are listed in B. N., Carnet 21, fol. 40; used in 1868–1872, see Reff, "Degas's Notebooks," pp. 613–614. For the copies, see Reff, "Degas's Copies," pp. 255 and 257–258.

40. B. N., Carnet 1, fol. 194; used in 1859–1864, see note 6, above.

41. See L. Binyon, *A Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Woodcuts . . . in the British Museum* (London, 1916) p. 165, no. 32; also p. 164, no. 30 for a similar example. I am indebted to Mr. Basil Gray and Mr. Jack Hillier for this suggestion, which they have made independently.

42. Letter from Rossetti to his mother, November 12, 1864, in

Dante Gabriel Rossetti, His Family Letters (London, 1895) II, p. 180. See also William Rossetti's memoir, in I, p. 263.

43. Formerly in the Luxembourg and now in the Nantes Museum, this series was painted in the early 1860s; see L. Bénédite, *Catalogue sommaire . . . du Musée National du Luxembourg* (Paris, 1914) nos. 487–490, and Bénédite, "Whistler—III," pp. 143–144. Largely unpublished, it is known through Tissot's etched copies of 1881, illustrated in C. Yriarte, *Eaux-fortes, manières noires . . . de J. J. Tissot* (Paris, 1886) nos. 58–61.

44. See note 31, above. At his death, Degas owned over 100 prints, drawings, and albums by Japanese masters; see *Catalogue des estampes . . . collection Edgar Degas, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, November 5, 1918*, nos. 324–331.



FIGURE 15
Detail from the Portrait of James Tissot

sot. Thus, the picture placed on an easel (Figure 15) shows figures in contemporary dress seated outdoors in the manner of early Impressionist picnic scenes. One of these, a *Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* painted by Tissot himself about 1865 (Figure 16), when he had abandoned his earlier "neo-Germanic" style and was assimilating the more advanced naturalistic style of Monet and his colleagues, may well be the kind of picture that Degas had in mind.⁴⁵ But if it seems broadly painted in relation to Tissot's earlier work, it lacks the vivid outdoor light and boldly simplified forms found in the picnic scene invented by Degas, whereas these are precisely the qualities that characterize some of his own pictures of these years, for example, the brilliant sketch of *Three Women Seated Outdoors*.⁴⁶

The same is true of the painting placed on the table behind Tissot (Figure 17), which serves as a pendant to the other one and with it encloses the examples of historic and exotic art shown between them. For it, too,

45. J. Laver, "*Vulgar Society*," *the Romantic Career of James Tissot* (London, 1936) pl. 11; now in the collection of Mr. A. R. MacWilliam, London. It is evidently inspired by the hunting scenes of Courbet and the picnic scenes of Monet.

46. Not in Lemoisne; illustrated in *Choix d'une collection privée*, Klipstein and Kornfeld, Bern, October 22–November 30, 1960, no. 9; dated there about 1865. See also the *Children and Poneys in a Park*, Lemoisne, no. 171; dated there about 1867.

FIGURE 16
Déjeuner sur l'Herbe, by James Tissot. Oil on canvas. Collection of Mr. A. R. MacWilliam, London



FIGURE 17
Detail from the
Portrait of James
Tissot



represents figures in contemporary costume—women in capes and bonnets seated beneath tall trees, girls in striped dresses running among them—and in a manner reminiscent of such recent pictures as Manet's *Concert in the Tuileries Gardens*.⁴⁷ And it, too, is more vividly colored and more boldly executed than any extant work by Tissot, although there is nothing really comparable iconographically among the known works of Degas.

Even more puzzling is the large painting leaning

47. Illustrated in Rewald, *Impressionism*, p. 77. It is also reminiscent of Monet's *Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* of 1866, illustrated in *ibid.*, p. 119.

48. Hence the suggestion in Laver, "Vulgar Society," p. 13, that it "may form part of Tissot's Faust and Marguerite series," is unfounded. In view of Degas's competition with Manet, it is worth noting that he, too, had depicted the Finding of Moses; see R. E. Krauss, "Manet's Nymph Surprised," *Burlington Magazine* 109 (1967) pp. 622–623 and fig. 20.

49. Villot, *Notice des tableaux . . . du Musée Impérial du Louvre*, III, no. 202. On the influence of Veronese's version on French art at the time of De la Fosse, see K. T. Parker and J. Mathey, *Antoine Watteau, catalogue complet de son oeuvre dessiné* (Paris, 1957) I, nos. 345 and 352, and II, no. 859.

against the wall behind the easel (Figure 15), which apparently represents the Finding of Moses, its upper half showing the Pharaoh's daughter and a servant descending toward the Nile, its lower half another servant lifting the infant from his basket.⁴⁸ As an illustration of a Biblical episode, dramatic in content and painted in resonant red and green tones, it provides a striking contrast to the modern picnic scene adjacent to it. Yet no picture of this subject by Degas or Tissot is known; and no Renaissance picture of it—assuming that what we see is a copy—would arrange the figures so eccentrically on the surface, which has clearly been improvised within the irregular space available. Behind the improvisation, however, there is an historical type, the depiction of the Finding of Moses in late Renaissance and Baroque art, particularly that of the Venetians and their followers. The version in the Louvre by Charles de la Fosse (Figure 18), for example, shows the figures in similarly twisted postures, disposed vertically on an inclined ground plane, and rendered in similarly warm tones.⁴⁹

FIGURE 18
The Finding of Moses, by Charles de la Fosse.
Oil on canvas. Musée du Louvre (photo: Archives Photographiques)



Moreover, in the mid-1860s Venetian art was of particular interest to Degas, who painted several copies of works attributed to Giorgione, Tintoretto, and Veronese, including a Finding of Moses by the latter which was clearly the prototype of de la Fosse's.⁵⁰ A few years earlier, Tissot, too, had studied and copied Venetian art; but characteristically, he preferred the more sober art of the quattrocento, and wrote to Degas from Venice: "L'Assomption du Titien m'a laissé froid—le Tintoret de Saint-Marc piquant une tête m'a bien étonné—mais Andrea Mantegna, Bellini m'ont ravi."⁵¹ Like the other pictures in Degas's portrait, then, the "Venetian" one reflects artistic interests which he

shared with Tissot, but which were more fundamentally his own.

Indeed, only an artist of Degas's complexity could have invented five pictures so remarkably varied in subject and style, or have juxtaposed them so deliberately. For taken together they constitute a kind of summation, a statement of his artistic affinities in what we now recognize was a critical period of transition for himself and other advanced artists, among whom to some extent was Tissot. In effect, Degas asserts his belief in the relevance for modern art of several distinctly opposed tendencies: the artificiality of Japanese prints and the realism of European paintings, the immediacy of contemporary genre scenes and the formality of older portraits and narratives, the sober, linear style of the Renaissance, and the dramatic, colorful style of the Baroque. And in doing so, he expresses in art-historical terms that ideal of sophistication and self-awareness which he has also expressed in personal terms in his image of the artist as a dandy.

FIGURE 19

Portrait of Thérèse Morbilli, by Degas. Pastel. Collection of Mme David-Weill, Paris (photo: Laniepce)



V. The richly framed portrait and the ambiguously reflecting mirror, which we have already encountered in *The Bellelli Family*, occur again in the background of Degas's portrait of his sister Thérèse Morbilli (Figure 19), drawn in pastel around 1869.⁵² Here, however, the two motives are juxtaposed in depth rather than on the picture surface, and they serve to characterize the personality and social status of an individual rather than the opposed temperaments of a married couple. For there is a correspondence between the portrait, the other pictures in the room, and the ornate candelabra reflected in the mirror, just as there is between these Rococo objects, at once expensive and vaguely aristocratic in tone, and the elegant, rather aloof young woman who stands before them, apparently at home in this richly furnished place. Actually, it is her father's drawing room, since the portrait was made during one of her visits to Paris; yet it is an appropriate

50. Reff, "Degas's Copies," pp. 255–256. The copy after Veronese's Finding of Moses is illustrated in *Burlington Magazine* 105 (1963) p. 249, fig. 11.

51. Letter from Tissot to Degas, September 18 [1860?], in Lemoisne, I, pp. 230–231.

52. Lemoisne, no. 255; dated there about 1869. Degas implies that it has just been completed in a note in B. N., Carnet 21, fol. 43; used in 1868–1872, see note 39, above.



FIGURE 20
Portrait of Thérèse de Gas, by Degas. Oil on canvas. Musée du Louvre (photo: Archives Photographiques)

setting, reminding us of her own home in Naples and of her position as the wife of the Duke of Morbilli, a wealthy and aristocratic cousin whom she had married with special papal dispensation.⁵³

In another portrait, painted in Paris on the eve of her marriage in 1863 (Figure 20), Degas showed Thérèse standing in an equally dignified manner, elegant in dress and impassive in expression, and in the background he introduced an equally appropriate detail—an open window providing a view of Naples, the city in which she would soon begin her married life.⁵⁴ In depicting the city and the Gulf of Naples, Degas relied on a watercolor sketch that he had made in a notebook during a visit in 1860 (Figure 21), and his incorporation of it into the portrait, where it is framed as carefully as a painting, demonstrates again how deliberately he planned such background effects.⁵⁵

He was undoubtedly encouraged to do so by the very detailed description of the milieu in Naturalist literature, in which a window view or a picture frequently plays an important role; an example relevant to both portraits of his sister is the description of Mlle de Verandeuil's bedroom in the Goncourts' novel *Germinie Lacerteux*.^{55a}

Unlike the fine chalk drawing in *The Bellelli Family*, the picture in the background of the later portrait of Thérèse Morbilli, even when examined in detail (Figure 22), remains a broadly painted sketch, featureless and evidently without further significance for the whole. Yet it is rendered in sufficient detail to be identified as the *Bust of a Woman* by J.-B. Perronneau which later figured in the sale of Degas's collection (Figure 23).⁵⁶ And when this in turn is compared with

53. Raimondi, *Degas e la sua famiglia*, p. 150. See also J. S. Boggs, "Edgar Degas and Naples," *Burlington Magazine* 105 (1963) pp. 275–276.

54. Lemoisne, no. 109; according to René de Gas, it was painted in Paris early in 1863, during Thérèse's engagement.

55. The sketch is in B. N., Carnet 19, fol. 11; used in March 1860, see Reff, "Degas's Notebooks," pp. 612–613. On the tradition of iconographically significant window views, see L. Eitner, "The Open Window and the Storm-Tossed Boat," *Art Bulletin* 37 (1955) pp. 281–287.

55a. E. and J. de Goncourt, *Germinie Lacerteux* (Paris, 1897 [first ed. 1864]) pp. 2–3. For other examples, see J. Dangelzer, *La description du milieu dans le roman français de Balzac à Zola* (Paris, 1938) pp. 25–54 and 135–151; also note 150, below.

56. *Catalogue des tableaux . . . collection Edgar Degas*, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, March 26–27, 1918, no. 4. No additional information is given in L. Vaillat and P. Ratouis de Limay, *J. B. Perronneau*, rev. ed. (Paris, 1923) pp. 200 and 227. Its presence in the portrait of Thérèse is noted in Boggs, *Portraits by Degas*, p. 31.

FIGURE 21
View of Naples, by Degas. Watercolor, Carnet 19, fol. 11. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

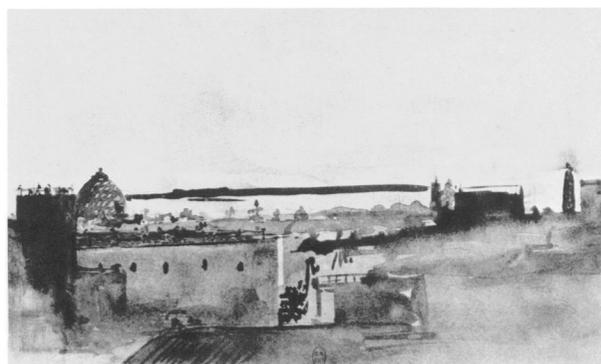




FIGURE 22
Detail from the Portrait of Thérèse Morbilli
(photo: Laniepce)

FIGURE 23
Portrait of a Woman, by Jean-Baptiste Perronneau. Oil on canvas. Formerly in the collection of Edgar Degas, Paris (photo: Durand-Ruel)



the head of Thérèse, the appropriateness of its presence behind her, as the only recognizable picture among all those shown, becomes more apparent. Although Perronneau represents a mature woman in a conventional pose and Degas a younger one posed more informally, there is an obvious affinity in the turn of their heads, the composure of their features, and the cool manner in which they confront us. Thus the Rococo portrait, discreetly introduced into the background of the Second Empire one, places its subject in a larger social context and confirms our impression of her personality.

How deliberately drawn the parallel was we cannot say, since we know nothing about Degas's attitude towards Thérèse at this time. But he may well have sensed in her that haughtiness which later made him observe wryly, during one of her visits to Paris, "que son hôtel doit être bien organisé, autrement les nobles étrangers n'y afflueront pas," and which she herself expressed in complaining that "la vie est trop pénible près de lui, il gagne de l'argent mais ne sait jamais où il en est."⁵⁷ Certainly the contrast between his portraits of Thérèse and those of his younger sister Marguerite, who was more artistically inclined and who later married an architect, would seem to confirm this.⁵⁸

Although the provenance of Perronneau's *Bust of a Woman* cannot be traced before its appearance in Degas's portrait around 1869, it undoubtedly did belong to his father, a cultivated banker of the old bourgeoisie, who was acquainted with such outstanding collectors of eighteenth-century art as Lacaze and Marcille and had in his own collection several pastels by La Tour, which his son also inherited but was later obliged to sell.⁵⁹ That Degas, too, admired the psychological penetration and technical accomplishment of La Tour and Perronneau is evident not only from the memoirs of his friend Blanche and his niece Jeanne Fèvre, but from his own pastel portraits.⁶⁰ That of Thérèse Morbilli is particularly reminiscent of the older masters'

57. Both statements are in letters from Thérèse Morbilli in Paris to her husband in Naples, the first written between 1879 and 1881, the second on July 4, 1881; both are quoted in Boggs, "Edgar Degas and Naples," p. 276.

58. See Boggs, *Portraits by Degas*, pp. 118 and 125 and the portraits listed there.

59. Lemoisne, I, pp. 8–9 and 173. One of the La Tours was exhibited in 1874 as in the collection of M. de Gas; see A. Besnard, *La Tour* (Paris, 1928) p. 155, no. 326.

60. J.-E. Blanche, "Portraits de Degas," *Formes* 12 (February

palette in the subtle tones of yellow ochre, pearl gray, blue, and white employed.

