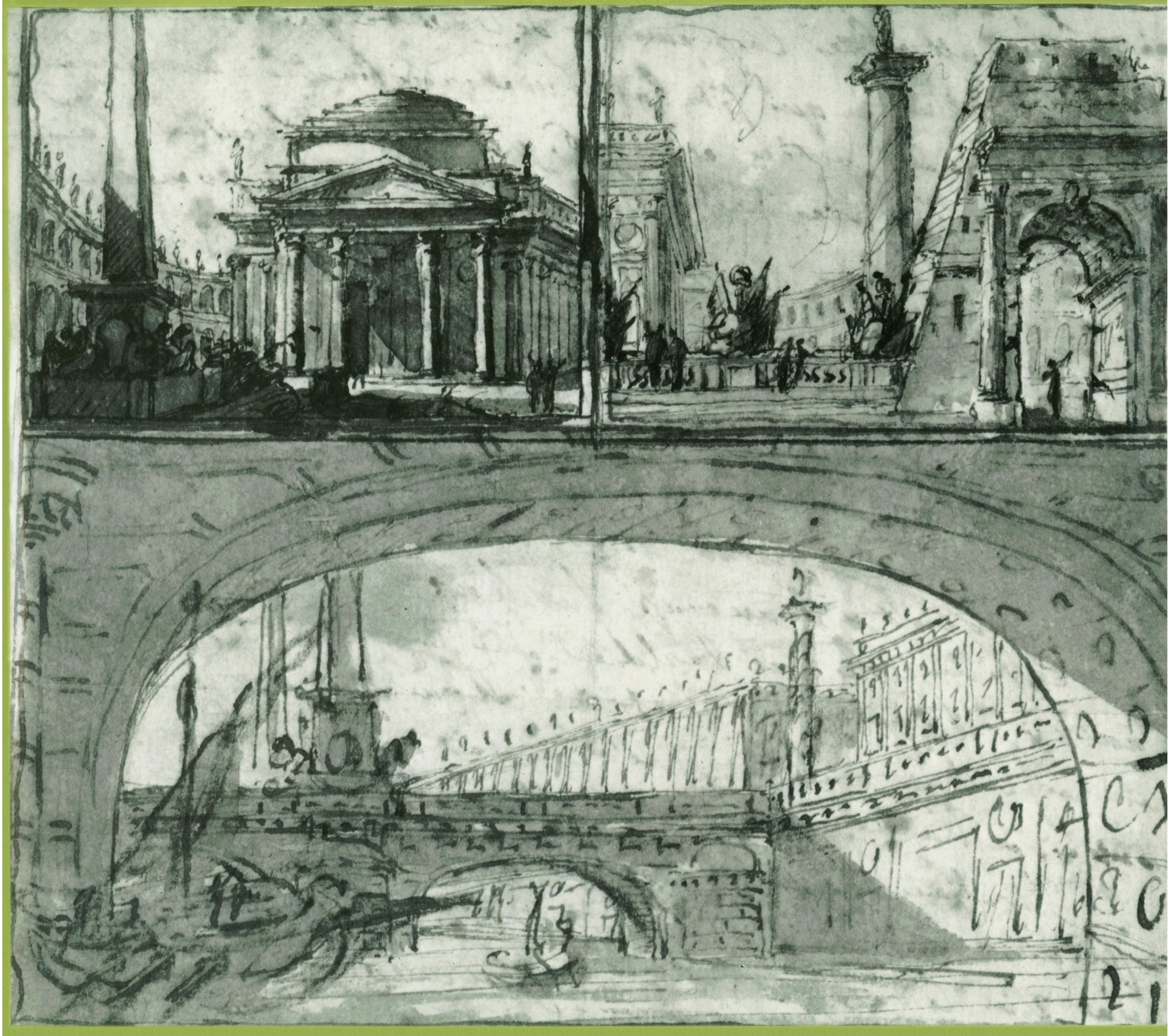
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL

Volume 25/1990



METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL Volume 25/1990

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is issued annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and serves as a forum for the publication of original research. Its focus is chiefly on works in the collections of the Museum and on topics related to them. Contributions, by members of the curatorial and conservation staffs and by other art historians and specialists, vary in length from monographic studies to brief notes. The wealth of the Museum's collections and the scope of these essays make the *Journal* essential reading for all scholars and amateurs of the fine arts.

Of special interest in this volume is a group of three essays about a suite of furniture designed for a garden room at Schloss Seehof in Bavaria; the pieces were recently put on permanent display in the Museum's Central European galleries. A monograph is devoted to an unpublished notebook kept by the French architect Jérôme-Charles Bellicard during a Grand Tour of Italy in 1750–51, when he recorded some of the discoveries being made at Herculaneum. Other contributions range from Roman wall-painting to Japanese costume.

For the first time an index of authors and subjects for the twenty-five volumes of the *Journal* is included.

continued on back flap

Volume 25 / 1990

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Editorial Board

Manuscripts submitted for the *Journal* and all correspondence concerning them should be addressed to James David Draper. Guidelines for contributors are available on request.

Executive editor, Barbara Burn

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Contents

For the twenty-fifth volume of the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, it was deemed appropriate to present this index of subjects and authors that have appeared since the *Journal*'s inception. It is expected that the index will serve as an indispensable guide to articles about objects in the collections of the Museum.

The members of the Editorial Board also take this opportunity to express their gratitude to Peter Oldenburg. Since 1968 he has designed all twenty-five volumes of the *Journal* with style and ingenuity.

ABBREVIATIONS

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

Height precedes width in dimensions cited.
Photographs, unless otherwise attributed,
are by the Photograph Studio,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Wind Towers in Roman Wall Paintings?

"The wind blows where it wills" (John 3: 8)

ELFRIEDE R. KNAUER

DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF
GUIDO VON KASCHNITZ-WEINBERG (1890–1958)

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART can pride itself on the finest collection of Roman wall paintings outside Italy. Among the important pieces on exhibition for many years are the frescoes of bedroom (*cubiculum*) M and of the large hall (*oecus*) H from the villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale, a small town a mile and a half northeast of Pompeii, excavated in 1900. Since the autumn of 1987 visitors to the Museum have also been able to enjoy the newly restored and reinstalled group of seventeen panels from three rooms in the villa at Boscotrecase, just west of Boscoreale, which came to light during the construction of the *Circumvesuviana*, the railway line skirting the foot of Vesuvius, in 1903.[1] Among the wall decorations of both houses there are cityscapes and landscapes displaying unusual architectural features. Our concern lies with various towerlike structures. They will be described, and an attempt will be made to demonstrate their function by relating them to a specific type of building of considerable, non-Classical antiquity and remarkable longevity. Finally, against this background, their possible meaning for the Roman viewer will be explored. These towers are most frequently met with in the repertoire of the muralists during the so-called Third Style.

While the frescoes of the villa of Fannius Synistor are supreme examples of the late phase of the Second Style of Roman wall painting, those from Boscotrecase belong to the next stage in the—by no means linear—development of Roman wall decoration, the Third Style. They are of the early phase of its maturity. It seems certain that this *villa rustica*, a country estate in the shadow of Vesuvius, belonged to Agrippa Posthumus, the son of Augustus's friend the older Agrippa, and of Julia, the Princeps's only child from his first marriage. The building can also be fairly securely dated—to about 10 B.C.—and so may its murals.[2] Since it prompted our investigation, we shall begin with the landscape vignette that occupies the central panel on the back (north) wall of the so-called Black Room (Figure 1), the easternmost *cubiculum* of the sequence on the villa's south side, facing the Bay of Naples.[3]

Hazy, raking sunlight seems to conjure up the small rural sanctuary from the indifferent black background in which it floats. Two open *aediculae* lean against a slender, square tower with a distinct pent roof and a wide, latticed opening high up on the front wall (to be thought of as facing the sea). The slats seem to impede rather than enhance a view from that vantage point, and we may ask whether a belvedere was intended at all.[4] Shields are mounted on the facade, a *bucranium*, swags, and an *oscillum* in the gabled *aediculae*. An altar and a column surmounted by a statue mark the boundaries of the precinct, as do two sturdy balustrades on which lidded golden vessels are aligned. Another vessel is perched on the ridgepole of the left *sacellum*. Gnarled trees

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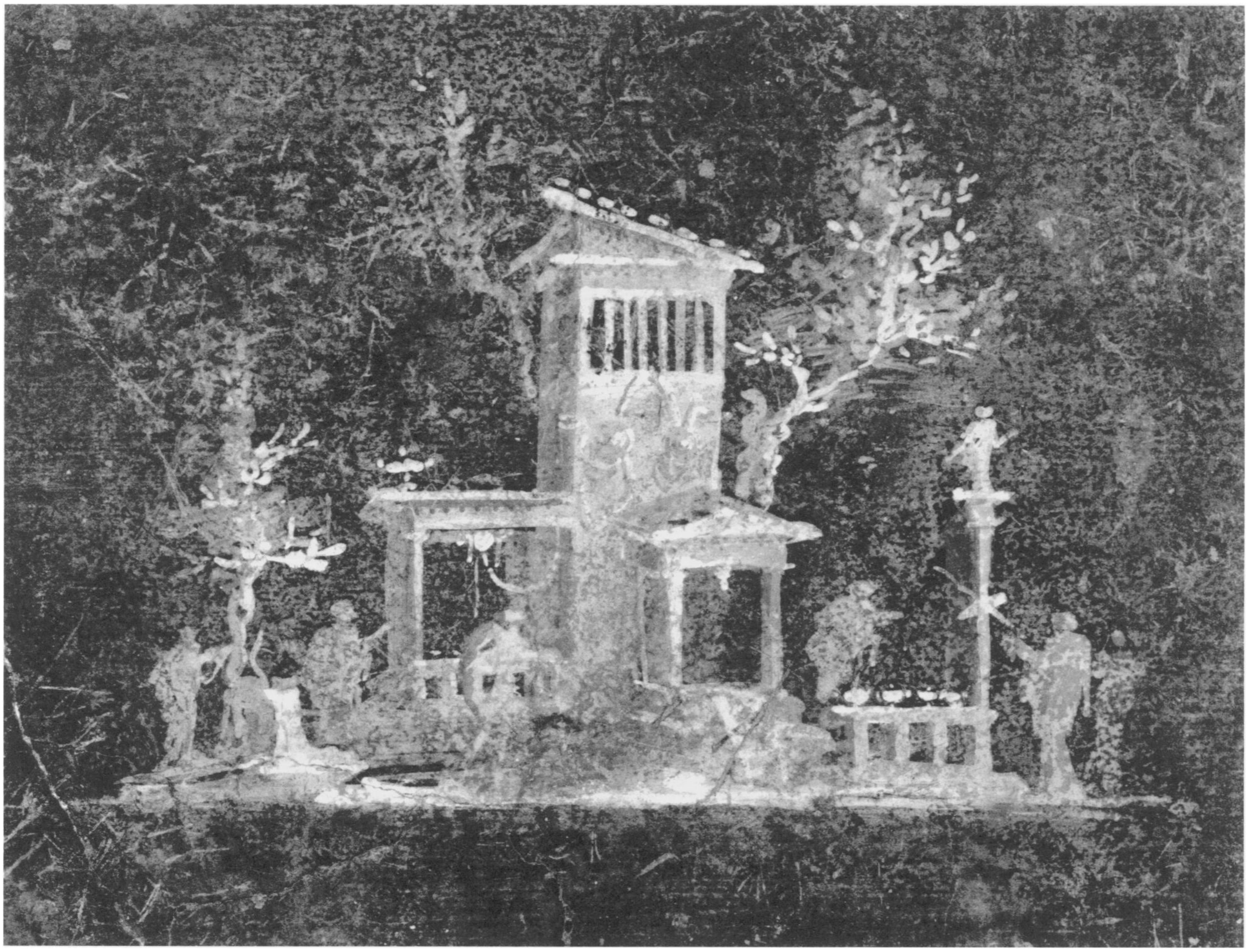
The notes for this article begin on page 16.



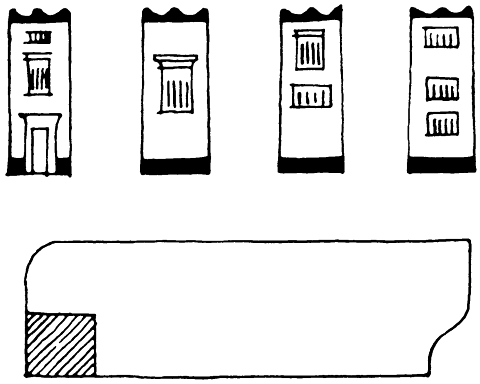
1. Landscape from center panel of north wall of Black Room in the villa at Boscotrecase. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 20.192.1

gesticulate into the dark sky while a handful of ethereal worshipers pursues its quiet activities. The dreamlike atmosphere, seeming to anticipate the oil sketches of Guardi, may suggest a wholly imaginative creation. But certain concrete details in the tower's architecture must have conveyed a special meaning to the Roman onlooker.

A review of other Third Style landscapes reveals that this particular type of tower occurs quite often and is one of several types of turrets, or high rises. Two scholars have concerned themselves with such buildings. Michael Rostovtzeff, in his close examination of Roman wall decorations, established our kind of tower as typically Egyptian, without, however, going into the actual function of such structures.[5] Rostovtzeff also did not pursue the local antecedents of those towers—a matter that seems of considerable importance in our context, as we shall see. There are, in fact, Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian models of multistoried houses extant (Figure 2).[6] The second scholar, Pierre Grimal, in his investigation of tower houses on Roman murals, accepted Rostovtzeff's conclusion about the source of similar latticed high rises, but again he did not address the raison d'être of such constructions, nor their pre-Classical history.[7]

Very similar to the Boscotrecase tower is another one, from the so-called Yellow Frieze in Room III of the House of Livia on the Palatine in Rome, which may date from about 20 B.C. (Figure 3). Essentially the same features are repeated in this little master-piece, executed in a technique close to *grisaille*. The medium was probably chosen to imitate a marble or a stucco relief.[8] The murals are supplemented by mosaics: a Nilotic scene with pygmies in a boat and tower houses at the riverbank (even the barge's cabin assumes the shape of a high rise);[9] a harbor scene with porticoes surmounted by a round tower at their junction;[10] and a square tower in a scene clearly located in Alexandria because of the prominent pharos.[11] It is also rewarding to compare the early-eighth-century landscape mosaic from the great mosque in Damascus, with its profusion of gabled tower houses.[12] In Roman wall paintings, towers with latticed "windows" near the top may, at times, have a roof terrace, which in turn shows a tentlike structure on it, to provide shade during the day (Figure 4).[13] A landscape in stucco, from the vaulted ceiling of a room in the palatial structure found under Perruzzi's Villa Farnesina on the Tiber embankment in Trastevere, depicts in the background a square tower with two narrow windows right under its roof (Figure 5).[14] In the middle ground of this delicate Egyptianizing landscape (note the bearded sphinxes) rises a round tower topped by a low cupola. Again a wide, latticed opening appears, below its flat dome, and two small windows are visible farther down.[15]

Some of our examples belong to what has been called the sacro-idyllic landscape. Such compositions abound in Roman wall decorations of the period discussed. Sacred and profane motifs are condensed, in a shorthand fashion, into "idealized" landscapes to create a dreamlike atmosphere of harmony and bliss. Their message seems to have been a response to the

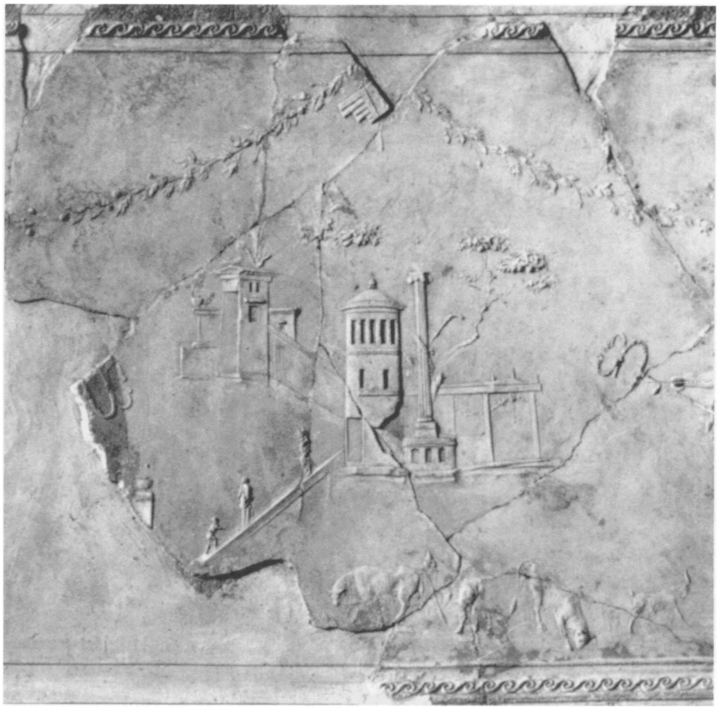


2. Model of Egyptian multistoried house from tomb of Amenemhat, El Bersha, Dynasty XII (from Badawy, *History*, II, p. 17, fig. 2a)

3. Tower house, detail of Yellow Frieze in Room III of the House of Livia on the Palatine in Rome (from Simon, *Augustus*, pl. 29, 2)

4. Tower house, Roman "pygmy-landscape" from Pompeii, III (IX) 5, 9 (from Rostovtzeff, fig. 33)

5. Towers, Roman stucco relief from the villa under the Farnesina in Trastevere, Rome (from Zanker, p. 289, fig. 227)



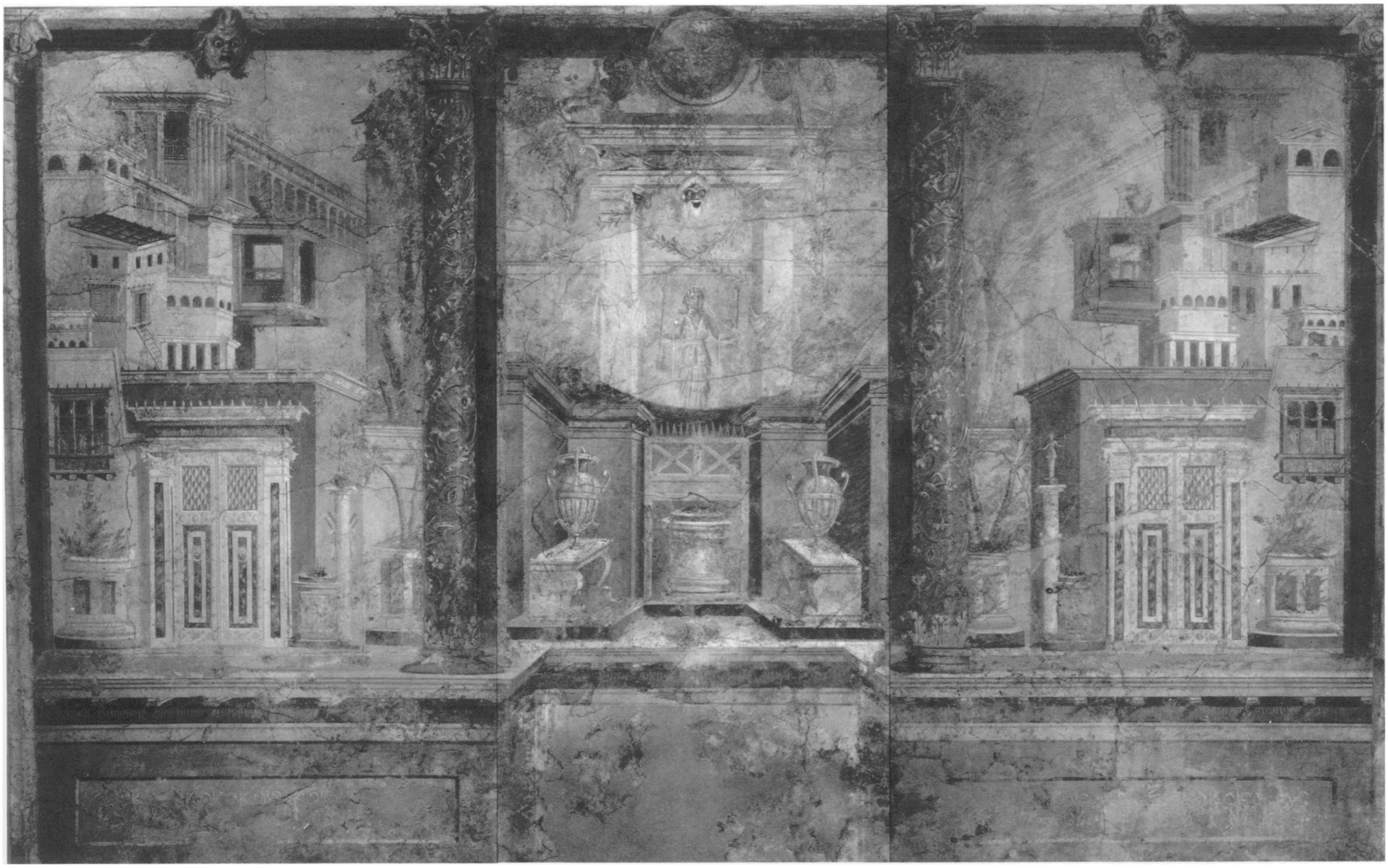
profound yearning of a generation bruised by the Civil Wars but about to accept the political and intellectual alternatives offered by Augustus's reign.[16]

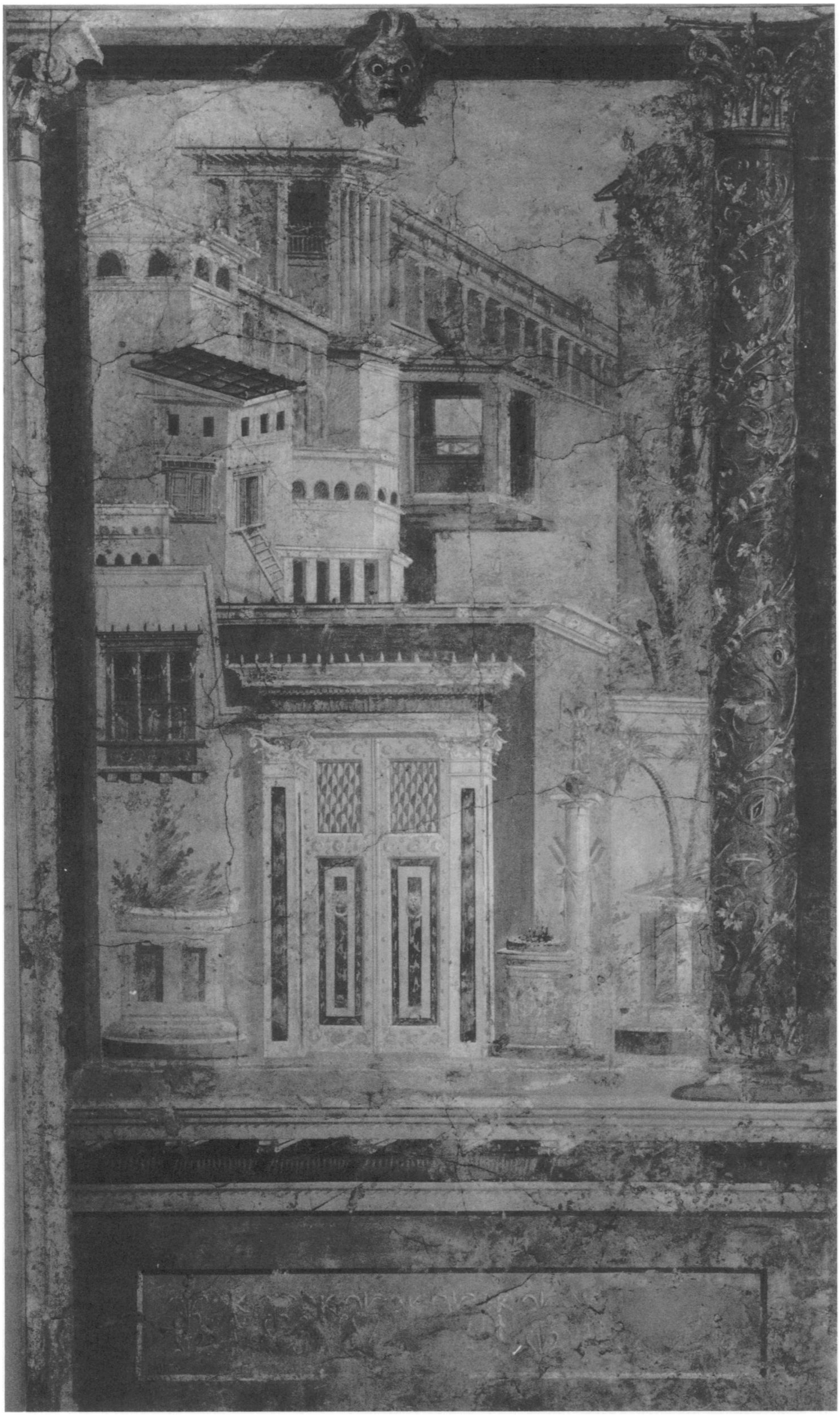
After having examined this distinct type, we must turn our attention to related structures, although they may not at first seem similar. It is again from the Metropolitan Museum's collection of wall paintings that our examples come, this time from the cityscapes on the east and west walls of Bedroom M in the villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale (Figures 6, 7).[17] Both walls are subdivided into a tripartite arrangement, which seems to suggest the disposition of the *scenae frons* of the antique stage. The central axes, allowing the spectator a glimpse of two sanctuaries behind their high enclosures, are accentuated by splendid pairs of red marble columns decked out with golden Corinthian capitals and circled by tendrils with jeweled or enameled flowers. The two side wings of each wall display cityscapes of high complexity, again viewed across tall parapets with massive doors. The sunlit plasticity of these completely inanimate, ghost-town-like urban ensembles, with their somewhat incoherent perspective, differs sharply from the elevated colonnades behind them. Instead, they recede into an indistinct background of great depth and are logically construed in relation to a vanishing point in the center of the walls' middle axes. Spatially and pictorially they share their atmosphere. The central sanctuaries and the cityscapes, except for their porticoes, are patently derived from two separate traditions.[18] The salient features of the Boscoreale side wings are the tower houses, which seem to vie for breathing space in a crammed metropolitan area. One is reminded of the skylines of medieval towns in Tuscany.[19]

Besides the—by now familiar—slitlike vents in the upper stories, another type comes to the fore. Either one or two of the upper floors of these high rises have densely spaced, arched openings just below their flat or saddle roofs. Projecting bays and balconies occasionally reinforce the impression of an urban population desperately in need of fresh air. Like the isolated towers considered before, these depictions abound with Egyptian references. The *portae sacrae* on the central panels of both walls have griffins and winged snakes on their entablatures, and two palm trees grow in an enclosure in front of the parapets of the side wings.[20] The setting is clearly exotic, more specifically, Egyptian. It might be asked whether these references can be explained exclusively by the notable preference for *aegyptiaca* so amply documented in the art of the early principate.[21] In our cityscapes we may well be confronted with an evocation of late Hellenistic Alexandria.[22]

It is noteworthy that none of the ground plans of excavated urban dwellings or country estates in Italy allows for elevations of the kind pictured here. Nor do the somewhat later depictions of *villae rusticae* (many of them seaside establishments) on wall decorations from the towns devastated ultimately by the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79.[23] Valiant and convincing efforts have been made to recover the layout

6. Triptych from left (west) wall of the *cubiculum* from the villa at Boscoreale. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1903, 03.14.13





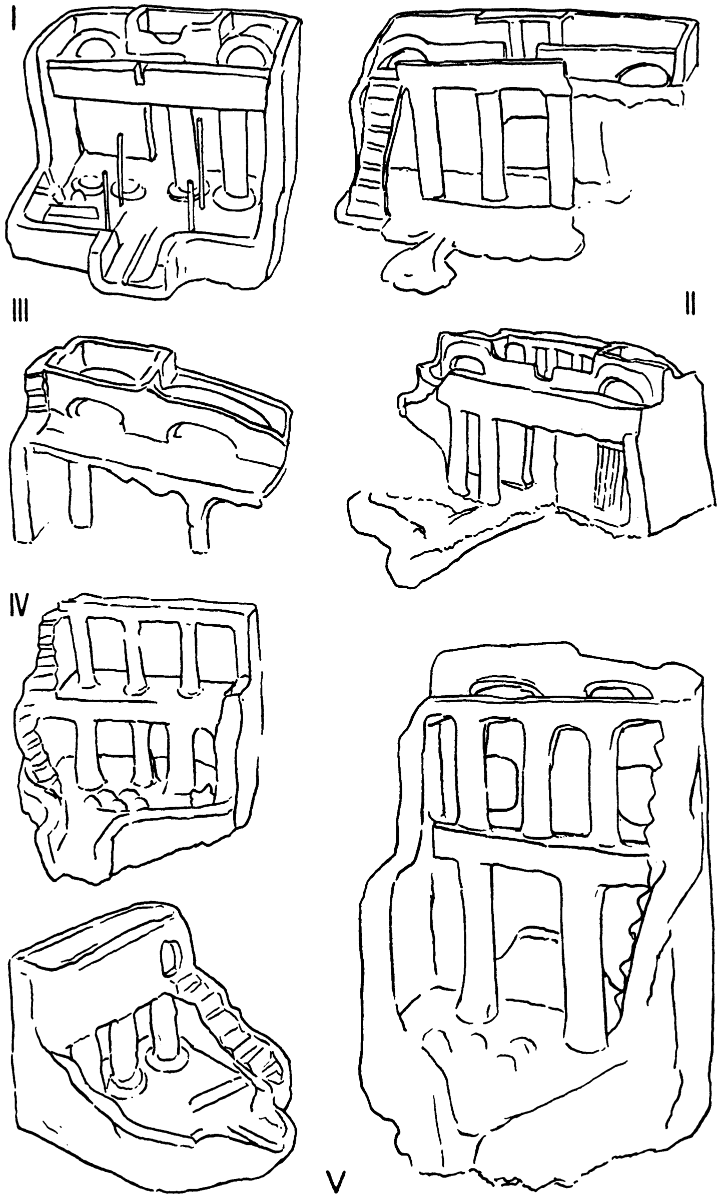
7

7. Townscape, left panel of triptych in Figure 6

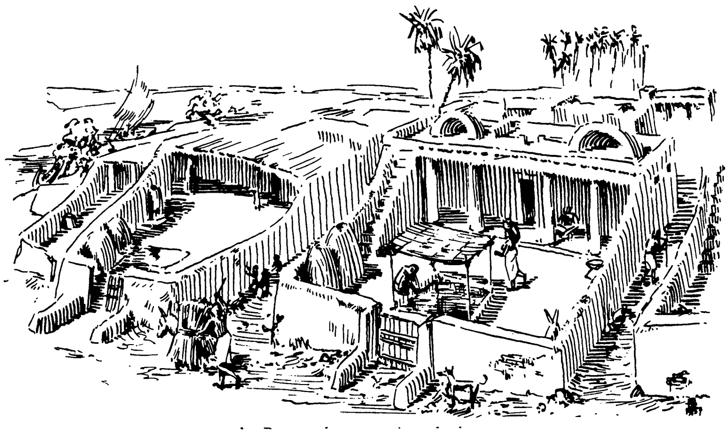
of ancient Alexandria's grid system and the size of the *insulae*. But the site has been too heavily built over in modern times. Apart from a number of public buildings and monuments, especially necropoleis, excavated over the years, there is little on which to base a reliable picture of what the crowded inner city of that late Hellenistic metropolis looked like.[24] We do not even have contemporary wall paintings from Alexandria, of the kind abounding later on in townships buried by Vesuvius.[25] Nonetheless, we need not abandon attempts to establish an ancestry and a plausible function for the tower houses studied so far. The attempt will, however, require somewhat unusual methods.

The inhabitants of the Nile Valley could expect a regular, annually recurring Nile flood and steady seasonal winds, and they learned to make use of these occurrences early on.[26] Many small house models have been recovered from Old Kingdom tombs, especially from Dynasties VI–XI (Figure 8). They were meant to serve the deceased in the afterlife and are reliable guides to a variety of actual types. Of interest for our purpose are one- or two-storied buildings having a columned portico along the front of the house on each floor, and on the top a terrace, accessible by an outer stairway (Figures 9, 10).

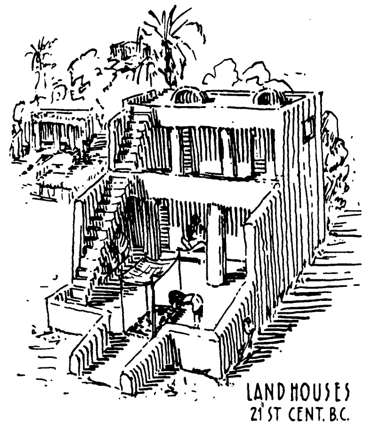
8. Egyptian house models, Dynasties VI–XI (from Badawy, *Architecture*, p. 14, fig. 1a)

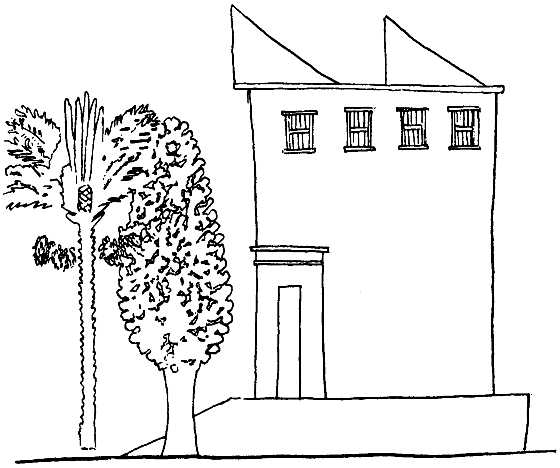


9. Restored perspective of one-storied Egyptian house model (from Badawy, *History,* II, p. 16, fig. 1b)



10. Restored perspective of two-storied Egyptian house model (from Badawy, *Architecture*, pp. 22f., fig. 4)





11. House of the royal scribe Nakht, after drawing in his papyrus. London, British Museum, no. 10,471 (from Badawy, *History*, III, p. 23, fig. 9)

12. The house of Nebamun, tomb 90, Thebes (from Badawy, *History*, III, p. 23, fig. 8)

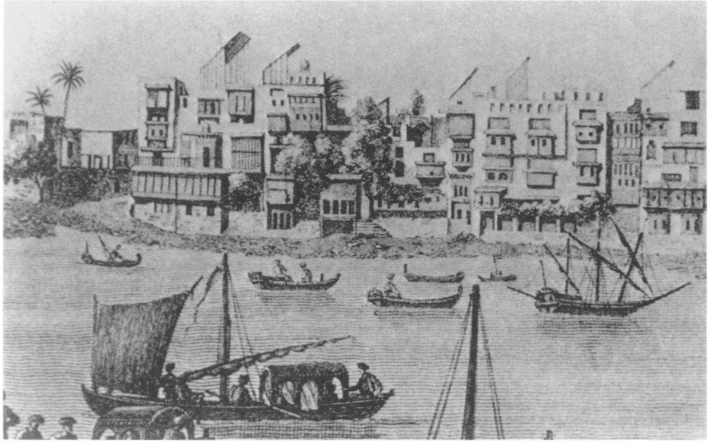
The rooms behind the porticoes were ventilated either by windows high up in the side or rear walls or—at times—by half-cupolas emerging from the terrace floor and facing the direction of the prevailing winds. These structures served as "windcatchers" and aerated the rooms below.[27]

Depictions of houses from New Kingdom tombs furnish designs that proved very long-lived in a country where natural conditions favored the retention of tested designs. Again we encounter the louvered windows high up the wall, primarily intended to regulate the air flow,[28] while the brick half-domes of the earlier models are replaced by larger and surely more effective structures (triangular in section) on the flat roofs. There may be several on one house, either facing the same direction or back to back in order to catch breezes from different quarters (Figures 11, 12).[29] Since it is one of the principles of Egyptian art to depict animate beings in strict profile and objects, like buildings, in elevation, we can neither form a clear impression of the materials employed for the wind-catchers (brick or wood), nor know how the air flow was regulated at the wide-open front of these triangular contraptions. We may assume that the openings were latticed to avoid turbulence in the air "chimneys" they fed. This, at least, can be inferred from much later examples still to be discussed. Although Mesopotamia has not left the abundance of house models or paintings recovered from Egypt, it seems certain that related structures were known there, too.[30]

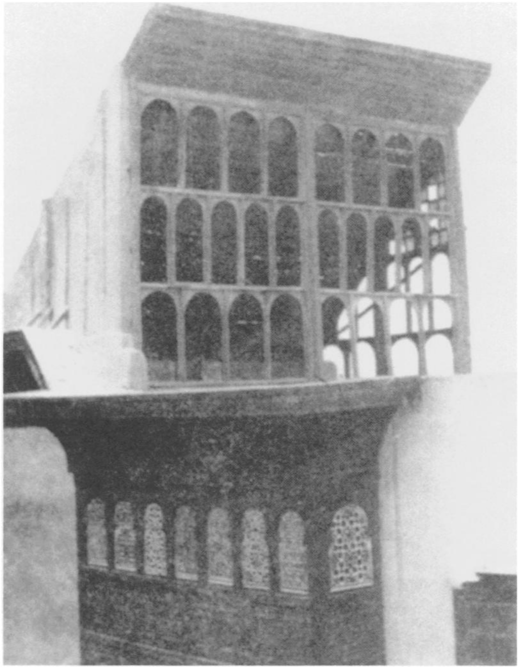
It can be assumed that when Egypt passed from Alexander's successors to the Roman emperors, the well-tested design of indigenous houses not only survived the introduction of Greco-Roman architecture but may actually have influenced it—at least in terms of practical technical details.[31] For reasons discussed already there is no way of securely re-creating the "inner city" of Alexandria during that period. But the Roman wall paintings we have seen seem to confirm our hypothesis of the continuation of traditional Egyptian designs like the wind-catchers. Why such types surface only briefly within the typology of architectural Roman landscapes remains to be discussed. What seems evident, however, is that the paintings reviewed display a curious mixture of Mediterranean and Egyptian traits. In the Boscoreale townscape a purely Hellenistic stoa dominates a variety of tower houses that are—from all we know—not rooted in the Classical architectural tradition. Some have the flat Egyptian roof; onto others a Mediterranean tile roof has been grafted. All of them lack ordinary windows but have either latticed or arcaded openings right below the top. The bright red, decorated bay window with screened openings, which rests on beam heads high up on the house wall and projects only slightly from it (next to the stately gate), has striking parallels in New Kingdom paintings (see Figure 12), but also, as we shall see, in later Coptic and Islamic domestic architecture.

Although still tenuous, the Greco-Roman evidence receives good support from later local testimony. It is well known how overwhelmed the Arab conquerors of Byzantine Egypt were in A.D. 641, when first exposed to the decaying splendors of Alexandria or "Babylon in Egypt," as latter-day Cairo was called by the Greeks.[32] It has also become apparent how fast and expertly those Bedouin warriors adapted themselves. The transformation of the mixed local heritage was to lead to surprisingly original architectural creations attuned to the social and religious demands of Muslim society. The solutions that were produced naturally showed regional differences.[33] These divergences must have been more obvious in secular and private architecture than in official works. This accounts for the fact that Muslim domestic building, as far as it can be recovered, shows strong local idiosyncrasies.