This admiration is in turn part of a revival of interest in Perronneau which took place precisely in the 1860s and in the circle of critics and collectors to which Degas and his father belonged. In these years, an important pastel by Perronneau was acquired by Émile Lévy, a successful painter and a friend of Degas, and the Goncourts discussed him in *L'Art du XVIII^e siècle* as “un artiste que La Tour a eu raison de redouter et qui, en marchant derrière lui, a souvent dû l’atteindre.”⁶¹ They themselves had recently bought “un magnifique pastel de Perronneau,” before which they would sit “en adoration,” and in the same years Eudoxe Marcille, a friend of Degas’s father, and Camille Groult,

1931) p. 22; J. Fèvre, *Mon oncle Degas*, ed. P. Borel (Geneva, 1949) pp. 69–70, where, however, Perronneau is not mentioned explicitly.

61. Quoted in Vaillat and Ratouis de Limay, *Perronneau*, pp. 144–146, where the revival of interest in this artist is traced.

later a friend of Degas, added still others to their collections.⁶² Hence no doubt Degas’s own interest at this time in the Rococo artist’s portraiture and his decision to introduce an example of it into a portrait whose setting was, appropriately, his father’s drawing room.

VI. The smallest and also the most puzzling of the pictures containing other pictures is one that Degas painted in the same years as that of Thérèse Morbilli, but with a far more obscure intention. Generally called *Sulking*, and occasionally *The Banker* (Figure 24), it seems to waver between the kind of narrative episode implied in the first title and the kind of modern genre

62. *Ibid.* On the Goncourts’ acquisition, see E. and J. de Goncourt, *Journal*, ed. R. Ricatte (Monaco, 1956) VI, p. 164, entry of December 30, 1863; and on Groult’s acquisitions, see XVI, p. 201, entry of January 8, 1890.

FIGURE 24

Sulking, by Degas. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, the H. O. Havemeyer Collection, 29.100.43



FIGURE 25
Steeple Chase Cracks, by
J. Harris after J. F. Her-
ring. Color engraving.
Bibliothèque Nationale,
Paris



scene implied in the second one.⁶³ The positions and expressions of the two figures, their relation to each other, even the identity of the setting and its significance for them, are at once highly suggestive and ambiguous. This ambiguity extends to the large picture that hangs behind them, its rectangular shape carefully placed to enclose their heads; for its prominence implies that it contains a clue to the meaning of the whole, yet it cannot be related easily to their personalities or tastes, as in the examples discussed previously.

Although rendered in a broad, simplified style, this picture was obviously copied from an English racing print; more specifically, a color engraving of a painting by J. F. Herring entitled *Steeple Chase Cracks* (Figure 25).⁶⁴ It probably belonged to Degas, since he also used the galloping jockey in the foreground as a model for the one in the foreground of *The False Start*, a work that is exactly contemporary with *Sulking*; and as early as 1861 he observed in a notebook that the landscape around the stables at Haras du Pin was “absolument semblable à celles des courses et des chasses anglaises coloriées.”⁶⁵ But whether the presence of a sporting print in the background of *Sulking* signifies that the

man shown in it is a bookmaker or an habitué of race-tracks, as has been suggested, is another matter.⁶⁶ The period when it was painted was indeed one of greatly increased interest in horseracing and betting in France, the first agency of organized betting, based on a system of “paris mutuels” that is still used today, having been founded in 1867, and the first periodical devoted exclusively to racing news, the *Journal des Courses* edited by Joseph Oller, having begun to appear in 1869. By that date Oller’s Agence des Poules, J. S. Harry’s Betting Office, and the Office Jones were all flourishing in Paris, and any one of them could conceivably have inspired the setting of Degas’s painting.⁶⁷

In all likelihood, however, it represents one of the small, privately owned banks which also flourished at this time, before corporate banking replaced them; perhaps the bank on Rue de la Victoire owned by Degas’s father. For the furnishings and decor which Degas has represented in detail—the window counter fitted with opaque glass at the left, the table piled with papers in the center, and the rack filled with ledgers at the upper right, all of which he studied separately at the site in notebook drawings—are those of a banking rather

63. Lemoisne, no. 335; dated there about 1873–1875. In fact, it must have been painted about 1869–1871, since there are studies for it in B. N., Carnet 24, fols. 36, 37, and 39, which was used in those years; see Reff, “Degas’s Notebooks,” p. 614. For the recent literature, see note 1, above.

64. The engraving is by J. Harris and was published as Fores’s National Sports, pl. 2, on October 25, 1847. At his death, Degas owned another engraving by Harris after a sporting picture by Herring; see *Catalogue des estampes . . . collection Edgar Degas*, no. 199.

65. B. N., Carnet 1, fol. 163; used in 1859–1864, see note 6, above. *The False Start* is Lemoisne, no. 258; dated there 1869–1872.

66. P. Lafond, *Degas* (Paris, 1919) II, p. 5, where it is called Le Bureau; however, in I, p. 37, it is called Bouderie.

67. See H. de Mirabal, *Manuel des courses* (Paris, 1867) pp. 407–408 and 413–414; and H. Lee, *Historique des courses de chevaux* (Paris, 1914) pp. 368–373 and 398–399. The first issue of the *Journal des Courses*, published by Oller, appeared on June 5, 1869.

than a betting office.⁶⁸ Moreover, it is known that Degas, acting through his patron Faure, bought back six paintings from his dealer Durand-Ruel in March 1874, and that one of them was entitled *Le Banquier*.⁶⁹ In that context, too, of course, an English sporting print would have been an appropriate element of the decor. Yet Degas's conception of *The Banker* as an image of an exceptional moment, charged with anticipation and tension, transcends the purely naturalistic description of a milieu, and still more the frequently discussed influence of photography, and seems instead to have been inspired by another work of art. This is Rembrandt's *Syndics of the Drapers' Guild*, which also represents a business meeting that we seem to have momentarily interrupted, one figure turning in virtually the same way to challenge us, and which also has in the background a picture that plays an important role—symbolically, if not compositionally.⁷⁰

68. See the description of such a bank in G. Rivière, *Mr. Degas, bourgeois de Paris* (Paris, 1935) pp. 7–8. Degas's drawings, probably made in his father's bank, are cited in note 63, above, and one is illustrated in *Burlington Magazine* 100 (1958) p. 242, fig. 39 (it is fol. 37, not fol. 39).

69. See Guérin's note in Degas, *Lettres*, pp. 31–32; and Lemoisne, I, p. 83. The influence of Degas's picture is evident in a contemporary work by his friend De Valernes called *The Visit to the Notary*; see *De Valernes et Degas*, Musée de Carpentras, May

If the steeplechase print does not allude to the professional relationship of the two figures in *The Banker*, it does unite them visually, its arch of galloping and leaping horses effectively linking their heads (Figure 26), and in a manner which heightens the apparent tension between them by providing a contrasting image of strenuous action directly behind them. Indeed, so poignant is their mood that some writers have sought a specific narrative content, even a source in contemporary fiction; but none has been found, and none probably existed. For as in the later picture *Absinthe*, whose title is as inaccurate as *Sulking* is here, Degas has not illustrated a Naturalist novel, but rather a theory of expression similar to that of the novelists, a theory which he and Duranty, his closest acquaintance among the latter, had worked out at just this time.⁷¹ It is formulated in Duranty's essay "Sur la physiognomie," published in 1867, and in Degas's contempo-

19–September 5, 1963, no. 31; and J.-L. Vaudoyer, *Beautés de la Provence* (Paris, 1926) p. 79.

70. C. de Tolnay, "The *Syndics of the Drapers' Guild* by Rembrandt," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 23 (1943) pp. 31–38. On Degas's interest in Rembrandt, see Reff, "Degas's Copies," p. 251.

71. On their friendship, see L. E. Tabary, *Duranty, étude biographique et critique* (Paris, 1954) pp. 146–149. On *Absinthe* (Lemoisne, no. 393), see R. Pickvance, "'L'Absinthe' in England," *Apollo* 77 (1963) pp. 395–398.

FIGURE 26
Detail from *Sulking*





FIGURE 27
Portrait of Edmond Duranty, by
Degas. Charcoal drawing. The Metro-
politan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund,
19.51.9

FIGURE 28
Portrait of Emma Dobigny, by Degas.
Oil on canvas. Collection of Mrs.
Walter Feilchenfeldt, Zürich (photo:
Bulloz)



FIGURE 29
The Conversation, by Degas. Oil on
canvas. Collection of Mr. and Mrs.
Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia

aneous statement, "Faire de la tête d'expression (style d'Académie) une étude du sentiment moderne," in other words, transform the schematized and exaggerated physiognomies which were typical of the academic tradition into portrayals of the more complex emotions characteristic of modern spiritual life, such as the angry withdrawal of the man in *The Banker* and the sullenness of his companion.⁷²

Hence it is appropriate that, again as in *Absinthe*, these figures, although essentially models for a genre scene rather than sitters for a group portrait, were friends of Degas with whose personalities and moods he was well acquainted. And it is particularly appropriate that the male figure is Duranty, as is evident when his contracted features and receding blond hair are compared with those in other portraits of him, including the well-known one by Degas himself of about a decade later (Figure 27).⁷³ Although he is shown in a different mood there, we know from other sources that Duranty, a pioneer in the Naturalist movement whose career was later eclipsed by the fame of Flaubert and Zola, was often as bitter and withdrawn as he appears in *The Banker*, his "physionomie douce, triste, et résignée. . . Sa vie était comme écrite dans le rictus parfois douloureux de sa bouche."⁷⁴ As for the female figure, her full yet rather fine features and chestnut-colored hair are those of Emma Dobigny, a favorite model of Degas and one for whom he felt a special sympathy, to judge from the rather tender, self-ironic letter he wrote to her and the portrait he painted of her at this time (Figure 28), where she appears in a similarly pensive mood.⁷⁵

That Degas's use of the racing print as a composition-

72. B. N., Carnet 21, fols. 44-47; used in 1868-1872, see note 39, above. Duranty, "Sur la physiognomie," *La Revue Libérale* 2 (July 25, 1867) pp. 499-523.

73. Lemoisne, no. 517, dated there 1879. Reproduced above is a study for it in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. See also Desboutin's etched portrait of Duranty, illustrated in Rewald, *Impressionism*, p. 377.

74. A. Silvestre, *Au pays des souvenirs* (Paris, 1887) pp. 174-175. The same description is given in George Moore's memoir, quoted in Rewald, *Impressionism*, p. 435, note 6. Duranty was evidently also the model for the male figure in the *Violinist and Young Woman* (Lemoisne, no. 274) of about 1872.

75. Lemoisne, no. 198; signed and dated 1869; now in the collection of Mrs. Walter Feilchenfeldt, Zürich. For Degas's letter,

al and expressive device in *The Banker* is typical only of a certain period in his development becomes clear once this picture is compared with a later version called *The Conversation* (Figure 29), which was begun in 1884 as a portrait of his friends the Bartholomés and finished a decade later.⁷⁶ Here the emphasis falls entirely on the two figures, who are shown in intimate proximity rather than estranged; and the print behind them, no longer a necessary means of linking them or of characterizing their environment, is reduced to a barren landscape whose horizon alone is indicated by the contrast between two broad areas of color.

VII. It was also around 1870, and also in the form of a popular print apparently employed as a mere decorative element, that Degas devised one of his most ingenious background pictures. It is the lithograph showing a reunion of musicians that hangs behind the violoncellist Pilet in Degas's portrait of him seated in his study (Figure 30).⁷⁷ In contrast to the sporting print, this one contains many portrait-like figures, which are more distinctly rendered in black and white; indeed, its very absence of color, especially in relation to the rather vivid tones employed elsewhere in the composition, calls attention to it. So does the open 'cello case, whose powerfully silhouetted covers, probably inspired by the bold treatment of foreground elements in Japanese prints, seem to point directly toward it.⁷⁸ Moreover, one of these covers overlaps the lithograph, its large, block-like form contrasting sharply with the diminutive figures behind it. Through this device, and through the equally striking contrast be-

see T. Reff, "Some Unpublished Letters of Degas," *Art Bulletin* 50 (1968) p. 91.

76. Lemoisne, no. 864; dated there 1885-1895; now in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia. In a letter to Mme de Fleury, January 8, 1884 (Degas, *Lettres*, p. 76), he mentions "un portrait intime où Mr. et Mme. Bartholomé sont représentés en tenue de ville." For photographs of them, see T. Burrollet, "Bartholomé et Degas," *L'Information de l'Histoire de l'Art* 12 (1967) pp. 119-126.

77. Lemoisne, no. 188; dated there 1868-1869. Degas notes two addresses of Pilet and an appointment with him, in B. N., Carnet 22, fols. 33, 99, and 117; used in 1869-1873, see Reff, "Degas's Notebooks," p. 614.

78. Y. Shinoda, *Degas, der Einzug des Japanischen in die französische Malerei* (Tokyo, 1957) pp. 21-22.



FIGURE 30
Portrait of M. Pilet, by
Degas. Oil on canvas. Musée
du Louvre (photo: Bulloz)



FIGURE 31
Detail from the Portrait of
M. Pilet (photo: Agraci)

tween these figures and the imposing one of Pilet himself, we are led almost inevitably to examine their relation to him.

When the picture behind Pilet is studied more closely (Figure 31), it can no longer be described simply as a lithograph showing a group of celebrated musicians, of the type which was popular in the Romantic period. Its unconventional features become obvious once it is compared with an actual example, such as the Celebrated Pianists by Nicolas Maurin (Figure 32), a popular portraitist of the 1840s.⁷⁹ Instead of a few clearly depicted figures, Degas's print shows a gathering of eighteen, some of whom are half obscured; and instead of facing toward the center, the majority seem to look at something outside the composition at the left, the pianist even turning away from his instrument to do so. What they look at, of course, is their colleague Pilet, and the homage that they thus appear to pay him is all the more flattering in that they can be identified as some of the most illustrious musicians and *amateurs* of music of the immediate past.

In the right-hand group we recognize Chopin seated at the piano in a typically lethargic pose, and surrounding him several members of his circle: behind and slightly to the left, the poet and music critic Heine; behind and slightly to the right, the pianist Liszt; and at the extreme right, Delacroix.⁸⁰ Between the latter and Liszt stands the librettist Jacques Halévy; between Liszt and Heine, the composer Berlioz; and leaning on the piano is Balzac.⁸¹ In the left-hand group we recognize Théophile Gautier seated in the center, and around him some of Chopin's other literary friends: directly above Gautier, the novelist George Sand; to her left, the Polish poet Zaleski; and to her right, Alfred de Musset.⁸² At the extreme left are the musicologist Hiller and the actor Bocage; the other figures cannot be identified as surely, but the 'cellist standing behind the piano is probably Auguste Francomme, Pilet's predecessor.⁸³

As a whole, then, the scene is conceived as one of the reunions in Chopin's studio in which he gave impromptu performances, and may well have been inspired by an account of the first such performance—at which Heine, Delacroix, George Sand, Hiller, and Liszt were all present—in the latter's well-known memoir of Chopin, published in 1852.⁸⁴ If Degas were not already familiar with it, he could easily have



FIGURE 32
Celebrated Pianists, by Nicolas Maurin. Lithograph. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

learned about it from some of the musicians, including Pilet himself, with whom he was friendly around 1870 and whose portraits he painted in *The Orchestra*.⁸⁵

In the context of these musical friendships, Degas's conception of the lithograph as a playful homage to Pilet seems entirely appropriate. It recalls Manet's use of a similar device in his portrait of Zola, exhibited in 1868, where the figures in the three prints framed together in the background—a Japanese color woodcut of a wrestler, Goya's etching after Velázquez's *Los Borrachos*, and a photograph of Manet's own painting, *Olympia*—are either modified or so chosen to

79. It was published in the series "Galerie de la Gazette Musicale," no. 2, 1842. See also Kriehuber's lithograph *Une Matinée chez Liszt*, published in 1846, illustrated in R. Bory, *La vie de Frans Liszt par l'image* (Paris, 1936) p. 124.

80. For portraits, see R. Bory, *La vie de Frédéric Chopin par l'image* (Paris, 1951) p. 138 (Chopin), p. 89 (Heine), p. 114 (Liszt), and p. 88 (Delacroix).

81. For portraits, see Bory, *Frédéric Chopin*, p. 91 (Halévy), p. 89 (Berlioz), and Bory, *Frans Liszt*, p. 59 (Balzac).

82. For portraits, see Bory, *Frédéric Chopin*, p. 141 (Gautier), p. 136 (Sand), p. 86 (Zaleski), and Bory, *Frans Liszt*, p. 56 (Musset).

83. For portraits, see Bory, *Frédéric Chopin*, p. 90 (Hiller), p. 142 (Bocage), and p. 92 (Francomme). For help in identifying the figures in Degas's picture, I am indebted to Mlle Boschot of the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra.

84. F. Liszt, *Frédéric Chopin*, Eng. trans. (New York, 1963) pp. 90–99; first published serially in *La France Musicale*, 1851, and in book form, Paris, 1852.

85. Lemoisne, no. 186; dated there about 1869. On Degas's friendship with musicians at this time, see *ibid.*, I, pp. 58–60.

begin with that they seem to look in deference toward Zola.⁸⁶ And it anticipates Pissarro's use of the same device in a portrait of Cézanne painted in 1874, in which popular prints are placed on either side of him in such a way that the figures of Courbet and Thiers shown in them turn toward and appear to salute him.⁸⁷ The lithograph in Degas's portrait is conceived in the same spirit, but even more ambitiously, since it attempts to capture the look of a familiar type of print rather than to reproduce a specific example, and it contains a great many figures, each of which has been adapted from still another source, a portrait of the person represented. That he was successful, despite the small area within which he had to work, testifies to his remarkable ability to summarize the characteristics of a physiognomy in a few strokes, an ability of which his caricatures are also impressive evidence.⁸⁸

If the lithograph behind Pilet reflects a playfulness appropriate to the spirit of friendship in which Degas conceived this portrait, it was also inspired by a respect which makes even more meaningful the deference shown by so many famous figures. For Pilet was more than an accomplished musician; he was also a courageous individual who had risked his position in the orchestra of the Opera a few years earlier by openly challenging its administration.⁸⁹ In January 1866, after many months of protesting for higher wages, a few of its members met with one of Louis Napoleon's ministers, and the results were reported by their conductor, Georges Hainl. "Le plus grand nombre a fort bien accueilli cette communication," he wrote to the Director of the Opera, "Cependant une voix a prononcé les paroles suivantes: c'est de l'argent qu'il nous faut. Cette voix était celle de Mr Pilet violoncelliste." Incensed by this challenge to his authority, Hainl insisted that Pilet, who had played in the orchestra for over twenty years, be fired immediately: "Je ne puis pas,

je ne veux pas être victime du mauvais vouloir de quelques uns. Il faut un exemple. Il le faut immédiat."⁹⁰

Actually, Pilet was not dismissed, since he figures prominently in *The Orchestra*, painted three years later; but his outspoken attitude was undoubtedly discussed among the musicians and known to Degas, who at this moment was mounting his own attack on the administration and would surely have admired it.⁹¹ That he recognized in Pilet an independent spirit like his own is evident in his portrait, both in the calm, determined expression on the musician's face and in the respectful attitudes of his illustrious predecessors, whom Degas has ingeniously placed behind him.

VIII. In another portrait of a friend, this one a fellow artist (Figure 33), probably painted around 1878, Degas returned to the theme of the studio which he had employed a decade earlier in portraying James Tissot; and here, too, the dimensions and legibility of the pictures surrounding the figure give them an important role in the composition and invite speculation as to their meaning in relation to him.⁹² But their consistency of style and imagery, their unframed and apparently unfinished condition, and the prominently displayed paintbox, palette, and brushes all indicate that they are his own works, recently completed or currently in progress. In fact, the mannequin propped against the wall beside him is obviously the model he has used for the similarly costumed figure in the larger picture. Unlike the portrait of Tissot, then, this one seems simply to represent a fellow artist with two of his paintings—outdoor scenes of informal pleasure and relaxation, Impressionist in spirit, that have little to do with Degas's own art of the later 1870s. Yet this portrait, too, expresses an attitude of disillusionment which reveals as much of Degas as of his subject, and does so

86. S. L. Faison, Jr., "Manet's Portrait of Zola," *Magazine of Art* 42 (1949) pp. 162–168; however, this observation is not made there.

87. T. Reff, "Pissarro's Portrait of Cézanne," *Burlington Magazine* 109 (1967) pp. 627–633. See also the background images in Renoir's picture *At the Inn of Mother Anthony*, illustrated in Rewald, *Impressionism*, p. 135.

88. See, among others, the ones in E. Degas, *Album de dessins*, ed. D. Halévy (Paris, 1949) which date from about 1877. On his interest in caricature, see Boggs, *Portraits by Degas*, pp. 53–54.

89. He had been a member of the orchestra since 1845, accord-

ing to a chart in Paris, Archives Nationales, A J XIII. 478: *Personnel des chœurs et de l'orchestre de l'Opéra*.

90. Letter from Georges Hainl, Premier Chef d'Orchestre, to Émile Perrin, Directeur de l'Opéra, January 11, 1866, in Archives Nationales, A J XIII. 478. On the musicians' demands for higher wages, see also *Le Temps*, July 11, 1865, and subsequent issues.

91. See his open letter to the members of the jury of the Salon of 1870, in Reff, "Some Unpublished Letters of Degas," pp. 87–88.

92. Lemoisne, no. 326; dated there about 1873; now in the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon. It can be redated by means of the iconographic evidence presented below.

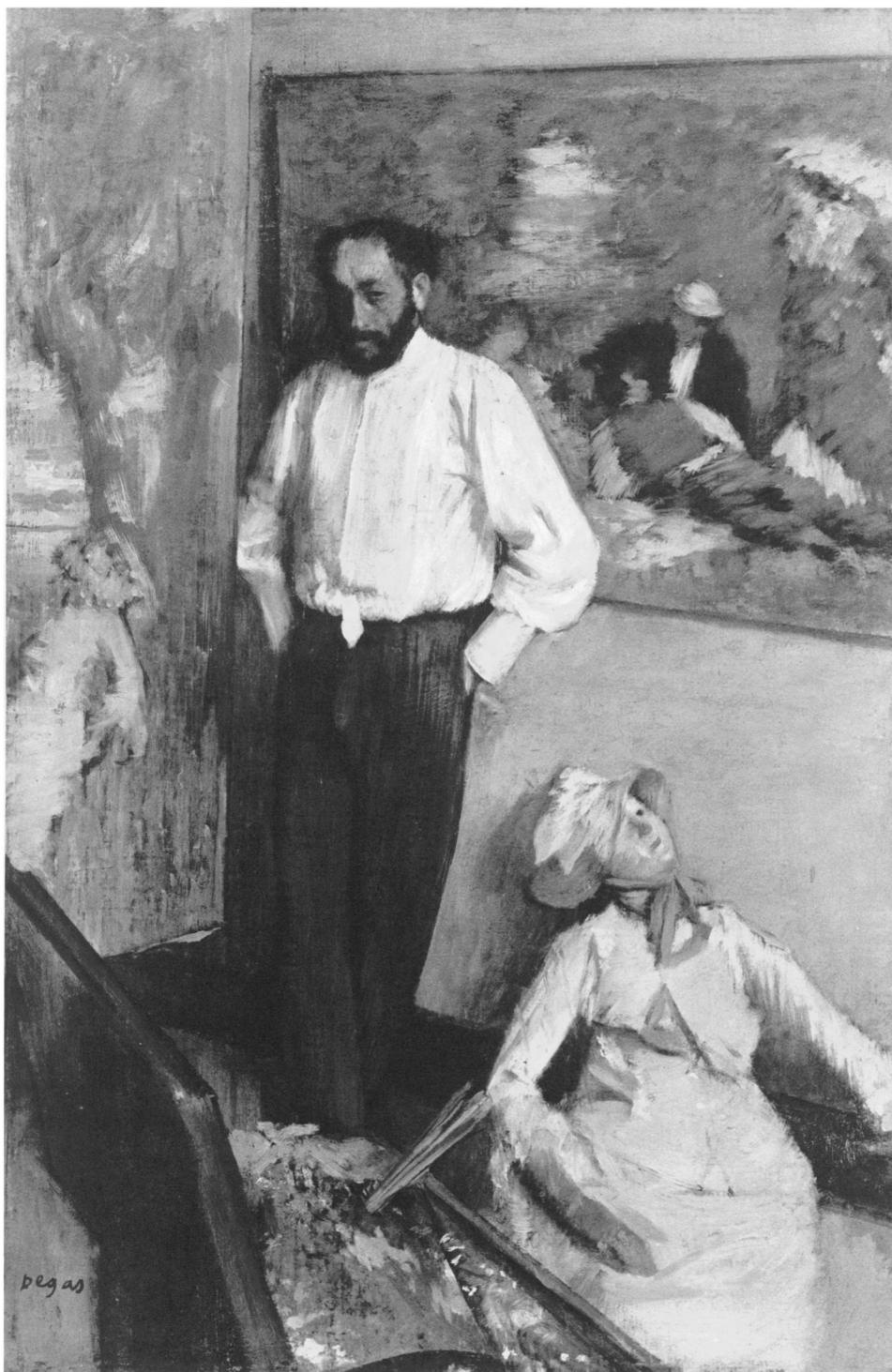


FIGURE 33
Portrait of Henri Michel-Lévy, by Degas. Oil on canvas. Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon

through the choice and relation to him of the pictures and objects as much as through his own appearance.⁹³ This becomes evident, however, only when the pictures and the artist himself have been identified.

It has been suggested several times that he is Cézanne, a painter with whom Degas was of course acquainted, and who might well have used such a mannequin for lack of live models.⁹⁴ But the photographs and portraits cited as proof, and particularly the one by Renoir that is not cited, show a quite different head, rounder and more compact, with more open eyes, a fuller beard, and a balder pate; and the picnic scene mentioned in relation to the picture at the right resembles it only superficially.⁹⁵

A more reliable clue was provided by Degas himself, who listed among his entries in the catalogue of the Impressionist exhibition of 1879 a "Portrait d'un peintre dans son atelier" in the collection of a "Mr. H. M.-L."⁹⁶ Although no contemporary review or memoir mentions it, very likely because Degas decided not to exhibit it after all, it was undoubtedly the portrait under discussion. For the only others in his *oeuvre* that could be so described are the portraits of Tissot and of a man in a white blouse, of which the former was too early in date and the latter too unfinished in appearance to be exhibited then.⁹⁷ Now in 1879, before the picture could have changed hands, "Mr. H. M.-L." could only be the artist portrayed, and he in turn could only be Henri Michel-Lévy (1844–1914), the one recorded artist with these initials.

93. Compare the appearance of the male figure in *Le Viol* (Lemoisne, no. 348), who also leans against the wall with his hands in his pockets. It was probably apropos the latter that Duranty wrote, in *La nouvelle peinture*, p. 43: "Des mains qu'on tient dans les poches pourront être éloquentes." On *Le Viol*, see also note 150, below.

94. See Boggs, *Portraits by Degas*, p. 55; *European Paintings from the Gulbenkian Collection*, National Gallery of Art (Washington, 1950) pp. 28–29; and the letter from B. Dorival cited there, p. 28, note 2.

95. J. Rewald, *Paul Cézanne*, Eng. trans. (London, 1950) pls. 42 and 47 (photographs), pls. 41 and 46 (self-portraits), and pl. 42 (Renoir's portrait).

96. *Catalogue de la 4^{me} exposition de peinture*, 28 Avenue de l'Opéra, Paris, April 10–May 11, 1879, no. 69. See Lemoisne, I, p. 243, note 129.

97. Lemoisne, nos. 175 and 337. According to Lemoisne, it was the latter that Degas exhibited; according to Lafond, *Degas*, II, p. 15, it was the former. Neither statement is supported by the provenance given by Degas himself; and Lemoisne compounds

A somewhat conservative minor Impressionist, Michel-Lévy was known to the major figures in the movement, particularly Manet and Monet, with whom he occasionally painted, and a work he exhibited at the Salon of 1877 was singled out for praise by Duranty.⁹⁸ Like Degas at an earlier date, he had been a pupil of Barrias, through whom they may have met; in any event, they were acquainted, for his addresses appear three times in Degas's notebooks around 1870.⁹⁹ In fact, Michel-Lévy himself later reported that "ils étaient camarades d'atelier, chacun avait fait de l'autre un portrait," that he had sold Degas's portrait of him for a high price, and that the latter, learning of this, had remarked mercilessly: "Vous avez commis une lâcheté; vous saviez bien que je ne pouvais pas vendre votre portrait."¹⁰⁰

If the main facts of Michel-Lévy's career are known, his works have virtually disappeared. Hence it is hardly surprising that the picture at the right in Degas's portrait cannot be identified, although one that Michel-Lévy exhibited at the Salon of 1878 as *Promenade in a Park* suggests a similar subject.¹⁰¹ It is only through the discovery of an old photograph that the one at the left can be identified as *The Regattas* (Figure 34), which he showed at the Salon of 1879, the very year when Degas planned to show this portrait.¹⁰² Obviously working from memory, Degas has altered the seated woman's position and rendered the foliage around her in a more boldly simplified style, but it is clearly the right side of *The Regattas* that he has reproduced. The

the error by placing Mr. H. M.-L. in Montreal (probably because the Gulbenkian picture was formerly in the collection of Sir George Drummond, Montreal).

98. E. Duranty, "Réflexions d'un bourgeois sur le salon de la peinture," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 15 (1877) p. 560. On Michel-Lévy's contacts with Monet, see L. Venturi, *Les archives de l'impressionisme* (Paris, 1939) I, p. 248 and p. 249, note 1.