A walk through the medieval city center of present-day Cairo can still yield an impression of its original appearance. No extant houses date back to that period. However, in the narrow thoroughfares and side alleys dominated by mosques, religious schools, and pious foundations, scattered patrician houses preserve some traits of the old Egyptian high rises. A number of features are particularly striking. An anonymous, possibly nineteenth-century, view of Cairo, taken from across the canal al-Khalīj (the old connection between Cairo and the Red Sea, which ran parallel to the Nile along its east bank), since filled in, shows the towerlike appearance of the buildings and the dense occupation pattern (Figure 13). The impression is much like that of the crammed townscape from Boscoreale. There are scarcely any windows but many projecting latticed bays and the customary rows of arched openings in the uppermost floors. Even more important is the presence of the pent-roofed ventilators on top, seen in profile, as in the New Kingdom paintings. All face in the same direction.[34] The finest example of the very few such surviving wind-catchers in Cairo is that on the roof of a two-storied home, called the Musāfirkhāne, which dates from the eighteenth century (Figures 14, 15). The top floor of the house displays a finely carved bay (*mashrabiyya*). The wooden contraption on the terrace, called *bādhanj* in medieval sources, has the usual raking roof and three super-

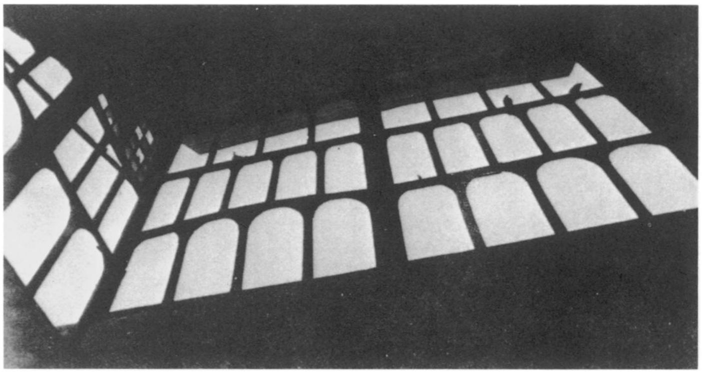


13. Cityscape of Cairo, mid-19th-century(?), view across the canal al-Khalīj (from D. A. King, "Architecture," pl. 1)



14. Ventilator on roof of the Musāfirkhāne, 18th century, in Cairo (from D. A. King, pl. 3)

15. Detail of ventilator in Figure 14

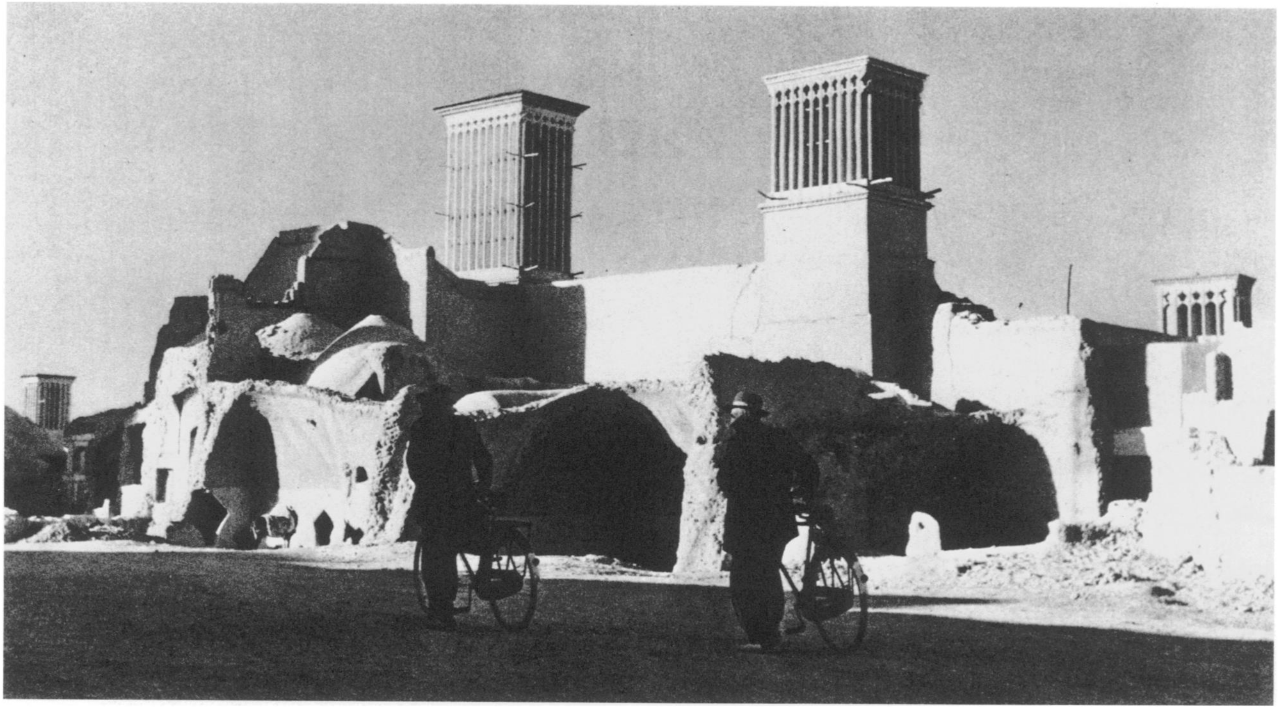


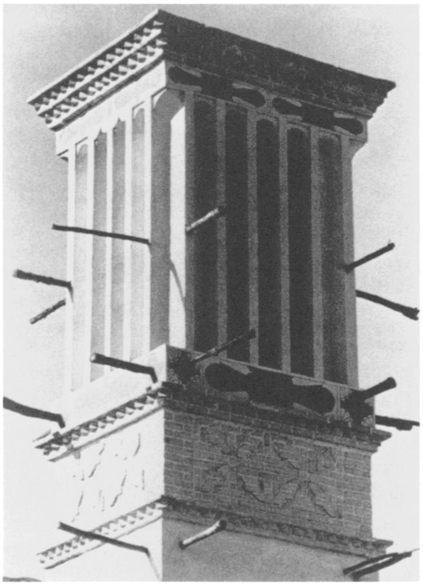
imposed rows of slim arches on the two sides open to the prevailing winds. They serve, as noted before, to regulate the air flow.[35]

In a number of recent studies on such ventilators in Cairo, it has been assumed—on the basis of philological evidence—that this device was probably first introduced into Egypt from Persia during the Fatimid period (tenth–twelfth centuries).[36] Other studies, however, support my contention that these devices derive from an unbroken indigenous tradition.[37] If they really were foreign imports, one wonders why they were not built along the lines of Persian structures with the same functions. For purposes of comparison, it will be highly rewarding to review some of these Iranian wind-catchers (Figures 16–18). They are mainly found in the Kerman and Yazd provinces, that is, at the southwestern edge of the large desert plateau in the center of the country.[38] This Persian type, known by the name *badgir*, consists of a tower, subdivided by brick walls into several shafts, with vents at the top open to the prevailing winds, that air-condition and ventilate the building. Even in the absence of wind, the shaft warms up during the day, and an upward draft ensues that causes air to circulate within the house. It is less an actual drop in temperature than the draft that creates the cooling effect. A more sophisticated version combines the *badgir* with the *qanat*, an underground stream that brings mountain water into the settlements, and so cools the building (Figure 18).[39] But the wind-catchers are also found in the coastal cities along the Persian Gulf, and they seem to have traveled with Persian merchants and traders to Pakistan, where they are as prominent a feature today as they are in Iran.[40]

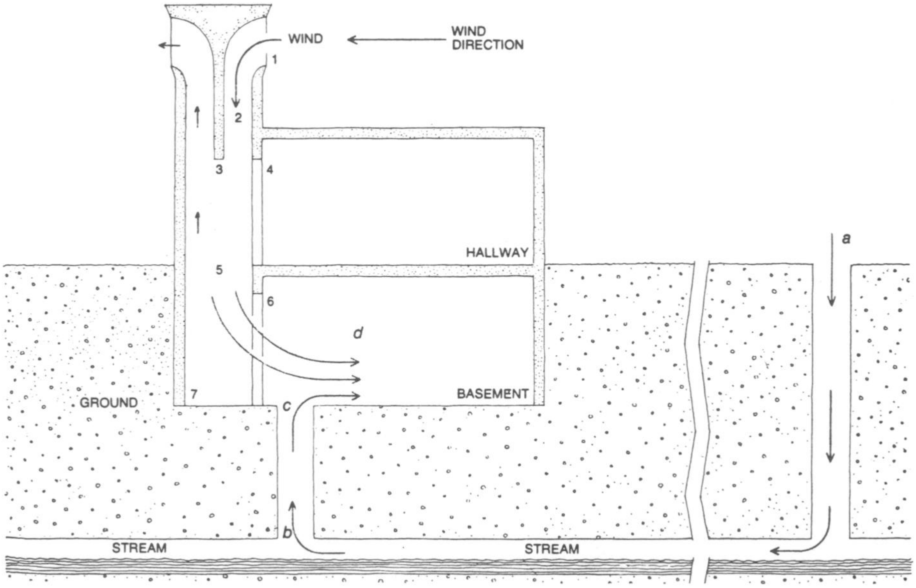
Interest in the contraption, which has a long history in the Middle East, was apparently stimulated only fairly recently by environmental concerns and the search for and study of traditional cooling systems that do not require fossil energy. A number of well-illustrated studies have been the result.[41] From a purely formal point of view the Persian examples are even more striking as parallels to structures depicted in the Roman wall paintings surveyed here, especially the isolated tower with latticed openings beneath the roof. The Iranian ventilators are predominantly of the tower variety. There are, however, also simpler versions in use, triangular in elevation, like the Egyp-

16. Street in Kerman, Iran (from Laurence Lockhardt and A. Costa, *Persien* [Cologne, 1957] pl. 86)





17. Wind-catcher on house in Yazd, Iran (from Elizabeth Beazley and Michael Harverson, fig. 79)



18. Diagram of combination of wind tower and underground stream (*qanat*) in Iran (from M. N. Bahadori, p. 149)

tian ones (Figure 19). The tower type has a flat roof, but the Roman examples, with their related louvered openings high up, are mostly furnished with raking roofs.

It is difficult to decide whether the characteristic incline of such coverings was used as a wind-catcher, in addition to the vents below, since the clearest representations, namely the towers with tile-covered pent roofs in the Boscoreale cityscapes and those in the House of Augustus on the Palatine, face away from the viewer. Other representations are too sketchy for this assertion to be made. What seems certain is that this distinct type of high rise combines features that can be traced far back in the architecture of both Egypt and Iran. Both countries became part of Alexander's heritage and ultimately of the Roman Empire.

The prominence of such wind towers in the early phase of the Third Style, especially in buildings connected with Augustus and his court, may reflect a particular historical instant: after his momentous victory over an exotic enemy, namely Ptolemaic Egypt, the Princeps may have felt entitled to accept much of the complex cultural heritage of that old country, which he considered his personal estate and which was to remain in the imperial domain as long as the empire lasted. While campaigning abroad, Augustus must have personally experienced the luxurious metropolitan life-style that flourished right at the edge of a basically hostile environment. The muralists who created the wall decorations in the houses of a small but highly appreciative circle of patrons may have been familiar with it, too.[42] In that eastern capital both the advantages and the problems of an urban existence must have come to the fore much earlier

19. Village in the desert, Chupanagh, Iran. Note the various types of ventilators (from Beazley and Harverson, fig. 61)

than they did at Rome. One of the answers to some of the problems seems to have been the use of wind towers. The climate of Italy, however, does not require the cooling systems developed at the edge of deserts, nor does it furnish the reliable seasonal winds to make them function. Such ventilators were surely never built on the peninsula. There the future belonged to the splendid colonnaded seaside villas shown occasionally on Third Style walls and known from excavated examples.[43] The appearance of wind towers and other decorative elements of Egyptian extraction during the late Second Style and the early Third thus seems intimately connected with the personal taste and experiences of Augustus and his circle. The wind towers in these wall paintings—like other elements from the sacred and idyllic sphere—may have been meant to evoke a heightened existence and feelings of supreme well-being and happiness. If so, these wall paintings of the early Principate, no less than contemporary literature, are examples of the aesthetic climate of their time.[44]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have received much help and enlightenment from discussions with Renata Holod, Joan Mertens, David O'Connor, Friedrich Rakob, and Brian Spooner, but responsibility for the opinions expressed here rests with me alone.

ABBREVIATIONS

Anderson—Maxwell L. Anderson, "Pompeian Frescoes in The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *MMAB* (Winter 1987–88)

Blanckenhagen—Peter H. von Blanckenhagen and Christine Alexander, *The Paintings from Boscotrecase, Römische Mitteilungen* 6. Ergänzungsheft (Heidelberg, 1962; revised 1990)

Creswell—K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture, Umayads, Early Abbāsids and Tūlūnids*, pt. 1, *Umayads, A.D. 622–750* (Oxford, 1932)

Fraser—Peter M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1972)

Lehmann—Phyllis Williams Lehmann, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953)

Peters—W. J. T. Peters, *Landscapes in Romano-Campanian Mural Painting* (Assen, 1963)

Repertorio—Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano, ser. C, I–II, Achille Adriani, ed. (Palermo, 1963–66)

Resümees—Resümees XIII. Internationaler Kongress für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin 24.–30. Juli 1988 (Berlin, 1988)

Rostovtzeff—Michael Rostowzew, "Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft," *Römische Mitteilungen* 26 (1911) pp. 1–185

Schefold—Karl Schefold, *Vergessenes Pompeji* (Bern, 1962)

NOTES

1. For Boscoreale, see Phyllis Williams Lehmann, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953); for Boscotrecase, see Peter H. von Blanckenhagen and Christine Alexander, *The Paintings from Boscotrecase, Römische Mitteilungen*, 6. Ergänzungsheft (Heidelberg, 1962; revised 1990), and Maxwell L. Anderson, "Pompeian Frescoes in The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *MMAB* (Winter 1987–88). See also W. J. T. Peters, *Landscapes in Romano-Campanian Mural Painting* (Assen, 1963) pp. 10–19, 69–71. I greatly benefited from seeing the manuscript of a paper on the Boscotrecase panels read by Joan Mertens at the University of Freiburg in the spring of 1988.

2. See Blanckenhagen, pp. 9–11.

3. For a color plate, see Anderson, back cover. For an axonometric plan of the villa (the Black Room is no. 15), see ibid., p. 36, fig. 44. For a sensitive analysis, see Blanckenhagen, pp. 18–20. See also Wolfgang Ehrhardt, *Stilgeschichtliche Untersuchungen an römischen Wandmalereien von der späten Republik bis zur Zeit Neros* (Mainz, 1987) pp. 4–5, 54–57.

4. The feature is termed "an open gallery with slender pillars" by Blanckenhagen (p. 18), who rejects Mrs. Lehmann's description of them as "slit-like windows" (p. 99, not 190ff.). For a similar tower with slightly different roof, see Blanckenhagen, pl. 30, from the west wall of the Black Room (15), in the National Museum in Naples. The vignette seems not well preserved, but the tower is not so certainly a cylindrical one as stated by Blanckenhagen.

5. M. Rostowzew [Rostovtzeff], "Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft," *Römische Mitteilungen* 26 (1911) pp. 1–185, esp. "Die ägyptisierende Pygmaeenlandschaft," pp. 55–72. Rostovtzeff sees Egyptian towerlike tombs as models for the majority of such representations. He does comment, however, on towers with latticed openings as typically characteristic of the Egyptian country house of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, pp. 67–71, 148.

6. From the tomb of Amenemhat, El Bersha, Dynasty XII. See Alexander Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture* II, *The First Intermediate Period, the Middle Kingdom and the Second Inter-*

mediate Period (Berkeley / Los Angeles, 1966) p. 17, fig. 2a; see also p. 18, fig. 26. For another example, see note 31 below.

7. Pierre Grimal, "Les Maisons à tours hellénistiques et romaines," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 56 (1939) pp. 28–59. It remains to be seen whether the group working (under Sandro de Maria) at the University of Bologna on the iconography of the various architectural elements in landscape murals from the Second to the Fourth Style will come up with a satisfactory analysis of the tower types under discussion. See "La tradizione iconografica nella pittura di paesaggio ellenistico-romana," *Resümees XIII. Internationaler Kongress für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin 24.–30. Juli 1988* (Berlin, 1988) p. 145. Laura di Olio, "Il motivo della 'porta sacra' nella pittura romana di paesaggio," *Latomus* XLVIII, 3 (1983) pp. 513–531, results from these studies.

8. For other examples, see the complete frieze, Rostovtzeff, pls. I, II; Peters, pl. VIII, figs. 26–28. Hendrik G. Beyen, *Die pompejanische Wanddekoration vom Zweiten bis zum Vierten Stil* (The Hague, 1938–60) fig. 256. For towers on the panels from the villa under the Farnesina, see note 14 below. See also the Third Style towers on wall paintings in the National Museum in Naples (nos. 9403, 9459, and 9401) depicted in Agnes Allroggen-Bedel, "Die Wandmalereien aus der Villa in Campo Varano (Castellamare di Stabia)," *Römische Mitteilungen* 84 (1976) pp. 41–42, and pls. 6, 3; 7, 1; and 7, 4. I have not attempted to compile a catalogue of such towers but rather to assemble a few telling examples.

9. See Amedeo Maiuri, *La casa del Menandro e il suo tesoro di argenteria* (Rome, [1933]) I, pp. 58ff., and II, pl. VII.

10. See Carlo Gasparri, "Due mosaici antichi in S. Maria in Trastevere," *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano: studi in onore di Achille Adriani*, Nicola Boncasa and Antonino di Vita, eds., 3 vols. (Rome, 1983–84) pp. 672–676, pl. CII, 1 (a less satisfactory picture of this mosaic is in Rostovtzeff, fig. 64).

11. See Alberto Balil, "Monumentos alejandrinos y paisajes egipcios en un mosaico romano de Toledo (España)," *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano*, pp. 433–439, pl. LXXVII, 1–4.

12. See Marguerite van Berchem, "The Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem and of the Great Mosque at Damascus," in K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture, Umayads, Early Abbāsids and Tūlūnids*, pt. 1, *Umayads*, A.D. *622–750* (Oxford, 1932) pp. 230–252, esp. pp. 248–251 and pls. 43f. These towers all have ordinary windows, not slatted ones. The author, interestingly, compares the structures to the Boscoreale cityscapes (figs. 305f.) and assumes, as models for them, actual tower houses in Syria. For such towers, see Georges Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord* (Paris, 1953–58) I, pp. 30–33, 160f., 166. See also the index, III, p. 185, s.v. tours. None of the towers in secular buildings are described as having served ventilation functions. Cf. also the cityscapes of the recently excavated mosaic floor of the late-8th-century A.D. church of St. Steven's at Um er-Rasa, near Madaba, in Jordan. Alexandria features two tower houses: M. Piccirillo, *Um er-Rasas Kastron Mefaa in Giordania* (Jerusalem, n.d.) fig. 20. The reference to this monograph was kindly supplied by Joseph Alchermes. During a recent visit of the site, I found more tower houses depicted in the Nilotic cityscapes than in the Syrian ones.

13. Pompeii III (IX) 5, 9; Rostovtzeff, fig. 33, also pictured in Peters, pl. XLIII, fig. 169, and Karl Schefold, *Vergessenes Pompeji* (Bern, 1962) pl. 146; for a different kind of awning, see Peters, pl. XXXIX, fig. 161.

14. For a catalogue of the villa's decoration, see *Museo nazionale romano, Le Pitture.* II: *Le decorazioni della villa romana della Farnesina*, Irene Bragantini and Mariette de Vos, eds. (Rome, 1982). Our Figure 5 is Inv. 1074; see pl. 200; for a description, see pp. 291–293. See also the towers on the stucco panels, Inv. 1071, pl. 72, description p. 138, and Inv. 1072, pl. 77, description p. 138. The authors naturally do not explain the function of those towers. For the latest scholarly opinion on the villa, see Ehrhardt, pp. 3, 31–34. Paul Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (Munich, 1987) p. 298, is surely right in interpreting the two statues of Mercury on either side of this stucco relief as indicating peace and affluence.

15. Rostovtzeff, p. 71, leaves it open whether such round towers can be called specifically Egyptian, but he feels that some details, such as the slatted windows, speak for so identifying them. Ines Jucker kindly reminds me of her article, "Hahnenopfer auf einem späthellenistischen Relief," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1980) pp. 440–476, esp. pp. 448–453; 473; and figs. 1–5, 14f., with amply documented discussion of the architectural features on the relief's background, among them two round towers with densely spaced arched openings below their domes. Following to some extent the suggestions of Mrs. Lehmann (see note 19 below), who sees granaries or dovecotes in such buildings, Mrs. Jucker explains the towers as treasuries.

16. The term is used consistently by Rostovtzeff. For a characterization of the genre, see Blanckenhagen, p. 35. For distinctions between Hellenistic and Roman sacro-idyllic landscapes, see, e.g., Schefold, p. 72. Blanckenhagen also discusses the emergence of landscape vignettes on Third Style walls in his review of the Bragantini–de Vos catalogue of the wall decorations of the villa under the Farnesina (see note 14 above) in *Gnomon* 60, 4 (1988) p. 356. For a survey of scholarly opinions on sacro-idyllic landscapes, see Susan Rose Silberberg, *A Corpus of Sacral-Idyllic Landscape Paintings in Roman Art* (Ann Arbor, 1985) pp. 8–25 (this reference kindly supplied by Joan Mertens).

17. See also pls. XIf., XIVf., and XVII in Lehmann and the excellent color plates in Anderson, cover and figs. 23, 27, and 29 (the latter from the west wall, not the east, as in the caption).

18. Karl Schefold has repeatedly drawn attention to the pictorially composite character of these walls by contrasting the traditional perspective of the cityscapes (which he, convincingly, takes to be copies of famous stage wings of the Greek theater) with the central perspective of Roman paintings, where the illusion of space is enhanced by pictorial means. The tripartite

scheme as such is the invention of Greek stage designers, and the topical arrangement—a sanctuary flanked by the dwellings of the play's characters—is known from, e.g., Menander's *Dyskolos* and Plautus's *Aulularia*. Schefold dates the models for the cityscapes from about 250 B.C. See his "Der Zweite Stil als Zeugnis alexandrinischer Architektur" in *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji und anderen vom Vesuvausbruch verschütteten Städten*, Bernard Andreae and Helmut Kyrieleis, eds. (Recklinghausen, 1975) pp. 53–59. See idem, "The Origin of Roman Landscape Painting," *Art Bulletin* 42 (1960) pp. 87–96, and *La Peinture pompéienne, Essai sur l'évolution de sa signification*, Collection Latomus 108 (Brussels, 1972) pp. 110, 117–120. For the frescoes' connection with Greek stage design, see Beyen, *Wanddekoration*, I, pp. 170–179, pls., fig. 70.

19. Although the four cityscapes are essentially identical in their mirror symmetry, it is not only the consistent lighting (imagined as coming from the entrance of the *cubiculum*) that makes them look somewhat different. There are, in fact, small variations to be observed, e.g., in the trelliswork of the balconies. More importantly, only in the left wing of the left triptych and in the right wing of the right one are the towers with tiled pent roofs shown with ladders propped against open bay windows. Mrs. Lehmann, pp. 99ff., takes these vented towers as "still a standard type of Campanian peasant's house" and sees compounded impressions of farm buildings in the whole composition—primarily granaries, storage buildings, and dovecotes (pp. 101–103). I shall presently show why this view appears untenable. For a typical Egyptian dovecote, see the farmstead in the lower righthand corner of the Egyptianizing Nile mosaic from the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia in Palestrina, reproduced in Giorgio Gullini, *I mosaici di Palestrina* (Rome, 1956) pls. I and XIX. Such conical cotes are still used today in the Fayum.

20. See Lehmann, pls. XIII and XVI, and Anderson, color plate 27, p. 22. Interestingly, the same motif, a palm tree within a circular enclosure, occurs in the Egyptianizing stucco reliefs from under the Villa Farnesina: Inv. 1071; Bragantini and de Vos.

21. See Mariette de Vos, *L'egittomania in pitture e mosaici romano-campani della prima età imperiale* (Leiden, 1980). For Egyptian motifs in Augustus's *studiolo* on the Palatine, see Gianfilippo Carettoni, *Das Haus des Augustus auf dem Palatin* (Mainz, 1983). The adjacent House of Livia and the villa under the Farnesina—all datable to the early 20s of the last century B.C.—provide many Egyptian motifs, as does the *villa rustica* at Boscotrecase.

22. For similar tower houses with raking roofs, see the splendid examples from the north and south walls of the lower *cubiculum* in the House of Augustus on the Palatine, reproduced in Carettoni, pp. 60–66, color pls. U and V; and the perspective views in the upper portions of the side wings of the *frigidarium* in the Casa Omerica in Pompeii (I 6, 2), reproduced in Schefold, color pl. p. 72. Strangely, Pompeii—although an affluent town at the time—has only very few important buildings with Third Style decorations. See Lawrence Richardson, *Pompeii, An Architectural History* (Baltimore / London, 1988), chap. 15.

23. For a recent overview, see Harald Mielsch, *Die römische Villa, Architektur und Lebensform* (Munich, 1987). For the ambiguous evidence of the painted seaside villas, see p. 58, but also Friedrich Rakob, "Ambivalente Apsiden. Zur Zeichensprache der römischen Architektur," *Römische Mitteilungen* 94 (1987) pp. 1–28, esp. p. 11: "Neue Untersuchungen auf dem Capo di Sorrento haben gezeigt, dass in der Abfolge gestaffelter Villengeschosse, im turmartig kompakten Aufbau des Raumprogramms, die angeblich phantastischen Villenlandschaften der campanischen Wandmalerei von der Realität gebauter zeitgenössischer Meervillen erreicht und übertroffen wurde." See fig. 13, reconstruction of Roman seaside villa on the Cape of Sorrento in its mid-1st-century A.D. phase. For murals with seaside villas, see Rostovtzeff, pls. V, 1; VI–VIII; IX.

24. See *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, ser. C, vols. I–II, Archille Adriani, ed. (Palermo, 1963–66), esp. "Introduzione alla topografia di Alessandria," pp. 13–45; also Peter M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1972), esp. vol. I, chap. 1, "Foundation and Topography," pp. 3–37. Apart from considerable changes in the coastline caused by the raised sea level, demolition went on throughout the Roman period (p. 10). The summary is discouraging: the development of Alexandria as a city largely escapes us (p. 36). Strabo's (*Geography*, 17, 1, 6–11) is the most comprehensive description, but he was no topographer. For the city plan, see W. Hoepfner, "Von Alexandria über Pergamon bis Nikopolis—Städtebau und Stadtbilder hellenistischer Zentren," summary of a paper read and published in *Resümees*, p. 85. See also Giuseppe Caruso, "Alcuni aspetti dell'urbanistica di Alessandria in età ellenistica. Il piano di projettazione," *Alessandria* I (Rome, 1983) pp. 43–53, and Wiktor A. Daszewski, "Notes on Topography of Ptolemaic Alexandria," *Alessandria*, I, pp. 54–69. For an attempt to visualize life in Alexandria during the Augustan period from evidence furnished by papyri, see Carla Balconi, "Alessandria nell'età augustea: Aspetti di vita," *Egitto e società antica* (Milan, 1985) pp. 189–196; also Diana Delia, "The Population of Roman Alexandria," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 118 (1988) pp. 275–292; and *Alexandrien: Kulturbegegnungen dreier Jahrtausende im Schmelztiegel einer mediterranen Grossstadt*, Norbert Hinske, ed., Aegyptiaca Treverensia I (Mainz, 1981). For a résumé of the impact of Egyptian civilization on Rome, see Jean Marie André, "Les Romains et l'Égypte," *Études philosophiques* (1987) pp. 189–206.

25. Lately, however, a landscape mural of the 2d century B. C. has been recovered by chance in an Alexandrian necropolis during a rescue excavation. See Wiktor A. Daszewski, "Hellenistic and Early Roman Finds from Alexandria and Its Neighbourhood," *Resümees*, p. 141. The paper as read was centered entirely on the "Hades" landscape of that find in the Shatby necropolis. Shatby is apparently the earliest of the surviving cemeteries; see Fraser, I, p. 32. For the necropoleis, see also *Repertorio*, pp. 28–33.

26. See Alfred Wiedemann, *Das alte Ägypten,* Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek 2 (Heidelberg, 1920) pp. 13–22, "Der Nil"; Fraser, I, p. 22, and n. 138, for the strong and steady north and northeasterly winds, and *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 6, 1 (1907), s.v. Etesiai, pp. 713–717 (Rehm).

27. See Badawy, *Architecture in Ancient Egypt and the Near East* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966) pp. 22f.; idem, *History,* I, *From the Earliest Times to the End of the Old Kingdom* (Giza, 1954) p. 61; idem, *History,* II, pp. 15f., 18 (house models and reconstruction), p. 45f. (ventilators).

28. See Figure 2 and note 6 above.

29. Badawy, *History,* III, *The Empire (the New Kingdom) from the Eighteenth Dynasty to the End of the Twentieth Dynasty 1580–1085 B.C.* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1968) pp. 22f., fig. 8 (two-storied house of Nebamun, with ventilators back to back) and fig. 9 (the house of Nakht—from a drawing in his papyrus—with two ventilators facing in the same direction). For a color reproduction of Nakht's papyrus (he was a royal scribe) in the British Museum (no. 10,471), see E. A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* (London, 1911) frontis. Badawy also uses the modern Arabic word for wind-catchers (*malqaf*). In the elegant New Kingdom palaces it was often the bedroom on the top floor that received the ventilation through a raised slanting roof (p. 30, fig. 15, two representations of the royal palace from the tomb of Meryre at Amarna). For the houses at Amarna, see pp. 92ff., esp. p. 94, and Ludwig Borchardt and Herbert Ricke, *Die Wohnhäuser in Tell el-Amarna* (Berlin, 1980). The frontispiece shows the securely reconstructed elevation of the *tiefe Halle* in the house (P 47.19) of the general Ramose, a central hall raised above the level of the surrounding rooms to allow effective ventilation through latticed windows right below the roof. See also Wiedemann, chap. "Behausung," pp. 162–178, esp. p. 168, and Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, *Kleines Wörterbuch der Aegyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1956) s.v. Haus, pp. 141f.

30. See Badawy, *Architecture,* p. 85, for representation of various ventilation devices in Mesopotamia, and idem, "Architectural Provisions Against Heat in the Orient," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 17 (1958) pp. 122–128, esp. pp. 125–127, and fig. 5.

31. See Fraser, p. 23 n. 145 and p. 610 n. 419, for known examples of *Mischstil* under the Ptolemies. Their palaces were—like the Egyptian ones—surrounded by groves. See also *Repertorio,* p. 35, for "hybrid" buildings of the Roman period. A fine example of a multistoried Greco-Roman tower-town house with slatted windows just below the roof terrace is furnished by a model depicted in Badawy, *Coptic Art and Architecture, The Art of the Christian Egyptians from the Late Antique to the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass. / London, 1978) p. 107, fig. 2.70; it is, interestingly, placed next to a picture of the model of an ancient Egyptian tower house (see Figure 2).

32. Several passages, some of legendary character, by al-Maqrizi (1364–1442), the Arab historian and topographer of Egypt, may be found in "Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte," Urbain Bouriant, trans., *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française du Caire* XVII, 1 (Paris, 1895) pp. 424f., 429. The glare of the marble in the city of Alexandria was said to be such that the inhabitants were forced to wear black, curtains of green silk and black scarves were introduced to shield the eyes, and no lighting was needed on a moonlit night.

33. See Creswell, I, chaps. 1 and 2, "Primitive Islam," and the sections on "Architectural Origins" for each monument discussed. See also Janine Sourdel-Thomine, "Die Kunst des Islam," in *Die Kunst des Islam,* Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 4 (Berlin, 1973) pp. 72–125, and Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven / London, 1973) chaps. 6 and 8. In this context it is interesting to look at yet another local solution, namely the tower houses in San'ā' in Yemen. Here the main living rooms are high up and many windowed. Ventilation is provided permanently, in the staircases, by projecting masonry cooling boxes. See Robert B. Serjeant and Ronald Lewcock, *San'ā',* The World of Islamic Festival Trust (1983) chap. 22, "The houses of San'ā'," pp. 436ff. See also Ronald Lewcock, *Traditional Architecture in Kuwait and the Northern Gulf,* AARP (London, 1978): wind towers in Kuwait, pls. 100f, 102a; in Baghdad, pl. 102b; in Bahrein, pl. 114; diagrams of various types of wind-catchers, pl. 119.

34. See David A. King, "Architecture and Astronomy: The Ventilators of Medieval Cairo and Their Secrets," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104 (1984) pp. 97–133, pl. 1. King rightly observes that the ventilators—if the topography is correct—face in the wrong direction. I think that the mistake can be easily explained: since we have to do with an engraving, the original drawing was naturally reversed in the print. The fact that the wind is consistent—that is, coming toward the ventilators—is proved by the inflated sail in the foreground. This boat is heading upstream and needs the north wind, while the others drift down with the current of the canal.

35. King, "Architecture and Astronomy," pls. 3 and 4; see also his text pp. 99f. On the contraption, cf. K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* I (Oxford, 1952) p. 284f., and II (1959) index, s.v. *malqaf.* For additional, very clear representations of such ventilators in ancient Cairo, see Oleg V. Volkoff, *1000 Jahre Kairo: Die Geschichte einer verzauberten Stadt* (Mainz, 1984), figs. on pp. 156f., 179, 190f., 206f., 210f.; and the photograph no. 4, in the collection "Kairo 1850." It shows the citadel, seen from the east, with the river in the background. The roofs are studded with ventilators, all facing due north. See also the either wide-open or latticed triangular ventilators pictured in Prisse d'Avennes, *Arab Art as Seen Through the Monuments of Cairo from the 7th Century to the 18th C.* (Paris, 1877, reprinted Paris / London, 1983) p. 145, fig. 19; p. 146, fig. 20, and the description of a stately Cairene house by Edward William Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* I (London, 1842) pp. 24f. See also Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Cairo, 1001 Years of the City Victorious* (Princeton, 1971) p. 59, fig. 30. Besides a wind-

catcher, this 19th-century street scene in the Coptic quarter shows the profusion of delicately carved projecting wooden bays, the so-called *mashrabiyya*, which permit the women to survey the street without being seen, from a well-ventilated area, where the supply of drinking water was also kept cool. This is not the place to elaborate on it, but the *mashrabiyya*—seemingly such a supremely Islamic contraption—is firmly rooted in the remarkable wood-carving tradition of the Copts. This tradition, in turn, can be traced back to Hellenistic and ancient Egyptian models: cf. the ornamental woodwork window screen of the New Kingdom house of Nebamun (Figure 12), and the arched and shuttered windows of a Middle Kingdom painting from El Lahun, depicted in Badawy, *History,* II, pp. 19–21 and fig. 4. See also idem, *Coptic Art*, pp. 358–360. How indebted the early Arab builders were to local Coptic crafts is shown by the tradition (cited by Creswell, pp. 31f.) that clearly derives the carved *minbars* required in mosques in Egypt in the 7th century from the pulpits fashioned for Christian churches in Coptic Egypt.

36. I am very grateful to Renata Holod, who let me see her article "Defining an Art of Architecture," in *Architecture Education in the Islamic World,* Proceedings of Seminar Ten in the Series Architectural Transformations in the Islamic World, held in Granada, Spain, Apr. 21–25, 1986 (Singapore, 1986) pp. 26–32. Following Franz Rosenthal, "Poetry and Architecture: the *Bādhanj*," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 8 (1977) pp. 1–19, she believes the Cairo ventilators (denoted by a Persian word, *bādhanj*, meaning "drawer of wind") were late importations from the East and that such innovations had an impact on Fatimid, but especially Ayyubid and Mamluk (i.e., 10th–15th century) lyrical poetry: the lovers liken themselves and their emotions to the ventilators and the action of the winds within them (pp. 27f.). In view of the unbroken local tradition for the wind shafts we have tried to assemble, it seems highly unlikely that it was a new gadget that stimulated the poets. It may rather have been their more daring and refined sensibility that made these poets cast about for such striking metaphors. This may have coincided with renewed building activities in Cairo, during which the local traditions were revived, and the resulting structures were probably called by a familiar word by those poets (many of whom were of Eastern origin).

37. See Hassan Fathy, "The Qāʿa of the Cairene Arab House, its Development and some New Usages for its Design Concepts," *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire* (Gräfenhainichen, 1969) pp. 135–152, esp. p. 143f. Fathy uses the modern Arabic term *malqaf* for the wind-catcher. See also Alexandre Lézine, "La protection contre la chaleur dans l'architecture musulmane d'Égypte," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 24 (Damascus, 1971) pp. 7–17, esp. pp. 12–17.

38. See Elizabeth Beazley and Michael Harverson, *Living with the Desert, Working Buildings of the Iranian Plateau* (Warminster, 1982), esp. the contribution by Susan Roaf, chap. 5, "Windcatchers," pp. 57–72. Note the interesting parallel to the back-to-back wind-catchers on the house of Nebamun (our Figure 12) on p. 60.

39. The oldest extant wind towers on the plateau do not antedate the 14th century. Simpler types of ventilators, comparable to the early Egyptian ones, are depicted on Assyrian reliefs; see Badawy, "Architectural Provisions," p. 126. See also Paul Ward English, *City and Village in Iran: Settlement and Economy in the Kirman Basin* (Madison, Wis. / London, 1966) p. 41; and Hans E. Wulff, *The Traditional Crafts of Persia, Their Development, Technology, and Influence on Eastern and Western Civilizations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966) p. 106. I should like to thank Brian Spooner for generous bibliographical suggestions.

40. See Roaf's chapter in Beazley and Harverson, *Living with the Desert,* pp. 59f., and José Roleo Santiago, *Pakistan, A Travel Survival Kit* (South Yarra / Berkeley, 1987) p. 53, with references to the *badgirs* in Thatta and Hyderabad.

41. See, e.g., Mehdi N. Bahadori, "Passive Cooling Systems in Iranian Architecture," *Scientific American* 238, 1 (Feb. 1978) pp. 144–154.

42. When the cultural center of the ancient world suddenly shifted from Alexandria to Rome, it is assumed that many Alexandrian artists were engaged to decorate the palatial homes of the imperial family and its retinue. See Bragantini and de Vos, p. 237; Gianfilippo Carettoni, "La decorazione pittorica della Casa di Augusto," *Römische Mitteilungen* 90 (1983) pp. 373–419; idem, *Das Haus des Augustus*, pp. 90–93; idem, "Die Wandmalereien im oberen Cubiculum des Augustushauses (Fotografische Rekonstruktion)," in *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik,* Eine Ausstellung im Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin 7 Juni–14 August 1988 (Berlin, 1988) pp. 287–290. But see Wolfgang Ehrhardt, *Gnomon* 60, 7 (1988) pp. 640–649, and Blanckenhagen, *Gnomon* 60, 4 (1988) p. 359. Cf. also John R. Clarke, "The Early Third Style at the Villa of Oplontis," *Römische Mitteilungen* 94 (1987) pp. 267–294.

43. See Mielsch, chap. "Die Bauentwicklung der Villen von der späten Republik bis in die Mitte des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.," for such establishments, some of them antedating the Third Style. The most detailed contemporary description is found in the letters of Pliny (II, 17), where he sketches the amenities of his Laurentinum for his friend Gallus; see *The Letters of Pliny, a Historical and Social Commentary*, by Adrian N. Sherwin-White (Oxford, 1966) pp. 186–199.

44. See Erika Simon, *Augustus, Kunst und Leben in Rom um die Zeitwende* (Munich, 1986), esp. chaps. "Villen der Zeit Caesars" and "Landschaft und Sagenbild," and Paul Zanker, *Augustus*, esp. chaps. "Mentalität und Geschmack" and "Bukolische Projektionen." Zanker likens the Third Style to Napoleon's Empire Style (p. 298). See also Eleanor W. Leach, "Landscape and Prosperous Life: the Discrimination of Genre in Augustan Literature and Painting," *The Age of Augustus*, conference held at Brown University, Providence, R.I., 1982, Rolfe Winkes, ed., pp. 189–195; idem, *The Rhetoric of Space: Literary and Artistic Representations of Landscape in Republican and Augustan Rome* (Princeton, 1988).

Fine Manner vs. Broad Manner in Two Fifteenth-Century Florentine Engravings

MARK J. ZUCKER

Associate Professor of Art History, Louisiana State University

RECENTLY ACQUIRED BY The Metropolitan Museum of Art, a hitherto unknown fifteenth-century Florentine engraving gives an interesting insight into printmaking practices in the early Renaissance.[1] The work in question (Figure 1) is obviously a fragment (maximum dimensions about 14.3 by 7.3 cm) of a much larger design that originally represented the Crucifixion. The complete composition, however, can be reconstructed on the basis of a contemporary version of the subject by another Florentine engraver, which is known only in a single impression belonging to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Figure 2).[2] As one can see, the image in its entirety depicts the Crucifixion rather conventionally. On a rocky mound that represents Mount Calvary, Christ on the cross is surrounded by five small angels that hover on stylized clouds in the sky. Three angels capture the sacrificial blood in chalices, and the other two express grief with formulaic gestures.[3] Standing on the ground below, the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist show their sorrow by means of similar attitudes, while Mary Magdalen grieves at the foot of the cross and St. Jerome, the only member of the group who was not actually present at the event, kneels penitentially at the right, gazing upward in ecstasy as he beats his bared breast with a stone.[4]

The figures of Sts. John and Jerome in the newly discovered fragment correspond exactly to the same two figures in the Boston *Crucifixion*; the only major discrepancy (aside from style and technique) is the absence from the fragment of the rather ill-conceived lion, one of St. Jerome's standard attributes, which crouches behind his right leg in the complete version. Moreover, the figures in both engravings are essentially the same size, which further suggests that the fragmentary print in its pristine condition can have varied little from what the Boston engraving still shows. In view of these similarities, it is natural to assume that one of the two works served as the other's model, or that both depend on a common source that would probably have been a drawing or another engraving. But I find insufficient evidence to decide on the issue and, assuming that one derives from the other, no way to determine which version is the original and which the copy. Ultimately, however, the design may well be based on a composition, no longer extant, invented in the 1490s by the Florentine painter Filippino Lippi.[5] Several of the figures, the angels in particular, have fairly close counterparts in a Filippino school panel of the *Crucifixion,* now in the Museo Civico at Montepulciano, where the angels are the same as those in Filippino's autograph altarpiece, formerly in Berlin and dated to about 1497, of the *Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. Francis.*[6]

The resemblances to Filippino may, after all, be coincidental, but whatever the actual circumstance, one must finally be more impressed by the stylistic differences between the two engravings than by their obvious compositional similarities. Because the compositions are identical, the differences seem especially striking. The anonymous Boston *Crucifixion,* hardly by an artist of the first rank, is relatively old-fashioned for its date, presumably the last decade of the fifteenth century.[7] The draperies are voluminous, but their folds take the form of thin, curving lines that terminate in small, hollow, teardrop-like loops, a formula reminiscent of mid-quattrocento Florentine

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The notes for this article begin on page 26.