99. B. N., Carnet 8, fols. 216 and 221, and Carnet 22, fol. 117; the former was used in 1867–1874, the latter in 1869–1873, see Reff, "Degas's Notebooks," pp. 613–614.

100. R. Gimpel, *Journal d'un collectionneur* (Paris, 1963) pp. 262–263, entry of March 27, 1924, recording information given to Lucien Guiraud by Michel-Lévy himself. The latter's portrait of Degas does not figure in the sales of Degas's collection.

101. *Explication des ouvrages . . . exposés au Palais des Champs-Élysées*, Paris, 1878, no. 1435. See also the review of his retrospective exhibition in *La Chronique des Arts* (1911) p. 277.

102. *Explication des ouvrages . . . exposés au Palais des Champs-Élysées*, Paris, 1879, no. 2147. The photograph was published by Goupil et Cie.



FIGURE 34
The Regattas, by Henri Michel-Lévy. Oil on canvas. Present whereabouts unknown

other picture, although painted even more summarily, represents a similar occasion—two men and a woman seated or reclining outdoors, and two women with parasols strolling toward them.

In choosing these elegant, idyllic scenes, Degas in effect characterizes his friend's art as an Impressionist equivalent of the Rococo *fête galante*, although it was also an art of landscapes and urban genre scenes, to judge from the titles in exhibition and sale catalogues.¹⁰³ Thus Degas alludes not only to the general affinities between Impressionism and the Rococo, but to the influence exerted on Michel-Lévy by his own outstanding collection of eighteenth-century masters,

103. *Catalogue de tableaux . . . composant l'atelier de M. M.-L.*, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 21, 1891, nos. 1–54; *Exposition Henri Michel-Lévy*, Galerie Bernheim-Jeune, Paris, November 20–December 2, 1911, *passim*.

104. *Catalogue des tableaux . . . collection H. Michel-Lévy*, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 12–13, 1919; on this sale, see *La Chronique des Arts* (1917–1919) p. 191.

especially Watteau, the creator of the *fête galante*. Indeed, the posthumous sale of his collection contained twelve paintings and thirty-three drawings by Watteau, as well as works by Boucher, Fragonard, and others, some of which might well be compared with the two by Michel-Lévy himself that Degas has reproduced.¹⁰⁴

Ironically, however, Michel-Lévy appears in Degas's portrait as a withdrawn and disillusioned man, altogether removed from the scenes of pleasure and conviviality that surround him, and made to seem even more isolated by their very presence. Moreover, the most conspicuous figure in each picture appears to turn its back on him, as does the mannequin placed on the floor beside him. Compositionally, the mannequin, which is in effect the third work of art, closes a series of triangles that surround the artist on all sides. This hermetic effect is reinforced by the shallow space in which he stands, his back literally against the wall, his exits blocked visually by his own creations or instruments of creation.¹⁰⁵ Symbolically, the mannequin plays the role of his "companion," one that is indeed lifelike in scale and appearance, yet is shown in a particularly lifeless posture. Its poignancy is echoed in the female figure in *The Regattas*, which appears even more inanimate and remote—an imitation of an imitation of reality. The mood of pessimism which results becomes more apparent when Degas's image is compared with a typically Impressionist one, such as the portrait by Guillaumin of the painter Martinez, which dates from the same years, and suggests an attitude of confidence and naturalness both in the relaxed position of the figure and in the casual disposition of the works of art around him.¹⁰⁶

That there is in Degas's picture much of Michel-Lévy himself, a man of whom one acquaintance wrote, "Je ne connais pas d'homme plus réticent, plus défiant de soi-même que cet artiste sincère et fin. . . . Il a rêvé, regardé, peint, travaillé, vécu pour soi, loin des vaines et folles agitations," cannot be doubted.¹⁰⁷ But that there is also in it much of Degas's own conception of

105. For similar observations on the mannequin, the paintings, and his own position, "trapped like an animal in a corner," see Boggs, *Portraits by Degas*, pp. 55–56.

106. It is dated 1878, and illustrated in Rewald, *Impressionism*, p. 427.

107. L. Vauxcelles, preface to the catalogue of the *Exposition Henri Michel-Lévy*, cited above, note 103.

the artist as an unsocial being who lives in a world of his own invention, and particularly of Degas's sense of himself as a frustrated, embittered man whose deepest needs have remained unfulfilled, also cannot be doubted. We have only to read his letters, such as the one he wrote to a colleague in 1884, "Si vous étiez célibataire et âgé de 50 ans, vous auriez de ces moments-là, où on se ferme comme une porte, et non pas seulement sur ses amis; on supprime tout autour de soi, et une fois tout seul, on s'annihile, on se tue enfin, par dégoût," to realize how profoundly true an image of himself this painting is.¹⁰⁸

IX. If, in the portraits discussed thus far, the pictures represented in the background appear either to have existed in reality or to have been invented with a particular thematic purpose in mind, the one that is shown behind Henri Rouart in Degas's portrait of him with his daughter (Figure 35) of about 1877 cannot be explained in either way.¹⁰⁹ It has been called "one of his landscapes," but its boldness of conception and

freedom of execution are without parallel in his art. A talented amateur who was better known as an engineer and as a collector of modern art, Rouart had studied with Corot, hence preferred more picturesque sites such as Venice, Avignon, and Marseille, and worked in a more cautious style, of which Valéry later observed: "Il s'était fait un métier des plus serrés, d'une précision et d'une justesse remarquables."¹¹⁰ Therefore, the landscape in Degas's portrait should probably be understood as an acknowledgment of Rouart's general interest in landscape painting, which Degas himself

108. Letter to Henry Lerolle, August 21, 1884, in Degas, *Lettres*, pp. 79–81. See also the letter to Bartholomé, December 19, 1884, *ibid.*, p. 99, in which he describes himself as "l'homme qui veut finir et mourir tout seul, sans bonheur aucun."

109. Lemoisne, no. 424; dated there about 1877; now in the collection of Dr. and Mrs. Rudolf J. Heinemann, New York.

110. P. Valéry, preface to the catalogue of *Peintures et aquarelles par Henri Rouart*, Galerie Paul Rosenberg, Paris, March 20–April 12, 1933. For other examples of his art, see the catalogue of a similar exhibition at Galeries Durand-Ruel, Paris, March 16–30, 1912. M. Louis Rouart has also expressed the opinion that the picture in Degas's portrait cannot be one by his father.

FIGURE 35
Portrait of Henri Rouart
and Hélène, by Degas. Oil
on canvas. Collection of Dr.
and Mrs. Rudolf Heine-
mann, New York



FIGURE 36
Portrait of Diego Martelli, by
Degas. Oil on canvas. The
National Galleries of Scotland,
Edinburgh



encouraged by inviting him to exhibit with the Impressionists, rather than as a particular work by him. This becomes clearer when it is compared with the easily identified, symbolically significant works of art that often appear in portraits of artists in the Romantic period, such as that of Michelangelo by Delacroix and those of Tintoretto and Raphael by Ingres; the latter may even have been in Degas's mind, since he shows Hélène Rouart seated on her father's lap like the Fornarina on Raphael's in some of Ingres's pictures.¹¹¹

Also without further significance is the large picture in the background of Degas's portrait of Diego Martelli (Figure 36), a Florentine art critic who visited Paris in 1878–1879, when Degas painted him in his apartment, and who was on his return the first to champion Impressionist painting in Italy.¹¹² The background picture should probably be seen as an allusion

to his professional activities, rather than as a work he actually owned. For not only is there no such work in the inventory of his collection, which he willed intact to the Galleria d'Arte Moderna in Florence,¹¹³ but its appearance varies from one to another of the preparatory studies for Degas's portrait, and takes still another form, that of a loosely painted landscape, in a second

111. G. Wildenstein, *Ingres* (London, 1956) nos. 86, 88, 89, etc. (the "Raphael") and nos. 46 and 253 (the "Tintoretto"). C. de Tolnay, "Michel-Ange dans son atelier" par Delacroix," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 59 (1962) pp. 43–52.

112. Lemoisne, no. 519; painted in 1879. On his career and contact with Degas, see L. Vitali, "Three Italian Friends of Degas," *Burlington Magazine* 105 (1963) pp. 269–270.

113. The only possibilities would be the works by De Nittis and Zandomeneghi, for which see A. Jahn-Rusconi, *La galleria d'arte moderna a Firenze* (Rome, 1934) pp. 17 and 23. The inventory is in Florence, R. Biblioteca Marucelliana, Raccolta Martelli; I am indebted to Mr. Lamberto Vitali for information on its contents.



FIGURE 37
Mary Cassatt at the Louvre, by Degas. Pastel.
Private collection, New York (photo: Durand-
Ruel)

version of it.¹¹⁴ Unlike the latter, however, the picture in the first version is impossible to identify even generically; it has been described as a “framed fan,” but the curvature of a fan would be downward rather than upward, and its size would be much smaller. What we see, then, is not a fragment of a real or imagined pic-

114. Lemoisne, no. 520; now in the Museo de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires. For preparatory studies which show the background, see B. N., *Carnet* 23, fol. 25; *Fifty Master Drawings in the National Gallery of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1961) no. 49; and J. S. Boggs, *Drawings by Degas* (New York, 1967) no. 88.

115. Lemoisne, no. 581; dated there 1880; now in a private collection, New York. It is probably the work that Degas lists among those he plans to show in the Impressionist exhibition of 1879, in B. N., *Carnet* 23, fols. 66 and 68. For other versions, see note 11, above.

116. F. A. Sweet, *Miss Mary Cassatt* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1966) p. 50; compare the appearance of Lydia in pls. iv and 10,

ture, but an abstract design whose pale red, yellow, and blue tones echo those found elsewhere in the composition, just as its curved contour repeats that of the sofa below it, effectively reinforcing the apparent rotundity of Martelli’s compact figure.

X. A number of conspicuous and unidentifiable pictures also appear in the background of Degas’s pastel *Mary Cassatt at the Louvre* (Figure 37)—a work that is contemporary with the portrait of Martelli—and also in order to characterize the setting rather than to comment indirectly on the personality or taste of the individuals shown.¹¹⁵ For if this apparently simple scene of visitors in the Grande Galerie is in fact a rather sophisticated portrait of Degas’s friend and pupil Mary Cassatt and her sister Lydia,¹¹⁶ its effectiveness in describing them depends neither on the nature of the pictures behind them nor on their facial expressions, which are likewise hidden or ambiguous, but rather on the expressiveness of their postures and the silhouettes that these produce against the strikingly bare surfaces of the parquet floor and marble dado of the gallery. Although probably inspired by the piquant flattening and simplification of shapes in Japanese prints, the shrewdly contrasted silhouettes of the two women are fundamentally European in their expression of personality.¹¹⁷ That of the standing woman, which Degas studied repeatedly in a notebook of around 1879, is particularly effective in this respect, for “her slender, erect figure, neatly tailored, and her crisply furled umbrella all convey to us something of Mary Cassatt’s tense, energetic character.”¹¹⁸

Degas’s essentially European realism is also evident in the care he took to reproduce accurately the appearance of the Grande Galerie: on another page of

contemporary genre pictures by Cassatt, on which see pp. 51 and 64–65.

117. Shinoda, *Degas, der Einzug des Japanischen*, pp. 81–82 and pls. 73–74. In a preparatory study, illustrated in Boggs, *Drawings by Degas*, no. 85, Degas emphasizes just this aspect of their silhouettes.

118. Sweet, *Miss Mary Cassatt*, p. 50; on her friendship with Degas, see pp. 32–33 and 39–40. The studies are in Guérin *Carnet* 4, fols. 8 verso, 9, and 15; see Reff, “Degas’s Notebooks,” p. 615. Duranty had already declared in *La nouvelle peinture*, p. 42: “Avec un dos, nous voulons que se révèle un tempérament, un âge, un état social.”

FIGURE 39
 Mary Cassatt at the Louvre, by Degas.
 Etching and aquatint. Bibliothèque
 Nationale, Paris

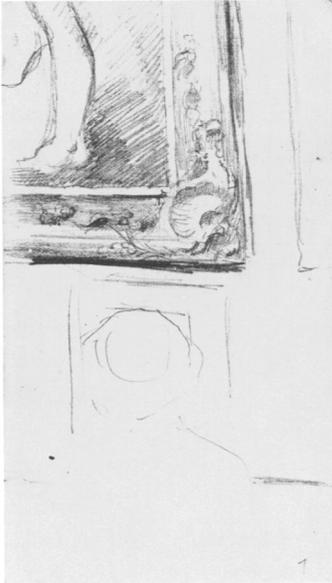


FIGURE 38
 Study for Mary Cassatt at the Louvre, by Degas.
 Pencil drawing, Guérin Carnet 4, fol. 1. Private
 collection, Paris (photo: Agraci)



FIGURE 40
 Sarcophagus from Cervetri, Etruscan, vi century
 B.C. Polychromed terracotta. Musée du Louvre
 (photo: Agraci)

this notebook he drew a faint outline of Mary Cassatt's head and shoulders, and above it part of the elaborately carved frame on one of the pictures that hung there (Figure 38), reproducing a corner of the latter so faithfully that it can be identified as Ruben's composition *The Birth of Louis XIII*.¹¹⁹

The figures of Mary and Lydia Cassatt, based directly on those in the pastel, but now shown contemplating the Etruscan sarcophagus in the *Salle du Tombeau Lydien* rather than the pictures in the *Grande Galerie*

119. Villot, *Notice des tableaux . . . du Musée Impérial du Louvre*, II, no. 441; it was hung then in the *Grande Galerie*. Degas's drawing is in Guérin Carnet 4, fol. 1, and on its verso he observed with equal concern for accuracy: "Dans la grande galerie les draps et les soieries noirs sont plus clairs que les tableaux sombres."