1. Francesco Rosselli (1448–before 1513), Fragment of a *Crucifixion.* Engraving, 5⅝ × 2⅞ in. (14.3 × 7.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Dr. and Mrs. Goodwin M. Breinin Gift, 1988, 1988.1102

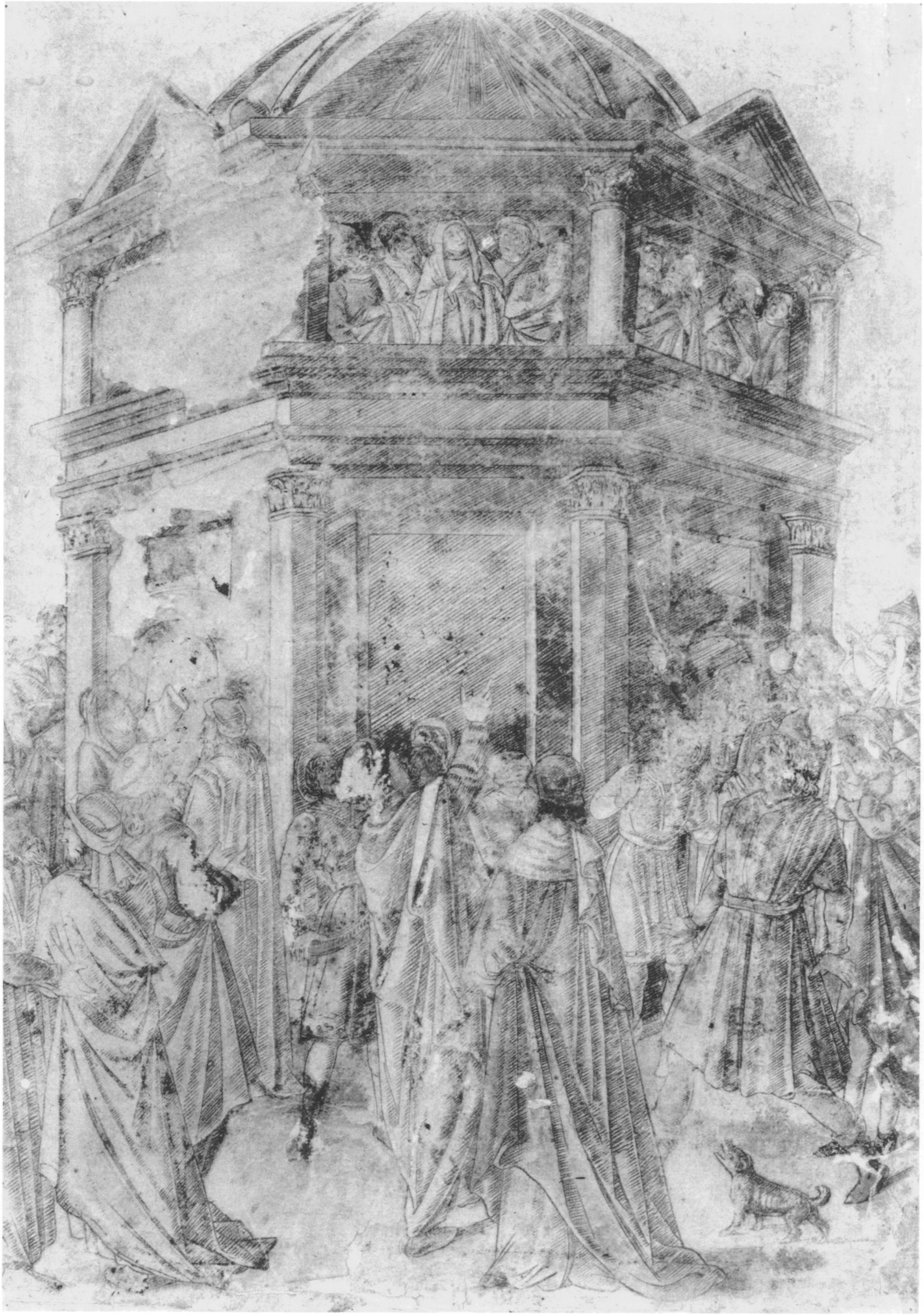
drawings. From a technical point of view, the print is also conservative, for it is executed in a late variant of the so-called Fine Manner of engraving, prevalent in Florence since the first copper plates were engraved there in the 1460s, a style practiced sporadically until about 1500. The Fine Manner technique is distinguished chiefly by its system of shading with short, straight, delicately incised lines laid down in parallels or, more often than not, crosshatched. Frequently these tiny incisions are placed so close to one another that few, if any, spaces remain visible between them; and when printed they tend to create patches or bands of dark, velvety shadow, an effect sometimes likened to (and inspired by?) that of wash drawings.

All this can be seen quite clearly in the Boston *Crucifixion.* The New York fragment, on the other hand, although also conjecturally datable to the 1490s, is altogether different in style and technique. The figures seem more massive and their draperies more angular; gone are the liquid folds with their teardrop-shaped loops. Instead of the old Fine Manner shading, moreover, forms are modeled in what is known, by way of contrast, as the Broad Manner. Here we can observe that the lines are also straight but that many of them are longer and all of them are oblique and parallel—not unlike the parallel shading of quattrocento pen drawings—and the spaces between them are wider (or "broader"), so that the white of the page is everywhere visible.

Students of early Florentine prints unconsciously make certain basic assumptions when they speak of the Fine and Broad Manners, but these assumptions are not always valid. First of all, it is customary to think of the two techniques as pertaining to two different generations of engravers, the Fine Manner being succeeded and replaced by the Broad until, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a whole new approach to the medium renders both of them obsolete. There is, of course, some truth to this notion, inasmuch as the Fine Manner certainly was the earlier of the two principal engraving techniques indigenous to Florence in the quattrocento. During the 1460s, in fact, it may well have been the only one available to local artisans. By the 1480s, however, if not by the 1470s, the Broad Manner had definitely emerged, and for the remainder of the century it coexisted with the Fine Manner, never actually supplanting the latter, as we can see in the two *Crucifixions.*

2. Anonymous Florentine, *Crucifixion.* Engraving, 10¹³⁄₁₆ × 7¼ in. (27.5 × 18.5 cm). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)


I NR



3. Francesco Rosselli, *Descent of the Holy Spirit,* from the *Life of the Virgin* series. Engraving, 8¾ × 6¹⁄₁₆ in. (22.2 × 15.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1917, 17.60.4

It is a fallacy of a different sort that the Fine and Broad Manners are commonly perceived as having been practiced by a considerable number of different anonymous craftsmen, rather than by a smaller number of known masters. To some extent this is true with regard to the Fine Manner. Yet within the group of 250-odd extant Fine Manner prints, some 130 are in my opinion attributable to Baccio Baldini[8] and nearly 25 to the so-called Master of the Vienna Passion.[9] The remainder of the lot are by a variety of diverse hands, and the artist who produced the Boston *Crucifixion,* with whom no other works can be associated, is among them. For surviving Broad Manner prints the results are somewhat more surprising. Excluding North Italian engravings by Mantegna and his following, fewer than 90 Florentine plates are known to have been executed in the classic Broad Manner. And except for a few stray pieces, of which Pollaiuolo's *Battle of Nudes* is by far the most famous, the rest can be given to a single hand. By my count they amount to between 75 and 80 different subjects, including the fragmentary *Crucifixion* in New York.

This impressive body of work comprises many significant and highly regarded engravings: such series as the *Life of the Virgin* (Hind B.I.1–17 [see Figure 3]), the *Triumphs of Petrarch* (Hind B.II.1–6), and the *Prophets* (Hind C.I.1B–24B [see Figure 4]) and *Sibyls* (Hind C.II.1B–12B), as well as two book illustrations (Hind B.IV.1–2) and an important selection of individual items (Hind B.III.1–11, 18–20).[10] A. M. Hind, the great cataloguer of early Italian engravings, saw that all of these prints were related, but he did not wish to ascribe them to one artist. Accordingly, he divided them up among five separate sections of his monumental corpus, thereby obscuring the unity of the group. The master who seems to be responsible for them must, however, be credited with having been the premier and almost exclusive practitioner of the Florentine Broad Manner. In my view he can be identified, virtually without question, as the versatile Francesco Rosselli (brother of the better-known painter Cosimo), a mapmaker and manuscript illuminator besides being the foremost engraver of his time in Florence.

This is not the place for a full-scale treatment of Rosselli, who was born in 1448 and may have died before 1513, but the course of his career can be plotted with some degree of accuracy.[11] Up to a point, one can also detect a modest development in technique if not in style, and the fragmentary *Crucifixion* accords well with a date of execution in the 1490s.[12]

In any case, the engraving is manifestly by the same hand as the group of works listed above and comparable, for example, to various members of the *Life of the Virgin* series (Figure 3) or almost any of the *Prophets* (Figure 4) or *Sibyls.* There is no reason to

4. Francesco Rosselli, *Ezekiel,* from the *Prophets* series. Engraving, 7¹⁄₁₆ × 4³⁄₁₆ in. (17.9 × 10.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1929, 29.16.19

make extravagant claims for its importance in the history of Renaissance printmaking, but it is a welcome addition to Rosselli's already substantial oeuvre and, together with its relative in Boston, a convenient vehicle for reevaluating the relationship between the Fine and Broad Manners of early Florentine engraving.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to Leo Steinberg for bringing the print to my attention, to Alan Stone for permitting me to study it, and to Suzanne Boorsch for reading an early draft of this article. Thanks also to Colta Ives, curator in charge, Department of Prints and Photographs at The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

NOTES

1. MMA, acc. no. 1988.1102. See "Recent Acquisitions: A Selection, 1988–1989," *MMAB* (Fall 1989) pp. 40–41.

2. The Boston impression measures ca. 275 × 185 mm (width between border lines at bottom, 165 mm). It was first described by A. M. Hind, *Catalogue of Early Italian Engravings Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum,* Sidney Colvin, ed. (London, 1910) p. 584, Appendix II, no. 1; then by H. P. Rossiter, "Three Early Florentine Engravings," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 29, no. 171 (1931) pp. 2–4; and again by Hind, *Early Italian Engraving, A Critical Catalogue with Complete Reproductions of All the Prints Described* I (London, 1938) p. 56, no. A.I.81.

3. See Moshe Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art* (New York, 1976).

4. For another early Italian engraving of a Crucifixion with a similar kneeling St. Jerome, see Hind, *Early Italian Engraving,* no. E.III.58 (probably late-fifteenth-century Milanese).

5. In ibid., Hind spoke vaguely of Filippino's influence but cited, for comparison, a Ghirlandaiesque *Crucifixion with Sts. Benedict and Romuald* in the convent of S. Apollonia, Florence (R. Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting* XIII [The Hague, 1931] fig. 89) as by Davide Ghirlandaio.

6. Paintings illustrated by Katherine B. Nielson, *Filippino Lippi* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938) figs. 69 and 72.

7. Hind's initial date of ca. 1460, which Rossiter followed, was too early by a full generation; Hind later modified his opinion, dating the print to ca. 1480–1500.

8. Specifically, I ascribe to him the *Planets* (Hind, *Early Italian Engraving,* A.III.1–9), the Fine Manner *Prophets* and *Sibyls* (ibid., C.I.A. and C.II.A.), most of the *Otto Prints* (ibid., A.IV.1–42), the illustrations for the *Monte Sancto di Dio* (ibid., A.V.1[1–3]) and the 1481 Landino edition of Dante's *Inferno* (ibid., A.V.2[1–19]), and miscellaneous individual subjects (ibid., A.I.66, 68–70; A.II.1–5, 7–11, 16–20, 23–26). For Baldini, see my forthcoming *Commentary* to vol. 24 of *The Illustrated Bartsch,* as well as Oberhuber's brilliant essay in Jay A. Levenson, Konrad Oberhuber, and Jacquelyn L. Sheehan, *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art,* exh. cat. (Washington, D.C., 1974) pp. 13ff.

9. Specifically, the Vienna Passion itself (Hind, *Early Italian Engraving,* A.I.25–34), five of the six Fine Manner *Triumphs of Petrarch* (ibid., A.I.19–23), and various other items belonging to no particular series (ibid., A.I.1, 11, 35, 38, 40, 44; D.I.5). For the Vienna Passion Master, see also the forthcoming *Commentary* to vol. 24 of *The Illustrated Bartsch* and my article "*The Madonna of Loreto:* A Newly Discovered Work by the Master of the Vienna Passion," *Print Quarterly* 6 (1989) pp. 149–160.

10. The unity of this group has been recognized by John Goldsmith Phillips, *Early Florentine Designers and Engravers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955) pp. 68ff.; and Konrad Oberhuber, *Early Italian Engravings,* p. 48.

11. Ibid., pp. 47–62. However, Oberhuber's chronology now needs to be revised in light of a recent discovery by Madeline Cirillo Archer, "The Dating of a Florentine *Life of the Virgin and Christ,*" *Print Quarterly* 5 (1988) pp. 395–402. I shall review Rosselli's career in detail in my forthcoming *Commentary* volume cited in note 8 above.

12. Archer's findings suggest that none of Rosselli's engravings predates the 1480s, and the New York fragment is certainly not one of his earliest works; nor can it possibly be as late as his engraved map of the world (Hind, G.6), signed and dated 1506.

A Chimneypiece from Saintonge

DANIEL MEYER

Conservateur en chef, Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon

AFTER THE NEW Louis XIV bedchamber at the Metropolitan Museum was opened in 1987 (Figure 1), some criticism was voiced concerning the chimneypiece that decorates it. This criticism involved the very nature of the object as well as its period, which some considered anachronistic. Further, its provenance was unknown. False leads were given by analyses of the stone of which it is made, which was thought to be limestone from Tonnerre.[1]

First, to examine its origin. When this chimneypiece was purchased on the art market in 1956, with a gift from the Hearst Foundation, its earlier provenance could only be conjectured. As it happened, a reader of an article on the Louis XIV room that appeared in *L'Objet d'Art*[2] wrote to the editor in chief of that magazine, Jean-Louis Gaillemin, to ask if a relationship could be established between the Museum's chimneypiece and one represented on a postcard in his possession. The caption on his card read: "Charente-Inférieure-Chérac—Ancienne Cheminée (époque François Ier)" (Figure 2). The period indicated was incorrect, as we shall see when we consider its style. On the other hand, the similarity between the Chérac chimneypiece and the one in New York was quite real, for they were in fact one and the same. Here is the information that I have been able to obtain or infer about its provenance.

Until 1910, the chimneypiece was at the Château du Chay in Chérac, in the department of Charente-Maritime;[3] this château, actually a large house, dated from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The historian Augustin Fellmann gave this description of the chimneypiece in a paper dated July 29, 1880:

> It is not just an example of these remarkable works, true masterpieces of sculpture [the chimneypieces of the great châteaus mentioned above] that I submit to the Commission for study in informing it about the chimneypiece in the Chérac.... It seems interesting to me for the purity of its forms, the elegance and unity of its overall design, and it deserves to be taken out of the oblivion that has been its lot until now. The house that it decorates is a seventeenth-century dwelling and is supposed to have belonged to the Ferari [*sic*]. Today it belongs to M. Grenon. This stone chimneypiece, which fills the entire height of a large room, is three meters high and two meters wide. It is composed of two parts.[4]

Together with a drawing by Fellmann himself (Figure 3), a detailed description follows, with this curious observation: "In the middle of the upper part, an oval medallion of flowers and fruit frames the bust of a woman with feathers arranged like a diadem in her hair. This headpiece recalls the egret adornments that were at the height of fashion in the eighteenth century." His remarks about the bust lead one to believe that the portrait represents the Marquise de Ferrari—or De Ferray du Chay—who owned the château in 1752.[5] She would have had her portrait sculpted, Fellmann explains, "for at the time, according to one author, portraits of the head of the family were the principal motifs for the decoration of chimneys." This statement needs to be proved, however. Furthermore, why could this bust not just as well represent a member of the family of Nicolas de la Barrière, the owner of the Château du Chay in 1719? This contention supposes that the chimneypiece, which is obviously from the seventeenth century, featured a bust carved later; this seems somewhat surprising, given the unity in the style of the sculptures and in the stone used—limestone from Saintonge.

Fellmann concludes: "*Le Magasin Pittoresque* of the year 1849, page 121, published the drawing of a chimneypiece designed by Jean Leplautre [*sic*], architect and engraver during the reign of Louis XIV.

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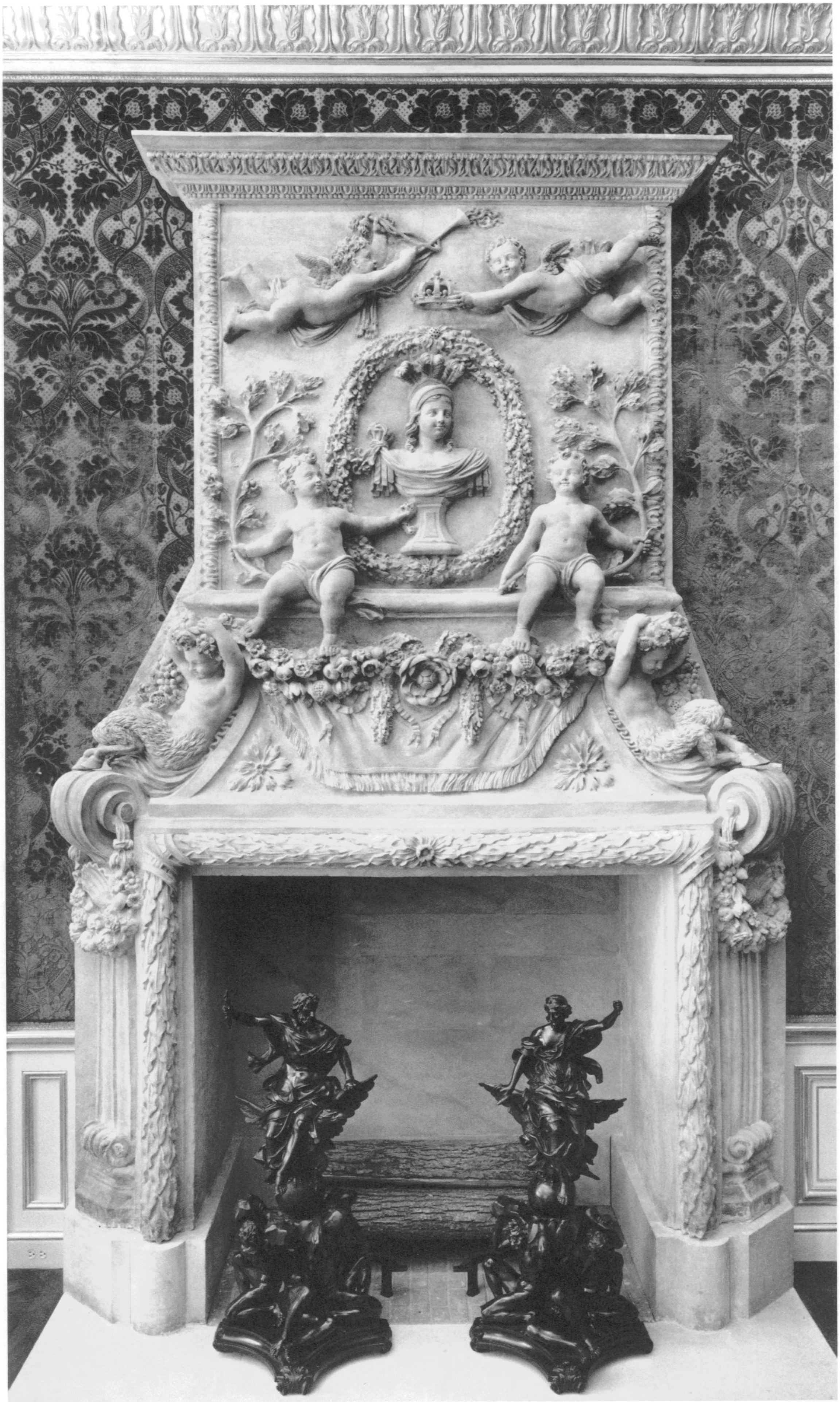
The notes for this article begin on page 32.



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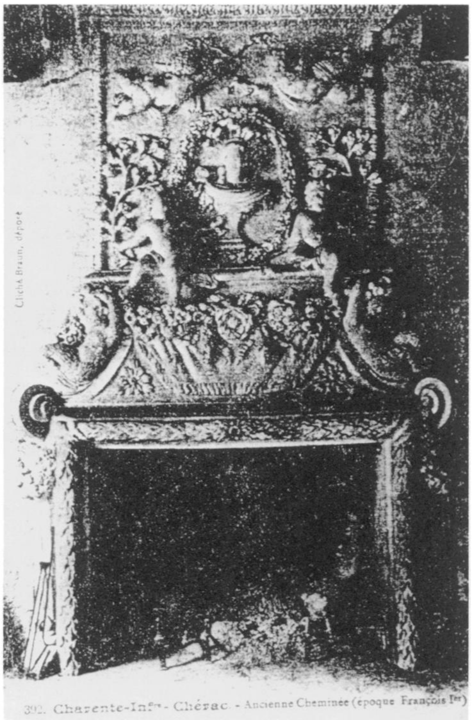
1. Chimneypiece, ca. 1670. Limestone. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of The Hearst Foundation, 1956, 56.234.34

2. The chimneypiece in Figure 1, at the Château de Chérac, before 1910 (from a contemporary postcard)

3. The chimneypiece in Figure 1, drawn by Augustin Fellmann. Note the damaged cupid on the right (see note 4)

4. Jean Le Pautre, Design for a chimneypiece, engraving from his *Cheminées à la Romaine* (Paris, ca. 1663). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933, 33.84.[1], leaf 104



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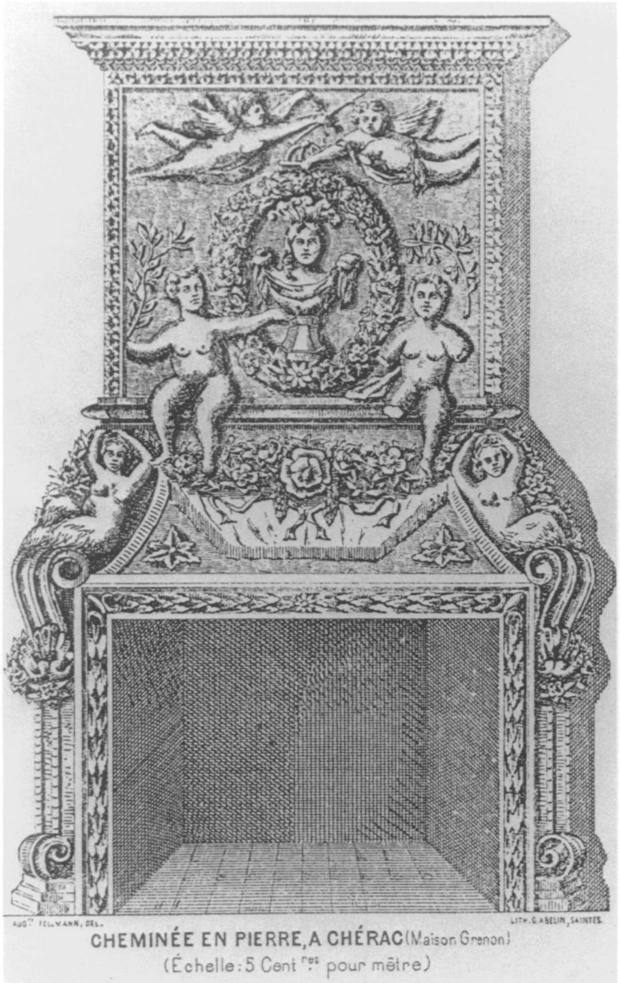

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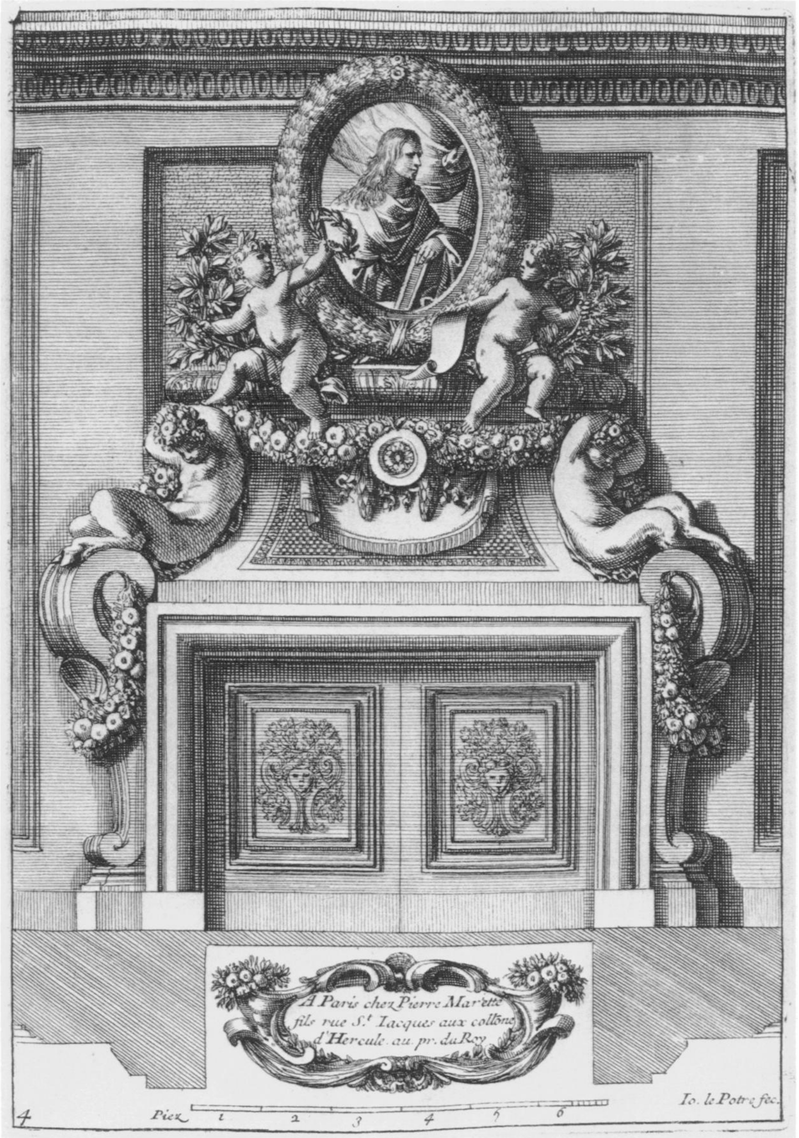

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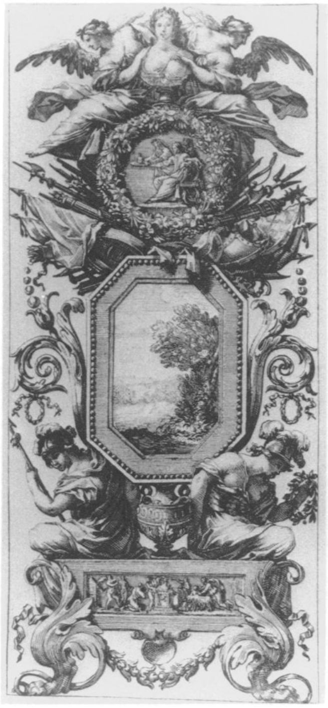


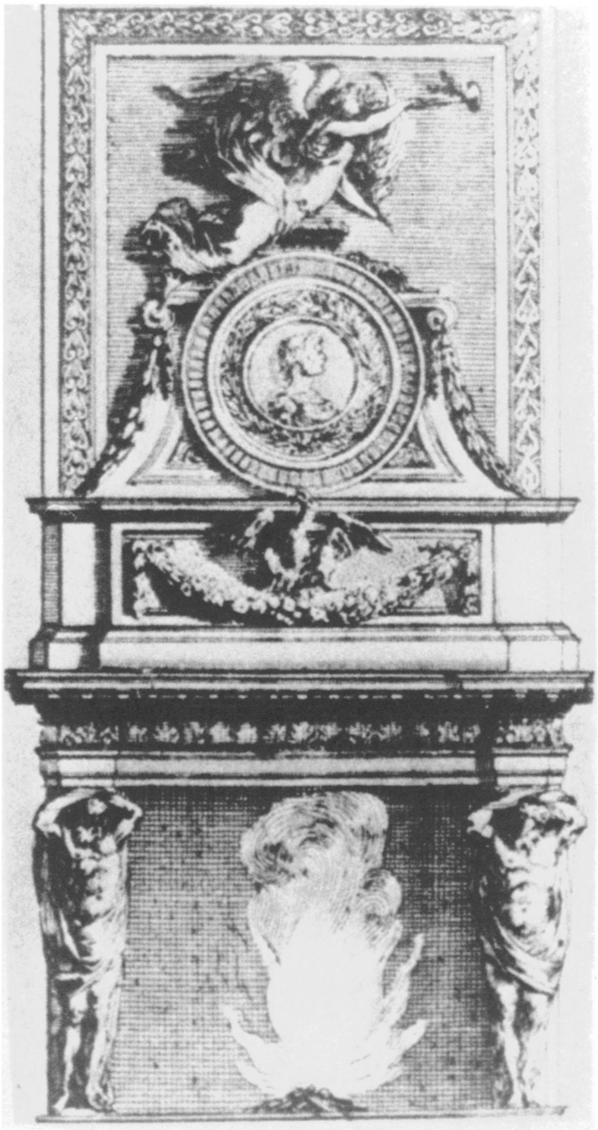
5. Simon Vouet (1590–1649), Plate 9 of *Livre des grotesques*, engraved by Michel Dorigny in 1657 (see note 6)

6. Simon Vouet, Plate 11 of *Livre des grotesques*

The chimneypiece of Chérac presents analogies with the drawing in certain details. Could it have been designed by this famous seventeenth-century artist?" The curators of the Metropolitan Museum have also noted the similarity to a print by Jean Le Pautre (Figure 4), and the attribution is attractive enough, but no more reliable than the attribution of all *jardins à la française* to Lenôtre. The consoles topped by fauns that frame the opening of the chimneypiece are indeed very similar, as are the cupids holding olive branches around the medallion. But do all these details permit any more than a dating of the Chérac chimneypiece? One wonders, too, whether Le Pautre, in his plates of ornaments, did not just assemble a number of ideal examples on which architects and sculptors could base their work, a sort of catalogue of models, as was the practice at the time. A certain naive quality in the use of decorative elements in the Chérac chimneypiece speaks more in favor of a local sculptor.

Moreover, the figures and garlands in the Saintonge work are of a type characteristic not only of Le Pautre's designs but also of the art of the mid-seventeenth century as a whole. Among many examples are the decorations painted by Simon Vouet in 1643 at the Palais-Royal in Paris for the bathrooms of the queen mother, Anne d'Autriche, the regent during Louis XIV's minority. These are recorded in engravings from 1647.[6] One among them in particular (Figure 5) shows a garland similar to the one from Chérac, although it does not frame a bust. Another, no less interesting for our purposes, represents two winged cupids holding a cartouche (Figure 6). Considering the usual delay in the spread of style to provincial artists, this would lead us to date the Saintonge chimneypiece to 1660–70—a date not so far removed from that of the tapestries hanging in

7. Chimneypiece in Louis XIV's state bedchamber at the Louvre, 1654 (from Louis Hautecoeur, *Histoire du Louvre*, fig. 62)



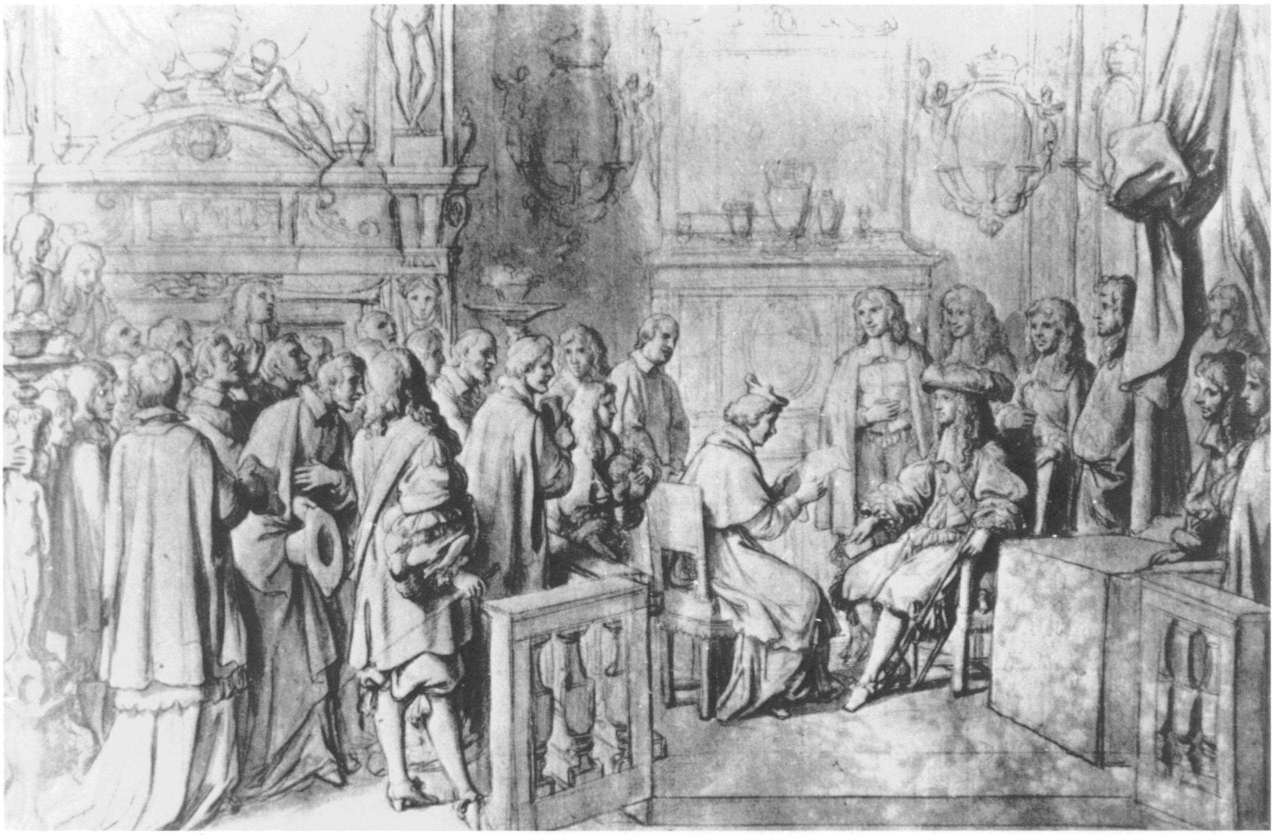
the alcove. That is, if the payment of 300 *livres* made by the Bâtiments du Roi to Testelin in 1679 for "a picture to be used for embroidered *portières* representing the figure of Jupiter seated on an eagle" indeed refers to one of the embroideries in the Metropolitan Museum.[7]

We now come to the question of the use of a monumental chimneypiece in a Louis XIV bedchamber. If we consider the example set by the king at the beginning of his reign, we see that this type of decor existed at the Louvre: during the works directed by Le Vau, a monumental chimneypiece of this kind (Figure 7), more luxurious but of comparable size, was made for the palace by Pierre Bourdon.[8] One would like to pursue this comparison with the chimneypiece in the king's bedchamber at Fontainebleau (Figure 8). Unfortunately, it seems that Lebrun, both in the preparatory sketch and in the tapestry of the Histoire du Roi series that depicts the audience given by Louis XIV to the papal nuncio Chigi on July 28, 1664, represented an ideal room and not the king's actual bedchamber.[9] In any case, the type of chimneypiece chosen by the artist was monumental, very impressive, and probably close to those that could be seen in the various royal residences.

The reconstitution made by the Metropolitan Museum is of a typical rather than a particular room, but it gives American visitors a plausible image of what state chambers in France looked like during the reign of the Sun King, at a time when unity of style was not necessarily always observed.[10]

Translated from the French by Jean-Marie Clarke

8. Charles Lebrun (1619–90), *Audience of the Nuncio Chigi, Nephew of Pope Alexander VII, by Louis XIV in His Bedchamber at Fontainebleau, July 28, 1664.* Black pencil and India ink wash on paper, 49.1 × 75 cm. Château de Fontainebleau, inv. no. F3201[c] (photo: Musée de Versailles)



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank M. Lassarade, president of the Société d'Archéologie Pontoise; Mlle Coutant, librarian at the Bibliothèque Municipale of Saintes; and M. Pierre Sénilou of Paris for their help.

NOTES

1. Town in Burgundy (administrative seat of the canton of Yonne, in the arrondissement of Avallon).

2. Stuart Greenspan, "Sous le signe du Roi-Soleil," *L'Objet d'Art* 3 (Jan. 1988) pp. 38–43.

3. The department was then called Charente-Inférieure.

4. Published in the *Recueil de la Commission des Arts*, 1886, p. 167; Figure 3 is a drawing of the chimneypiece by Fellmann. In 1880, the arms and legs of one of the cupids were broken; they have since been restored (Figure 1).

5. Cf. Robert Collé, *Châteaux, manoirs et forteresses d'Aunis et Saintonge* (La Rochelle, 1984) I, p. 180. M. Collé confirmed the information in his book, that the inhabitants of the town of Chérac thought the chimneypiece had been exported in 1910 to Belgium for the museum of Liège, after which it was lost track of. M. Collé agrees with Fellmann in dating the chimneypiece to the 18th century, which, to my thinking, is stylistically impossible.

6. *Livre des diverses grotesques peintes dans le cabinet et bains de la Reyne-Régente au Palais-Royal par Simon Vouet, peintre du Roy et gravées par Michel Dorigny, MDCXLVII*, reproduced by Guérinet (Paris, n.d.).

7. *Comptes de Bâtiments du Roi sous Louis XIV*, Jules Guiffrey, ed. (Paris, 1881) I, p. 1230. This reference was brought to my attention by Mme Saule, curator at Versailles; it had already been published by Edith Standen in "The Roi Soleil and Some of His Children," *MMAB* (Jan. 1951) pp. 133–141.

8. Louis Hautecoeur, *Histoire du Louvre, le château, le palais, le musée, des origines à nos jours, 1200–1940* (Paris, n.d.).

9. Cf. Yves Bottineau, "La Cour de Louis XIV à Fontainebleau," *Bulletin de la Société d'étude du XVIIème siècle* 24, pp. 711–714. M. Bottineau, Inspecteur Général des Musées, in charge of the Château de Versailles, and M. Samoyault, Inspecteur Général des Musées, in charge of the Château de Fontainebleau, both confirmed the imaginary character of Lebrun's drawings, thus giving an *a posteriori* justification for the reconstitution of the bedchamber at the Metropolitan Museum.

10. Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, "A State Bedchamber in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *The Magazine Antiques* (March 1988) pp. 662–667.

Michele Todini's Golden Harpsichord: An Examination of the Machine of Galatea and Polyphemus

STEWART POLLENS

Conservator, Department of Musical Instruments, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

IN 1902 The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired a large and elaborately decorated harpsichord as part of the Crosby Brown Collection (Figure 1).[1] Designed and constructed in the mid-seventeenth century for Michele Todini's Galleria Armonica, the harpsichord is mentioned in numerous writings dating back to the time of its completion. The earliest account can be found in Michele Todini's *Dichiaratione della Galleria Armonica eretta in Roma da Michele Todini*, published in Rome in 1676.[2] Todini's own description of the instrument, found within a text that was more likely conceived as a testament to his labors and inventive genius than as a visitor's guide to his museum, reveals that this harpsichord, an organ mechanism concealed within it, and the accompanying scenery and carved figures constituted one of the major exhibits in his museum of bizarre musical and horological inventions. The most complex of these inventions was another harpsichord whose keyboard controlled a group of remote stringed instruments and an organ. This was also described in the *Dichiaratione*, as well as by other contemporaries of Todini, including Kircher in 1673[3] and Bonanni in 1722[4] (Figures 2, 3). Other early references to Todini's elaborate musical inventions include an article in Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon* (1732)[5] and mention in numerous eighteenth-century travel accounts, including those of Keyssler,[6] La Lande,[7] and Burney.[8]

More recently, Emanuel Winternitz wrote extensively about the Metropolitan Museum's instrument, which he dubbed the "Golden Harpsichord."[9] Winternitz demonstrated that the outer case's carving, depicting the triumph of Galatea, and the life-sized gilded wood figures of Polyphemus and Galatea flanking the harpsichord closely match the description found in Todini's book. Shortly after World War II, Winternitz also located a clay model of the harpsichord, presumably employed in the construction of the instrument (Figure 4). These were indeed remarkable discoveries.

None of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century authors focused attention on the harpsichord depicting Polyphemus and Galatea, now the only surviving instrument of Todini's Galleria; rather, they concentrated on the larger keyboard instrument with its remotely controlled ancillary devices. Winternitz's chief concern in writing about the harpsichord was the mythological content of the richly carved case. The mechanical aspect of the instrument has never been examined in any of the writings besides Todini's, and this is surprising, as Todini's primary interest was the creation of auditory illusion through complex mechanical means. Because the mechanical side of the surviving instrument was never described, many have assumed that all that remains of the harpsichord is its decorative outer case. The case does in fact contain an instrument, and it is a most interesting one. It is one of the longest single-manual Italian harpsichords in existence, and its great size (see Figure 5) permits "just" or "Pythagorean" scaling (the doubling of string lengths in descending octaves) nearly down to the lowest note of its original compass. There are, however, some important discrepancies between Todini's description and the

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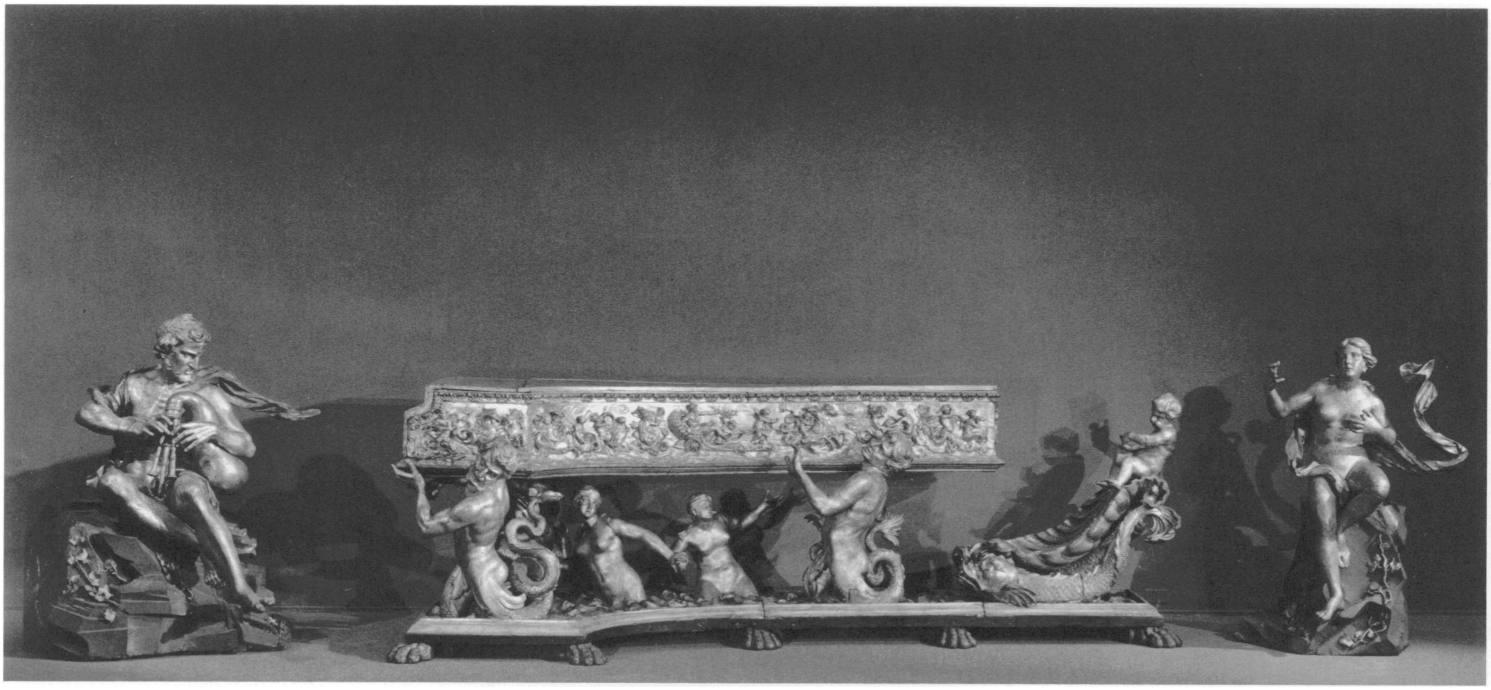
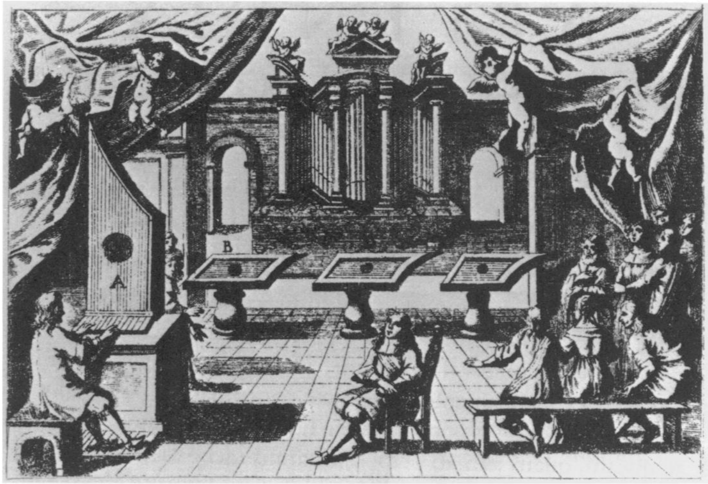


1. Michele Todini, Harpsichord. Italian, 17th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Crosby Brown Collection of Musical Instruments, 1889, 89.4.2929



2. Plate 16 from Athanasius Kircher, *Phonurgia nova* (Kempten, 1673), showing another of Todini's inventions, seven instruments controlled from one keyboard

instrument itself, and these create some doubt about the veracity of Todini's *Dichiaratione*. The purpose of this study is to examine the tangible evidence afforded by the harpsichord and to compare it with Todini's description.

Chapter III of Todini's *Dichiaratione* is entitled "Descrittione della machina di Polifemo, e Galatea." The "machina" is described as follows:

In the second room is a representation of the realm of Polyphemus, with many statues of gold, among them Galatea; it shows a procession through the sea drawn by two dolphins harnessed to Cupid, who sits in a seashell surrounded by a retinue of sea nymphs and is served by Tritons as large as life that carry a cembalo, the case of

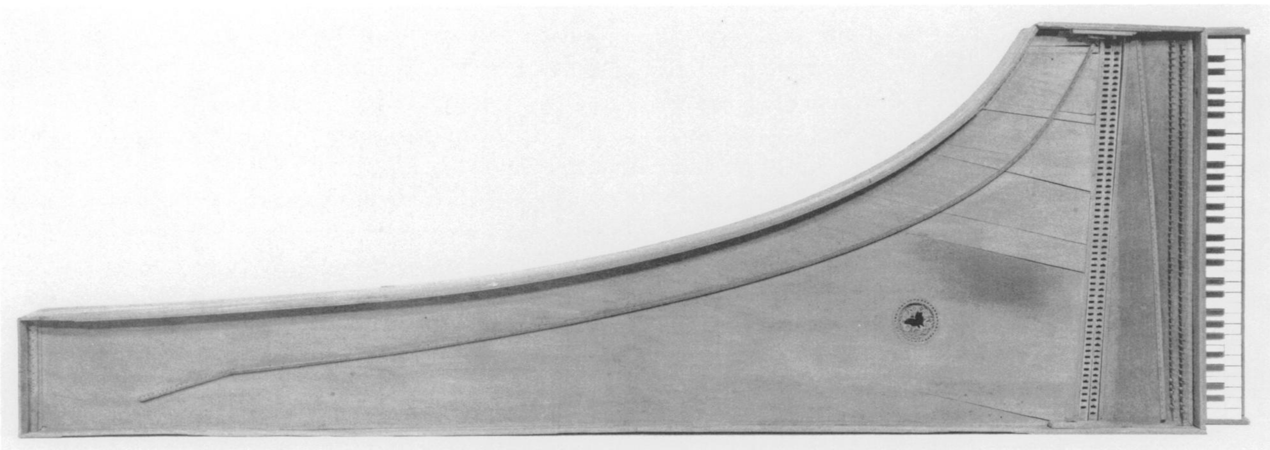
3. Plate 33 from Filippo Bonanni, *Gabinetto armonico* (Rome, 1722), showing the same instrument illustrated in Figure 2

which is richly carved with representations, in bas relief dressed in gold, of the triumph of Galatea, with marine monsters presenting offerings of diverse fruits of the sea. Polyphemus sits upon a mountain, which is his habitat, according to the fable, in the act of playing a *sordellina*, or *musette*, to please Galatea; within the said mountain is a machine for producing the sound of the *sordellina*, which one plays from a keyboard situated under that of the previously mentioned cembalo. The statues have been made by worthy men in such a manner that the materials used represent the sea, mountains, air. This machine runs from floor to ceiling. The difficulty of creating this was great and is described later so as not to impede the brevity of the tale.[10]

The description alluded to in the paragraph above is found in Chapter XX, entitled "Le difficolta incontrate nella machina del Polifemo, provate con l'esempio di un personaggio esperto." The chapter is concerned with the difficult and complex task of designing and commissioning the *sordellina* mechanism. To paraphrase this brief chapter, Todini reports that 14,000 *scudi* and twenty years were spent on this project. He writes that two brothers from Naples were engaged to help make the many pipes of silver and diverse woods, the bellows, keys, and other parts, and that the materials were then brought to Rome, where two foreigners (not specifically identified as the brothers from Naples) were employed to help with assembly. One of the brothers from Naples, however, was said to have given the final touches in tuning the pipes. The difficulties did not end with the building of the concealed organ; evidently, playing the instrument was also problematic. Todini explains that because the large contrabass pipes (*canne grande per li contrabassi*) required much

4. Clay model of Todini's harpsichord. Italian, 17th century. Rome, Museo degli Strumenti Musicali (photo: Museo degli Strumenti Musicali)

5. Plan view of the harpsichord in Figure 1



6. Back view of figure of Polyphemus in Figure 1

greater wind pressure than the smaller pipes, it was very difficult to control the bellows. He writes that only one person was ever able to play the instrument with perfection, and when he died, no one else could overcome the difficulties of varying the wind supply.[11]

There are some major problems to be reconciled if one takes a critical look at the Golden Harpsichord at the Metropolitan Museum. From a decorative standpoint, this complex and highly ornamented instrument fits Todini's description in many important respects, and there is little doubt that this instrument is in fact the very instrument described in Todini's text. Although there have been some early alterations to the harpsichord (notably a compass enlargement), the inner and outer cases, as well as the stand and platform of the instrument, appear to be essentially unaltered except for some later structural buttressing and repair to the gesso and gilding.[12] (The possibility that the spine of the outer case is a replacement, and the ramifications of this possibility, are discussed below.) In perusing Todini's *Dichiaratione*, it becomes clear that either the text itself is inconsistent or that the complex instrument was being redesigned as writing progressed. More serious is the lack of any clear evidence that an organ was ever located within the hollowed rock upon which Polyphemus sits. There is very little to suggest that a second keyboard was ever present, and there is no trace of trackers or other devices for linking a keyboard with the remote organ.

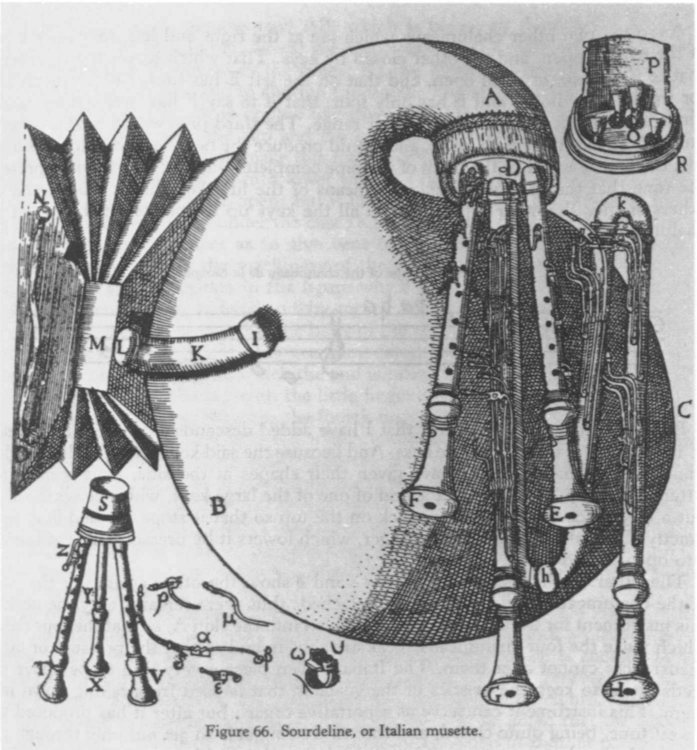
Evidently, there were major problems encountered with the organ mechanism, as Todini states that "it was not possible to put in all of the pipes, as the *ceppo* [meaning block, stock, or log—in this case perhaps the wind-chest] cannot accommodate them," although it is mentioned that "two auxiliary pipes were added to make up the deficiency."[13] Thus it would seem that Todini had to scrap many of the pipes that had been labored over for so many years. To confuse matters further, Todini alludes to certain problems with the organ that made it difficult or impossible to play several notes simultaneously, and he notes that very complex mechanical solutions were devised to attempt to deal with this problem.[14] Other changes include the addition of a second bellows. The pair was said to be operated in tandem by both heels of the player, which freed both hands to operate the keyboards.[15]

In Chapter III Todini states that the machine for replicating the sound of the *sordellina* held by the carved figure of Polyphemus was located within the mountain upon which the figure sits. Todini also informs us that initially the keyboard for controlling the organ was located below the keyboard of the cembalo. ("Polifemo siede alle falde d'un monte, nel quale ha la sua habitazione, come dice la faula, in atto di sonare una sordellina, o Musetta per compiacere a Galatea; e dentro al detto monte stanno le Machine per sar sonare la detta Sordellina, quale si suona con una tastatura posta sotto a quella del gia nominato Cimbalo."[16])

Polyphemus's rock is indeed hollow (Figure 6), but it encloses a space of about half a cubic meter. Since the rock is quite irregularly shaped, much of that space would be unusable. Additionally, there are numerous beams of wood nailed in to help support the weight of the carved figure, and these would seriously hinder the installation of an organ mechanism. Several of the beams are new, though even without them usable space would be very limited. The figure of Polyphemus is carved of solid wood, but there is a back plate that covers a shallow, highly irregular cavity. This again could not have concealed any part of an organ, and there is in fact no connection between the hollow rock and the back cavity.

The organ described in Todini's *Dichiaratione* was evidently quite large and complex, especially if contrabass pipes were involved. A contemporary description of a *sordellina*, in Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle* of 1635, indicates that it had a compass extending down to an octave below middle C, and this would imply open pipes of about 120 centimeters in length (Figure 7).[17] The double *sordellina* described by Todini suggests an extended compass reaching down an octave lower. Indeed, he writes that "in this the contrabassi are heard to the last key of the harpsichord" (. . . poiche in questa li Contrabassi si sentono fino nell'ultima tasto del cimbalo).[18] Todini states that unusual amounts of wind pressure were needed for the bass pipes, and an organ requiring a large quantity of air would certainly have consumed more space than the small, hollowed rock would allow. Contrabass pipes, even if stopped and mitered, could scarcely fit in either enclosure. Even reed pipes in the contrabass region require resonators of considerable length. When one thinks of the imitative *zampogna* or *cornamusa* stops employed in Italian organs of the late seventeenth century, beating reeds with short resonators, like those of the regal, come to mind. It is conceivable that a very small organ with beating reeds could have been designed to fit into the rock beneath Polyphemus; but Todini's description of the difficulties involved in making the many pipes of metal and wood does not suggest such a compact mechanism. In addition, copious quantities of air are not required for such reeds. A possible explanation of the disparity between the available space and the quantity of pipes alluded to could be that the rock was

7. Figure 66 from Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (The Hague, 1957), showing a *sordellina*



8. Figure of Polyphemus holding *sordellina*

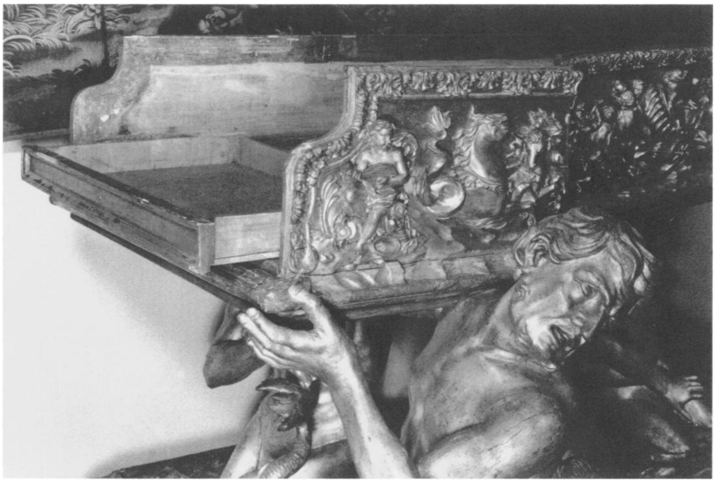
9. Bottom of outer case of harpsichord

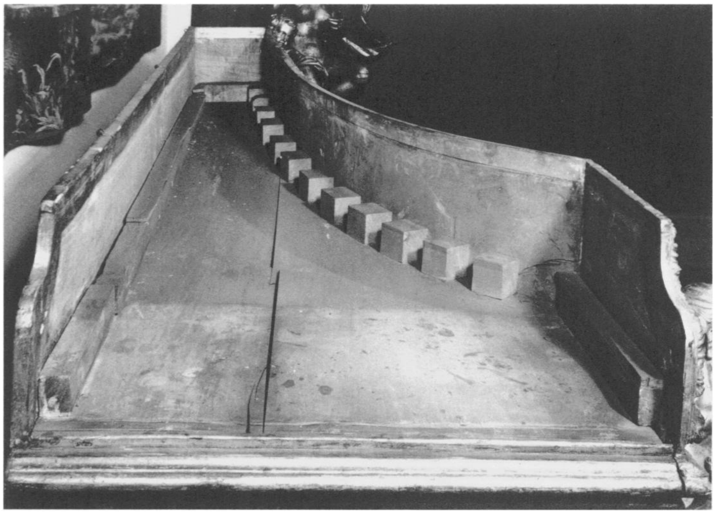
subsequently cut down in height; however, when the instrument and figures are compared with the clay model, they appear to be in correct proportion (see Figure 2).

There is considerable confusion concerning the position of the second keyboard, which operated the organ. In Chapter III Todini writes that it was positioned below the harpsichord,[19] but in Chapter XXI (entitled "Quanti ripieghi stano stati necessari per ridurre tale strumento trattabile sotto una sola tastatura") he reports that this second keyboard was moved from below the harpsichord to a position above, and then he describes how this conventional keyboard was eliminated and replaced by tablike devices termed *linguelle*. There is, however, no clear evidence of brackets, glue lines, screw or nail holes, or other supports that might have held a second keyboard beneath the outer case, the position referred to in Chapter III of Todini's text. There are a number of gesso fills along the front edge of the bottom of the outer case. These appear to form two lines, one along the front edge of the bottom and one diagonally behind the front edge. At first, these were thought to be evidence of filled nail or wooden-peg holes, but after some of these gesso patches were soaked out, it became clear that they filled knotholes and in fact provided no evidence of pulled nails or pegs that might have supported a keyboard (Figure 9). The front and side case moldings do form a projecting ledge, which, in fact, could have helped support a keyframe.

Another possible position for the organ keyboard is the space now occupied by a sliding drawer beneath the harpsichord (Figure 10). The space exists because the shallow case of the instrument itself is raised on blocks within the outer case (Figure 11). The blocks are approximately 6.8 centimeters in height and are numbered sequentially in ink in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century calligraphy. The harpsichord was

10. Drawer beneath the harpsichord





11. Inside view of outer case

12. The harpsichord removed from its outer case

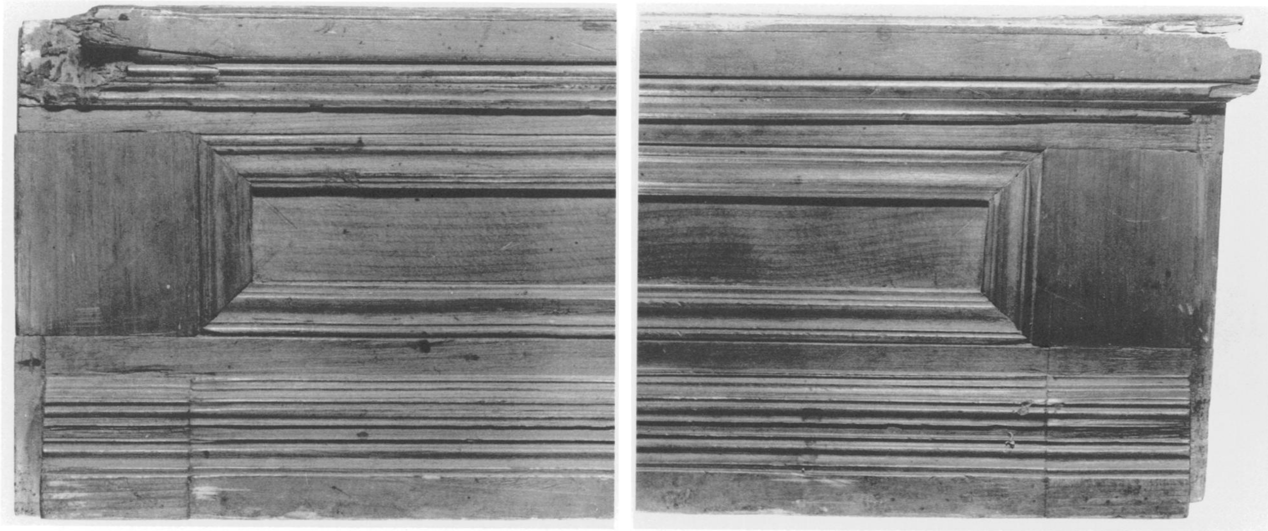
most probably blocked up within the outer case in order to disguise its uncharacteristic proportions, for despite the great length of the encased instrument, the depth of its sides is quite conventional. When the harpsichord is removed from the outer case, one can immediately see that it is most ungainly (Figure 12). On the other hand, the proportions of the outer case do not appear disturbing because the sides are unusually deep. By raising the harpsichord up on blocks within the outer case, the top edge of the instrument was brought up to that of the outer case, as in the typical encased Italian harpsichord of conventional size and proportions. It is possible that the harpsichord may have been blocked up deliberately to provide space for a second keyboard. However, if the second keyboard had been mounted where the drawer now sits, it would have been necessary to pierce the bottom board of the outer case for mechanical linkages with the wind-chest. There is no evidence of such holes or anything to suggest that the present bottom is a replacement. (The two-piece bottom is discussed at greater length in the technical description that follows.)

Because the drawer well is so shallow, it is unlikely that a keyboard could have been designed with enough clearance for playing. One could speculate that the lower keyboard might have been pulled forward for use; however, the problem of the mechanical linkage with the organ remains. If the keyboard was retracted so that the lid could close, what has become of the stickers or trackers? If stickers were permanently mounted along the front edge of the case to be engaged by the sliding keyboard, why is there no evidence of a rack or other supporting structure?

There is some evidence for a second keyboard having been mounted above that of the harpsichord: wooden strips attached to the inside edges of the case above the wrestplank could have supported a keyboard above the harpsichord manual. However, there is still no evidence of trackers or stickers or any means of guiding them beyond either the inner or the outer case. These strips were more likely used to support a music rack (Figure 13).

A cloudy description of a later modification that did away with a discrete organ keyboard is found in Chapter XXI of Todini's *Dichiaratione*. With the new system certain organ notes could be activated by six

13. Keywell of the harpsichord



14, 15. Details of nameboard showing filled areas in region of keyboard extensions

piroletti (possibly those that activated drones). In addition, Todini indicates that "to keep the harmony complete with the other hand, it is enough to push the little finger of the said hand a little farther [along the harpsichord key] so that it will find a small tablike projection [*linguella*], which, when the key is pressed, stays raised from the middle to the end of the same key." (. . .volendo tener l'armonia unita con le voci dell'altra mano, basti spinger un poco avanti il dito piccolo di detta mano, che trovarà una linguella, quale, essendo premuto il Tasto, stara alzata da mezzo verso il fine del medesimo Tasto.)[20]

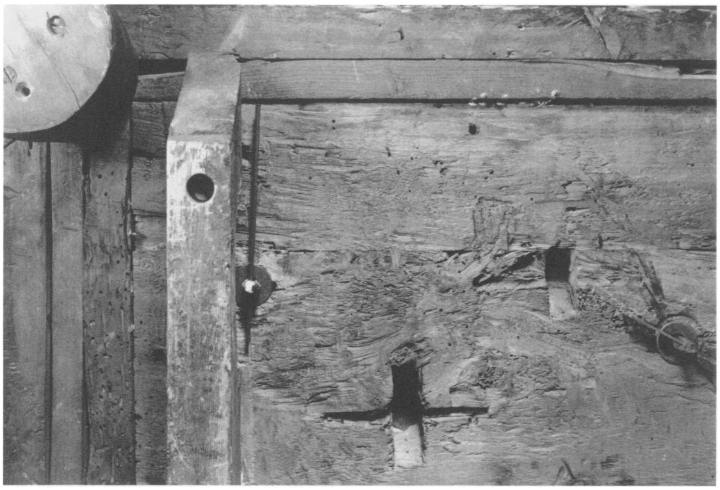
Thus, the tablike projections could be activated by the fingers even as they engaged the harpsichord keys. To be in such close proximity to the playing surfaces of the harpsichord keys, the *linguelle* most certainly had to pass through mortises in the nameboard; however, none are evident. Moreover, the nameboard appears to be original, as alterations suggest that it was part of the instrument prior to an eighteenth-century compass enlargement. These alterations include the filling of cutouts, which originally provided clearance for end blocks (Figures 14, 15). In addition, there is scarcely a space of two centimeters between the key levers and the wrestplank. It is difficult to imagine how a system of rollers could have been designed to fit in such tight quarters, and no glue marks, nail holes, or pinholes could be detected on the underside of the pin block.

The *linguelle* would have also required holes in the bottom of both the inner and the outer cases to operate stickers or trackers. These would also have to pass through the narrow spaces between the key levers, which is rather unlikely, and again there are no holes in the bottoms of either the harpsichord or outer case. A possible place for stickers and trackers to exit would be the spines (backs) of the cases. This would be a likely method if the instrument were mounted against a wall. The spine and the left wrestplank support block do in fact show evidence of repair in the region where mechanical linkages might have passed. A large area of the spine has been replaced, as well as the abutting wrestplank support block. While this work appears to have been done in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, it is possible that apertures in this stress-bearing region might have made it necessary to strengthen the case with new wood at a later date.

If a keyboard had been mounted above the wrestplank, it is possible that linkages could have passed over the spine of the harpsichord and through the spine of the outer case. Arguing for this is the possibility that the spine of the outer case may be a replacement, as the wood is a bit lighter in color than the tail and bentside, and the bole beneath the gesso is yellow, rather than red, the color under the gilding of the other case parts and of the carved figures. It is curious that the incised decoration on the lid is a floral motif, whereas that on the spine is purely geometric. These two patterns are not in keeping with the marine and mythological subjects portrayed on the sides of the case and the stand. The originality of the lid is thus suspect on this count, and that of the drawer as well, since its inner edges are veneered with crossbanded cypress in a fashion similar to that of the underside of the lid.

Todini writes that the *sordellina* mechanism was difficult to play because one had to increase the amount of air when the contrabass pipes were used.[21] This suggests that the player did his own pumping, yet there is scant evidence that a pedal or other pumping device was mounted on or supported by the front edge of the instrument's base. On the underside of the front section of the base there are two chiseled depressions and a small rectangular cutout at the right front corner (Figure 16), but it is difficult to imagine how these could have been employed to support a pedal. They might have been made to retain bolts and toggles used in anchoring the figures to the base, as similar toggles are used farther back, along the bottom of the stand. Part of the molding is missing from the front edge of the base, and there have been some gesso fills made to the gilded section above this missing wooden strip. It is possible that these fills and the damaged edging may be evidence of a lost pedal.

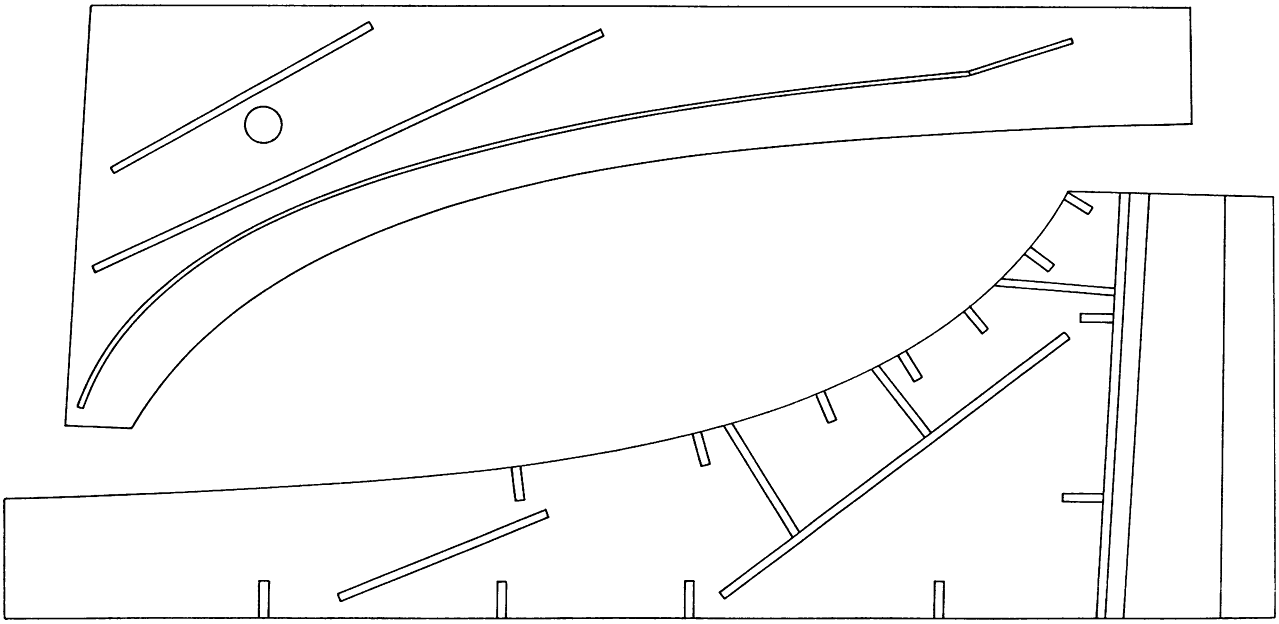
16. Front edge of base, seen from below



TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE HARPSICHORD

The harpsichord is constructed in the common Italian inner-outer form, with a thin-walled inner case of cypress wood ornamented with delicate moldings on the upper and lower edges; on the top edge is a cap molding that conceals the joint between the upper edge of the case and its molding. Numerous cracks and openings in the case permitted the insertion of a fiberscope, and much of the case buttressing could be studied. The case sides (ca. 5 mm thick) overlap the case bottom (ca. 16 mm thick), and small softwood triangular knees (ca. 6 cm long and 12 mm thick, grain running vertically) glued to the case bottom support the thin case sides against the tension of the strings. Seven knees supporting the bentside were observed, while four appear to support the spine. Two somewhat larger knees, their grain running horizontally, brace the belly rail. The knees extend up to the poplar liner (38 mm deep, 12 mm wide, with transverse saw cuts observed in the treble). One softwood strut (square in section; ca. 25 mm thick) in the treble, between the second and third knees, runs from the bottom edge of the soundboard liner to the belly rail. Two other struts, between the fourth and fifth and the fifth and sixth knees, run from below the liner to a rail glued diagonally to the inside surface of the bottom. Another diagonal rail, roughly parallel to the one previously mentioned, is glued farther down the case bottom, but struts abutting this diagonal rail could not be seen. The harpsichord's structural design, employing a series of knees with alternating struts, is typical of Italian keyboard instruments from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century (Figure 17).

The outer decorative case is primarily of poplar, with carved, gessoed, and gilded decoration. The boards that form the bottom of the outer case do not run the full length of the instrument. There is a slightly tapering diagonal lap joint terminating in the vicinity of the miter between the bentside and cheek piece; however, this appears to be an original design feature (see Figure 9). Considering the extreme length of this instrument, it is quite likely that a harpsichord builder would have constructed the bottom of an outer (non–stress-bearing) case with a two-piece bottom. The bentside is made up of three joined lengths of poplar. Shrinkage cracks of similar



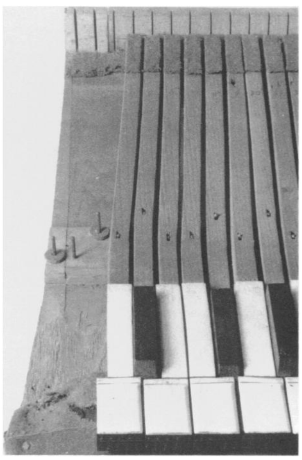
17. Schematic representation of harpsichord buttressing and soundboard ribbing, showing knees and diagonal supports

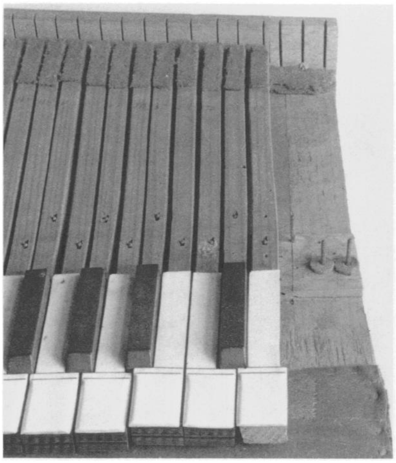
width run through both bottom sections, suggesting that they shrank at the same rate and were subjected to similar restraining forces while shrinking; hence, they are most likely of the same vintage. This is important, as the replacement of the front section of the bottom would have destroyed evidence of trackers or other contrivances that might have linked a lower keyboard with an organ mechanism.

The keywell of the inner case now appears quite plain. Presumably, carvings or simple ornamental brackets were once glued on either side of the keyboard, but they may have been removed along with the end blocks when the keyboard was enlarged.

The instrument's present compass is sixty keys, FF–f3, with the FF# omitted. However, it is clear that the keyframe and pin rack were extended in both the bass and the treble. Two pin slots were added to the bass end of the pin rack and three were added to the treble end. The saw kerfs in the original back rail are narrow, but those in the bass and treble extensions are much wider; thus it would appear that no additional saw kerfs were made in the old rail (Figures 18, 19). It is therefore likely that only five keys were added, and it would appear that the compass was originally GG–d3 with the GG# omitted. One balance pin, that of GG, has been moved to the left by about 7 millimeters in order to make room for the added accidental. All of the quartered-spruce key levers are replacements, as are the double-scored ivory natural platings, the undulating ebony key fronts (cut by a waving engine), and the balance pins. The tails of D keys are wider than others in the oc-

18, 19. Left and right views of keyframe with top and bottom keys removed to show extensions to pin rack





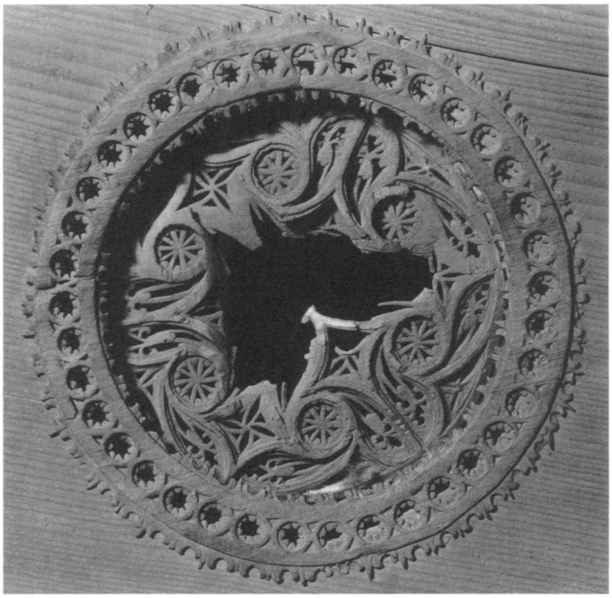
tave, a feature typical of Italian keyboards. It is most likely that the compass change was made about the middle of the eighteenth century. It should be noted that there appears to be a two-key discrepancy between the space occupied by fifty-five key tails (74.5 cm) and the distance between added nameboard moldings (77.5 cm), which were presumably glued in when the end blocks were removed (see Figures 14, 15).

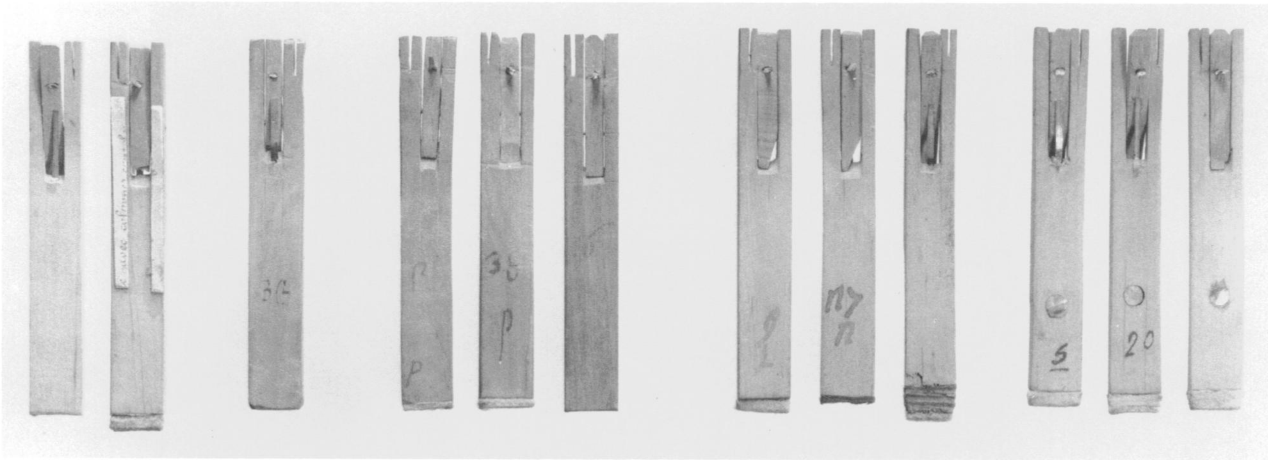
The two box slides appear to be original. Each consists of a sandwich of walnut blocks, spaced to create mortises for the jacks, glued between thin walls of cypress and beech (each box slide has outer sections composed of the two different woods). When the compass was extended, a wall on one side was sawed through transversely at both bass and treble ends, and the walnut end blocks were removed and resawed to provide mortises for the extra jacks. These new saw cuts are distinguishable from the more cleanly planed edges of the original spacers.