(Figure 39), appear once again in an etching that Degas made around 1880.¹²⁰ His choice of the famous sarcophagus from Cervetri is not surprising, since it was already well known at the time and was appreciated in a manner he would surely have found congenial. Thus, it was described in a popular guidebook as “une oeuvre étrange, à la fois raffinée et sauvage,” and in a history of Etruscan art as having “quelque chose de vivant et d’expressif qu’une coloration vive contribue encore à accentuer.”¹²¹ Moreover, the representation of its complicated forms, seen through a glass case that both reflects light and frames the luminous window behind it, undoubtedly posed a technical problem for Degas, one which he must have been all the more anxious to solve since this print was to mark his public debut in the field of graphic art. It was to be his contribution to *Le Jour et la Nuit*, a periodical devoted to original prints, which he was then organizing with Bracquemond, Pissarro, and Mary Cassatt herself. The technique of aquatint, which he has employed so freely and inventively here, was to be an important element in all their prints.¹²²

That Degas has achieved more than a technical tour de force, however, becomes evident when his print is compared with contemporary pictures of visitors in the Louvre’s sculpture galleries, such as those by his former colleague Tissot. For if the latter’s view of the Rotonde de Mars, probably painted around 1884, is more successful as an illusion—so much so, that all the antiquities shown in it and even the Pavillon de Sully seen through the window can be identified—it is also more pedantic, and lacks the flair and especially the wit that are characteristic of Degas’s image.¹²³ This is evident not only in his original handling of the graphic media, but in a carefully contrived and amusing detail: the husband and wife shown reclining on the Etruscan sarcophagus appear to turn toward, and the husband

even to beckon toward, the figure of Lydia Cassatt, who in turn seems to look up from her guidebook in order to meet their glances, while her sister Mary faces them directly. When seen from this angle, the figures on the sarcophagus do appear this way (Figure 40), but the angle was undoubtedly chosen in order to produce such a confrontation between the pairs of living and sculpted figures.¹²⁴ In effect, then, Degas’s image is a witty, modern equivalent of the older one, especially popular in medieval and Renaissance art, of the Three Living Meeting the Three Dead. Yet it remains nevertheless a scene of contemporary life and a rather shrewd portrait of two of his friends.

XI. The latest in date and also the most varied in subject matter of the portraits in which pictures appear is the one that Degas painted of Hélène Rouart in 1886 (Figure 41), almost a decade after he had shown her as a girl with her father.¹²⁵ Although a poised and independent young woman now—and her unusual relation to the chair, a feature which appears more unconventional in Degas’s preparatory studies, is an indication of this—she is still represented in her father’s studio, surrounded by works of art in which his presence is felt.¹²⁶ As we have seen, it was largely as a collector, rather than as an artist, that Henri Rouart was best known, and Degas, who was one of his closest friends, has acknowledged this by characterizing the pictures and objects behind her as vividly as Hélène herself. If it is a portrait of her as the daughter of a famous collector, however, it is also an image of the cultivated milieu which his intelligence and taste enabled him to create, and in which she was raised to appreciate the values of many types of art. How much at ease she seems in it becomes clearer when Degas’s portrait is compared with the one he had painted of his sister

120. Delteil, no. 30, sixth state; dated there 1876. But undoubtedly etched in 1879–1880; see P. Moses in *Etchings by Edgar Degas*, University of Chicago, May 4–June 12, 1964, no. 30.

121. H. O’Shea, *Les musées du Louvre, guide populaire* (Paris, 1892) p. 398; J. Martha [J. Jules], *L’art étrusque* (Paris, 1889) p. 350.

122. See Degas’s letters to Bracquemond and to Pissarro, 1879–1880, in Degas, *Lettres*, pp. 45–55.

123. H. J. Gourley III, “Tissots in the Museum’s Collection,” *Bulletin of the Rhode Island School of Design* 50 (March 1964) pp.

3–4 and figs. 8–9. Not identified there is the statue of Dionysos (Louvre 222) at the extreme right in fig. 9.

124. Degas studied the sarcophagus alone from this angle; see *Catalogue des tableaux . . . par Edgar Degas et provenant de son atelier*, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, July 2–4, 1919, no. 250a.

125. Lemoisne, no. 869; dated there 1886; now in the collection of Gimpel Fils, Ltd, London.

126. For the studies, see Lemoisne, nos. 870, 870 bis, and 871, all signed and dated 1886, and B. N., Carnet 6, fols. 204–207.

FIGURE 41
Portrait of H el ene Rouart, by
Degas. Oil on canvas. Collection
of Gimpel Fils, Ltd, London
(photo: Durand-Ruel)

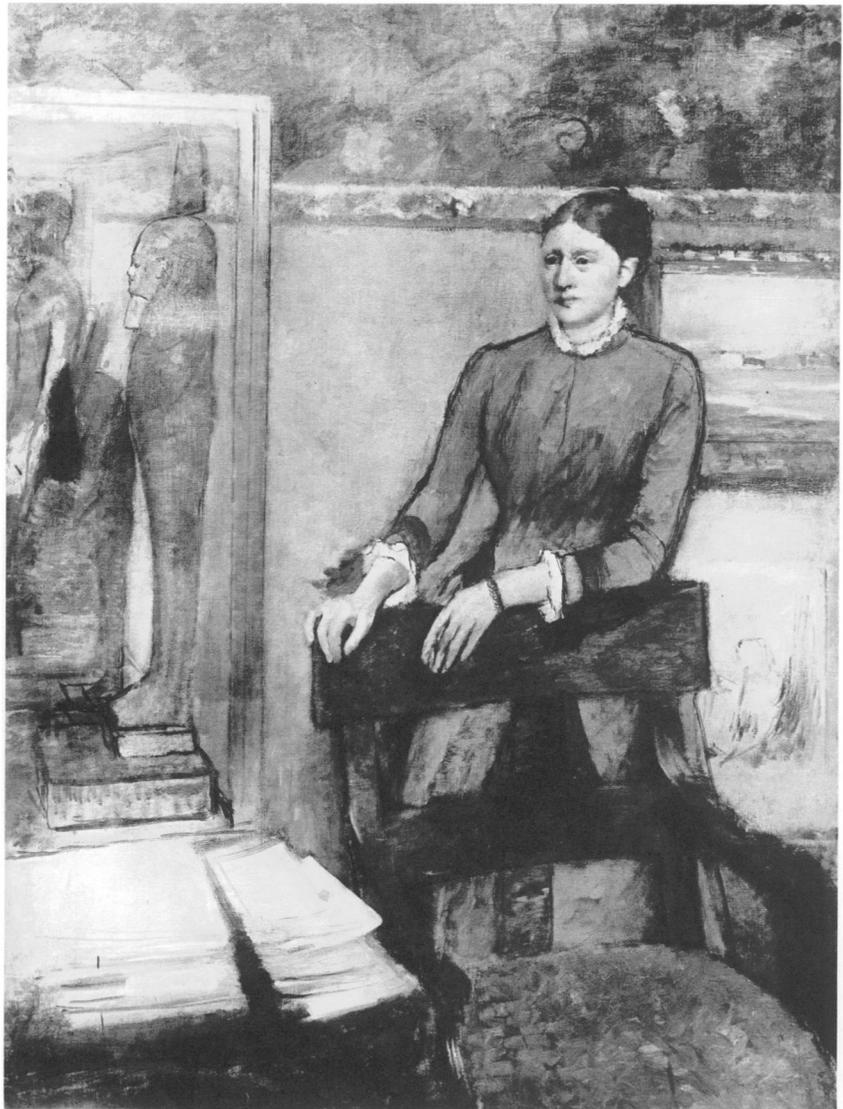


FIGURE 42
Detail from wall hanging,
Chinese, Ch'ing Dynasty. Em-
broidered silk. Collection of
M. Edmond Fournier, Paris

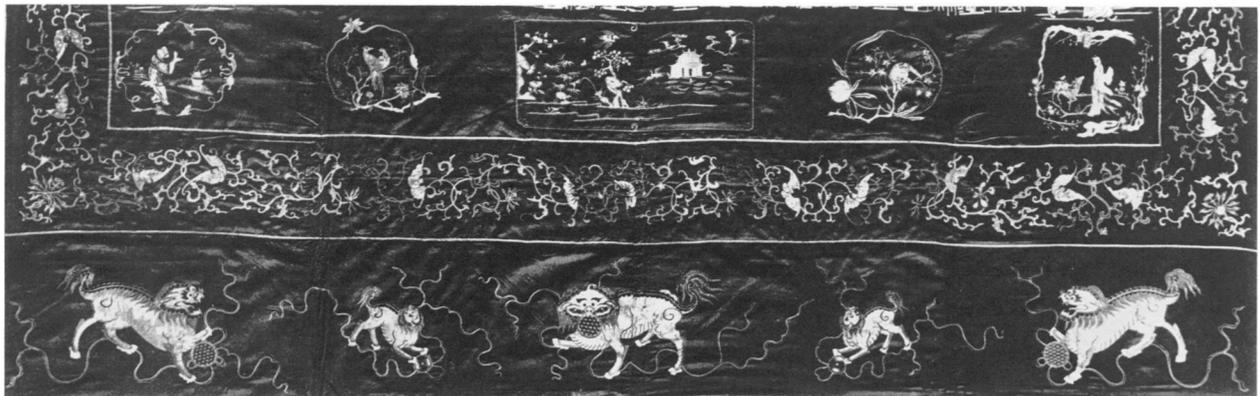




FIGURE 43
Detail from the Portrait of Héléne Rouart (photo:
Todd-White)

FIGURE 44
Naples and the Castello dell'Ovo, by Camille
Corot. Oil on canvas. Formerly in the collection
of Henri Rouart, Paris (photo: Paul Rosenberg)

Thérèse standing rather stiffly in her father's richly furnished drawing room, with an equally formal Peronneau portrait behind her (Figure 19).¹²⁷

As if to emphasize the essentially artistic and intellectual character of Héléne Rouart's home, Degas has placed a table piled with books and papers in the foreground, and has surrounded her with a remarkable variety of works of art. In the glass case are three Egyptian wood sculptures, of which the nearest one alone is rendered clearly enough to be identified; it is an Ushabti, or funerary statuette, of the Middle Kingdom, and was for many years in the collection of Louis Rouart, who inherited it from his father.¹²⁸ Above it is part of a large Chinese silk hanging, whose embroidered ornament (more intelligible when seen in color) consists of dragons and "dogs of Fo" on a crimson ground, of a type woven in the Ch'ing Dynasty (Figure 42).¹²⁹

Yet these works of ancient and exotic art, although obviously part of Henri Rouart's collection, were hardly typical of it; for its greatest strength was in European art, especially of the nineteenth-century French school, many of whose masters he had known personally. Hence the presence of these works probably reflects Degas's own interests. As a student, he had copied

127. A similar comparison is made in Boggs, *Portraits by Degas*, p. 68. The appearance and atmosphere of Rouart's home are vividly described in J.-E. Blanche, *Propos de peintre, de David à Degas* (Paris, 1919) pp. 245-276.

128. See F. Petrie, *Shabtis* (London, 1935) pls. XLIV and XLV; and Gimpel, *Journal d'un collectionneur*, p. 418, entry of April 30, 1930, recording information given by Louis Rouart. I am indebted to M. Rouart for discussing his collection with me.

129. For the example reproduced here, see H. d'Ardenne de Tizac, *The Stuffs of China, Weavings and Embroideries*, Eng. trans. (London, 1924) p. 12 and pl. 34. For a color reproduction of the Degas, see Boggs, *Portraits by Degas*, pl. 124.



extensively after Egyptian art; and according to his niece, “après avoir lu *Le Roman de la Momie*, [il] s’intéresse à tout ce qui touche à la vie des Egyptiens au temps des Pharaons.”¹³⁰ Early in his career, he had also studied Far Eastern art, as we have seen in *The Collector of Prints* and the *Portrait of James Tissot*, which actually represent oriental costumes and embroidered fabrics.

More appropriate as expressions of Rouart’s own taste are the painting and drawing behind *Hélène* at the right side of the composition (Figure 43). Although rendered in paler tones and a broader style than the figure and chair adjacent to them, both works can be identified. The painting is Corot’s *Naples and the Castello dell’Ovo* (Figure 44), one of an outstanding group of early landscapes by him which particularly impressed those who visited Rouart’s collection.¹³¹ Many years later, a visitor recalled both the vivid coloring of this “magnifique marine” and the many hours he had spent discussing the master’s work with his host, who had in fact known Corot and received some lessons from him.¹³² The same is true of Millet; and, appropriately, he is represented by the study of a peasant woman (Figure 45) that hangs below the Corot; it is one of an even larger series of pastels and sketches by him, which were among Rouart’s most valued possessions.¹³³ A colleague later described how the latter, even as an old, infirm man, “malade et pouvant à peine se lever d’un fauteuil, . . . tint à me reparler de Millet, et s’appuyant sur mon bras, se traîna jusqu’à un coin obscur où il alluma une bougie, pour me montrer un tout petit dessin.”¹³⁴ Thus the early Corot landscape and the Millet drawing, although not the most valuable works in a collection which included pictures by El Greco, Chardin, Goya, and Degas himself, were evidently among the most significant in Rouart’s own judgment, and were probably chosen by Degas as such.

Like the Chinese silk hanging and the Egyptian sculptures, however, one of them must also have had a particular attraction for Degas; not the Millet, of course, the rustic in art never having interested him, but the Corot, which would have appealed to him for two reasons. As a view of the Bay of Naples, it recalled a scene he had often admired as a young man, while visiting relatives in that city, and had seen again in 1886, the very year in which he painted this portrait.¹³⁵



FIGURE 45
Study of a Peasant Woman, by Jean-François Millet. Crayon drawing. Musée du Louvre

Like Corot, he responded particularly to its vivid contrasts of color and light, observing, for example, in a notebook of 1860 that “le Château de l’Oeuf se dé-

130. Fèvre, *Mon oncle Degas*, p. 50. On the early copies, see T. Reff, “Addenda on Degas’s Copies,” *Burlington Magazine* 107 (1965) p. 320.

131. *Catalogue des tableaux . . . collection de feu M. Henri Rouart*, Galerie Manzi-Joyant, Paris, December 9–11, 1912, nos. 104–149, *passim*; the Naples landscape, dated 1828, is no. 144. Its presence in the portrait of *Hélène* was noted in *Degas*, Musée de l’Orangerie, Paris, March–April 1937, no. 44.

132. D. Baud-Bovy, *Corot* (Geneva, n.d. [1957]) pp. 38–41. On Rouart’s preference for the early Corot, see also Blanche, *Propos de peintre*, p. 274.

133. *Catalogue des dessins et pastels . . . collection de feu M. Henri Rouart*, Galerie Manzi-Joyant, Paris, December 16–18, 1912, nos. 209–266, *passim*; the drawing of a peasant woman is no. 231.

134. Blanche, *Propos de peintre*, p. 270. On Rouart’s acquaintance with Millet, see Lemoisne, I, pp. 145–146.

135. See his letters to Bartholomé and Halévy, written from Naples in January 1886, in *Degas*, *Lettres*, pp. 113–119; also Boggs, “Edgar Degas and Naples,” p. 276.

tachait sur les pentes rosées du Vésuve, étant lui verdâtre et noir comme en hiver."¹³⁶ Two of his earliest landscapes are in fact small, broadly executed views of the Bay of Naples and the Castello dell'Ovo, undoubtedly painted under the older artist's influence.¹³⁷ Hence the picture in Rouart's collection would also have interested Degas as a brilliant example of Corot's style, and especially of his early style, for he, too, preferred it to the later, more popular style. Indeed, his own collection contained seven Corots by the time of his death, almost all of which were small landscapes of the early Italian period; and appropriately, when he was considering the purchase of two of them in 1898, he asked Rouart to confirm their authenticity.¹³⁸

XII. If, in the portrait of Hélène Rouart, and in the earlier ones of Tissot and Michel-Lévy, the works of art around them seem as important as the figures themselves in defining their interests or personalities, they are nevertheless subordinated to the latter compositionally. Only on two occasions, during a sojourn in his friend Paul Valpinçon's château at Ménil-Hubert in 1892, did Degas eliminate the figure and attempt instead to paint a portrait of his environment. In *The Interior* (Figure 1), he represented his own room in the château, playing ingeniously with the motives of the picture, the mirror, and the doorway, as we have seen, but also capturing the provincial charm of this simply furnished, yet cheerful and luminous place.¹³⁹ And in *The Billiard Room* (Figure 46), he depicted one of the more elaborately furnished areas used for entertainment and the display of Valpinçon's extensive collection of paintings.¹⁴⁰ He was in fact the son of a famous collector and friend of Ingres, and it was

through him that Degas was able as a young man to meet Ingres—an occasion he never forgot.¹⁴¹ Hence the prominence he has given to the pictures, which fill both walls of the billiard room, the space above the doorway, and a wall of the room visible beyond it, creating an effect like that in the portrait of Mary Cassatt in the Grande Galerie, but with a greater emphasis on the pictures themselves.

Yet only the largest of them, the one in the center of each wall of the billiard room, is shown in sufficient detail to be identified. At the right is an eighteenth-century tapestry representing Esther swooning before Ahasuerus, which was still at Ménil-Hubert before the Second World War, but was removed or destroyed at that time.¹⁴² At the left is a painting of a typically rustic scene by the Neapolitan artist Giuseppe Palizzi, the *Animals at a Watering Place* of about 1865 (Figure 47).¹⁴³ Clearly uninterested in its rather dryly rendered genre details, Degas has suppressed the foreground entirely in his copy and has given the earth, and especially the horizon, a rhythmic curvature lacking in the more static original. However, these changes do not necessarily imply a criticism, since there is a similar tendency to simplify and abstract a broad pattern of tones in his late copies after artists he surely did admire, such as Corot (in the *Portrait of Hélène Rouart*) and Mantegna (in a pastel drawn in 1897).¹⁴⁴ In fact, Degas may have met Palizzi, the leader of the so-called School of Pausilippus, during one of his sojourns in Naples, and may have been interested in the picture for that reason.

XIII. Viewed in retrospect, the pictures within Degas's pictures are not only surprisingly numerous,

136. B. N., Carnet 19, fol. 6; used in 1860, see note 55, above.

137. Not in Lemoisne; see *Catalogue des tableaux . . . collection Edgar Degas (2^{me} vente)*, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, November 15–16, 1918, no. 42 (as "École moderne"), and *Catalogue des tableaux . . . collection de Mlle J. Fèvre*, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, June 12, 1934, no. 142.

138. Letter to Henri Rouart, June 30, 1898, in Degas, *Lettres*, p. 223. For the Corots he owned at his death, see *Catalogue des tableaux . . . collection Edgar Degas*, nos. 16–22. On his admiration for that master, see also Baud-Bovy, *Corot*, pp. 130 and 268.

139. See note 5, above. In the letter to Bartholomé, August 27, 1892, which is cited there, Degas characteristically refers only to the technical problem of representing an interior in correct perspective.

140. Lemoisne, no. 1115; dated there 1892; there is a second, less finished version, Lemoisne, no. 1114. On the circumstances in which they were painted, see S. Barazzetti, "Degas et ses amis Valpinçon—III," *Beaux-Arts*, no. 192 (September 4, 1936) p. 1.

141. Moreau-Nélaton, "Deux heures avec Degas," pp. 269–270.

142. For information on this and the following work, I am indebted to M. Paul Brame, who made an inventory of the collection at Ménil-Hubert after the war.

143. Not listed in A. Mezzetti, "Contributi alla pittura italiana dell' 800. Giuseppe Palizzi," *Bollettino d'Arte* 40 (1955) pp. 244–258 and 334–345; but see p. 339, fig. 20, a similar work dated 1866.

144. Reff, "Degas's Copies," p. 256 and p. 253, fig. 5; see also pp. 255–256 on the style of his later copies.



FIGURE 46
The Billiard Room, by
Degas. Oil on canvas.
Collection of M. Charles
Comiot, Paris (photo:
Durand-Ruel)



FIGURE 47
Animals at a Watering
Place, by Giuseppe Palizzi.
Oil on canvas. Formerly in
the collection of Paul
Valpinçon, Ménéil-Hubert
(photo: Brame)

but so diverse in subject and style as to appear almost unintelligible as a group. Nevertheless, when they are arranged chronologically, as they have been here, they reveal patterns of occurrence, function, and taste that are meaningful in terms of Degas's artistic development. It is surely no coincidence, for example, that the first and last works in which pictures appear prominently, *The Bellelli Family* of about 1860 and *The Billiard Room* of 1892, are also the first and last in which he attempts to characterize a room in relation to the personalities and tastes of the individuals who inhabit it.¹⁴⁵ Nor is it an accident that, between these terminal dates, all the examples we have discussed are either portraits or, in the case of *The Banker* and *Mary Cassatt at the Louvre*, portrait-like genre scenes, whose background pictures or objects serve to identify the characteristic ambience of the person portrayed or to comment on some aspect of his professional life.

Unlike his colleagues Cézanne and Gauguin, whose still lifes sometimes include works of art strikingly juxtaposed with the non-mimetic objects around them, Degas was too deeply attached to the representation of human beings to experiment with this form.¹⁴⁶ Even those pictures in which figures are not shown, namely, *The Interior* and *The Billiard Room*, are conceived so entirely in terms of human associations that they can be called portraits of rooms. Indeed, in their concern with personality and mood, they resemble Impressionist interiors much less than those of the Romantic period, one of which, Delacroix's well-known study of the Count de Mornay's Bedroom, Degas acquired some years later and, significantly, considered one of the three most important works in his collection.¹⁴⁷

Thus the period of Degas's greatest interest in the

145. In the only later works in which pictures appear—*The Toilet* (Lemoisne, no. 1288) and *the Woman Drying Her Hair* (no. 1454)—both the figures and the pictures behind them are anonymous. In photographs, however, Degas did continue to use the motive expressively; see L. Hocin, "Degas photographe," *L'Oeil* 65 (May 1960) pp. 36–43, especially the photograph of himself and Bartholomé on p. 41.

146. L. Venturi, *Cézanne, son art, son oeuvre* (Paris, 1936) nos. 494, 496, 706, and 707. G. Wildenstein, *Gauguin* (Paris, 1964) especially nos. 183, 375, and 604, but also nos. 174, 287, 377, 380, etc. For examples in earlier art, see note 3, above.

147. *Catalogue des tableaux . . . collection Edgar Degas*, no. 31. According to Paul Poujaud's letters to Marcel Guérin, in *Degas, Lettres*, pp. 253 and 255, it was one of Degas's favorites. For other interiors of the Romantic period, see Eitner, "The Open Window and the Storm-Tossed Boat," pp. 285–287 and figs. 5–8.

motive of the picture coincides roughly with that of his greatest interest in portraiture. Within that, however, there is a smaller interval, from 1866 to 1880, or rather, two still smaller intervals, from 1866 to 1871 and from 1877 to 1880, which comprise most of the examples we have discussed. It is especially in the first of these periods that Degas, encouraged by Duranty, Manet, and other members of the Naturalist movement, who are convinced that in modern portraiture "nous ne séparerons plus le personnage du fond d'appartement,"¹⁴⁸ explores the expressive possibilities of the background, and particularly of the picture in the background, in such complex and subtle works as *The Collector of Prints*, *The Banker*, and the portraits of Tissot and Pilet. Moreover, it is in precisely these years that Degas tends to include small prints of an essentially documentary value in such realistically depicted interiors as those of the *Portraits in an Office*, *The Cotton Merchants*, and *The Pedicure*.¹⁴⁹ In the most intriguing of these interiors, the so-called *Le Viol*, his practice actually coincides with that of the Naturalist writers, since it is inspired by an episode in Zola's novel *Madeleine Féral*, in which particular importance is attached to the visual effect and symbolic significance of a series of prints decorating the walls of the hotel room in which the episode occurs.¹⁵⁰

In most cases, Degas copies the background picture or object from an actual one, often in a broader, more summary style, but with sufficient fidelity for the latter to be identified; here he relies on his phenomenal visual memory and on techniques he has acquired in years of copying as a student.¹⁵¹ In the relatively few cases where he obviously invents the work of art, it is for a specific reason: to characterize a style or type of art, in

148. Duranty, *La nouvelle peinture*, pp. 44–46. In his "Salon de 1870," *Paris-Journal*, May 8, 1870, Duranty had in fact criticized Degas's *Portrait of Mme Camus* for its lack of "l'accord, auquel il tient tant d'ordinaire, entre le personnage et l'intérieur."

149. Lemoisne, nos. 320, 321, and 323; all dated there 1873.

150. E. Zola, *Madeleine Féral* (Paris, 1928 [first ed. 1868]) pp. 188 and 220–221. Degas's painting is Lemoisne, no. 348; dated there about 1874, but more likely about 1869. For its dependence on this text, see J. Adhémar in *Émile Zola*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1952, no. 114. However, the three pictures shown in the background of *Le Viol* do not correspond to the prints described by Zola.

151. See Reff, "Degas's Copies," pp. 250–256 and the memoir by Thiébaud-Sisson cited there, p. 252, note 31. According to Fèvre, *Mon oncle Degas*, pp. 52–53, Degas was able to reproduce a Corot so well that his colleagues took it for the original.

a portrait of an artist (Tissot, Rouart); to introduce a humorous marginal comment, in a portrait of a friend (Pilet); or to reinforce a compositional element, in a portrait whose subject alone is important (Martelli). Whether copied or invented, however, the picture or object in the background always seems appropriate for the person portrayed, and sometimes actually belongs to him (the Bellellis, The Print Collector) or to his family (Thérèse Morbilli, Hélène Rouart).¹⁵² Nevertheless, in most of these examples and in a few others (The Banker, Mary Cassatt), the particular work of art seems also to be chosen because of Degas's own interest in it, his taste agreeing with or even superseding that of his subject, although this may appear so partly because much more is known about his artistic affinities in general.

Whatever the reasons for their choice, the mere presence in Degas's paintings of works as varied as Egyptian and Etruscan sculptures, Chinese and Japanese fabrics, Renaissance and Rococo portraits, Romantic and Impressionist landscapes, Neoclassical and Victorian prints, is evidence of a responsiveness to art of almost every type and style which is in itself characteristic of him.¹⁵³ Within this extraordinary diversity, however, certain preferences can be observed; notably for nineteenth-century and for Far Eastern art. To the former group belong not only the landscapes and genre scenes by (or apparently by) his colleagues Michel-Lévy, Tissot, and Rouart, which are perhaps inevitable in portraits that show them in their studios, but also those by Corot, Millet, and Palizzi, which represent less externally conditioned choices, and also the flower prints by Redouté, the steeplechase print after Herring, and the imitation of a musical print designed by Degas himself. To the group of Far Eastern works belong the T'ang figurine and Japanese embroideries in The Collector of Prints, the Ch'ing silk hanging in the portrait

of Hélène Rouart, and the imitation of a Yeishi color woodcut in that of Tissot. And as we have seen, the influence of oriental art is also present in the design of the background in The Collector of Prints, the composition of the portrait of Pilet, and the figural type used in that of Mary Cassatt.¹⁵⁴

Iconographically, too, the works of art copied or invented by Degas reveal a preference, and understandably it is for portraiture: in addition to Perronneau's Bust of a Woman, a copy of Cranach's Frederick the Wise, and his own portrait drawing of his father, we find among them the realistically rendered heads on the Etruscan sarcophagus and that tour de force of miniature group portraiture, the reunion of musicians and writers shown in the lithograph behind Pilet.

In the period between 1860 and 1890, when Degas painted the pictures within his pictures, many other artists also took up this theme; in fact, the years around 1885 in France have in this respect been compared in importance with those around 1660 in Holland and Spain.¹⁵⁵ The Delacroix sketch in Renoir's portrait of Victor Chocquet, the Japanese prints in Van Gogh's portrait of Père Tanguy, and the Cézanne still life in Gauguin's portrait of Marie Derrien all are familiar examples of this motive.¹⁵⁶ So, too, on a larger scale, are the Delacroix self-portrait in Fantin-Latour's homage to him, the Impressionist landscapes and figures in Bazille's picture of his studio, and the fragment of La Grande Jatte in Seurat's painting, The Models.¹⁵⁷ Less familiar, but particularly relevant here, are the works by Degas himself which appear in other examples: the fan decorated with Spanish dancers in Berthe Morisot's Two Sisters on a Sofa, the pastel of a dancer adjusting her slipper in Gauguin's Still Life with Peonies, and the paintings of ballerinas and jockeys in Renoir's Portrait of Yvonne and Christine Lerolle.¹⁵⁸

As we have seen, however, the device of the picture

152. See also the studies for a portrait of Mme Rouart and Hélène which Degas planned in 1884, where the figures contemplate a Tanagra statuette in their collection; Boggs, *Portraits by Degas*, pp. 67-68 and pls. 122-123.

153. See Reff, "Addenda on Degas's Copies," p. 320, and P. Valéry, *Degas danse dessin* (Paris, 1938) pp. 40-45.

154. For additional examples, some more convincing than others, see Shinoda, *Degas, der Einzug des Japanischen, passim*.

155. Chastel, "Le tableau dans le tableau," pp. 26-27.

156. Illustrated in Rewald, *Impressionism*, p. 355 (Renoir); Rewald, *Post-Impressionism from van Gogh to Gauguin* (New York, 1956) p. 47 (van Gogh); and *ibid.*, p. 309 (Gauguin).

157. Illustrated in Hofmann, *The Earthly Paradise*, pl. 178 (Fantin-Latour); Rewald, *Impressionism*, p. 235 (Bazille); and Rewald, *Post-Impressionism*, p. 107 (Seurat). See also Corot's Studio, which is contemporary with, and compositionally similar to, Degas's portrait of Tissot; illustrated in Hofmann, pl. vi.

158. See M.-L. Bataille and G. Wildenstein, *Berthe Morisot* (Paris, 1961) no. 19 (the fan is Lemoisne, no. 173); Wildenstein, *Gauguin*, no. 131 (the pastel is Lemoisne, no. 699); and *Collection Jean Walter—Paul-Guillaume*, Orangerie des Tuileries, Paris, 1966, no. 31 (the paintings are Lemoisne, nos. 486 and 702).

has a unique significance for Degas, who employs it more often and on the whole more ingeniously than his colleagues, and not only in subjects whose imagery seems to require them. Quite apart from its iconographic function in portraits of artists, critics, and collectors, the picture is for Degas a motive of purely visual fascination; like the mirror, the doorway, and the window, it is a means of playing on the artificial and the natural in the art of making pictures. Ultimately, it is this endless fascination with the pictorial as such that enables him to create images of such remarkable subtlety and complexity as *The Collector of Prints*, *The Banker*, and *the Portrait of James Tissot in the Metropolitan Museum*.¹⁵⁹

159. I am indebted to the owners of many of the works illustrated here for sending me photographs of them, and particularly to the following, for arranging to have detail photographs made: Mme Hélène Adhémar of the Musée du Louvre, Mlle M. Minet of the Collection David-Weill, Mr. Peter Gimpel of Gimpel Fils, Ltd, and Mr. Claus Virch of the Metropolitan Museum.