The nonveneered walnut wrestplank has not been plugged; however, the unpierced, oblong-headed pins appear somewhat stout for a seventeenth-century keyboard instrument, a clue that this is a repinned wrestplank. Since all the pins are similar, it is probable that the original holes were simply enlarged slightly when the extra holes were made. At the bass end, the last two pins are a bit more widely spaced than the others, further evidence that this is the original pin block. From glue lines on the bottom of the wrestplank it would appear that the original support blocks were about 4 centimeters wide; however, the right block has been crudely chopped out to permit the new treble keys to pass through. The left block is of pine, a modern replacement dating from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. It adjoins a new strip of wood, of the same variety, pieced into the bottom. Part of the spine in the vicinity of the wrestplank has also been replaced. The cheek piece is completely shattered at its juncture with the pin block.

The nut is of one piece and accommodates all the pins of the present compass, so one must assume that it is a replacement. Its molding profile does not match that of the main bridge, but it does match the molding of an extension to the mitered bass section. String gauges are penciled on the nut and run from 1 in the bass (the lower two gauges are visible with an infrared viewer) to 10 in the treble (see appendix for listing of transition points). The present scale of c2–27.6 centimeters is not inconsistent with the scales of Italian harpsichords of either the seventeenth or eighteenth century, and, as stated earlier, the unusually long case permits string lengths to nearly double on the octave down to the lowest C. The present bridge and nut positions are not original, however. Under ultraviolet light, the presence of a glue line reveals that the new nut has been positioned away from the bridge by about 1.5 centimeters. Plugged holes in the soundboard made for bridge-positioning pins indicate that the bridge has been moved toward the nut. The strings are now significantly shorter than they were originally. C above middle c (c2) appears to have been 31 centimeters, as derived from the bridge-positioning pins (see table of string lengths below). The walnut bridge has not been repinned, but it has been extended in the bass, and the mitered bass section has been lengthened to accommodate the added strings. (The molding of the bass extension matches that of the nut, indicating that they were added at the same time.) The keyboard appears to have been shifted toward the bass by one note, but the original part of the bridge was also shifted, although to the right, and presumably rebent slightly to accommodate the additional treble

20. Rosette on soundboard of harpsichord





21. Several jacks found in harpsichord

notes. Hitch pins have been repositioned and the original holes neatly plugged.

The soundboard is of quarter-sawn spruce (ca. 3 mm thick in treble, 4.2 mm in bass, measured near belly rail), with the grain running approximately fifteen degrees to the spine. A nicely cut rosette of laminated cypress wood and parchment is glued up against the soundhole (Figure 20). The pins that fix the present bridge to the soundboard are bent over below the soundboard, which was undoubtedly removed when the bridge was repositioned. Soundboard ribbing consists of a heavy cutoff bar (ca. 12 mm wide at the extreme end, with a maximum depth of ca. 5 cm at the center; the year rings run horizontally) located between the bridge and the rosette. A second rib, roughly parallel to the cutoff bar, is located beyond the rosette. Ribbing at the far end of the soundboard could not be observed. The tail section of the case is a replacement, and there have been some crude repairs made to the bass hitch-pin rail as well as to the hitch-pin rail in the treble.

All of the jacks appear to be from the seventeenth or eighteenth century, but they are of at least two generations, and there are four handwritings evident in the numbering. About one-third of the jacks are numbered in the same hand that numbered the present key levers. Most of the jacks are of service wood with brass leaf springs, and remnants of quill are present in most of them (Figure 21).

At present, the condition of the harpsichord concealed within the outer case is extremely poor. In addition to the badly damaged cheek piece, long sections of the bentside and spine are split above and below the soundboard line; the soundboard is unglued along the belly rail, and the wrestplank is completely unglued. All of the observations about the internal structure of the harpsichord were made directly through openings in the case. The inside of the tail end of the instrument could not be observed, in part because the rails mounted on the case bottom and the very deep cutoff bar restrict visibility, and the fiber-optic probe could not illuminate or reach down into the far end of the case. Unfortunately, the instrument is too large to be accommodated by the Metropolitan Museum's X-ray room. It is conceivable that another knee or strut is present, and perhaps another diagonal soundboard brace is in the far end of the case.

CONCLUSION

Although the instrument is presumably the same one described in Todini's *Dichiaratione*, published in 1676, there is no conclusive evidence that the organ mechanism that imitated the sound of the *sordellina* was ever installed precisely as described in the text. There is even considerable doubt that the organ ever existed. Admittedly, Todini does declare that the "machina" ran from floor to ceiling, and we can surmise that a large organ mechanism may have been concealed, not "within" the rock upon which Polyphemus sits, as described in the text, but perhaps behind some artificial scenery contiguous with the sculpted rocks. The figures of Polyphemus and Galatea and the carved "rocks" that support them suggest that they may have been positioned against a flat surface, perhaps the scenery alluded to in the *Dichiaratione*.

Ideally, a keyboard situated below or above that of the harpsichord would have been in close proximity to the upper manual, but in this instance it might indeed have extended from the scenery against which the harpsichord was displayed. If the organ was concealed within the scenery, matters would have been simplified from a mechanical standpoint. There is no evidence that a second keyboard was mounted in the well below the harpsichord (now occupied by a drawer), nor is there any evidence of hardware used to suspend the second keyboard below the bottom of the outer case. The alteration mentioned in Todini's text that resulted in the repositioning of the keyboard above the harpsichord may be indicated by the support blocks glued to the sides over the wrestplank. There is scant evidence for the third key mechanism discussed in the text; the *linguelle* mentioned in the text are not present, nor are corresponding notches or mortises evident in the old nameboard.

Although the *Dichiaratione* recounts the great difficulty in regulating the air when imitating the *sordellina*, no information is given concerning the position of the pumping mechanism. Evidently the player did his own pumping (especially since it was necessary to regulate air pressure while playing), although there is no clear evidence for feeders on or beneath the harpsichord's stand.

A minor though interesting omission from Todini's text concerns the instrument apparently held by the figure of Galatea. To judge from the hand position, this was undoubtedly a necked string instrument, perhaps a lute, *chitarrone, cetera, ceterone,* or *colascione*. A lute-backed instrument would have had to be carved in flattened form to fit between Galatea's chest and wrist, whereas the flat-backed *cetera* or *ceterone* might have fit perfectly. It is curious that whereas Polyphemus's *sordellina* is very accurately carved, Galatea is left empty-handed in both the full-sized figure and the model. Because of the tenuous connection between the figure and the plucked instrument, it is likely that it would have been carved as a separate piece and placed in her hands as a real instrument might have been. Such an instrument could easily have been separated from the figure and lost over the years.

The mystery of where the organ and its keyboard were situated and how it was supplied with air thus remains unsolved. Perhaps Todini erred when describing the specific placement of the organ and the keyboard. The possibility exists, however, that the organ mechanism was never actually completed and that Todini's *Dichiaratione* was an optimistic account of an unfinished project. The fact that only one person is alleged to have mastered the instrument, and he was dead at the time of publication, may have been merely an excuse to the gallerygoer who came to hear but was allowed only to see. It is again curious that the only one of Todini's complex inventions ever described by Kircher and Bonanni was not the *Machina di Polifemo, e Galatea*, but that in which a single keyboard played seven remote instruments. In 1770 Dr. Burney visited Todini's gallery in the Verospi Palace and wrote in *The Present State of Music* that

> all the accounts of Rome are full of the praises of this music gallery; or, as it is called, gallery of instruments; but nothing shows the necessity of seeing for one's self, more than these accounts. The instruments in question cannot have been fit for use these many years; but, when a thing has once got into a book as curious, it is copied into others without examination, and without end. There is a very fine harpsichord, to look at, but not a key that will speak: it formerly had a connection with an organ in the same room, and with two spinets and a virginal; under the frame is a violin, tenor, and basse, which, by a movement of the foot, used to be played upon by the harpsichord keys. The organ appears in the front of the room, but not on the side, where there seems [*sic*] to be pipes and machines enclosed; but there was no one to open or explain it, the old Cicerone being just dead.[22]

Burney is here describing Todini's *Machina maggiore con sette strumenti sotto una Tastatura*, mentioned in the *Dichiaratione* and pictured in Kircher and Bonanni; but this highly reliable historian gives a very clear impression of the instrument's disrepair a little over a century after its construction.

Although the Golden Harpsichord and the two figures of Polyphemus and Galatea may be all that remain of Todini's Galleria, it is possible that the supplementary floor-to-ceiling scenery concealed an organ mechanism; however, if the text of Todini's *Dichiaratione* is taken literally, there is a clear discrepancy between the description of the mechanism and the object as it is today. It is clear that the instrument has been through the hands of many restorers, and removing the instrument from Todini's Galleria undoubtedly made some modifications necessary. Perhaps the spine of the outer case was initially undecorated and required some superficial decoration and gilding. If it was originally built against a wall containing the scenery, it is conceivable that the outer case did not originally have a spine. Trackers or stickers linking the organ keys could have then been directed either over or under the encased harpsichord, and then perhaps through the wall. Presumably after the harpsichord was dissociated from the organ, it underwent a compass enlargement and rescaling to make it more serviceable. It is entirely plausible that all traces of the *sordellina* mechanism, if it ever existed, were destroyed at that time. While there is no hard evidence for the second keyboard, a pumping mechanism, or even the organ itself, their existence in the seventeenth century cannot be entirely ruled out.

Translations by the author

NOTES

1. Although this instrument bears the acquisition number 89.4.2929, it was acquired between 1901 and 1902, shortly after being exhibited in the Paris international exposition of 1900. Instruments collected by Mrs. Brown after the initial gift of her collection in 1889 were later renumbered with the 89.4 prefix.

2. Michele Todini, *Dichiaratione della Galleria Armonica eretta in Roma da Michele Todini Piemontese di Saluzzo, nella sua habitatione, posta all'arco della ciambella* (reprint, Rome, 1676).

3. Athanasius Kircher, *Phonurgia nova* (Kempten, 1673) p. 168.

4. Filippo Bonanni, *Gabinetto armonico* (Rome, 1722) p. 80.

5. Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musikalisches Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1732).

6. Johann Georg Keyssler, *Neueste Reisen* I (Hanover, 1751) p. 668.

7. Jérôme de La Lande, *Voyage d'un françois en Italie, fait dans les années 1765 et 1766* III (Venice/Paris, 1769) p. 616.

8. Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London, 1773) pp. 392–393.

9. Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art*, 2d ed. (New Haven, 1979) pp. 110–115; idem, "The Golden Harpsichord and Todini's galleria armonica," *MMAB* 14, 1 (1956) pp. 149–156.

10. Todini, *Dichiaratione*, pp. 5–7.

11. Ibid., pp. 70–73.

12. Two letters preserved in the files of the Department of Musical Instruments deal with restoration work undertaken in Paris shortly after the purchase of the harpsichord. The letters were written by Mr. F. Edwin Elwell of the Department of Ancient and Modern Statuary to Mr. John Crosby Brown. The letter dated January 13, 1903, reads as follows:

Dear Sir: I have the honor to report to you as follows. I have just come from the studio of Mr. Louis Saint Lanne and have examined the work in progress on the ancient "harpsichord." The following is a free translation of some of the things said to me in the studio. "This instrument has been restored several times, and the restorations were badly done because it was necessary for me to take many joints apart that did not appear at first sight causing me a good deal of extra labor. Certain pieces were nailed (with a number of useless nails) and I was obliged to rearrange the parts. There were other parts where it was absolutely necessary to replace the plaster and paper filling by wood. In places I was obliged to remove thick clumsy joints and put the parts in their proper places."

Another letter, dated January 23, 1904, reads:

Dear Mr. Brown: The following is some more of the conversation between Mr. Saint Lanne and myself in regard to the harpsichord. "The last restoration was made in Paris in 1888, as proved by the date found on a Paris newspaper used with plaster to make a rough joint. The original work is in the style of Michelangelo or near that period of Italian sculpture and is undoubtedly of Italian workmanship. When this work was first made it was enameled a flesh color and the water was an Italian blue. The gilding is a restoration about the time of Louis XIV. There is a probability that the original color was so difficult to imitate that the easiest way out of it was to gild the entire group of figures. The gilding is well done and is known as 'water gilding.' The nails of the first restoration would indicate a date about the time of Louis XIV and are wrought iron, hand made. It is doubtful if the present cast iron feet are even from the originals in wood and seem to be of an inferior workmanship. It was necessary to fasten transverse blocks of wood across the bottom of the base to secure strength as the feet would not be strong enough to support the figures and the body of the harpsichord. The two wooden figures, outside the general composition under the body of the harpsichord, were evidently not made at the time the harpsichord was carved. The large one playing on the pipes may have been a figure ornament on an organ or in a theatre devoted to music. It has the appearance of having been fastened to a wall and the theatrical property in the form of rocks underneath is not solid and is apparently not the original base on which this figure rested. Both the male and the female figures represented as outside the original base of the harpsichord are evidently no part of the original composition and seem to have no proper place in connection with this instrument. I would therefore respectfully recommend that two separate pedestals be made for the two parts and to rest the instrument proper on a base as per drawing enclosed."

13. Todini, *Dichiaratione*, pp. 76–77.

14. Ibid., pp. 74–78.

15. Ibid., p. 74.

16. Ibid., p. 6.

17. Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, Roger Chapman, trans. (The Hague, 1957) pp. 366–368.

18. Todini, *Dichiaratione*, p. 74.

19. Ibid., p. 6.

20. Ibid., pp. 77–78.

21. Ibid., p. 73.

22. Burney, *The Present State of Music*, pp. 392–393.

Appendix

Measurements of the Instrument

Length of inner case spine (without front molding): 269.4 cm
Width of inner case (without moldings): 87.3 cm
Height of inner case (without cap molding): 18.3 cm
Thickness of wrestplank: 4.7 cm
Slider gap: 4.7–4.9 cm
Thickness of belly rail: 2.0 cm; upper section 1.4 cm
Thickness of cheek piece: 5 mm
Thickness of bentside: ca. 5 mm
Thickness of bentside at cheek miter: 3.9 mm
Thickness of spine: ca. 5 mm
Thickness of bottom: 1.6 cm
Thickness of soundboard: 3 mm at treble edge of belly rail; 4.2 mm at bass edge of belly rail
Width of cutoff bar at gluing surface: 1.2 cm
Three-octave span: 48.9 cm

Present String Lengths and Plucking Points
(longer string of each pair)

FF	221.9 cm / 17.1 cm
C	206.1 cm / 16.0 cm
F	157.8 cm / 15.1 cm
c	106.0 cm / 13.9 cm
f	80.3 cm / 13.2 cm
c1	54.6 cm / 11.8 cm
f1	41.2 cm / 11.1 cm
c2	27.6 cm / 9.6 cm
f2	21.2 cm / 8.5 cm
c3	14.4 cm / 7.4 cm
f3	9.6 cm / 6.4 cm

String Gauge Markings on Nut

A#	3
B	4
d#	5
g	6
c^1	7
$f\#^1$	8
$c\#^2$	9
a^2	10

The nut is not original though probably eighteenth century. There were, presumably, additional gauges below A#; however, the markings are no longer legible.

Original Scaling/Plucking Point
C″ 31 cm / 8.5 cm (estimated from score line indicating old position of nut and from plugged bridge-positioning pin in soundboard)

Jérôme-Charles Bellicard's Italian Notebook of 1750–51: The Discoveries at Herculaneum and Observations on Ancient and Modern Architecture

ALDEN R. GORDON

Department of Fine Arts, Trinity College

IN MEMORY OF THOMAS PATTON BAIRD (1924–90)

FEW SURVIVING FIRSTHAND RECORDS preserve the visual evidence of the beginnings of modern archaeology, and fewer still place the eighteenth-century attitude to antiquity in a context of then-modern interests. This essay is about a previously unidentified notebook, now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art,[1] which must be recognized as the earliest illustrated description of the archaeological finds at Herculaneum. Furthermore, this notebook served as the basis for publications that stole the secrets of the discoveries of Charles III, king of the Two Sicilies. Bellicard's notebook and the editions of his book on Herculaneum are of historical importance for their anticipation of the wave of publications of ancient art and architecture by architects, scholars, and amateurs.[2] To art historians the notebook is of particular interest for its ancient, medieval, and modern material, which records the daily activities of a group of travelers whose interests reflect the most sophisticated aesthetic and historical sense of the mid-eighteenth century.*

The Metropolitan notebook belonged to a Paris-born architect and engraver, Jérôme-Charles Bellicard (1726–86), who had an opportunity in 1750 and 1751 to accompany the most important French tourist of the eighteenth century, Abel-François Poisson de Vandières (1727–81), later marquis de Marigny[3] et de Ménars. Marigny was the brother of the marquise de Pompadour (1721–64), *maîtresse en titre* to Louis XV from 1745 until her death. In 1745 Vandières had been named to succeed Lenormant de Tournehem as the surveyor of royal works, a post he held from 1751 until 1773. To prepare for his career, young Vandières had been sent to Rome by Louis XV to visit the French Academy, which he would one day direct, and to visit the courts and see the art treasures of Italy. During the journey and up to 1754, he was known as Monsieur de Vandières, by which name I shall refer to him in this article. Bellicard created the notebook between November 1750 and the mid-summer of 1751, while traveling with Vandières.

The attribution to Bellicard and the dating of the work are verifiable by several independent external sources, as well as by internal evidence. Bellicard himself gives a date when he describes the "state of Mount Vesuvius during the month of November 1750."[4] Its authorship is proven by the similarity of the notebook's drawings and the illustrations in the various editions of the *Observations upon the Antiquities of the Town of Herculaneum, discovered at the Foot of*

*A transcription of the notebook is available on request from the Editorial Department of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

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The notes for this article begin on page 132.

Mount Vesuvius. With some Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Ancients. And a short Description of the Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Naples,[5] jointly authored by Bellicard and Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Younger. The combination of material illustrated, the style of the drawings, and the repetition of idiosyncracies and deviations from the original monuments imply that the notebook and the *Observations* share the same source. That the former might be based on the publication rather than vice versa is disproved by the internal date of November 1750 cited above. The variations of facts that exist in the notebook and in the final, much elaborated text of the *Observations*, which was based on research and historical and literary information from several published sources, as well as on direct observation and hearsay, also prove that the notebook preceded the printed text. But the most definite proof of the authorship and dating of the Metropolitan notebook relates to the history of the Italian sojourn of the future marquis de Marigny.

1. Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674–1755), *Caricature of Monsieur de Vandières, Abbé Le Blanc, Jacques-Germain Soufflot, and Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Younger.* Pen and brown ink over traces of black chalk on paper, 30.3 × 21.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1972, 1972.84

THE GRAND TOUR OF MONSIEUR DE VANDIÈRES

The Italian journey of Vandières was a sophisticated educational grand tour. From 1746, he was being groomed for his designated future position of Directeur et Directeur Générale des Bâtiments, Arts, Académies et Manufactures du Roi, and the finishing touch to his education was a journey to Italy. This model conclusion to Vandières's apprenticeship was conceived for him by Charles-François-Paul Lenormant de Tournehem (1684–1751), the incumbent in the post of Directeur des Bâtiments, and Charles-Antoine Coypel (1694–1752), the First Painter to the king and Director of the Royal Academy of Painting in Paris.[6] At the heart of Vandières's grand tour was the inclusion of three tutors to travel as his companions—a man of letters, an artist, and an architect. In addition to introducing Vandières to the appreciation of the arts and architecture, the artist and the architect were also to serve as draftsmen during the journey. The artist was asked to draw views of the Italian sites and monuments; the architect was to record plans of structures of special interest.[7]

Vandières's nominal chaperone was the abbé Jean-Bernard Le Blanc (1706–81), a pioneering art critic, playwright, *philosophe*, and unsuccessful aspirant to the Académie Française.[8] Vandières's professional teachers were the printmaker-author Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Younger (1715–90) and Jacques-Germain Soufflot (1713–80), a rising architect from Lyons.

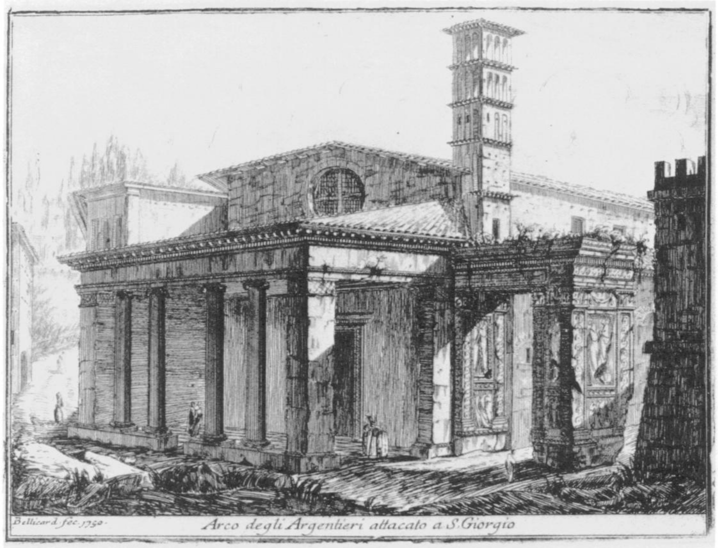
Vandières's trip began in December 1749 and was projected to last three years.[9] The group arrived in Rome in March 1750. The future Surveyor of Royal Works was the honored guest of the French Academy in Rome, which was then housed in the Palazzo Mancini on the Corso. Vandières and his companions made a strong impression on Rome's artistic community and were caricatured by Pier Leone Ghezzi (Figure 1). Early in the summer of 1750, after barely six months, Soufflot became seriously ill and had to be replaced. Before returning to Lyons to convalesce, Soufflot recommended a friend and collaborator, Gabriel-Pierre-Martin Dumont (1720–90), a long-time resident and former pensioner of the French Academy in Rome and an active architectural engraver. Dumont willingly served Vandières while he was in Rome, but as he was committed to illustrate many publishing projects, he was unable to accompany Vandières in his peregrinations in southern and northern Italy. Vandières therefore required a third architect to accompany him on his travels, and Jérôme-Charles Bellicard was chosen. Vandières had already met Bellicard in Rome, where the architect was a current pensioner[10] and, thus, a fellow resident in the Palazzo Mancini. Dumont was most probably the one who suggested employing Bellicard.

Bellicard had become a member of the group of French architectural students who were strongly influenced by the antiquarian movement then current in Rome. In 1750 he contributed views of Rome to Venuti's *Roma* and collaborated with Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–78),[11] Jean-Laurent Legeay, and Louis-Jean Duflos on *Varie Vedute di Roma* (Figure 2). Bellicard has been characterized as the link between the French and Piranesi.[12] Bellicard's nervous engraved line has much of the sensitivity of Piranesi, and he may have been the engraver for certain vignettes in Piranesi's *Opere Varie*.[13]

Bellicard's collaboration with Piranesi was in his favor as Vandières admired Piranesi and had visited him in his studio.[14] Because of Bellicard's interest in antiquities and a previous trip to Campania,[15] he was chosen to accompany Vandières on his journeys outside Rome.[16] In late fall 1750 Bellicard joined the travelers in time for what was to have been an extended journey to Naples, Sicily, and Malta.

Bellicard owed his later career to having been Vandières's traveling companion.[17] Through this association he became, like Cochin and Le Blanc, a member of the academies of Florence and Bologna. After his return to France, Vandières took Bellicard into the administration of the Royal Works; he was received in the French Royal Academy of Architecture in 1762 and was eventually made comptroller of two important royal dwellings, the châteaux at Compiègne and Fontainebleau. His career as a practicing architect was negligible,[18] and he failed to complete his major scholarly work, an engraved architectural manual entitled "Architectonographie ou Cours complet d'architecture." A compulsive gambler, he squandered a generous government pension of 6,000 *livres* a year.[19]

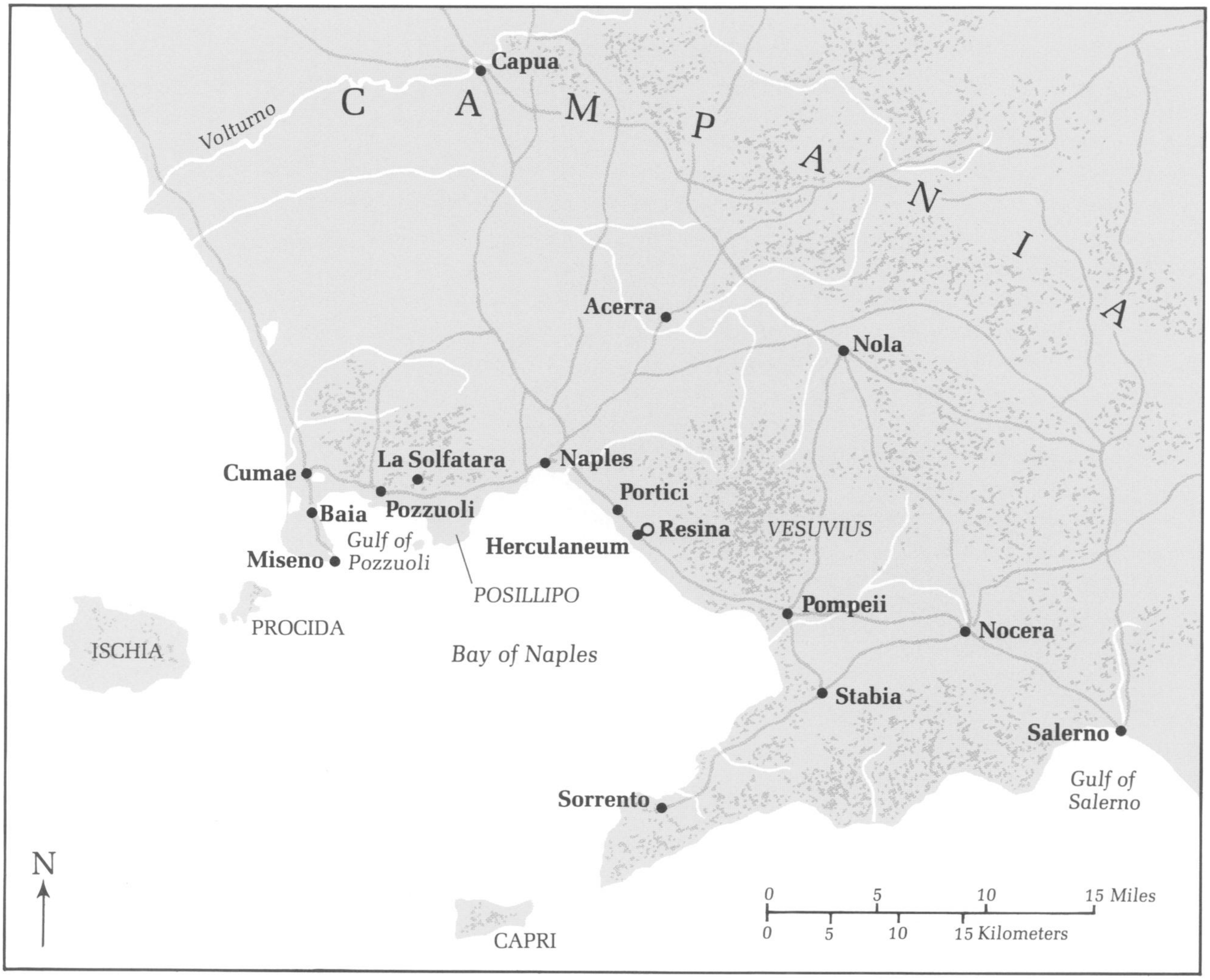
But at the earlier and happier moment when Bellicard was a pensioner, the opportunity to travel in Italy at someone else's expense and to have access to all of the finest collections and most jealously guarded archaeological sites was a stroke of luck.



2. Jérôme-Charles Bellicard, *Arch of the Silversmiths Attached to San Giorgio*, from *Varie vedute di Roma Antica e Moderna* (Rome, 1750), pl. 78. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1957, 57.619.1

On November 3, 1750, Vandières and his party arrived in Naples, where they stayed until after Christmas.[20] Vandières and the abbé Le Blanc were guests of the French ambassador, the marquis de l'Hôpital, in his small private house, and Cochin and Bellicard were lodged at a nearby inn.[21]

From Cochin, Bellicard learned the commendable habit of keeping a notebook of his journey. Since leaving Lyons, Cochin had been making analytical notes on the arts and architecture, which he published after his return to Paris as *Voyage Pittoresque d'Italie ou Recueil de Notes sur les Ouvrages de Peinture et de Sculpture, qu'on voit dans les principales villes d'Italie*.[22] In November and December of 1750, trapped in their lodgings for much of the time by poor weather, Cochin and Bellicard made drawings and detailed written records of the observations gathered on the group's outings to the ancient sites at Herculaneum and in Campania. Bellicard began his notebook with a primary interest in antiquity, although later he added much material that dealt with more recent architecture. At first, Bellicard's intention must have been to maintain a record of the things he was seeing rather than to make a preliminary set of notes for eventual publication. Only his notes on the ancient architecture and on the volcanic phenomena of the then-active Vesuvius and the



3. Map of Campania (drawn by Wilhelmina Reyinga-Amrhein)

hot springs at La Solfatara eventually found their way into Bellicard's joint publications with Cochin. Cochin's notes, on the other hand, dealt with both ancient sites and the modern art and architecture of Naples.[23]

That such detailed records were shared by the collaborators is offhandedly affirmed by Cochin, who wrote in his "Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum, Aujourd'hui Portici," addressing a fictional correspondent:

Vous scavez, Monsieur, que mon Camrade de voyage [Bellicard] avoit emporté une espèce d'Ecritoire, qui renfermoit quelques traits & quelques vues que j'ai dessinées l'année dernière dans mon voyage d'Italie. Cette étourderie m'a mis hors d'état de vous donner, pendant mon séjour à Paris, des preuves qui me paroissent incontestables, sur une partie de ce que vous pensez de la peinture des Anciens, & principalement sur tout ce qui est donné comme conjecture, au sujet *d'Herculanum*, dans un Mémoire qu'on a lû l'année passée a l'Académie des Belles-Lettres, & que vous avez eu la bonté de me communiquer.[24]

The concrete evidence that Bellicard's notebook is the kind of "ecritoire" cited above is corroborated in the first French edition of the *Observations sur les antiquités de la ville d'Herculanum*. . . .[25] The dedication presenting the book to Vandières states that the work had its origins in "quelques foibles observations que nous jettions sur le papier, tandis que vous acqueriez cette connoissance superieure des Arts qui vous rends si cher aux Artistes." Thus, the authors testify that the basis for their subsequent publication was in a written set of notes that originated as part of the "curriculum" of Vandières's study in Italy. One should also note Cochin's specific statement that the notebook contains "several views that I drew last year." This would seem to refer to the drawings of Mount Vesuvius and the sketches of paintings and possibly of sculptures. In this light, we would have to assume that the thumbnail sketches of these objects in the notebook are Bellicard's copies of drawings by Cochin. We may likewise assume that the architectural drawings are Bellicard's own, except for the few cited below.

Although Vandières's time—particularly in the evening—was taken up with the social activities of the court,[26] he and his group used their days to serious advantage, contrary to what has been suggested by earlier authors.[27] Bellicard's notebook and Cochin's *Voyage* prove that Vandières and his entourage paid a great deal of attention to Naples and its surrounding sites (Figure 3), especially to Herculaneum on the slopes of Vesuvius to the southeast and the sites around the Gulf of Pozzuoli to the west. Unlike other grand tourists, whose average stay in Naples lasted from five to nine days (with only one day for both the collections at the royal palace at Portici and the excavations at Herculaneum),[28] Vandières's party stayed in Naples for two months. The group made long visits to each of the major sites of interest and gave substantial time to the exposed sites between Misenum and Pozzuoli, which were not frequently visited and rarely the subject of serious study.[29]

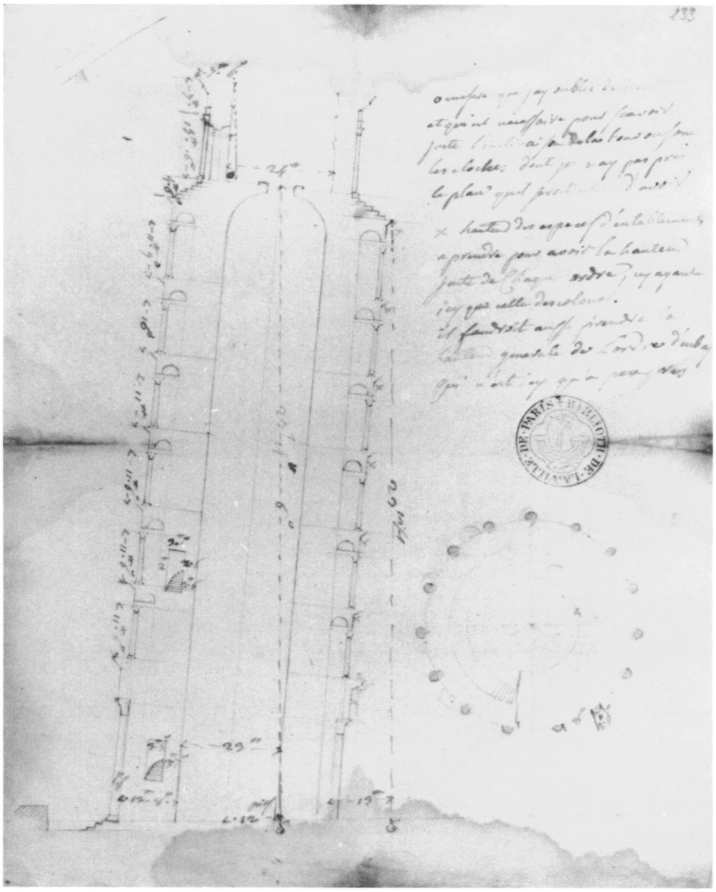
Vandières and his companions visited monuments, royal properties, private collections, natural wonders, and ancient sites. Bellicard's notes and sketches provide the best direct evidence of the detailed attention that Vandières and his companions paid to what they saw. The tutors discoursed on the merits and defects of each work of art or natural wonder, while Vandières took notes and entered into the discussion. One telling comparison of a drawing in Bellicard's notebook with a drawing by Vandières demonstrates the seriousness with which his education was pursued. While at Pisa in 1751, both men made drawings of the campanile. Vandières's is an exercise in the use of geometry to measure the degree of the tilt of the campanile (Figure 4),[30] undoubtedly made under the tutelage of his architectural master. Vandières confesses in a marginal notation that his calculations were thrown off by his failure to add the height of the capitals to the overall height of the columns. Bellicard's drawing (Figure 5), made at the same moment, gives professional attention to the effort to compensate for the tilt of the tower in the building of each subsequent story. (See page 105 for further discussion of Bellicard's study of the Pisa campanile.)

One of Bellicard's duties was to make pictorial records of the sites Vandières was studying. The notebook is entirely in keeping with the nature of this responsibility but is exceptional in comparison to other journals of the period in that it contains so many illustrations.[31] Quantities of unbound drawings were made in the course of Vandières's trip and many remained in his private collection. They appeared in his estate inventory and in the sale after his death.[32] The small sketches in Bellicard's notebook were not the only illustrated record of the journey but rather a first set of annotated personal memoranda. Using the written notes in conjunction with the sketches to aid his memory, the artist could make at leisure the separate drawings that he gave to Vandières. While one might suppose that Bellicard and Cochin made additional finished drawings for themselves, no surviving evidence exists. One may safely assume, however, that the more elaborate drawings made for Vandières were made available to Bellicard and Cochin for the preparation of etching plates used in their respective publications.

The notebook was originally bound in soft covers. Several leaves were torn out in the eighteenth century, probably by Bellicard himself. The notebook as it is today[33] consists of 29 sheets that make up 58 pages illustrated with 158 sketches. Bellicard was only loosely systematic in the way he used his notebook. When it was new, he had begun each new subject on a right-hand page, leaving many of the versos blank—perhaps as reserves for his eventual amplification of his notes. Later, having worked his way through the greater part of the notebook, he returned to the front and began to use all of the blank spaces, leaping in sequence from one page to another and squeezing fragments of his notes into the bottoms of pages nearly filled with other writing.[34] Accompanying most of the drawings are keys to the diagrams, brief descriptions, fragments of recorded fact, and many pages of rough-draft discourse on the natural sites and ancient and modern monuments that attracted the author's wide-ranging curiosity.

The drawings in the notebook have three distinct sources: drawings made directly from observation, drawings copied from other drawings, and sketches made from memory.[35] The presence of so many rough sketches made from memory rather than directly from the actual objects (Figure 6) is a clue to the unusual conditions under which this pocket-size notebook was created. One carries a small sketchbook precisely to be able to make direct drawings from the originals one may happen upon or at a place where it would be inconvenient to sketch at length. That Bellicard was frequently forced to use

4. A.-F. Poisson de Vandières, marquis de Marigny, *Measured Drawing of the Pisa Campanile*. Drawing. Paris, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, N. A. 90, fol. 233 (photo: author)



5. Bellicard, *The Tower of Pisa*, from Notebook, 1750–51, p. 19. Sheet size: 21 × 14.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940, 40.59.6

his notebook after having left the presence of the originals points directly to its purpose in getting around the restrictions on the freedom of visitors to Herculaneum and Portici.

HERCULANEUM

Among the most vivid experiences of Vandières's journey was exploring the tunnels in which a Roman city had been found undisturbed since its burial by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius. Bellicard's notebook begins (Figure 7) by describing the discovery of this subterranean city, which had been identified from various inscriptions as the Roman resort city dedicated to Hercules (hence the name Herculaneum, or in Italian Ercolano), whose destruction in A. D. 79 had been described by Pliny the Younger.

The ancient city stood at the foot of the western slope of Vesuvius on a cape jutting into the Sinus Cumanus, the Bay of Naples. The city had been completely buried and the coastline had been extended westward by later volcanic activity, creating the channel and port called Resina,[36] which lies between Vesuvius and the sea southeast of Naples.

The first trace of the ancient city was found, unwittingly and unrecognized, at the bottom of a well shaft in 1689 by a peasant living at Resina.[37] The revetments of the Roman public buildings served at first as a marble quarry, which was exploited by the peasant who had sunk the well. In 1710 Prince Elboeuf, a courtier at Naples with a country house at nearby Portici, bought some stone to use as terrace steps and discovered that the backs of the slabs were carved. He quickly bought the peasant's land.

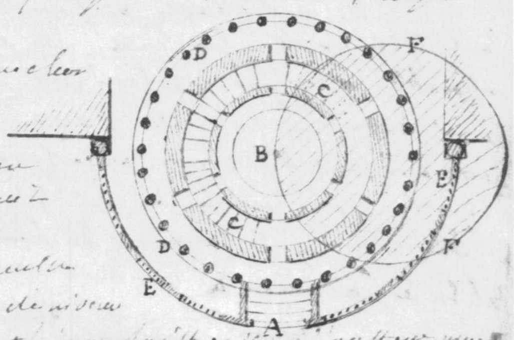
By lucky accident, the magnificent Theater at Herculaneum became the entry point and earliest site of exploration in the new find (Figure 8). Serendipitously for Prince Elboeuf, his workmen found some of the finest sculptures at Herculaneum in their initial, completely unsystematic burrowings out from the first well shaft. Three magnificent marble statues, then called the Vestal Virgins, were found in 1711 and smuggled to Vienna as gifts to Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736).[38]

19

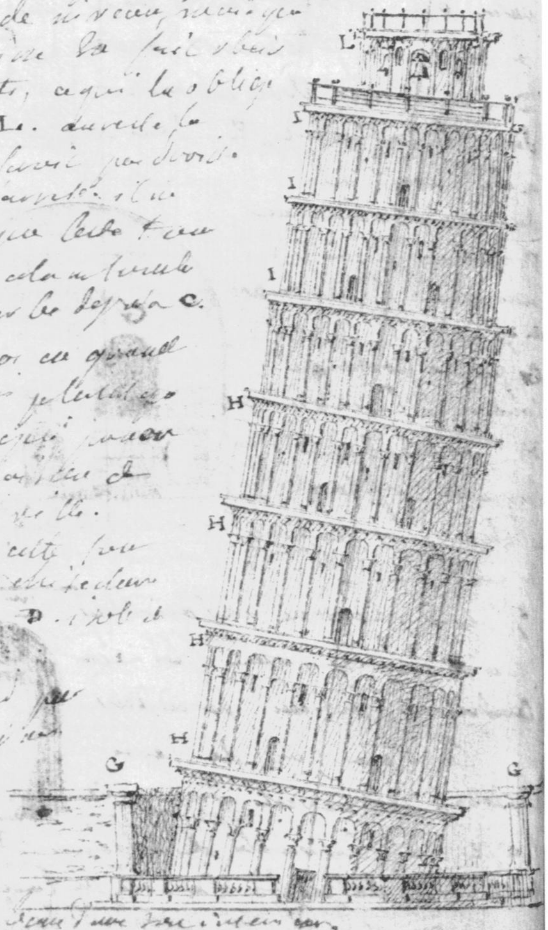
De la Tour de Pise.

La Tour de la Cathédrale de pise sont entièrement gothique que l'architecture [illegible] des fragments d'ancien temple. Elles sont revêtues de marbre.

La Tour pour son inclinaison est une chose à remarquer. Il n'est pas croyable qu'elle ait été bâtie de suite, et qu'elle ait fait un pareil mouvement, son inclinaison est trop forte pour ne l'avoir pas détruite si elle eût été finie à cette hauteur.



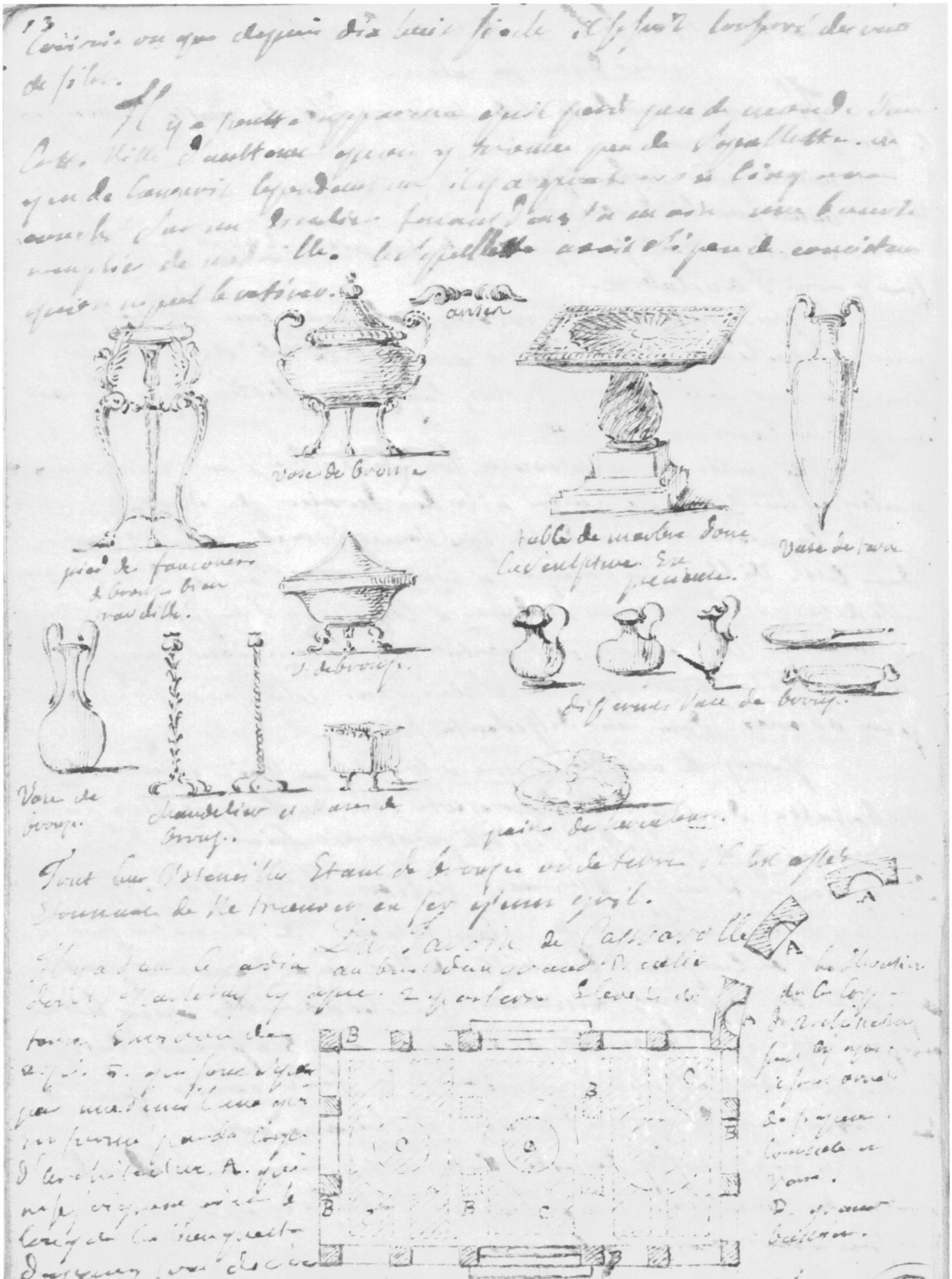
Plusieurs personnes prétendent que les quatre premiers ordres marqués H. ont été finis de niveau et que cette tour penchant, on l'avait ainsi laissée imparfaite. Ils ajoutent même que l'ingénieur qui passa après entreprit de la rachever sur l'ancien projet, l'on pourrait croire quelque chose à juger du 5. 6. et 7. Ordre I qui penche moins que les premiers. [illegible] le 5e étage, il semble que l'ingénieur se soit mis de niveau, mais que la trop grande charge de ce bâtiment a fait baisser encore davantage les fondements, ce qui l'obligea à redresser encore le campanille L. dessus la ligne que forme l'inclinaison [illegible]. [illegible] une courbe [illegible] pas avoir non plus que cette tour ait été bâtie comme elle penche, cela [illegible] l'on peut voir par les degrés C. qui penchent aussi que [illegible] ce grand architecte les fit tels. Je crois plutôt que le terrain qui s'est affaissé a causé ce penchement par l'inclinaison de plusieurs autres édifices de cette ville.



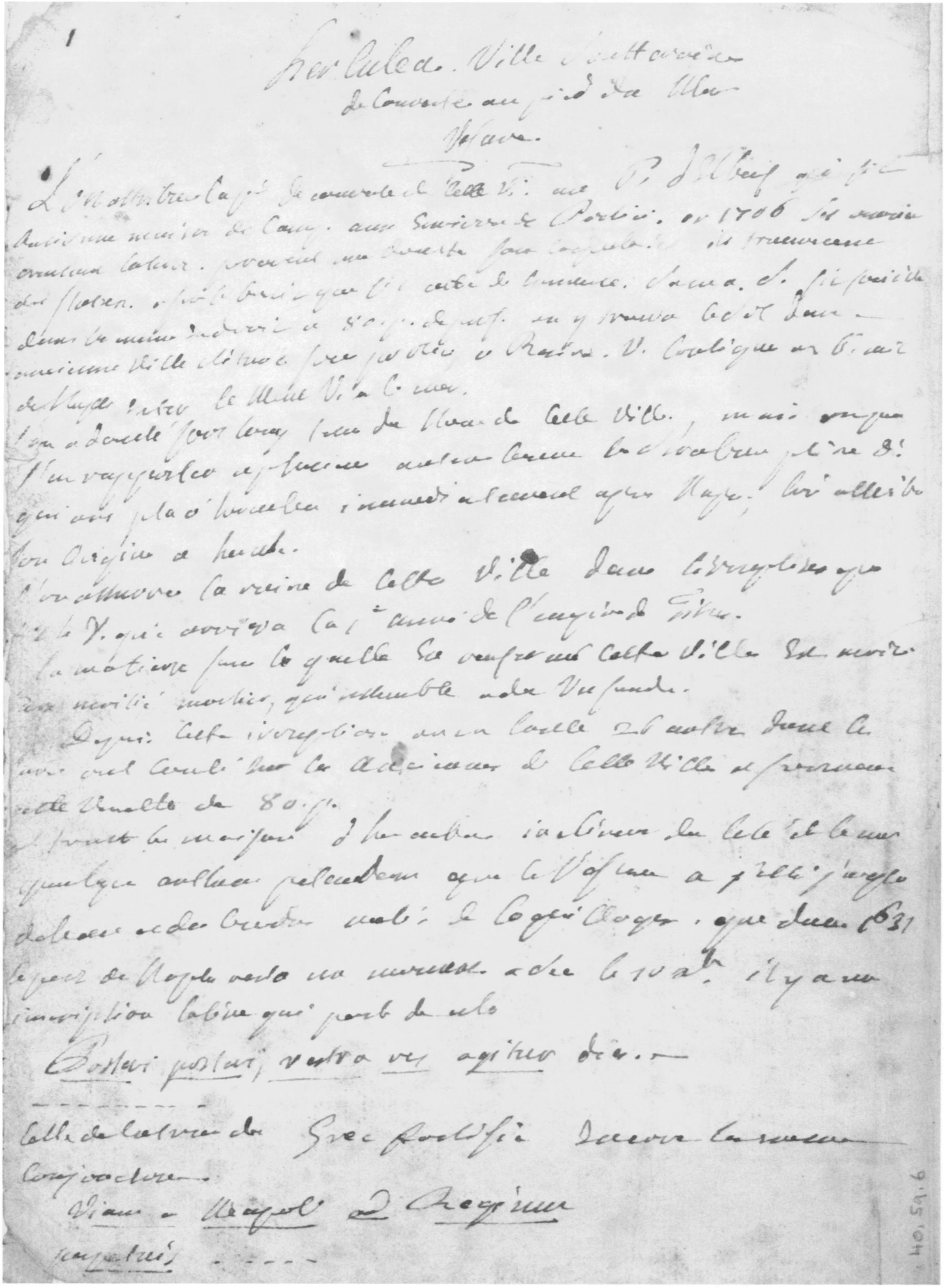
Au reste comme je l'ai déjà dit cette tour n'a rien de particulier pour son architecture. Elle se construit d'une colonnade D. isolée, son mur environ de 3 p. Cette tour est entourée [illegible] l'ouverture A. qui est [illegible] de balustrade BE. terminée à un mur par les colonnes G.

F. cercle de l'inclinaison.

B. Cage de l'escalier qui se trouve dans l'une des murs intérieur.



6. Bellicard, *Utensils and Curiosities Found at Herculaneum* (above) and *Plan of the Upper Garden of the Palazzina at Caprarola* (below), from Notebook, p. 13



7. Bellicard, p. 1 of Notebook

In the years after 1713, Elboeuf's diplomatic duties increased, and as a result the exploration of his well ceased. The initial discovery of the buried remains of a Roman city produced no concerted archaeological effort.[39] Interest was renewed in Elboeuf's finds when the three Vestal Virgins were sold as part of the estate of Prince Eugene after his death in 1736. They were bought by Augustus III (1696–1763), king of Poland,[40] who carried them off from Vienna to Dresden,[41] in one of the many bold moves he made in his role as an art collector.[42] In 1738, shortly after his acquisition of the Vestals, the king's daughter Maria Amalia Christina married the king of the Two Sicilies, Charles III (1716–88).[43] The new queen, who shared her father's interest in art and knew of Elboeuf's discoveries, encouraged her husband to pursue the explorations under Portici. Charles duly bought the land, and work was resumed before the end of 1738, with dramatic and immediate results.

The importance of Charles III's finds of sculpture and painting at Herculaneum cannot be overestimated. No major new finds of antique sculpture, outside those at Herculaneum, had been made since the middle of the seventeenth century, and all of the great private collections of antiquities formed by the most important families had been made by 1650.[44] Charles III managed one of the most brilliant successes in the history of eighteenth-century art patronage by forming a major collection of antiquities through the relatively inexpensive device of excavation on his own land.

The new finds propelled the king and queen of the Two Sicilies to the front rank of royal collectors and, by encouraging their subjects to study and publish these unknown objects, they showed themselves to be enlightened and benevolent rulers.

Charles III recognized the value of his find. Hoping to preserve the site from plunder by outsiders, he controlled access to it.[45] To encourage the intellectuals at his court, he gave them exclusive publication rights to all the riches and new discoveries, and to enforce his objectives, he imposed strict secrecy concerning the excavations. Distinguished visitors were allowed to descend into the deep underground excavation and also to see the treasures once they were brought to the museum Charles created at his summer palace at Portici. But one rule was rigorously enforced: At no time during a visit could an outsider use a pencil.[46] This prohibition remained in effect for decades. A force of royal guards accompanied visitors to the site to keep tourists moving quickly so that they did not have time to dwell upon particular objects or to smuggle out souvenirs. In the museum, visitors were watched over by the royal keeper, the painter-restorer Camillo Paderni,[47] whose other duty was to prevent drawing.

Paderni and the marchese Marcello Venuti, superintendent of the Royal Library and of the Farnesian Museum in the king's palace in Naples,[48] were allowed the early publication—although very limited—of the finds.[49] Ottavio Bayardi (1694–1764) was put in charge of the major scholarly publication of the royal treasure of antiquities, but he was slow and not very astute. The first volume of Bayardi's catalogue of the paintings appeared only in 1755, sixteen years after their discovery. His publication was a general disappointment and was eventually completed under the aegis of the Accademia Ercolanese that was created by royal decree in 1755 to take charge of the project.[50]

Thus, in the 1740s and early 1750s, there was no legitimate source of information about this most important of new discoveries. To fill the vacuum a clandestine network—made up of some of Bayardi's enemies among the courtiers in Naples and of foreigners—began to operate. They sought to circumscribe the restrictions, to share information, and to "leak" for publication some accounts and estimates of the Herculaneum discoveries.

In late 1750, just as Vandières was arriving in Naples, l'Hôpital, the French ambassador, was recalled to Paris. In his absence his secretary, d'Arthenay (d. 1765), became host and guide to Vandières and his companions.[51] This secretary is a central figure in the history of Bellicard's notebook because he was the author of its principal published source, a 1748 tract on the recent discoveries at Herculaneum, first published in Avignon and later reprinted in Paris, London, Florence, and Göttingen.[52] D'Arthenay's life is almost unknown, but from a letter to Vandières we learn that he had spent eleven years in Italy.[53] We do not even know his first name,[54] yet as an amateur student of antiquity and published author, d'Arthenay introduced his guests to the intellectual community of Naples. Thanks to d'Arthenay and to the cachet of Vandières's status, Cochin, Bellicard, and Le Blanc had extraordinary access to the closed world of Neapolitan archaeology.

D'Arthenay was at the heart of the foreign conspiracy to steal the secrets of Herculaneum. His London publisher, D. Wilson, was to publish the first edition of Bellicard's *Observations*, which was based on his notebook. Other contacts in this circle may have included the English artist John Russell (ca. 1720–63).[55] Russell was a London portrait painter and printmaker who, in 1740 at about the age of twenty, went to Rome to study with Francesco Ferdinandi, called Imperiali,[56] one of the best of the Roman successors to Carlo Maratti. Russell seems to have had Jacobite contacts if not sympathies,[57] and he became a favored guide of English visitors to the archaeological sites. Affiliated as he was to the circle of the Catholic pretender to the British throne,[58] Russell would quite naturally have made friends among French supporters of the exiled English court. Russell's father or brother, the publisher W. Russel, compiled and issued in 1748 *Letters from a Young English Architect in Italy*, which gives accounts of the young man's several visits to Herculaneum as a guide to English tourists.[59]

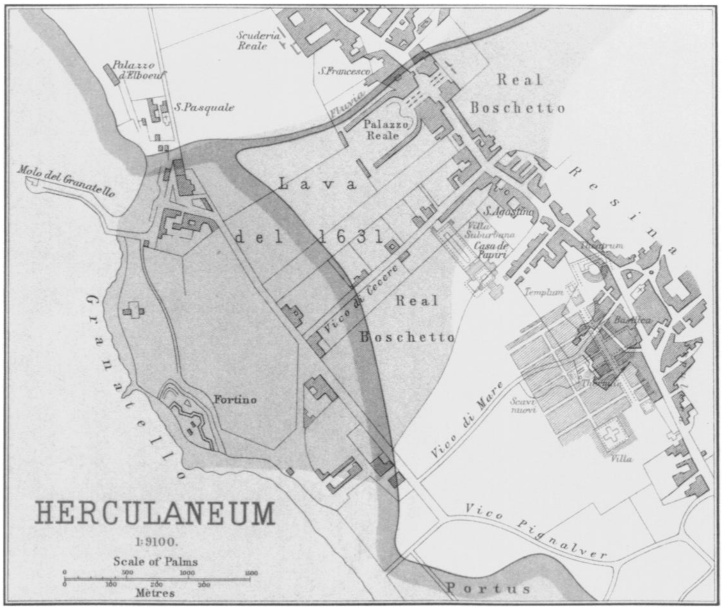
Members of the Sicilian court who were sympathetic to the demands for serious study of the finds had to be extremely discreet. These inside sources are never mentioned by name in the prefaces of publications, but they certainly existed; for without them Bellicard could never have been given the plans of the Theater and Basilica to copy (see below).

Cochin and Bellicard must have recognized almost immediately that it would be a great coup—and possibly a lucrative one—to rush into print an illustrated commentary on the ancient finds at Herculaneum. They certainly already knew of widespread interest in France and England, where the few written descriptions of the discoveries were quickly published and eagerly purchased by amateurs.[60] The idea for some publication certainly was seized first by Cochin, who was already engaged in considering (for the benefit of his pupil) the critical merits of the fresco paintings discovered beginning in 1739.[61] Their immediate inspiration to publish must have come from d'Arthenay, who gives a description of the newly discovered Forum, or Basilica, in his 1748 tract and states that a drawing of it is needed.

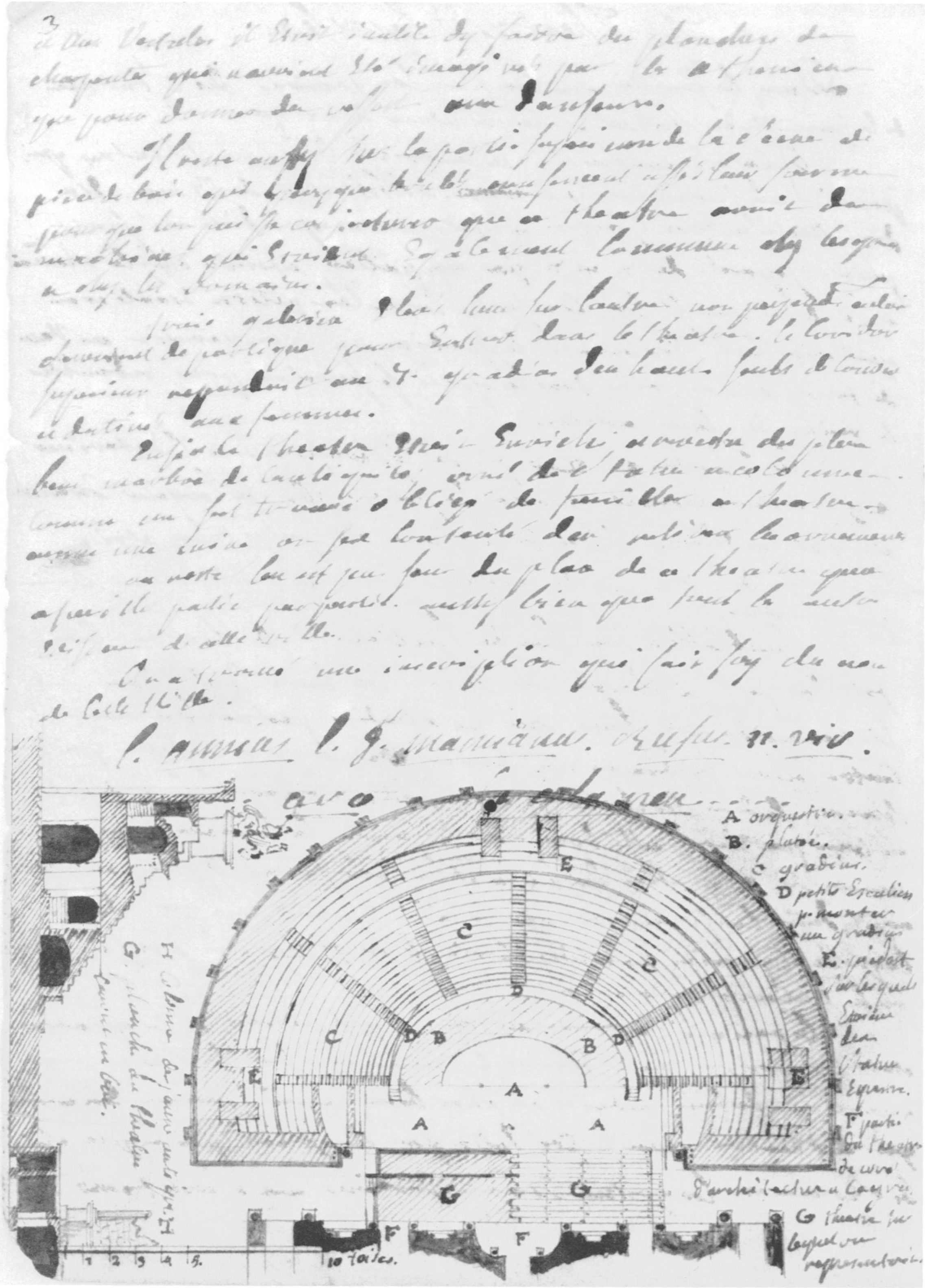
It was precisely to supply these first visual descriptions of the finds that Bellicard developed his notebook and the related, but now lost, separate drawings. In the notebook he has made no effort to record original insights but rather has copied, verbatim in places, from the published sources he has read, principally d'Arthenay, Venuti, and the authors of earlier guidebooks.[62]

The discovery of Bellicard's notebook adds an important link to the knowledge of the most important edifices at Herculaneum. To this day, the prints published by Bellicard and Cochin in the *Observations* are the earliest and best of the surviving plans of what Bellicard called the Forum (see Figure 17), now thought to be the Basilica, and of the Tombs (see Figure 18), now thought to be the tombs of the Balbi family. Because of the way the tunneling was conducted, it is extraordinary to see how far one could travel underground from the well entrance in the Theater (Figure 8) past the Basilica to the Tombs, found at the southeastern edge of the town. The excavators literally dug from one side of Herculaneum to the other.

Using the notebook and other contemporary sources, one can try to imagine the reactions of early visitors to the tunnels in which Herculaneum was found in the 1740s and 1750s. Before 1828 virtually none of Herculaneum was excavated from above in



8. Plan of Herculaneum showing the Theater, Basilica, and Tombs and indicating the location of unexcavated sites in relation to excavated areas. The Tombs are indicated as "Sepulcra" at the extreme right edge of the plan (from Waldstein and Shoobridge)



9. Bellicard, *Theater Found at Herculaneum*, from Notebook, p. 3

open-air trenches and the important buildings Bellicard visited and drew, notably the Theater and the Basilica, are still buried from eighty to more than one hundred feet deep beneath the villages of Resina (Ercolano) and Portici.[63]

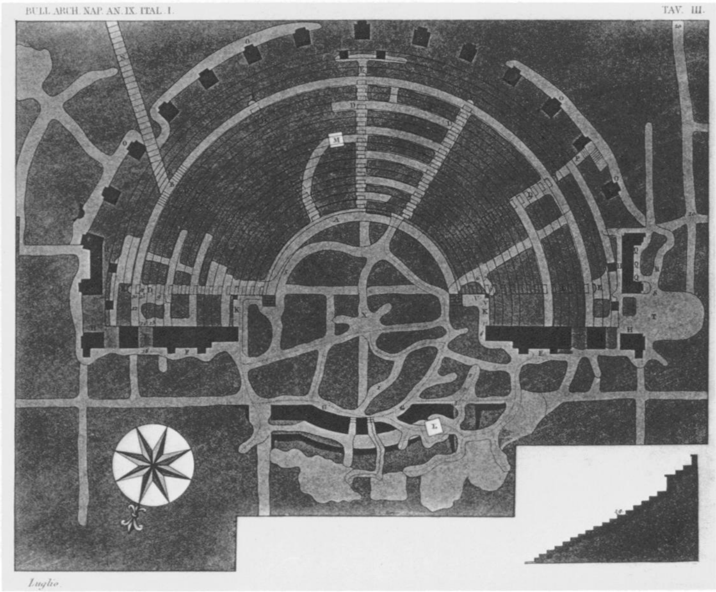
Access to the Herculaneum dig was through the Theater, which was entered then as now via deep well shafts. The old 1689 shaft, now closed, is marked *L* in the plan of the Theater attributed to Alcubierre and dated 1747–48; a second shaft sunk in 1742 in the risers of the auditorium is marked *M* on his plan (Figure 10).[64]

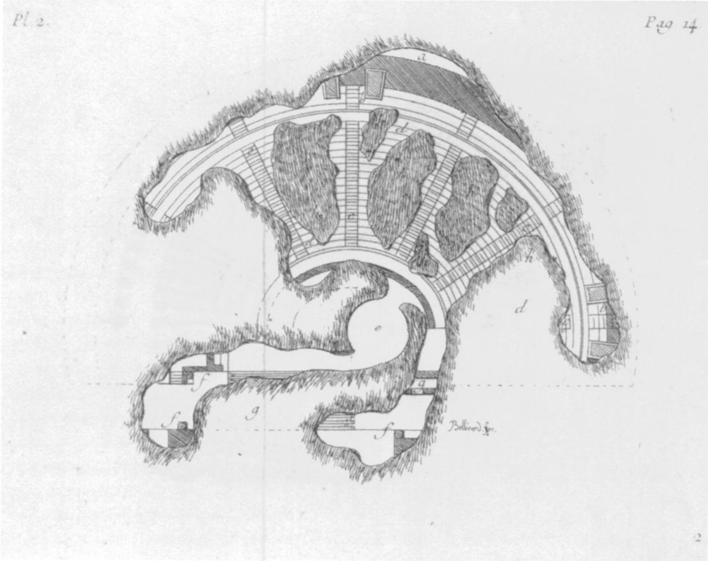
When Bellicard and his companions descended into the suffocating excavation in the Theater, they found a place at once wonderful and frightening. The only light was provided by smoking torches whose fumes choked them and made prolonged excursions physically punishing.[65] One could see only tantalizing fractions of what had been buried and was only partially revealed, and from this impressionable visitors extrapolated fantastic visions of the whole. The need for secrecy added to the haphazard, fragmented nature of the visit underground. The most formidable obstacles to comprehension were the guards, who hustled visitors along and prevented any illicit sketching, measuring, or souvenir hunting, and the disorienting lack of order to the excavation, which was engineered for expediency rather than revelation.

Visitors moved through narrow tunnels laboriously chipped out through the unyielding mortarlike sediment of lava, sand, and seashells that Vesuvius had spewed out on this side.[66] Working eighty feet below the surface, the men were loath to remove excavated material from the pit. Removal could only be done by a system of baskets with ropes and pulleys, and in lieu of this the excavated material was simply moved around inside the excavation.[67] The director of the project settled on the expeditious solution of stashing the pumice excavated from one tunnel into older tunnels from which all of the removable artifacts had been extracted.[68] While this served to shore up the earth, the process was more like mining than archaeology and constituted a form of vandalism.[69] The early excavators were seeking treasure without giving much thought to a systematic, scientific exploration of the site.

The result was an experience entirely unlike that of earlier or later visitors. Each one would see, literally, different parts of the whole and relatively little that might be shared. For this reason, the early descriptions of Herculaneum and particularly of the Theater, Basilica, and Tombs are extremely valuable. Bellicard is particularly important for two reasons. He was the first to publish visual records of the Theater, the Basilica, and the Tombs, and thus he is still the primary source of visual information and plans. Further, Bellicard offered a key to the extent of the excavation of each sub-area of the site and, in so doing, provided a plan of the ensemble into which the detached parts could later be made to fit together. Visitors who emerged teary-eyed and gasping would like to have been able to reconstruct what they had seen. For example, when Bellicard visited in 1750, they were excavating the orchestra of the Theater;[70] when Charles de Brosses visited in 1739 he had seen the stage.[71] The plan of the Theater attributed to Alcubierre (Figure 10) must be assumed to represent *all* the tunnels that had been explored and not just the tunnels that were open at the same time. By 1750, when Bellicard visited the Theater, many of these tunnels had already been refilled and blocked up.

10. Attributed to Rocco Gioacchino de Alcubierre, *Plan of the Theater of Herculaneum*, 1747–48 (from Giulio Minervini, *Bullettino Archeologico Italiano* I [1861], pl. 3)



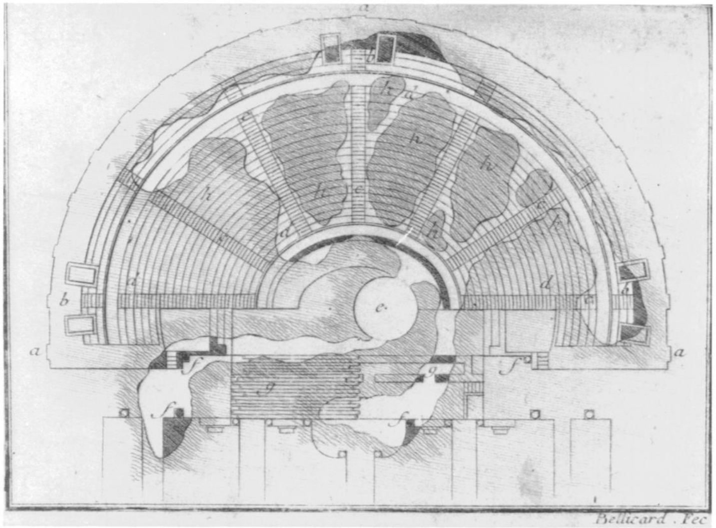


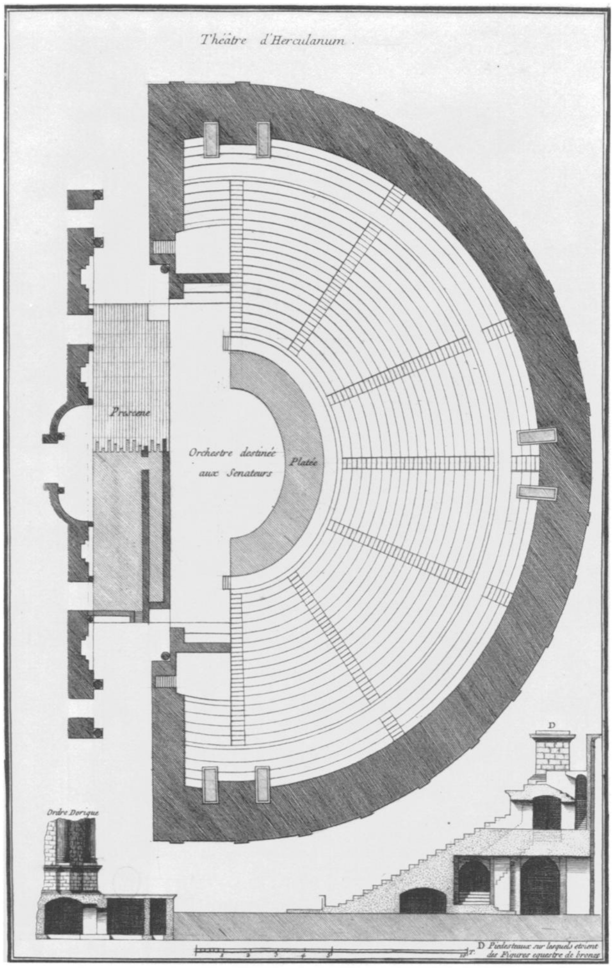
11. Bellicard, *Plan of the Theater of Herculaneum*, from *Observations*, 1754, pl. 2. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, A. Hyatt Mayor Purchase Fund, Marjorie Phelps Starr Bequest, 1980, 1980.1015.1

The Theater is still one of the parts of Herculaneum that is very difficult to reach. It is the most deeply buried and is covered by the hardest of volcanic lava. Above it today is part of the modern town, which makes any excavation problematic in terms of both politics and engineering. By Bellicard's own testimony, he considered the plan of the Theater given to him to have been inaccurate, but he still preferred to use it rather than hazard a reconstruction based upon his own original sketch.[72] Bellicard's sketch, now lost,[73] must have been very close to the etching he printed in 1754 (Figure 11), which shows excavated parts that Bellicard was able to visit and know at first hand. The plan that he drew in the Metropolitan notebook (Figure 9) must be "the plan which I received in the country," meaning a plan supplied to him in Italy.[74]

In order to arrive at the etching he published in the 1753 edition of the *Observations* (Figure 12), Bellicard conflated two plans: a reconstruction of the Theater supplied to him in Naples and his own sketch indicating the areas he had actually visited.[75] Bellicard's notebook drawing provides particularly

12. Bellicard, *Theater of Herculaneum*, from *Observations*, 1753, pl. 2. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library



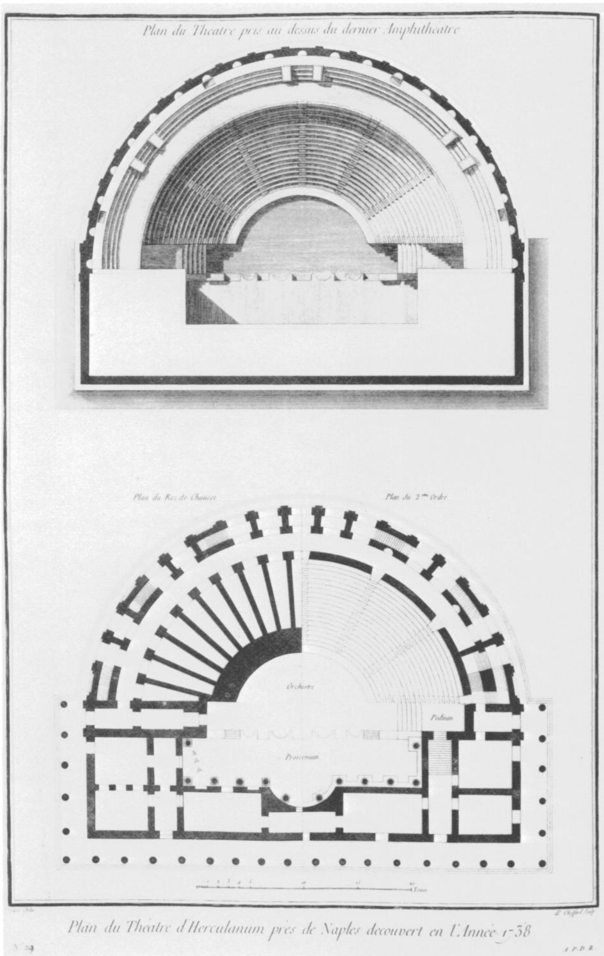


13. François-Philippe Charpentier (1734–1817) after Gabriel-Pierre-Martin Dumont, *Theater of Herculaneum*, 1765. Engraving and etching. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 5692 v. 69 (photo: Bibliothèque nationale)

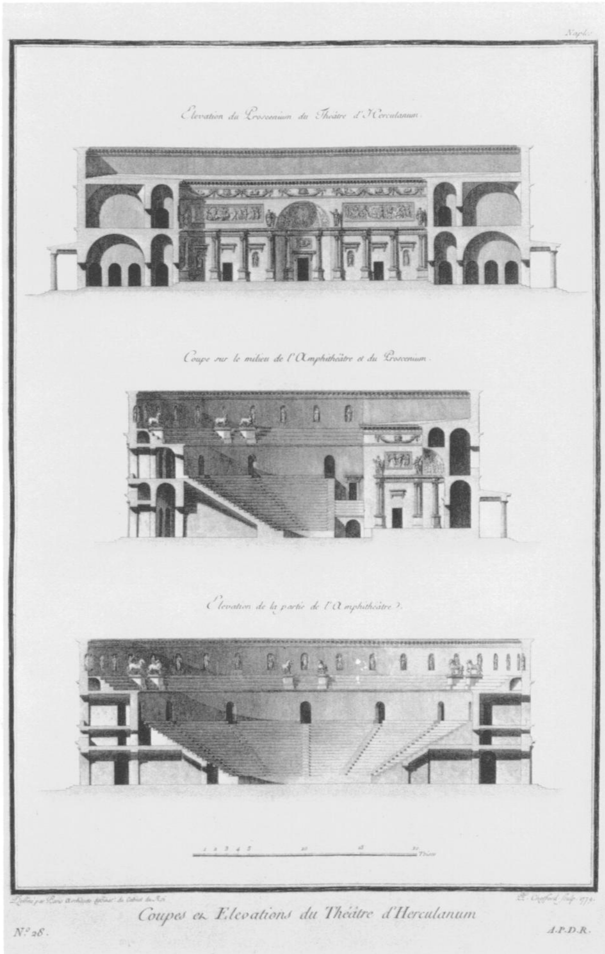
interesting proof of the architect's access to an informed source privy to the secret of Herculaneum. It is a schematic re-creation of the entire plan of the Theater extrapolated from accumulated knowledge of the fragmentary parts actually known, presenting both a plan and a section of the Theater as it was thought to be in its entirety, including the placement atop the walls of equestrian statues of the Balbi. Furthermore, Bellicard's written notes reflect the discussion of the Greek or Roman origin of the Theater by repeating d'Arthenay's conjecture that "if they would dig among the seven little stairs, which divides equally the rows of seats, they would find earthen or brass vessels, used by the Greeks to increase their actors' voices."[76] Thus, the sketchbook contains a learned reconstruction of the Theater that combines what was found in the excavations at Herculaneum with what was known about Greek and Roman practices in constructing and performing in their theaters.

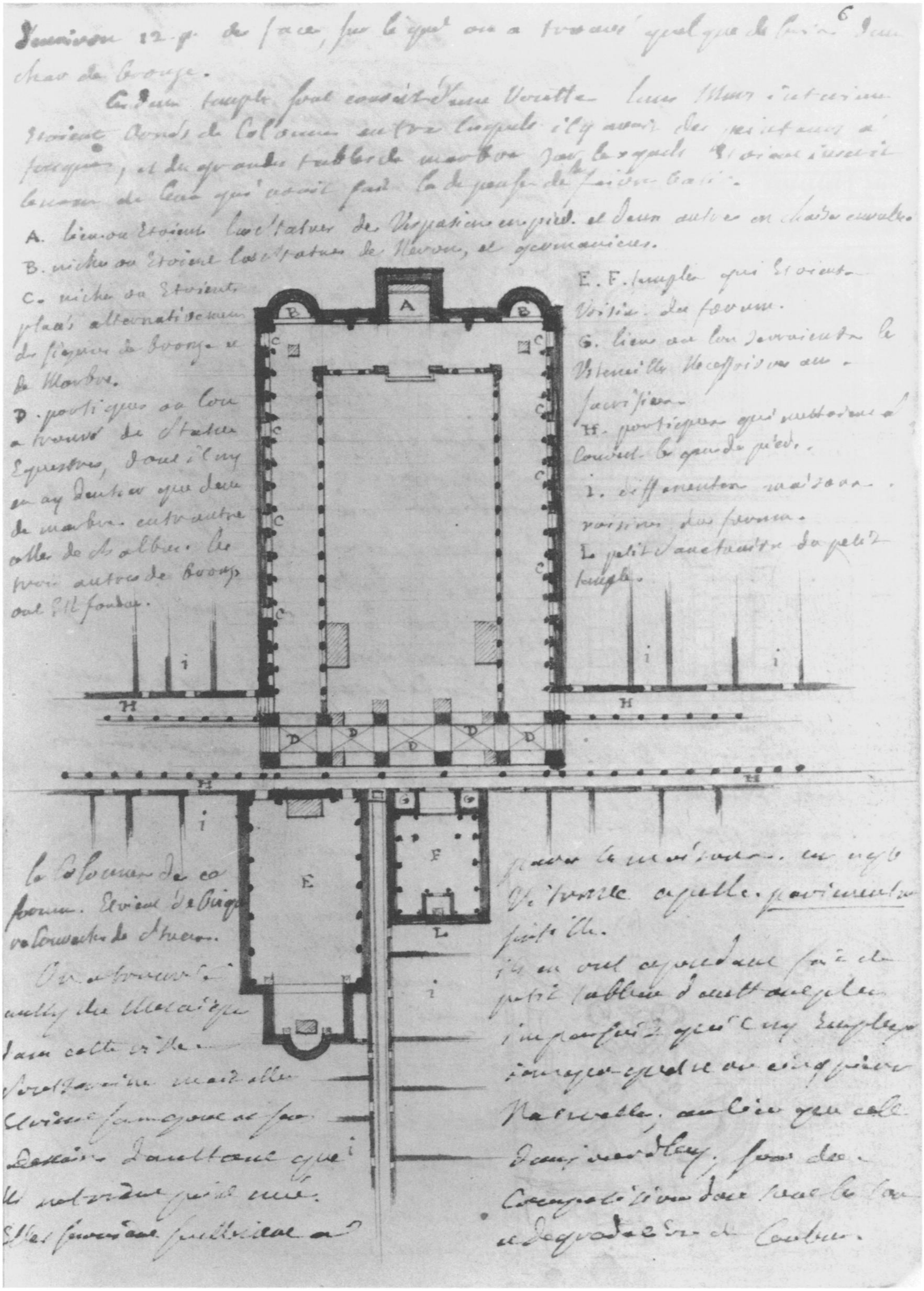
This kind of reconstruction was beyond what Bellicard could have accomplished on his own in Naples, given the restrictions on taking measurements or sketching, so this must be a sketch based upon the plan "which I received in the country" from someone with authorized access to the site or the documents kept by the superintendent's office.[77] The "mole" must have been placed either at court or within the office of the superintendent, Rocco Gioacchino de Alcubierre, the first director of the excavations.[78] Alcubierre was succeeded by Karl Weber, a Swiss, who would have been new at his job at the time of Bellicard's visit in late 1750. Intrigue at court and Alcubierre's efforts to sabotage Weber's career do not eliminate Alcubierre himself as the source of the drawings shown to Bellicard.