FREQUENTLY CITED SOURCES

- Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Dc. 327d, réserve, Carnets de Degas, 28 vols. Cited as: B. N., Carnet, with the present notebook number.
- J. S. Boggs, *Portraits by Degas* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962).
- E. Degas, *Lettres*, ed. M. Guérin (Paris, 1945).
- L. Delteil, *Edgar Degas (Le peintre-graveur illustré, IX)* (Paris, 1919). Cited as: Delteil, with the catalogue number.
- P.-A. Lemoisne, *Degas et son oeuvre*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1946–1949). Cited as: Lemoisne, with the catalogue number; and Lemoisne, I, for the text. Note: the present location of a work has been given only where it differs from the one recorded by Lemoisne.
- T. Reff, "New Light on Degas's Copies," *Burlington Magazine* 106 (1964) pp. 250–259.
- T. Reff, "The Chronology of Degas's Notebooks," *Burlington Magazine* 107 (1965) pp. 606–616.
- J. Rewald, *The History of Impressionism*, rev. ed. (New York, 1961).

NOTES

Two Etruscan Bronze Statuettes

BRIAN F. COOK

Associate Curator of Greek and Roman Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

INCREASING knowledge of the arts of ancient Italy makes it necessary from time to time to reassess the use of the term “Etruscan” and to consider whether or not its application to certain objects—and even to whole classes of objects—can be justified. The term was at one time applied almost indiscriminately to anything excavated in Italy that was not obviously Greek or Roman, and this included the terracotta vases found in Etruria and other parts of Italy. Shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century it was argued from the Greek inscriptions on some red-figured vases that they were made by Greeks and not by Etruscans. Some of those prejudiced by misplaced patriotism or commercial considerations continued to claim Etruscan manufacture for some Greek vases as late as the early nineteenth century, but as the body of available material became larger and better known, and after excavations were undertaken in Greece itself as well as in Italy, the Greek origin of many vases became established beyond dispute. In the nineteenth century the tendency arose

to think that anything of superior quality must therefore be of Greek workmanship.¹ This criterion survived into the twentieth century, and its use may be observed in the older descriptions of many of the Etruscan objects in the Museum. Thus several bronze statuettes formerly exhibited as Greek have been seen to show specifically Etruscan traits and have been transferred to the gallery of Etruscan art, one of the recent migrants being the bronze centaur given to the Museum in 1917 by J. Pierpont Morgan.²

It happens less frequently that objects formerly thought to be of the Roman Imperial period are shown to be of Etruscan manufacture and therefore several centuries earlier in date. Such was the case with a group of bronze statuettes from Nemi that appeared on the London art market in 1908.³ They allegedly came from one of the Roman ships that were at that time still submerged in the Lake of Nemi, and they were therefore dated in the reign of Caligula (A.D. 37–41).⁴ This dating was supported by the conjecture that

1. M. Pallottino, *Etruscologia* 5th ed. (Milan, 1963) p. 298. For a detailed account of the changing usage of “Etruscan” as applied to vases, see the chapter “The History of the Study of Vase-Painting” in R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (London, 1960) pp. 288 ff.

2. Dietrich von Bothmer, “The Case of the Morgan Centaur,” *Archaeology* 20 (1967) pp. 221–222.

3. Sybille Haynes, “The Bronze Priests and Priestesses from

Nemi,” *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 67 (1960) pp. 34 ff. They were first published by S. Reinach, “Bronzes du Lac de Nemi,” *Revue Archéologique* 4th series, 14 (1909) pp. 176 ff., pls. 11–12.

4. For the date of the Nemi ships, see F. Barnabei, *Notizie degli Scavi* 1895, pp. 361 ff.; G. Ucelli, *Le Navi di Nemi* 2nd ed. (Rome, 1950) especially pp. 337 ff.



FIGURES 1-3

Bronze statuette of a priest, Etruscan, II century B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 16.174.5

a particularly large and fine statuette of a woman represented Caligula's sister Drusilla.⁵ Later scholars, finding it impossible to accept the statuettes as Imperial, urged a Republican date, and there is now general

agreement that the statuettes are Etruscan and to be dated in the second century B.C.⁶

The two bronze statuettes that are published here for the first time were acquired for the Museum in

5. The statuette, perhaps a priestess, is now in the British Museum (1920.6-12.1; S. Haynes, *RM* 67 [1960] pp. 36-37, no. 1). The identification as Drusilla was made in the *Illustrated London News* of January 1, 1910, pp. 6 and 11, and in Spink and Son's *Illustrated Catalogue of a Selection of Antiques and Objets d'Art* (London n.d., but apparently issued in the latter part of 1910, not 1911 as suggested by Bothmer and Vermeule, *American Journal of Archaeology* 60 [1956] p. 339) p. 51, where we read: "This view is strengthened by the fact that the dress of the figure is curiously similar to that of the famous marble statue of Drusilla at Munich, and the attitude of both figures is almost identical." No marble statue of Drusilla, however, exists at Munich (for portraits of Drusilla see J. J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie* II, 1 [Berlin and Stuttgart, 1886] pp. 324 ff.), and the statue in question must be that of "Livie Drusille Auguste" published by Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture Antique et Moderne* V (Paris, 1851) p. 216, no. 2380, pl. 935, whence S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine* I (Paris, 1897) p. 573. The caption on the plate reads "Drusille" and the names given in the text are apparently derived from Clarac's garbled version of the ancient inscription on the plinth: AVGVSTAE IVLIAE DRVSIE. The correct reading, however, is AVGVSTAE IVLIAE DRVSI · F, and the statue is actually of Livia (A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwig's I zu München*, 2nd ed. [Munich, 1910]

pp. 366-367, no. 367). The resemblance in drapery and stance between this statue and the bronze from Nemi is rather superficial.

6. For a detailed discussion of the chronology, see S. Haynes, *RM* 67 (1960) pp. 41-45. The earliest examples of the type from a dated context are those from the votive deposit at Carsöli, dated in the third century by the coins and pottery, Antonio Cederna, *NSc* 1951, pp. 169 ff., cf. S. Haynes, *op. cit.* p. 42 and Emeline Richardson, *The Etruscans* (Chicago and London, 1964) pp. 157 ff. Mrs. Richardson has pointed out to me that the relatively low quality of the Carsöli bronzes seems to imply that prototypes of a higher quality were already in existence before the end of the third century: perhaps some of the statuettes now known should be dated earlier than Mrs. Haynes suggests. J. G. Szilágyi, *Annales Musei Debreceniensis de F. Deri nominati* 1957, p. 51, also urges a late fourth- or third-century date for the origin of the type, pointing out that the phialai held by these statuettes are usually decorated with a star pattern reminiscent of that on some plates of the Genucilia Group, for which see J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (1947) pp. 175 ff. and M. A. Del Chiaro, "The Genucilia Group," *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology* 3 (1957) pp. 243-372. (I am indebted to Dr. Szilágyi for a reprint of his article.)



FIGURES 4-6

Bronze statuette of a priest, Etruscan, 11 century B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 16.174.4

1916, when the Nemi bronzes were already known but before it became clear that they were Etruscan. One of them is of the same type as the priests from Nemi, and it is not surprising that they were described as Roman on the few occasions when they were referred to in print.⁷ They were also exhibited with the Roman bronzes until 1964, but they were transferred to the Etruscan gallery after professors Blanche R. Brown and Hans Jucker had independently pointed out the incorrect classification on the labels.

1. Acc. no. 16.174.5; Figures 1-3; height 24.8 cm. (9¾ in.).

Youthful priest of the Nemi type with a pyxis in his left hand. The right arm is missing from just below the shoulder, but was doubtless extended with a *phiale* in

7. *MMA Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition* (New York, 1920) p. 3. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 15 (1920) p. 109; *id.* 16 (1921) pp. 14 and 38, notes 2-3. G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection* (New York, 1927) pp. 310 and 314.

8. The word τήβεννα is preserved by Dionysios of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* III.lxi.1, as the word used by the Greeks to

the hand. The youth stands with his weight on the left leg; the right leg is bent at the knee and the foot is drawn back, the ball of the foot resting on the ground. His head is turned slightly to the right and is crowned by a wreath with seven large pointed leaves. His only garment is a mantle draped rather loosely around the right side of the body, with one end hanging forward over the left shoulder and the other end thrown across the left forearm. The curved hem of the garment, which can be seen both behind and in front of the left leg, shows that this is the *tēbenna*, the typically Etruscan male dress, distinguished by its semicircular shape from the rectangular Greek *himation*. Represented in Etruscan art from archaic times, it is the direct ancestor of the Roman *toga*.⁸ Like most of the figures of this type, the youth is barefoot.

translate *toga*. He points out, however, that the word does not seem to be Greek, and it has therefore been conjectured that it may be a loan-word from the Etruscan. Plutarch, *Romulus* xxvi.2, gives the word as τήβεννος but the feminine form is attested by a second-century inventory of the Aphrodision on Delos, *Inscriptions de Délos* (Paris, 1935) 1442.B.34; see Liddell and Scott, *Greek-*

This statuette should be added to the list compiled by Mrs. Haynes of those of the Nemi type "for which any artistic merit can be claimed,"⁹ and like them may be dated in the second century B.C.

2. Acc. no. 16.174.4; Figures 4-6; height 29.5 cm. (11 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.).

Youth pouring a libation. Like the Nemi priests he wears no tunic, but his *tēbenna* is draped high around his torso, leaving only the right shoulder and breast bare. The stance is very similar to the last: weight on the left leg, right leg bent at the knee and foot drawn back; the feet bare; the body twisted to bring the right shoulder forward, the right arm extended forward and to the right, bent at the elbow; in the right hand, a *phiale* tilted forward for the libation. The left arm is held close to the body beneath the *tēbenna*, but the hand points away from the body, palm forward, fingers and thumb extended. The head is turned slightly to the right; the hair is bound with a fillet.

This statuette is distinguished from those of the Nemi type by the manner in which the *tēbenna* is worn and by

the absence of pyxis and wreath. The closest parallel known to me is a headless statuette of a youth in Florence, which has an Etruscan inscription in two lines on the garment at the front.¹⁰ Its right arm is missing from just above the elbow, and in the left hand is an object of irregular shape that appears to be a liver. The *tēbenna*, however, is almost identical, fold for fold, with that of the New York statuette. Smaller bronze statuettes of youths wearing the *tēbenna* in a similar fashion have been found at Carsòli¹¹ and Nemi.¹² The Carsòli example was found in a third-century context, and the slender proportions of the New York statuette suggest that it can hardly be earlier than this in date. The bland expression and the arrangement of the hair in large tufts, reminiscent of the hair-style of the Nemi priests, invite comparison with larger sculptures of the third to second century, such as the "Paris" and "Minerva" from Arezzo.¹³ Its close similarity to the inscribed examples leaves no doubt of the Etruscan origin of the New York statuette, and together with the stylistic considerations points to a date in the second century B.C.

English Lexicon, ed. by Stuart Jones and McKenzie (Oxford, 1925-1940) s.v. τῆβεννα; cf. M. Pallottino, *Etruscologia* p. 335 and Emeline Richardson, *The Etruscans* pp. 67 and 106. For earlier statuettes wearing the toga, see Emeline Richardson, "The Etruscan Origins of Early Roman Sculpture," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 21 (1953) pp. 110-122. On the manly custom of wearing the toga without a tunic, see Aulus Gellius VI.xii.3.

9. *RM* 67 (1960) p. 41. Add also two bronze statuettes, a priest and a priestess, formerly owned by the late Capt. E. G. Spencer-Churchill: *Cat. Christie June 21-23, 1965 (Northwick Park Collection)* nos. 506 and 507, pl. 71, reputed to have been among "seven figures dredged up from Lake Nemi, circa 1907, from Caligula's barge." The priest appeared earlier in Spink and Son's *Illustrated Catalogue* (1910) pp. 52 ff., no. 535, fig. 58, where it was said to have been found with the priestess now London 1920.6-12.1. Neither of the Spencer-Churchill bronzes, however, was among the seven statuettes published along with the London priestess by Reinach, *RA* 4th series, 14 (1909) pls. 11-12.

10. Museo Archeologico inv. 13004, formerly in the Uffizi, found at Paterno di Valombrosa in 1831. L. A. Milani, *Il R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze* (Florence, 1912) I, p. 141, no. 141. H. Dragendorff, "Rappresentazione di un aruspice sopra un vaso aretino," *Studi Etruschi* 2 (1928) p. 181 and note 5, pl. 38, 3-4. For the inscription see also: Conte Giancarlo Conestabile, *Iscrizioni*

etrusche e etrusco-latine in monumenti che si conservano nell'I. e R. Galleria degli Uffizi (Florence, 1858) pp. 178 ff. and pl. 57, no. 199; A. Fabretti, *Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum* (Turin, 1867) no. 256, pl. 23; W. Corssen, *Ueber die Sprache der Etrusker I* (Leipzig, 1874) pp. 643 ff.; *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* 2627 (q.v. for other early literature); E. Lattes, "Saggio di un indice lessicale etrusco," *Società R. di Napoli, Memorie della R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belli Arti* 1 (1911) p. 67 s.v. *alitle*; *id.*, "Appunti per l'indice lessicale etrusco," *R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, Rendiconti* 2nd series, 45 (1912) p. 357 s.v. *eit*; G. Buonamici, *Epigrafa etrusca* (Florence, 1932) p. 70 and note 12.

11. Antonio Cederna, *NSc* 1951, pp. 169 ff., especially p. 191, fig. 8, no. 7 and p. 192, note 2. To the list of parallels there noted, add: (1) Villa Giulia 24473, height about 16 cm., right hand extended but empty, left hand as New York 16.174.4, Etruscan inscription on the front of the garment. (2) Villa Giulia 24491, height about 9 cm. (3) Berlin, height 14.2 cm.

12. A. Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia* (Rome, 1918) p. 227, no. 6770. *NSc* 1951, p. 192, note 2. Height about 7.5 cm.; in the right hand, a *phiale*; in the left, a rounded object, perhaps a liver.