14. Choffard, after Pierre-Adrien Pâris (1745–1819), *Plan of the Theater at Herculaneum near Naples discovered in the year 1738*, from Richard Saint Non, *Voyage Pittoresque de Naples et de Sicile* (Paris, 1782), I, pt. 1, pl. 29



15. Choffard, after Pâris, *Cross Section and Elevation of the Theater at Herculaneum,* from *Voyage Pittoresque*, I, pt. 1, pl. 28




6

d'environ 12 p. de face, sur le quel on a trouvé quelque debris d'un char de bronze.

Ce dernier temple fort consistoit d'une voute. Les murs interieurs étoient ornés de colonnes entre lesquelles il y avoit des peintures à fresque, et de grandes tables de marbre sur lesquelles étoient inscrits les noms de ceux qui avoit fait la depense de [illegible].

A. lieu ou étoient les statues de Vespasien en pied. et deux autres en chaise curule.

B. niche ou étoient les statues de Neron, et germanicus.

C. niche ou étoient placés alternativement des figures de bronze et de marbre.

D. portiques ou l'on a trouvé des statues equestres, dont il n'y en a d'entieres que deux de marbre. entre autres celle de Nonius Balbus. les trois autres de bronze ont été fondues.

E.F. temples qui étoient voisins du forum.

G. lieu ou l'on serroit les ustensilles necessaires aux sacrifices.

H. portiques qui entouroient le grand forum.

I. differentes maisons voisines du forum.

L. petit sanctuaire du petit temple.

les colonnes de ce forum étoient de briques recouvertes de stuc.

On a trouvé aussi des Mosaiques dans cette ville souterraine mais elles étoient communes et sans dessin d'autant qu'elles n'étoient point vues. Elles servoient seulement à paver les maisons. en [illegible] qu'elles [illegible] petites.

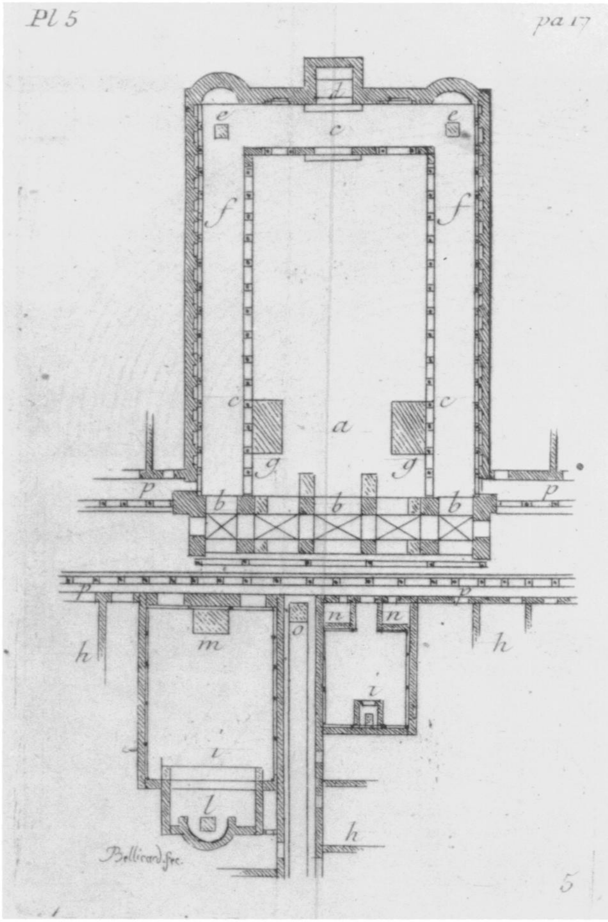
Ils en ont cependant fait de petits tableaux d'autant plus imparfaits qu'ils n'y employoient que des [illegible] de cinq pierres naturelles, au lieu que celles d'aujourd'hui, sont des compositions dont on a toutes les dégradations de couleurs.

16. Bellicard, *The Forum [Basilica] of Herculaneum,* from Notebook, p. 6. *A* is the location where the statue of Vespasian once stood; *B* the niches where the statues of Nero and Germanicus were; *C* the niches that originally held alternating figures of bronze and marble; *D* the portico where the two marble and three bronze equestrian statues were; *E* and *F* temples neighboring the forum; *G* the place where sacrificial vessels were found; *H* the covered portico for pedestrians; *I* various houses neighboring the forum; and *L* the "little sanctuary of the little temple."

That plans leaked out is supported by the existence of a print by the Frenchman Gabriel-Pierre-Martin Dumont (the one who may have originally recommended Bellicard to Vandières) of a plan and section of the Theater at Herculaneum. It is a reversal (to be expected in an engraving) of a design strikingly like Bellicard's in its layout, in the details of the plan, and in attention to the materials of the original building fabric (Figure 13). This invites us to conjecture that the Bellicard drawing and the Dumont engraving may be made after the same lost original. Authorship of the original plans is distinctive owing to the stylistic conventions used and the particular reconstruction of the site proposed by the artist. Other reconstructions of the Theater from about the same date are dramatically different: one by Camillo Paderni develops the vaults at the back of the loges more elaborately and treats the proscenium in an entirely different way. The 1782 engravings after the designs of the French architect Pierre Pâris (Figures 14, 15) are equally distinctive as they reconstruct the exterior of the stage-side wall as a peristyle and change the proportions of the uppermost wall of the amphitheater.

Bellicard's notebook preserves a precious and detailed description of what he called the Forum (Figure 16)[79] and what is generally referred to today as the Basilica, although, pending further exploration, its true nature still remains quite uncertain.[80] Bellicard's drawing of the Basilica is particularly important because the building has not been accessible for study since his drawings were made with one exception, when it was reexcavated but was again refilled. Bellicard's published plans of the Basilica in the *Observations* were, until the identification of the present notebook, the only surviving designs of the complex[81] and are, therefore, extremely useful for our knowledge of this important civic center. The drawing in Bellicard's notebook adds significantly to what was known from his own published etching (Figure 17). In addition to other differences, he clearly indicates in the drawing that the niches lining the walls of the arcades were flanked by columns (perhaps slightly engaged) standing before square piers. Further, in the two unidentified "temples" at the bottom of the drawing, the notebook shows that the interior walls were ornamented with engaged columns, and that in Temple *F* free-standing columns flanked the entrance and shrine and a pair of free-standing columns created a vestibule, or intermediate space, between the porch and the principal space before the

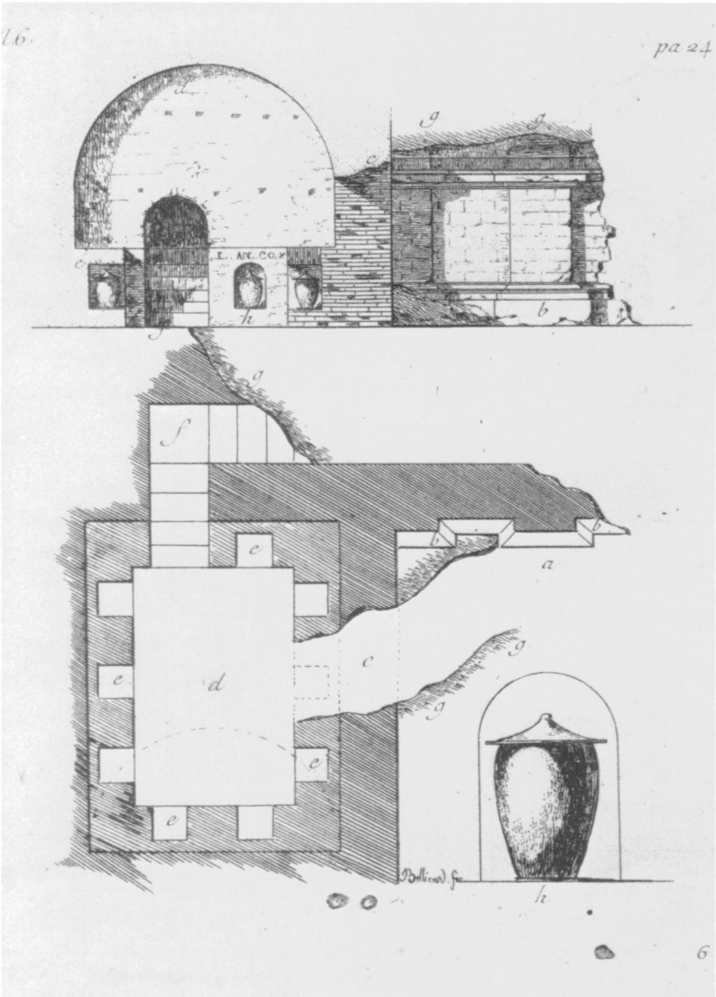
17. Bellicard, *The So-called Forum at Herculaneum,* from *Observations,* 1754, pl. 5



altar. None of these details is present in the etched plates of the *Observations*.

Now known from Bellicard's etchings (Figure 18), his notebook drawing (Figure 19), and written accounts in the archives of the excavation published by Ruggiero, the tombs of members of the Balbi family lie just beyond the southeastern limits of the town on the upward slope of Vesuvius.[82] The vaulted chamber has nine niches in the walls; in each stood a large clay funerary urn. Above each niche the name of the family member whose ashes reposed there was painted in red on the plaster wall.[83] In this case the etching gives more information about the fabric of

18. Bellicard, *The Tombs of the Balbi Family Found at Herculaneum*, from *Observations*, 1754, pl. 6

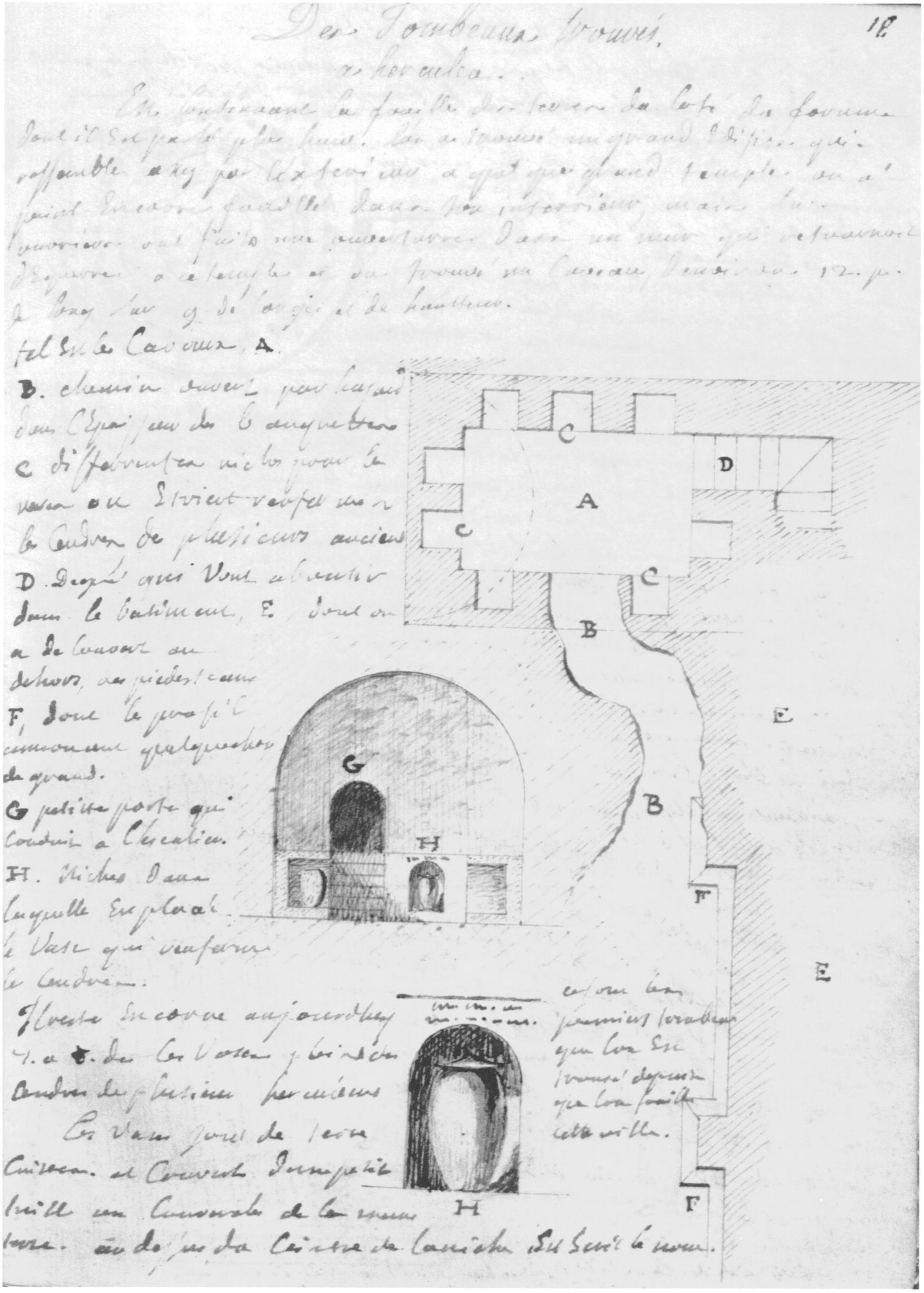


19. Bellicard, *Tombs Found at Herculaneum*, from Notebook, p. 18. *A* is the vaulted cellar of the tomb; *B* the tunnel cut by the excavators through the wall in accidentally finding the tomb; *C* are the niches for the vases containing the ashes of the ancients; *D* the steps leading up to the building *E* outside which were found the pedestals *F*. In the sectional drawings, *G* is the little door leading to the stair and *H* a "niche in which is placed the vase which holds the ashes."

the structure, indicating brick and ashlar, than the notebook, which was made quickly to set down the remembered form of the place. The differences between the drawing of the tombs and that of the Basilica are worth considering. Does the presence of greater detail in the case of the Basilica reflect a more leisurely observation of the site or does it suggest that the drawing was derived from another, now lost, original, and that the drawing of the tombs was made from Bellicard's own recollections and without the aid of a second-party drawing?

THE ROYAL PALACE AT PORTICI

Following the notes for the Theater and the Basilica, Bellicard devotes several pages of the notebook to the collections of detached fresco paintings, sculptures, and household utensils that were the pride of the museum created by Charles III in his palace at Portici. Here, watched over by Camillo Paderni, one saw the large fresco paintings of mythological themes that were supposedly removed from the Basilica as early as 1738. These formed the subject of Cochin's separate essays on ancient painting, in which he assaulted the hallowed superiority of ancient over modern painting and caused the defenders of antiquity, such as the comte de Caylus, to write at length to refute him. All of the drawings in this section of Bellicard's notebook (Figures 20–22) are thumbnail sketches made from memory. Cochin made his own sketches, which were the basis for his etchings used to illustrate his "Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum, Aujourd'hui Portici," published first in 1751 and reused by Bellicard beginning in 1753 (Figures 23–27).[84] Comparisons of Bellicard's miniatures of the Theseus in the notebook, for example (Figures 20, 21), with Cochin's etchings of the



Des Tombeaux trouvés a herculea.

18

En continuant la fouille des terres du coté du Vesuve dont il est parlé plus haut, l'on a trouvé un grand Edifice qui ressemble assez par l'exterieur a quelque grand temple. on n'a point Encore fouillé dans son interieur, mais les ouvriers ont faits une ouverture dans un mur qui retournoit d'equerre a ce temple et ont trouvé un Caveau d'environ 12. p. de long sur 9 de large et de hauteur.

tel est le Caveau A.

B. chemin ouvert par hazard dans l'Epaisseur de la maçonnerie

C differentes niches pour les vases ou Etoient renfermées les Cendres de plusieurs anciens

D. Degré qui Vont aboutir dans le batiment, E. dont on a decouvert au dehors, un piedestaux F, dont le profil annonce quelquechose de grand.

G petite porte qui conduit a l'Escalier.

H. Niches dans lesquelle Est placé le Vase qui renferme les Cendres.

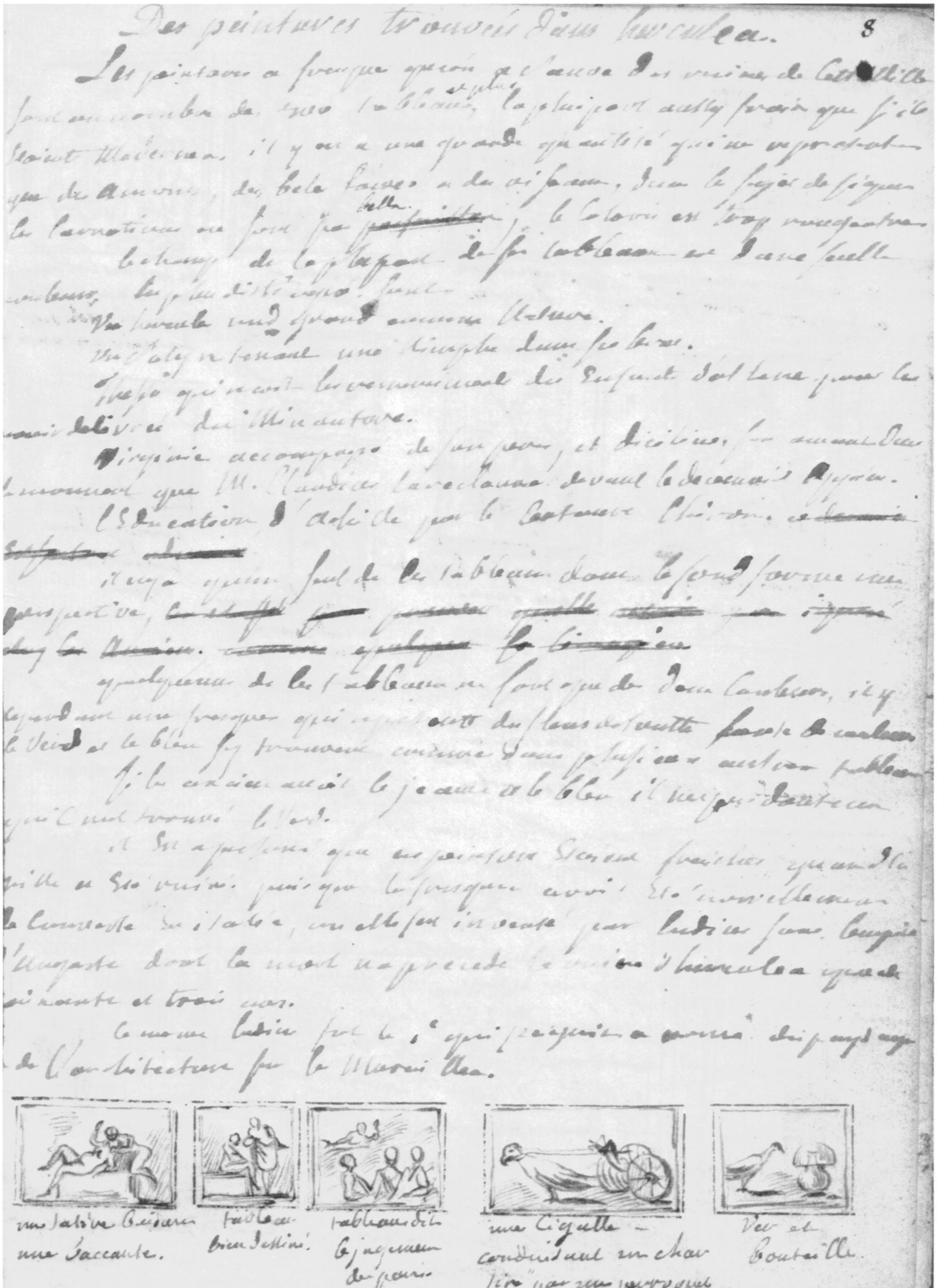
Il reste Encore aujourd'huy 4. a 5. de ces Vases pleins des Cendres de plusieurs herculéens

Ces Vases sont de terre Cuitte et Couvert d'une petite tuille en Couvercle de la meme terre. au dessus de chacune de ces niches est écrit le nom.

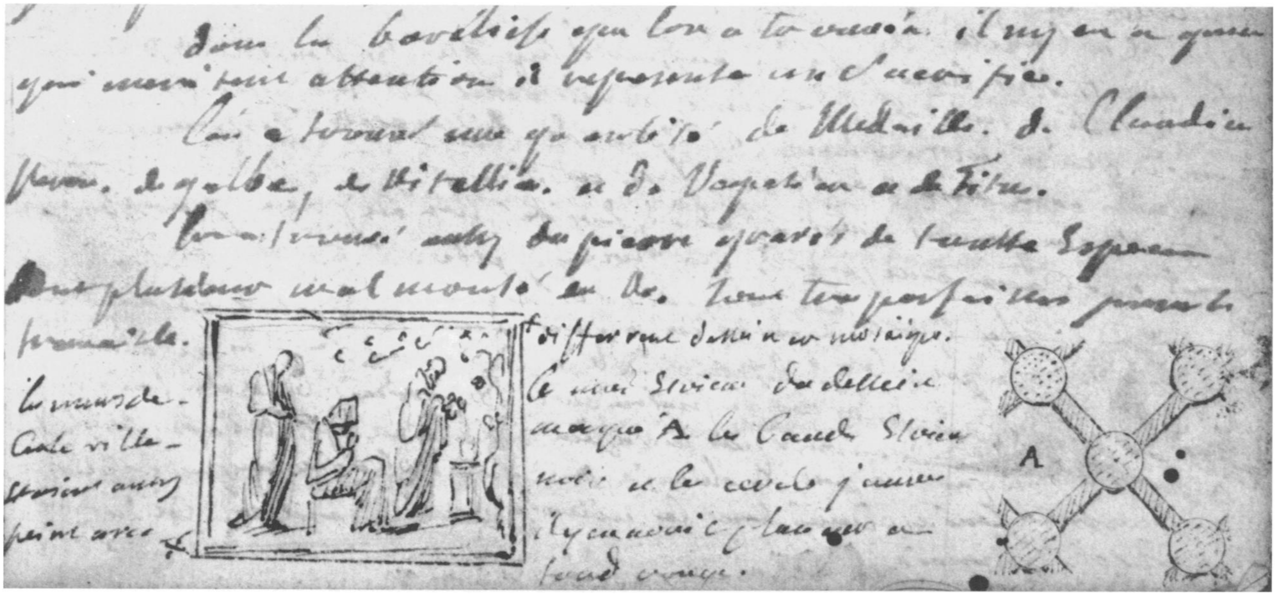
ce sont les premiers tombeaux que l'on est trouvé depuis que l'on fouille cette ville.

21. Bellicard, *Eleven Small Drawings after Frescoes Removed from Herculaneum*, from Notebook, p. 9. Top row, left to right: 1. The Centaur teaching Achilles to play the lute; 2. The Judgment of Appius; 3. Hercules and Pomona; 4. The children of Athens thanking Theseus for delivering them from the Minotaur. Middle row: 1. Egyptian sacrifice with Ibis in foreground; 2. Egyptian sacrifice with a

20. Bellicard, *Some Paintings Found in Herculaneum*, from Notebook, p. 8



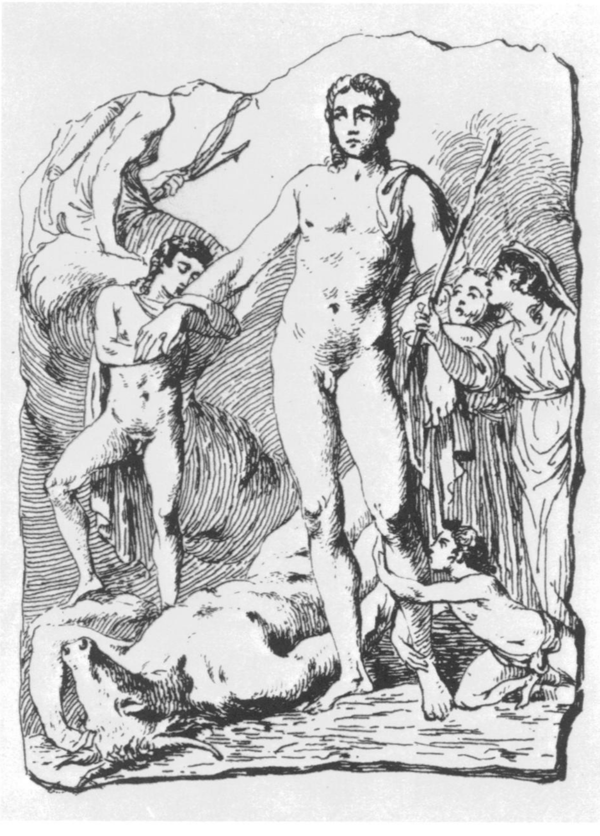
dancer; 3. (above) Painted vase; 4. (below preceding) Figure labeled "There are many pictures of this type"; 5. Centaur with figure on its back labeled "sketch whose intention is unknown." Third row: 1. Type of galley; 2. Vase filled with liquid labeled "Vase in which the liquor is fairly well painted." Below left: "Diagrammatic drawing of colored stone floor inlays from Herculaneum," where *A* is white marble; *B* is blue and yellow "antique" stone; *C* is a band of different colored stones cut in triangles; *D* is a band of different ornaments, such as sheaves of grain, pearls, or rosettes; *E* a band of different colored stone (in triangles); *F* the central area of a uniform, beautiful brick; and (below right) "Painted illusionistic architectural wall decoration from Herculaneum."



22. Bellicard, *Scene of Sacrifice and Schematic Diagram of Painted Illusionistic Wall Decoration to Imitate Mosaic of Yellow Circles and Black Bars on a Red Ground*, from Notebook, p. 10 (detail)

23. Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Younger (1715–98), after anonymous Roman painter, *Theseus Receiving the Thanks of the Athenian Youths for Rescuing Them from the Minotaur*, from "Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum," 1751, pl. I, reprinted in *Observations*, 1755

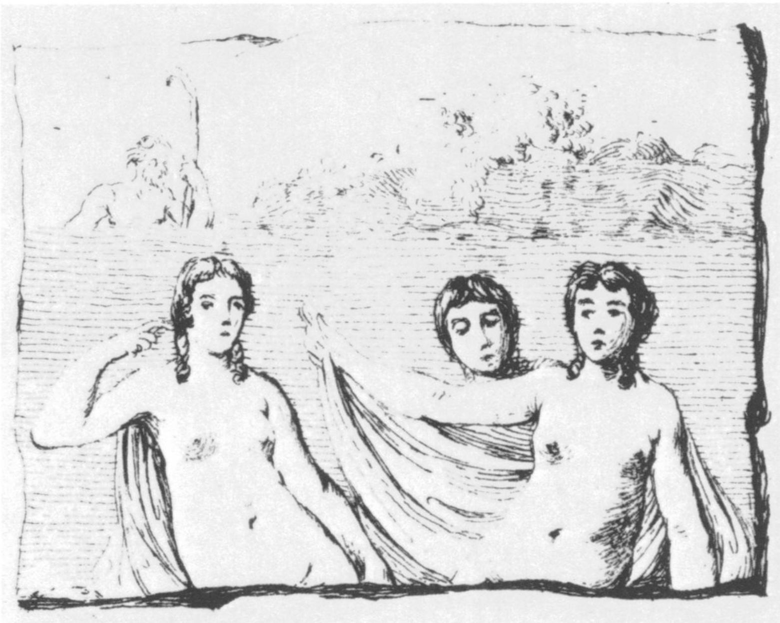
24. Cochin, after anonymous Roman painter, *Hercules Watching His Son Telephus Suckled by a Hind*, from "Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum," pl. II



25. Cochin, after anonymous Roman painter, *The Education of Achilles*, from "Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum," pl. III

26. Cochin, after anonymous Roman painter, called by Cochin *Judgment of Appius Claudius* but now identified as *Admetus and Alcestus*, from "Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum," pl. IV

27. Cochin, after anonymous Roman painter, incorrectly called by Cochin *Judgment of Paris*, from "Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum," pl. V

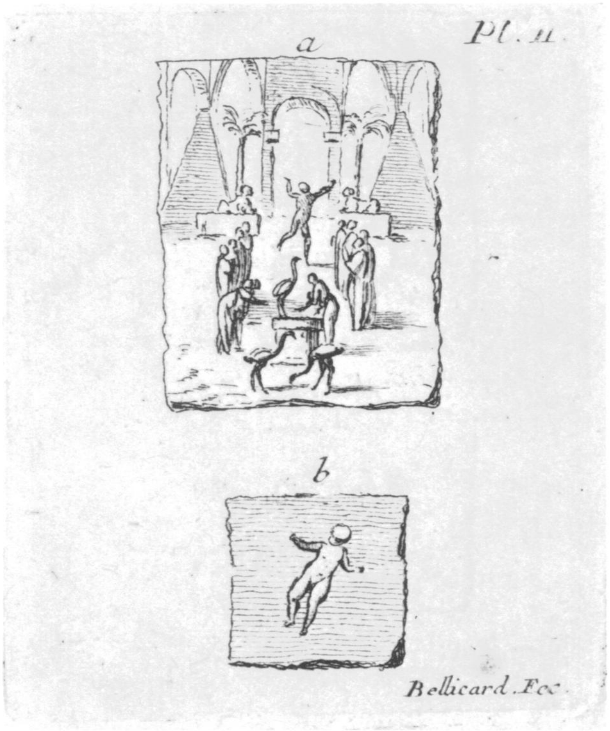


28. Anonymous Roman, active at Herculaneum, possibly after lost Hellenistic original, *Theseus Receiving the Thanks of the Athenian Youths for Rescuing Them from the Minotaur*, A.D. 1st century. Fresco from Basilica at Herculaneum, 94.3 × 160.7 cm. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, no. 9049 (photo: Alinari)

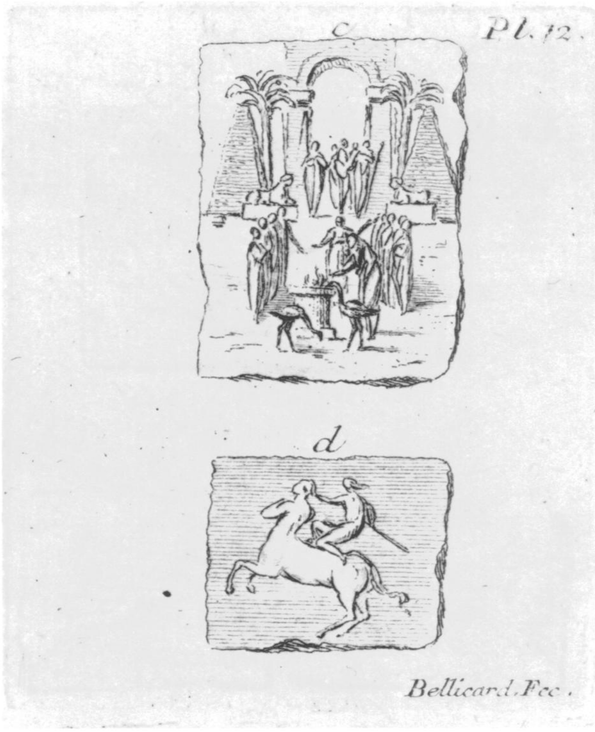
surviving original frescoes (Figure 23) and with the original (Figure 28) make it abundantly clear that the Cochin and Bellicard drawings were made from memory and not from observation.

Bellicard expanded upon Cochin's illustrations of the Herculaneum frescoes by adding several examples of curious pictures that were bound to excite scholars and interested amateurs north of the Alps. Bellicard's diminutive pictures in his notebook show us the fragmentary basis from which he worked up his published etchings. One good example is the pair of Isis cult paintings that he recorded in the notebook (see Figure 21). He initially published them in the first London and Paris editions in a minute format close to that of the thumbnail sketches (Figures

29. Bellicard, *Egyptian Sacrifice with Dancer*, from *Observations*, 1753, pl. 11



30. Bellicard, *Egyptian Sacrifice with Ibis*, from *Observations*, 1753, pl. 12



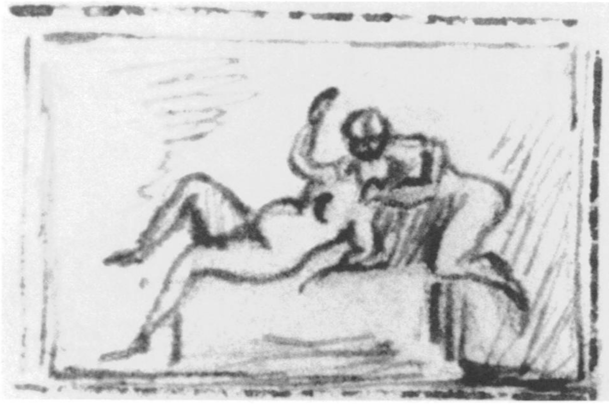
31. Bellicard, *Egyptian Sacrifice with Dancer*, from *Observations*, 1755, pl. 21

32. Bellicard, *Egyptian Sacrifice with Ibis*, from *Observations*, 1755, pl. 20

33. Anonymous Roman, *Religious Ceremony of the Isis Cult*, ca. A.D. 63–69. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, no. 8919 (photo: Alinari)

29, 30). In the subsequent Paris edition of 1755, he elaborated on them entirely from memory (Figures 31, 32). The extraordinary discrepancies from the originals he fleetingly saw at Portici (Figure 33) demonstrate just how unreliable these publications were for forming any serious idea of Roman painting style or of cult practices.[85] Other sketches by Bellicard are so rudimentary that while they can be identified with existing paintings or other images, they provide only the most fragmentary idea of the original's appearance. Take the case of the sketch of a Nymph and

Satyr (Figure 34) sketched by Bellicard and as etched in 1782 by Duflos after Pâris (Figure 35). Bellicard's sketch merely proves that it had been accessible by 1750, while the later etching gives a completely different format, setting, and meaning to the image.



34. Bellicard, *Nymph and Satyr*, from Notebook, p. 8 (detail)

35. Pierre Duflos (1742–1816), after Pâris, *Antique Pictures from Herculaneum*, from *Voyage Pittoresque*, I, pt. 1

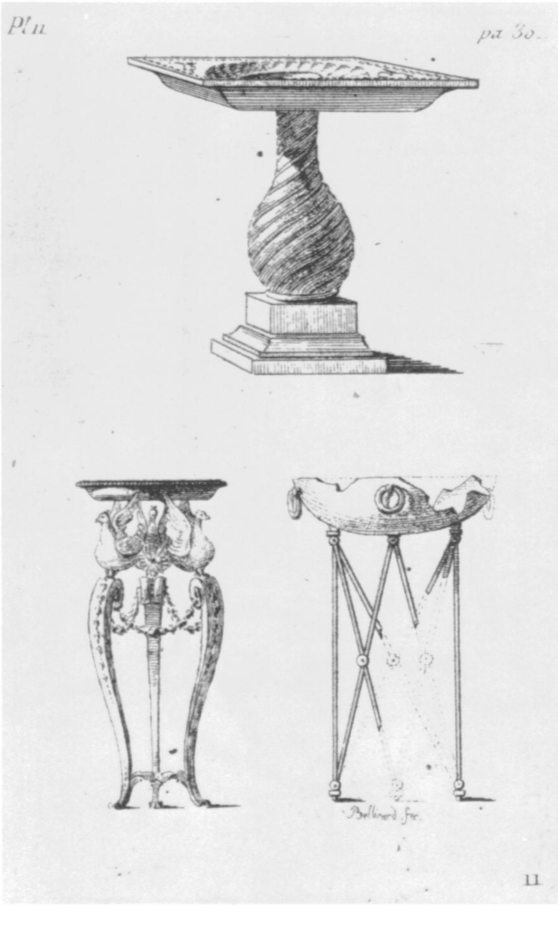
36. Anonymous Roman, *Equestrian Statue of Marcus Nonius Balbus, Junior*, from Herculaneum Basilica, marble. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico (photo: Museo Nazionale Archeologico). By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University

Curiously, there are no illustrations in the notebook of the free-standing sculptures found at Herculaneum, although these were among the most impressive finds. Bellicard devotes a page to the sculpture[86] and lists heavily damaged bronze portraits of Nero, Germanicus, Claudius, and two anonymous women. Of the many marble portraits he lists only those of identifiable sitters: Athalantes, Vespasian, Mannius Maximus, and several members of the Balbi family. He reports that two figures of consuls seated in curule chairs found in the Forum were especially prized. He mentions quantities of medals and marble busts of gods but singles out for sketching (Figure 22) only one relief, found in the Basilica, representing a scene in which a sacrificial offering is being made. Bellicard was aware of the two major marble equestrian statues, for he reports that: "They are currently at work restoring an equestrian statue which was found at the entrance to the forum next to that of M. Balbus." He refers, therefore, to the statue now identified as of Marcus Nonius Balbus, Junior

37. Attributed to Cochin, *Engraving after the Equestrian Statue of Marcus Nonius Balbus, Junior,* from *Mercure de France* (October 1751), facing p. 170

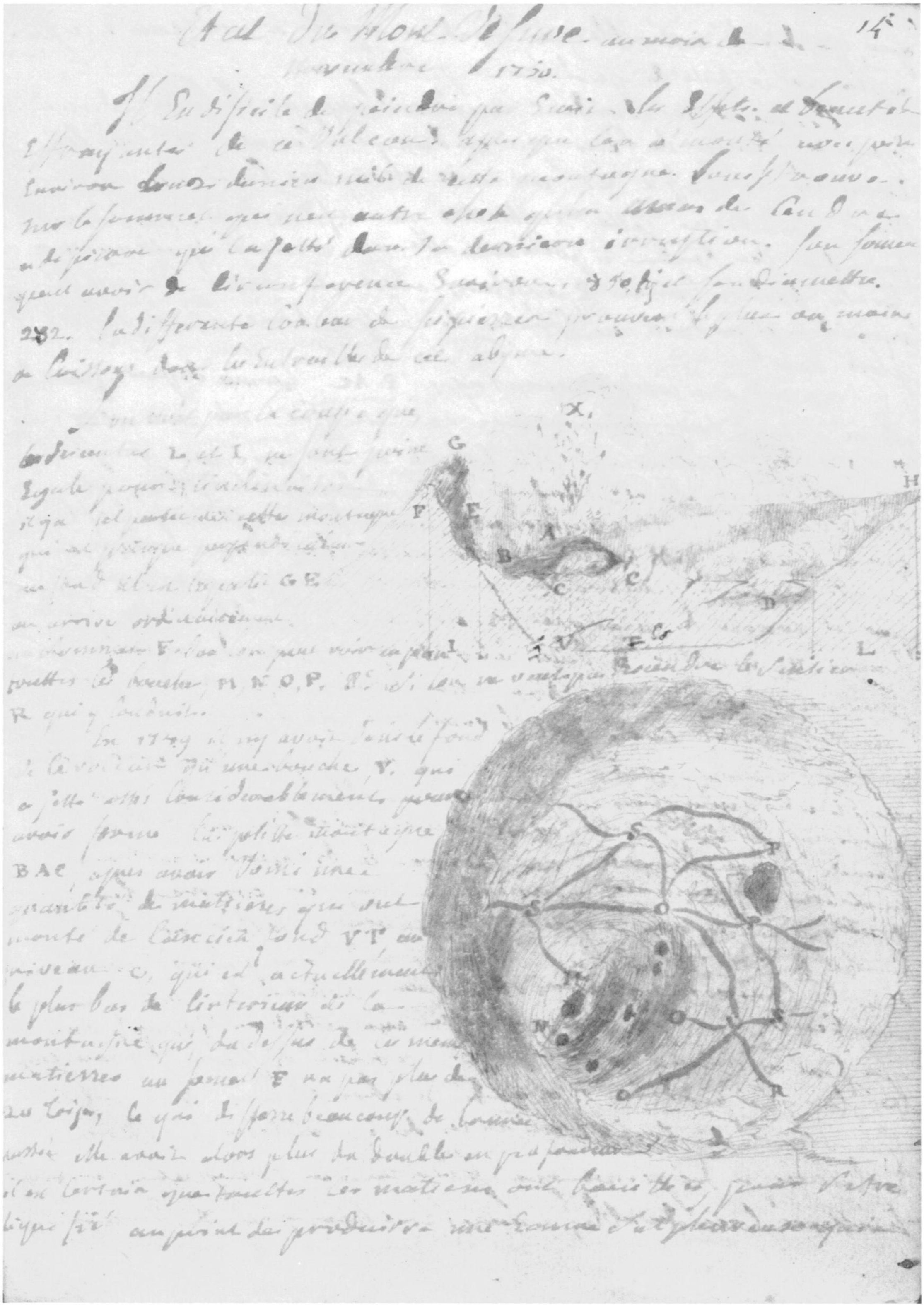
38. Bellicard, *Equestrian Statue of Marcus Nonius Balbus, Junior*, from *Observations*, 1754, pl. 24

39. Bellicard, *Metalwork Found at Herculaneum*, from *Observations*, 1754, pl. 11



(Figure 36), and to the previously identified pendant of his father, Marcus Nonius Balbus, Senior. An anonymous engraving of the left side of the equestrian statue of M. Nonius Balbus, Junior, was published in the *Mercure de France* immediately after Cochin's publication of the "Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum," along with a paragraph explaining to the general readership the difficulty of making drawings of the objects (Figure 37).[87] The original drawing from which this print was made must have been by Cochin and it must also have served as the model for the much cruder etchings by Bellicard that illustrated the *Observations* (Figure 38).