13. "Paris," Florence inv. 87669. *NSc* 1920, pp. 206-207, no. 6, pl. 3. G. Q. Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca* (Milan, 1935) pl. 378, figs. 1-2. "Minerva," Florence inv. 87708. *NSc* 1920, p. 207, no. 7, pl. 4. Giglioli, *ibid.*, fig. 4.

Three Berry Mourners

BELLA BESSARD

Clawson Mills Fellow, Department of Medieval Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

THE ICONOGRAPHY of French medieval tombs progressed from the simple tomb slabs of the early Middle Ages to the complex symbolic monuments of the Renaissance. Along with the evolution of funeral rites and feudal society, the traditional formula was greatly enriched by the fifteenth-century artists. On top of the sarcophagus was represented a realistic effigy of the dead, life-size. On the sides, in high relief and on a smaller scale, appeared figures under a series of arches. Because of their costume—a large coat similar to the cowl—they were believed to be monks. Actually, the width of the mourning dress and the shape of the hood differ from that of the monastic gown.

Only a few, in fact, are ecclesiastics placed there for their part in performing the funeral rites of the church. The other figures can be identified as relatives and allies of the deceased. Because of the system of medieval society, one of political and economic dependence

among families, it was natural for the deceased to be surrounded not only by members of the clergy but also by his family and allies. The mourners so carved around the base of the tomb represent the most important personages who participate in the funeral procession.

Not until the beginning of the fifteenth century, with Sluter and his followers, was such an iconography with gisant and procession of mourners in an architectural setting definitely established with the two famous monuments ordered by the dukes of Burgundy, Philip the Bold and John the Fearless (Figure 1). Charles I of Bourbon, son-in-law of the latter, immediately adopted the formula for his own tomb in Souvigny, as did Jean de France, Duke of Berry, in Bourges, to be followed afterward by nobility, clergy, and bourgeoisie. The older type of tomb slab did not disappear entirely because not everybody could afford such a monument with an elaborate cortège.



FIGURE 1
Tomb of John the Fearless
and Marguerite de Bavière,
1371–1419, by Jean de la
Huerta and Antoine le
Moiturier. From the
Chartreuse de Champmol.
Musée des Beaux-Arts,
Dijon



FIGURE 2
Mourner from Berry, xv century. Limestone. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 16.32.173

The Metropolitan Museum of Art owns a French sculpture of a limestone mourner from a similar tomb (Figure 2) datable about the middle of the fifteenth century.¹ The piece, formerly in the Georges Hoentschel collection, was lent to the Museum by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1907 and given in 1916. This mourner is represented as a standing, middle-aged man with crossed arms. His head, covered by a hood, is slightly inclined to the left. Over his dress he wears a coat fastened with one button.

In comparing this sculpture to the statues of Claus de Werve for Philip the Bold's tomb (1342–1404) or of those of Jean de la Huerta and Antoine le Moiturier for the tomb of John the Fearless (1371–1419), both now in the Dijon museum, Joseph Breck² concluded that in its style it belonged to the Burgundian school. However, the typical characteristics of this style, a powerful and energetic realism in the expression of the features and in the abundant, deeply carved folds of the robe, are not found in our mourner. Yet the wide shoulders and the heavy fall of the coat reveal a Burgundian influence.

All French art at the time was more or less affected by the school of Sluter, but nearly everywhere there developed variations on his major innovations. Jean, Duke of Berry, vied with the Burgundian dukes for political and artistic domination. Although the iconography and architecture of his tomb³ were inspired by the ones in Dijon, the style of the recumbent effigy and of the mourners is quite different. Even during the second period of construction, under King Charles VIII, when Burgundian influence is most evident in iconography and style, this influence is nevertheless softened by the Berry tradition. Instead of a dramatic effect, the emphasis is now upon individual features and on sober treatment of the drapery. It is these very

1. Acc. no. 16.32.173; H. 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (39 cm.) limestone.

2. Joseph Breck, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Catalogue of Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance sculpture* (New York, 1933) p. 132; André Peraté and Gaston Brière, *Collections Georges Hoentschel* (Paris, 1918) I, p. 4.

3. Recumbent effigy, sculptor Jean de Cambrai, Cathedral of Bourges; mourners, first campaign, 1405–1416, Jean de Cambrai, marble, second campaign, 1453–1457, Étienne Bobillet and Paul Mosselman, alabaster; these mourners are dispersed among museums (two in The Metropolitan Museum of Art) and private collections; see Alfred de Champeaux and Paul Gauchery, *Les travaux d'art exécutés pour Jean de France duc de Berry* (Paris, 1894).

FIGURE 4

Detail of a mourner from the tomb of Jean, Duke of Berry, 1405–1416. Marble. H. (total) 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (39 cm.). Collection of Denys Cochin, Paris (photo: Marc Vaux)



FIGURE 3

Mourner from the tomb of Jean, Duke of Berry, 1405–1416. Marble. H. 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (39 cm.). Collection of Denys Cochin, Paris (photo: Marc Vaux)

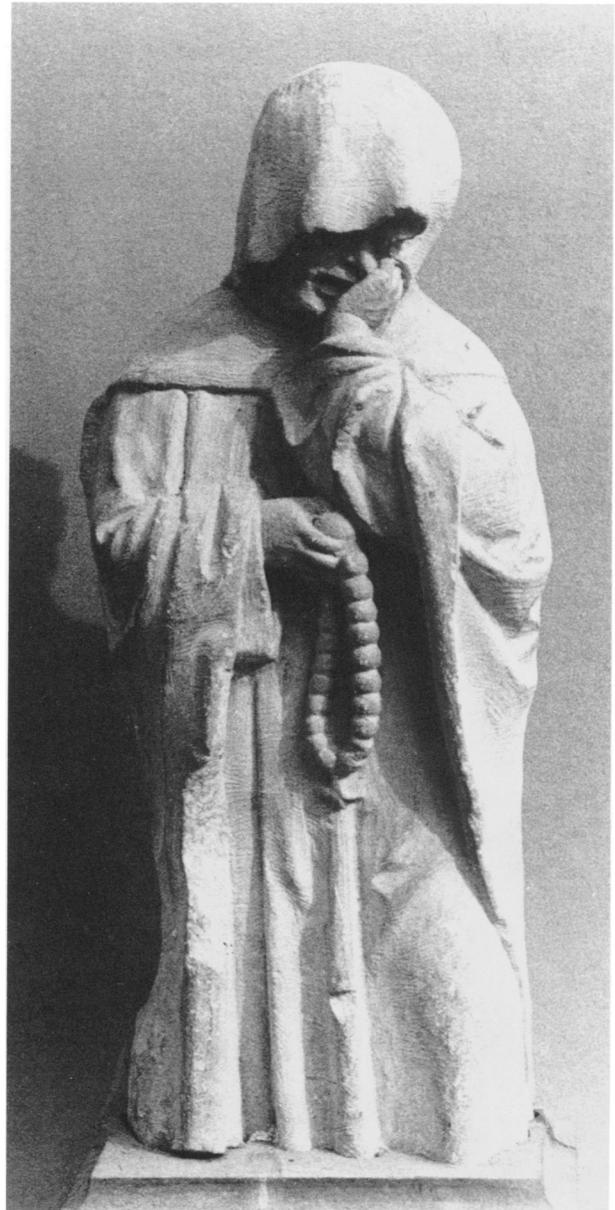


elements that we find in our mourner, although executed by a less skilled hand.

Without any doubt, the sculptor of the Metropolitan Museum's figure was familiar with the work of the artistic center of Bourges. The mourners of the tomb of the Duke of Berry⁴ and our statue are the same size, and they have common stylistic details (Figures 2, 3, 4). The large faces with prominent cheekbones, the shape of the half-closed eyes with their detailed crow's-feet, the downward curve of the mouth, and the square chin are very closely related. The backs of the sculptures are carved similarly. Though still of a thick cloth, the drapery now falls in graceful and even masses, and the hood is less bulky than in the Dijon mourners. Again the effect of the Burgundian influence, apparent in our statue in the heavy folds around the arms and the base, is lessened by the flatter and less voluminous drapery of the central areas of the coat. Quite evidently, the serenity of the Berry style predominates here rather than the amplitude of the Burgundian.

In Berry few examples of tombs with mourners are left intact. Two statues of mourners, however, still exist

4. Pierre Pradel, "Nouveaux documents sur le tombeau de Jean de Berry, frère de Charles V," *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et Mémoires* 49 (1957) pp. 14 ff.



FIGURES 5, 6
Mourners from Pruniers (Indre), xv century. Limestone (photo: Musées de Bourges)

in the church of Pruniers⁵ about thirty-four miles southwest of Bourges (Figures 5, 6). Their attribution to the Berry school, considering their location and style, is obvious. The similarities between our mourner and those of the Bourges tomb are equally true of those at Pruniers. In addition, there is the harsh vertical modeling of their folds, which is typical of Berry drapery. The two mourners of Pruniers hold a rosary in their right hands. One of them is exactly in the same position as one of the mourners from the tomb of the Duke of Berry (Figures 6, 7).⁶ With his left hand, in a gesture of sorrow, he supports his head, partially covered by a hood. The other mourner shows his whole face and places his left hand on his heart.

These two limestone mourners are most likely companion pieces to our mourner. Even though the lower parts of the statues at Pruniers are missing, their original height can be calculated easily. They had the same dimensions as our piece. Their similarity is borne out by closer examination of individual details, which are uniform in scale on all three figures. The rough carving is scored with chisel marks cut along parallel lines. Moreover the resemblances in quality and style between the figures are obvious. The three short-necked men have rounded shoulders and the same corpulence. The folds of their coats, gathered at the elbows, fall in an equal distribution of folds and planes before ending in a large hem.

The same treatment of the faces is even more convincing. The modeling of the noses and the deep-set eyes underlined by pouches are identical. In our sculpture, and in that at Pruniers of the mourner holding a rosary on his hip, deep wrinkles in the hollow cheeks indicate advanced age, and the large curved lips, slightly opened, an expression of grief. The numerous points of similarity, both in style and in technique, among these sculptures virtually prove their execution to be by a single artist, and suggest as well

5. Pruniers (Indre), near Issoudun; mourner holding a rosary at his side, H. 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (35 cm.), W. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (14 cm.); mourner holding a rosary directly in front of him, H. 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (34 cm.), W. 5 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (14.5 cm.); see Solange Pajot, "La sculpture en Berry à la fin du Moyen Age et au début de la Renaissance," *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre* 48 (1938-1941) pp. 88 ff.

6. Museum of Bourges; see Paul Gauchery, "Renseignements complémentaires sur la vie et les travaux de Jean de France duc de Berry d'après des documents nouveaux," *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre* 40 (1921) pp. 195 ff.

that they are from the same tomb. Their relation to the mourners of the tomb of the Duke of Berry, which was completed in 1457 by Étienne Bobillet and Paul Mosselman, allows us to place them after this date.

The two mourners at Pruniers were not originally in the church but were brought there by their former owner, the late Abbé Rabier. Unlike our sculpture, both their backs and bases are crudely cut from the original background. In explaining this mutilation, it would help us to know if the Abbé Rabier was the first



FIGURE 7
Mourner from the tomb of Jean, Duke of Berry, 1453-1457, by Étienne Bobillet and Paul Mosselman. Alabaster. H. 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (39 cm.). Palais Jacques Coeur, Bourges (photo: Giraudon)

person to acquire them after the destruction of the monument and if these pieces were given to him or purchased from a nearby secularized church. According to tradition, they came from a tomb at Neuvy-Saint-Sépulcre (Indre) about thirty-three miles southwest of Pruniers. But the inventory of the area established by Miss Solange Pajot in 1938 shows that no tombs existed there. On the other hand, notes by Jules Dumoutet, an architect of the nineteenth century famous for the drawings he left of the monuments of Berry, mentions a tomb with mourners in the church of Les Aix-d'Angillon (Cher)⁷ about eight miles northeast of Bourges. He said: "In the pavement . . . [are left] remains of the front face of a fifteenth century tomb, this monument is pierced with small niches which contain mourners very richly (skillfully) draped."⁸ Miss Pajot, who checked Dumoutet's writings, adds that the dimensions of these mourners were identical with the ones at Pruniers and their appearance little different from the latter. Moreover the width of the niches, according to Dumoutet, was 8³/₁₆ inches (22 cm.), just the right size for these mourners. Thus, it may well be that our mourner and the two now in the church at Pruniers came from this tomb.

During the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, the signiory of Les Aix-d'Angillon belonged first to the Sully family and then to the Albret family.⁹ Their home was in La Chapelle-d'Angillon, northeast of Les Aix in the castle of Bethune, which they renovated, and their sepulchre was in the nearby Cistercian monastery of Loroy. Considering the quality of our sculpture, it is in fact easy to surmise that the original tomb was not ordered by a wealthy family. More likely, our mourner and the two at Pruniers were part of a tomb ordered by a canon or a prior, since the church of Les Aix was a collegiate church. No traces of the tomb are now left in

the church. The authorized guide of the region by Buhot de Kersers, published in 1875,¹⁰ makes no mention of these sculptures, and it is therefore presumable that they disappeared between the time of Dumoutet's notations and this book. Dumoutet was in charge of restoring historical monuments in Berry and collected numerous medieval objects of art. Possibly, the three mourners figured among the works he himself acquired before they became part of the collections of the Abbé Rabier and of Hoentschel.

No further information could be obtained from the archives of Bourges where the notes and the drawings of Dumoutet are deposited. And from the papers of the Abbé Rabier, which are partly kept in the church of Pruniers, nothing was learned concerning the acquisition of the two mourners. It is hoped that more evidence will appear in the future to establish as a fact the suggested provenance of Les Aix-d'Angillon for the three mourners. If three pieces were left from a funeral monument, others may have been saved from destruction as well. We might then be able to imagine this tomb more completely. Yet the discovery of a secondary workshop around Bourges under the influence of the master artists of the Duke of Berry is an important step toward this aim.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude for their courtesy to Miss Solange Pajot of the Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques in Paris and to Mr. Jean Favière, Curator of the Musée du Berry in Bourges. I am also indebted to Mr. Denys Cochin for allowing me to publish the two mourners from his collection, to Mr. Jean Feray, Inspecteur des Monuments Historiques, and to Mr. Jean Lenny, Chief Librarian of the Bibliothèque Municipale in Bourges for their valuable information.

7. François Deshoulières, "Les Aix-d'Angillon," *Congrès Archéologique de France* 94 (1931) pp. 291 ff.

8. "Dans le dallage . . . les restes de la face d'un tombeau du XV^{ème} siècle, ce monument est percé de petits habitacles qui

abritent des pleureurs très richement (savamment) drapés." Bibliothèque de la ville de Bourges, mss. 444 and 445.

9. Gaspard de la Thaumassière, *Histoire du Berry* (Paris, 1689).

10. Alphonse Buhot de Kersers, *Statistique Monumentale du département du Cher*, Canton des Aix-d'Angillon (Paris, 1875).