Bellicard was very interested in the surviving mosaics and decorative wall paintings; he was surprised by the vivid remnant of the colors used in Roman interiors (see Figure 21). He was also strongly attracted by the architectonic and mechanical qualities of the tripods, urns, candlesticks, and other surviving examples of Roman metalwork that bore architectural, vegetal, and animal ornament (Figure 39).

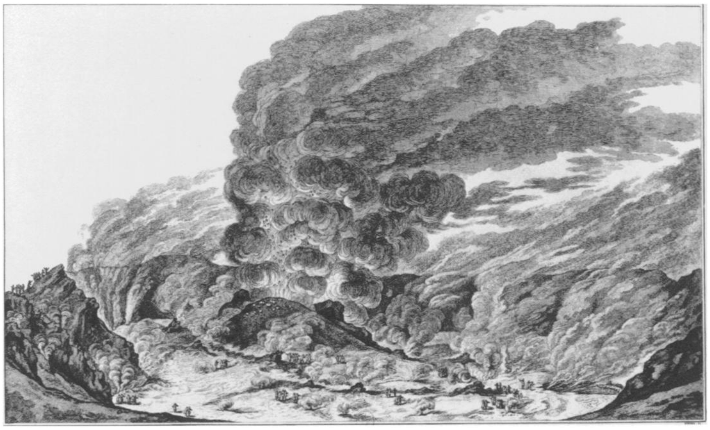


40. Bellicard, *State of Mount Vesuvius in the Month of November 1750*, from Notebook, p. 14

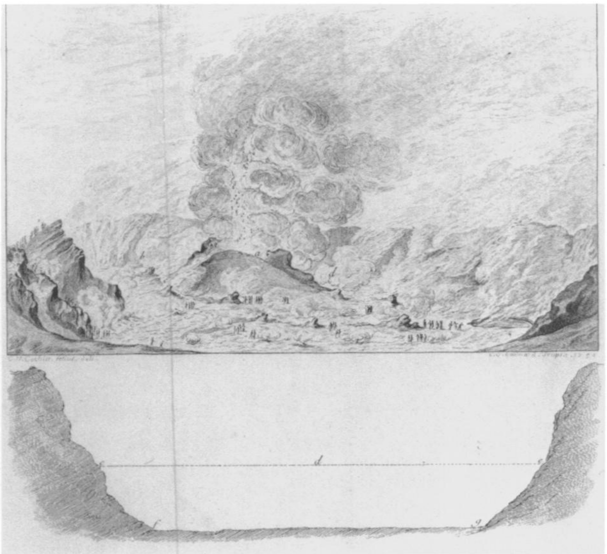
In the midst of the notes and sketches relating to Herculaneum itself and to the objects removed from the excavation to the museum at Portici, Bellicard devotes several pages[88] to a discussion of the state of the volcanic cone of Mount Vesuvius (Figure 40). On a page labeled "State of Mount Vesuvius in the month of November 1750," Bellicard begins, with protoromantic sensitivity, to express his inability "to paint by description the terrifying beauty of this volcano." His description is based on firsthand experience as he had made the ascent with Vandières.

Once again, Vandières and his group showed a seminal interest in an activity that would become more widespread: climbing the active volcano was a much sought-after experience well into the nineteenth century. Many descriptions have come down to us, and paintings of Vesuvius glowing by night became a stock subject. The characteristic eighteenth-century interest in empirical knowledge is evident in the seriousness with which Vandières's group studied the mountain. D'Arthenay later published a long article on his observations of Vesuvius made over the years from 1741 to 1755.[89]

Bellicard and Cochin were interested in drawing the cone and identifying the shifting sites of the vents and outlets of lava. Using measurements made in June 1750 by Soufflot, Vandières's group was anxious to establish the nature and rapidity of change of this mountain in the process of transforming itself. In 1749 it had been reported that the bottom of the crater had only one mouth, but Bellicard records no fewer than five and locates them on his plan. His elevation of the cone of the volcano shows how the right half of the old crater had been blown out in the recent eruptions, and he gives its dimensions as a circumference at the summit of 850 *toises* (1,656.65 meters) and a diameter of 282 *toises* (546.62 meters).[90] Cochin also drew Vesuvius (Figure 41),[91] and his drawing was the basis for the 1754 etching by C. O. Gallimard that served as the first plate in the 1754 and subsequent French editions of Bellicard and Cochin's *Observations* (Figure 42). But Bellicard must have made drawings other than the one in the Metropolitan notebook, and one of these he made into an etching that became Plate 1 in the 1753 English edition of the *Observations* (Figure 43).

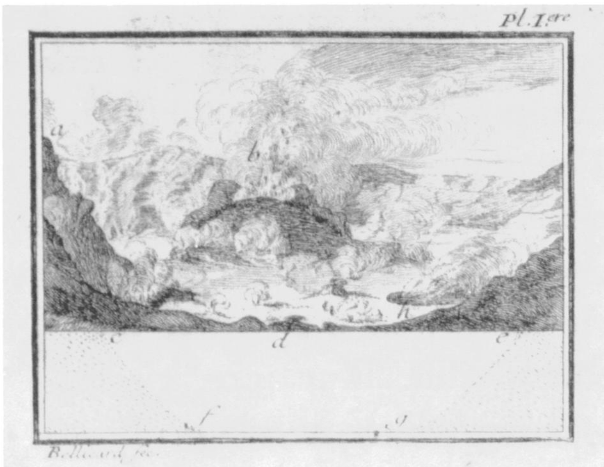


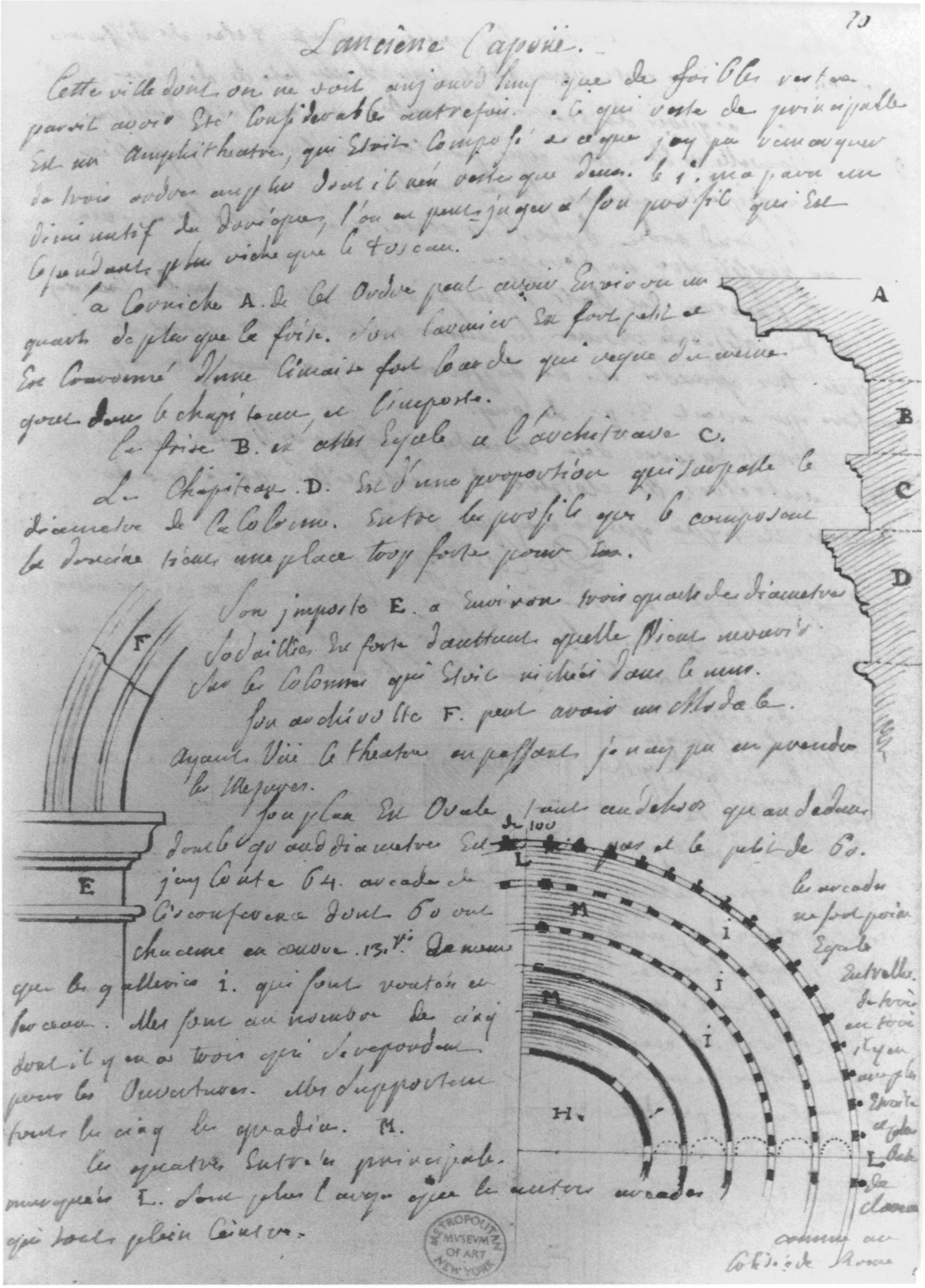
41. Pierre-Quentin Chedel, after Cochin, *View of Mount Vesuvius, Drawn There in 1750*, 1756. Engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des Estampes (photo: Bibliothèque nationale)



42. C.O. Gallimard, after Cochin, *View of Mount Vesuvius*, from *Observations*, 1754, pl. 1

43. Bellicard, *View of Mount Vesuvius*, from *Observations*, 1753, pl. 1





20

L'ancienne Capoüe.

Cette ville dont on ne voit aujourd'huy que de foibles vestiges paroit avoir Eté Considerable autrefois. Ce qui reste de principalle Est un Amphitheatre, qui Etoit Composé a ce que j'ay pu remarquer de trois ordres [illegible] dont il n'en reste que deux. Le 1er me paroit un diminutif du dorique, l'on en peut juger a son profil qui Est Cependant plus riche que le toscan.

La Corniche A. de cet Ordre peut avoir Environ un quart de plus que la frise. son larmier Est fort petit et Est Couronné d'une Cimaise fort large qui regne de meme jusque dans le chapiteau, et l'imposte.

La frise B. [illegible] Egale a l'architrave C.

Le Chapiteau D. Est d'une proportion qui [illegible] le diametre de la Colonne. Entre les profils qui le composent le dorique tient une place trop forte pour [illegible].

Son imposte E. a Environ trois quarts de diametre [illegible] des Colonnes qui Etoit nichées dans le mur.

Son archivolte F. peut avoir un Module.

ayant Vû le theatre en passant je n'ay pu en prendre les Mesures.

Son plan Est Ovale tant au dehors qu'au dedans dont le grand diametre Est de 100 pas et le petit de 60. J'y Compte 64. arcades de Circonference dont 60 ont chacune en [illegible] 13. [illegible] de meme que les galleries i. qui sont voutées en berceau. elles sont au nombre de cinq dont il y en a trois qui repondent pour les Ouvertures. elles supportent toutes les cinq les gradins. M.

Les quatre Entrées principales marquées L. sont plus larges que les autres arcades qui sont plein Cintre.

Les arcades ne sont point Egales Entr'elles. De trois en trois il y en a une plus Etroite et plus [illegible] de [illegible] comme au Colisée de Rome

44. Bellicard, *Ancient Capua*, from Notebook, p. 20

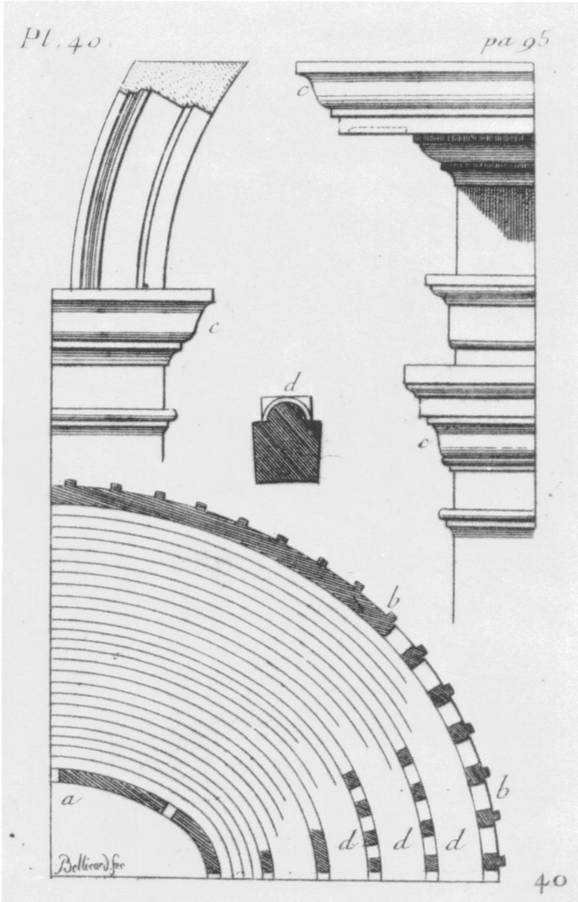
ANCIENT SITES

In every likelihood, the section of the notebook devoted to ancient sites other than those at Herculaneum was preconceived for publication as a travel guide to points of interest in Campania. Bellicard's treatment of the sites reflects his personal concern with feats of engineering and functional efficiency. The structures he drew were designed—although he often did not know it—for entertainment (theaters and thermal complexes), for water storage (cisterns), and for sepulchers (tombs and catacombs). He also included several natural and man-made wonders that were features of this volcanic region.

Bellicard's interest in ancient Capua centers on a close study of the Theater (Figure 44), which he compares to the Colosseum in Rome. In Capua he had the time to draw directly from the ruins, to sketch the moldings of the cornice in section and elevation, and to draw a part of the plan.[92] This finds its way directly into the published *Observations*, where he dwells upon the choice of the orders and the carvings of the keystones (Figure 45). He also refers his readers to the source he used himself, Canon Mazocchi's 1727 commentary on the Amphitheater.[93]

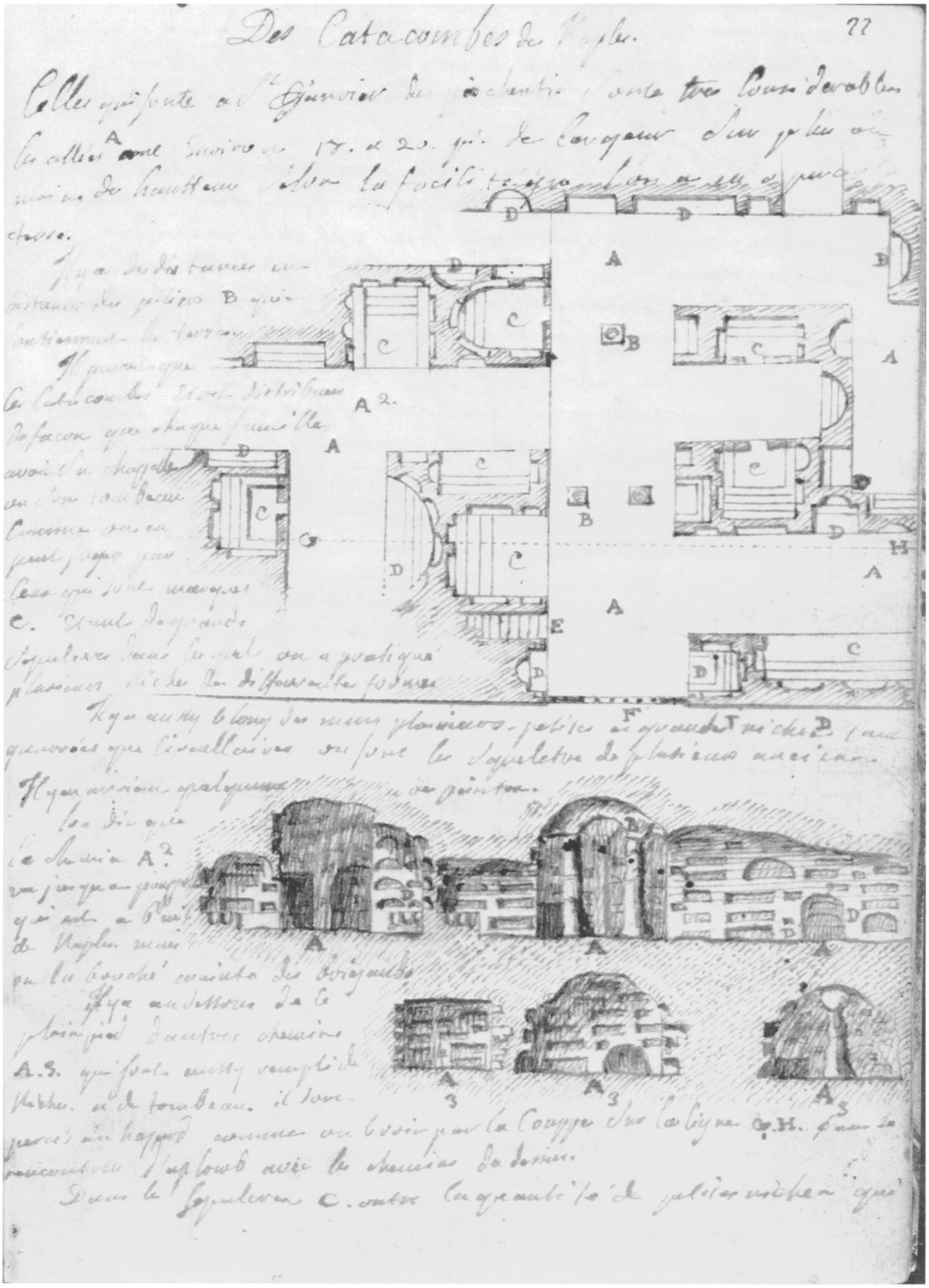
The Catacombs of St. Januarius (San Gennaro) at Naples (Figures 46, 47) are Early Christian and Byzantine in origin, dating from the second to the ninth centuries, and they have very good fifth-century Byzantine mosaics. In his notebook Bellicard gives the dimensions of the major caverns as 18 to 20 *pieds* wide (5.85 to 6.50 meters or roughly 19 to 21 feet) and pays special attention to the variety of niche sizes relative to the importance of decoration as expressions of cult practice. He remarks on the extent of the Catacombs as a marvel of practical if crude engineering. Interestingly, in the published account in the *Observations*, he deletes much of the specific detail and substitutes a conversational description.

To the west of Naples, and separated from the city by the mountainous projection of land called Posillipo, is the Gulf of Pozzuoli. Along its western edge is a second, inner gulf, called the Gulf of Baia, which in ancient times sheltered an early Greek settlement with mythic associations.[94] The region is lush in vegetation, with beautiful hills that drop down to the sea and are dramatically punctuated by volcanic fissures and bubbling natural hot springs. The area earned



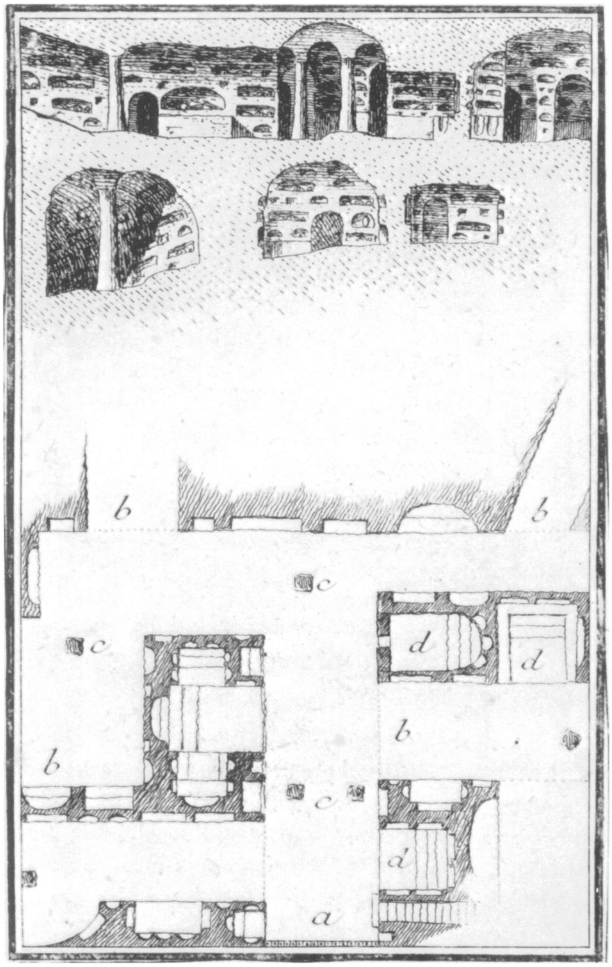
45. Bellicard, *Theater at Capua*, from *Observations*, 1754, pl. 40

its picturesque sobriquet—I Campi Phlegraei or Flegrei (in English the Phlegraean Fields) meaning "burning fields"—because of its special geophysical characteristics.[95] In Late Republican Roman times and extending into Imperial times, this volcanic region between Cumae and Pozzuoli was a fashionable resort famed for its thermal baths, as well as a major fleet anchorage served by the best land-based facilities Roman engineers could devise. In the eighth century the area was sacked by the Saracens and abandoned. Over the centuries, owing to the active seismic nature of the zone, the earth has alternately risen and subsided (in what is called a bradyseismic cycle) and old shoreside sites are now under the waters of the bay. The rediscovery of this area, with the exception of those prominent structures that remained above ground since antiquity, did not begin until the twentieth century. Consequently, when Bellicard was there in 1750 he was unaware of the true Temple of the Cumaean Sibyl and other buried sites



46. Bellicard, *Catacombs of San Gennaro*, from Notebook, p. 22

47. Bellicard, *Catacombs of San Gennaro*, from *Observations*, 1753, pl. 41

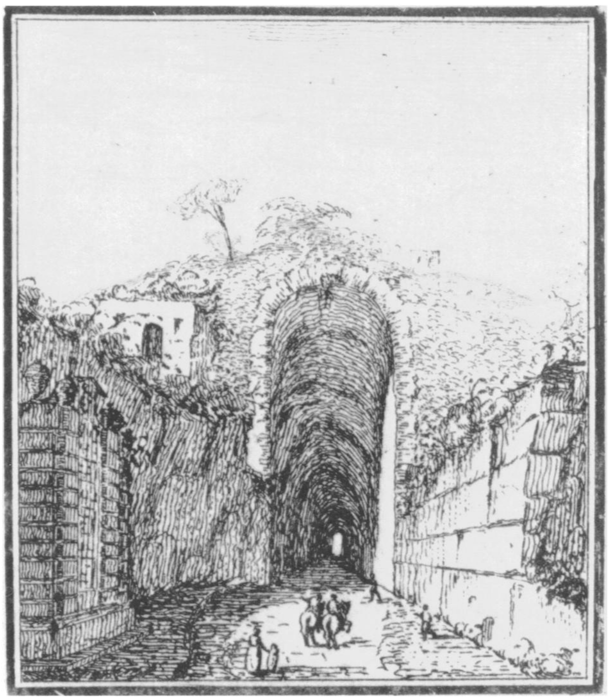


farther to the west. He tended to accept local legend for the identifications of buildings, almost all of which were considered shrines of one sort or another. In fact, many were secular buildings that were part of a resort, antiquity's most extensive and luxurious thermal complex, which catered lavishly to Rome's wealthiest citizens.[96]

In order to visit the ancient and natural wonders of the Phlegraean Fields, Vandières and his group went out by coach, via the Grotto of Posillipo, to Pozzuoli (Figure 48),[97] where they embarked on a ship which coasted along the Gulf of Pozzuoli past Baia, to Cape Misenum. They then made their way back toward Naples by land and stopped along the way to see the sites (see Figure 3).[98]

The "miraculous pool," the Piscina Mirabile, is the largest surviving ancient subterranean reservoir (Figure 49). It was located at Misenum and could replenish the supplies of the fleets that sought shelter in the excellent harbor below the village of Miseno. The brick-arcaded tank represents one of the wonders of ancient engineering, and Bellicard paid it due respect—both in his notebook (Figure 50) and in his

48. Bellicard, *Grotto at Posillipo*, from *Observations*, 1753, pl. 24

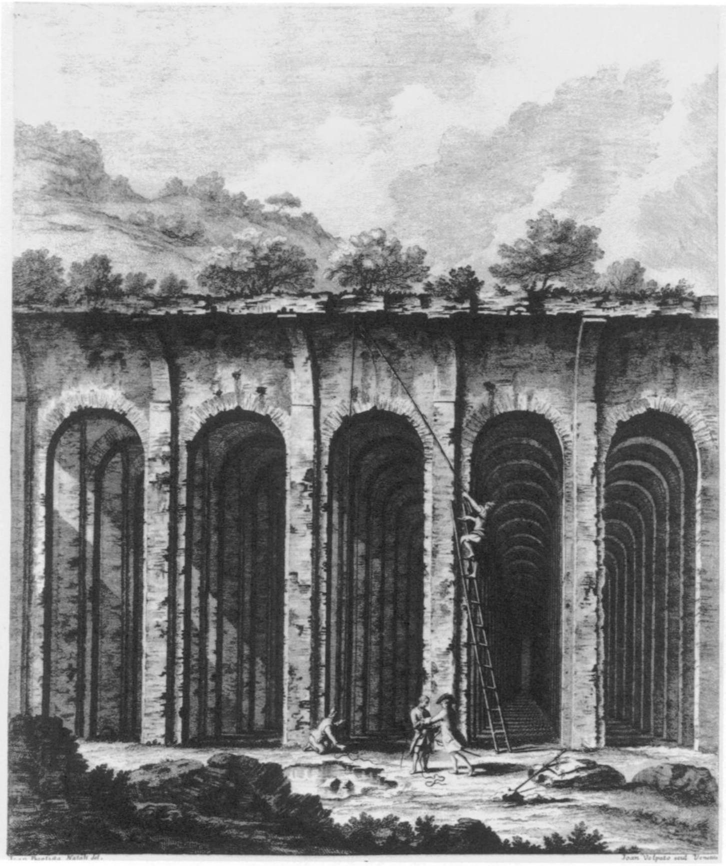


publications—by giving detailed attention to the variety and strength of the brickwork.

Bellicard reports that the tombs of the Elysian Fields, so-called by Virgil, are in the hills between the reservoir at Misenum and Baia down the coast. To reach them from Misenum the travelers crossed the causeway that separates the harbor of Misenum from the "dead sea," the Mare Morto. The coast road leads below the hills into which the tombs are cut. Bellicard was intrigued by the barrel vaults, cut into the living rock (Figure 51), which were lined with niches into which funerary urns and vigil lamps could be placed.

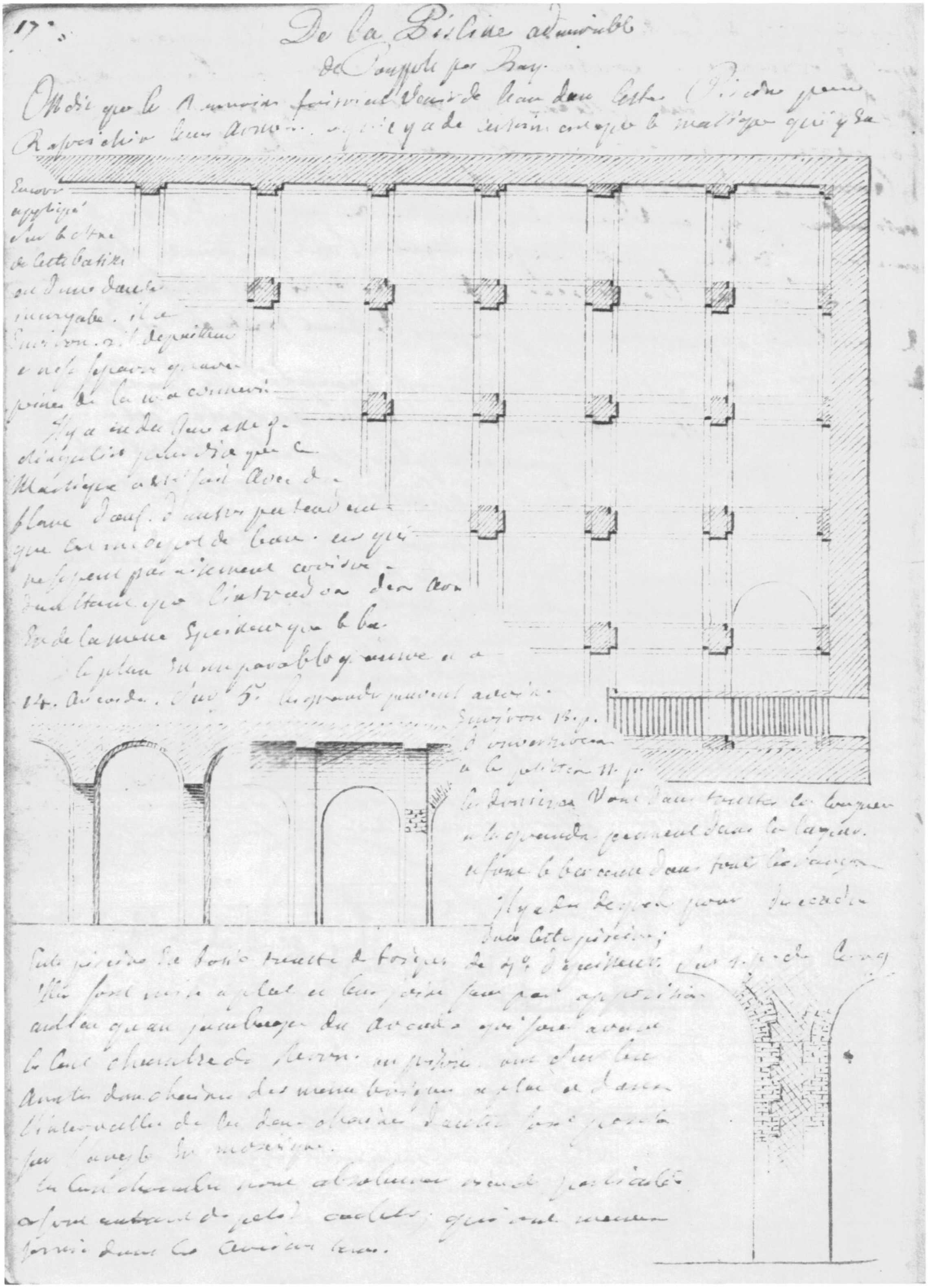
Just north of Bacoli is the so-called Tomb of Agrippina, which was remarkable for its surviving stucco-work and relief sculpture (Figure 52). Bellicard's drawing of it is valuable for its clear indication of the location and distribution of the decoration along the length of the round vault of the aisle. Bellicard does not comment on the oddity of decorating a tomb in this way. Agrippina was the mother of Nero, who had her assassinated, and the legend was that this "tomb" at Bacoli was the burial place raised by her friends. It is now understood that the Tomb of Agrippina is really the remains of the *cavea*, or auditorium, of a small theater attached to a grand Roman seaside villa,[99] and this accords more convincingly with the nature of the decoration. Had the visitors known that it was a theater, their interest would only have been piqued, as Vandières was fascinated by the comparison between ancient and modern theater design.

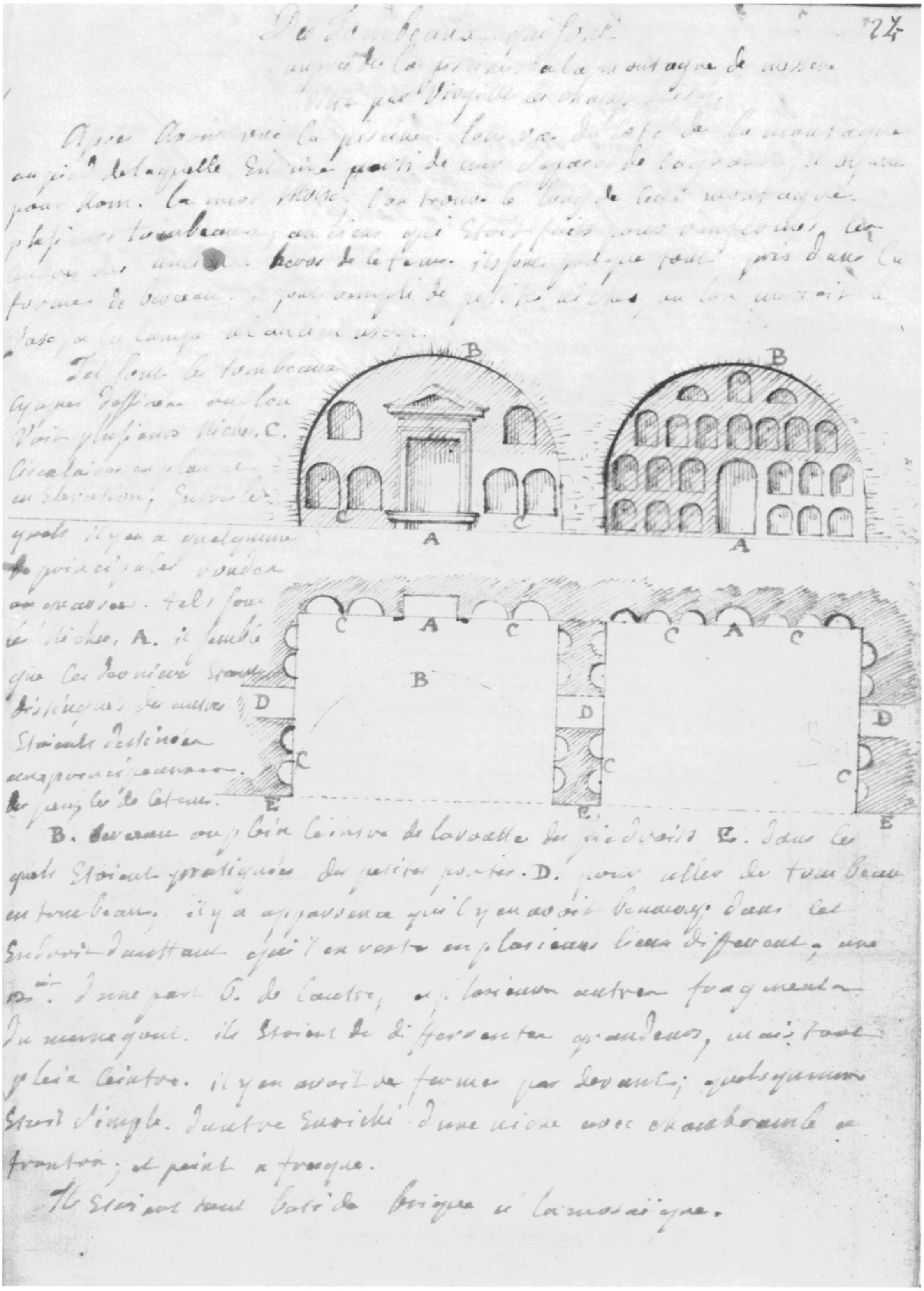
From Bacoli Vandières and his party moved up the coast to Baia, which possessed several important partially exposed buildings. Most of what is now recognized as a thermal bathing establishment was deeply buried. After it was excavated, beginning in 1931,[100] the site was found to be extensive, but in 1750 it was not obvious that the buildings were a secular resort complex or what their relationship was. Bellicard followed local usage in calling most ancient thermal establishments "temples." This in no way invalidates what he has to say about them as he never attempts to derive any notion of ritual practices from his discussion of the structure, site, or decoration.



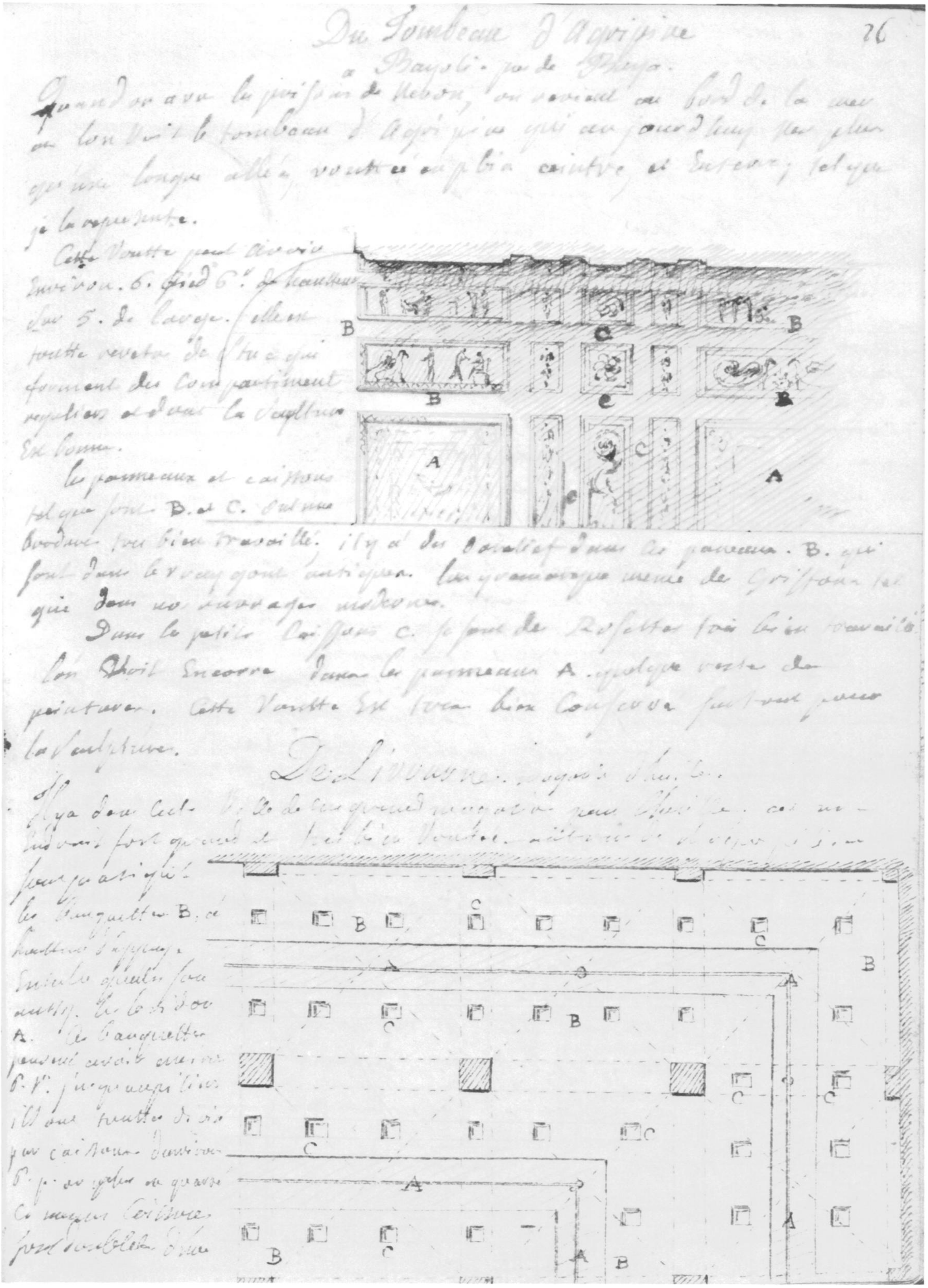
49. Giovanni Volpato, after Giovanni Battista III Natali, *The "Miraculous Pool,"* from P. A. Paoli, *Avanzi delle Antichità, Pozzuoli, Cuma & Baja & Napoli* (1786), pl. LXI (photo: Fototeca Unione)

50. Bellicard, *The "Miraculous Pool,"* from Notebook, p. 17


17.
De la Piscine admirable
de Pouzzole par Bay.



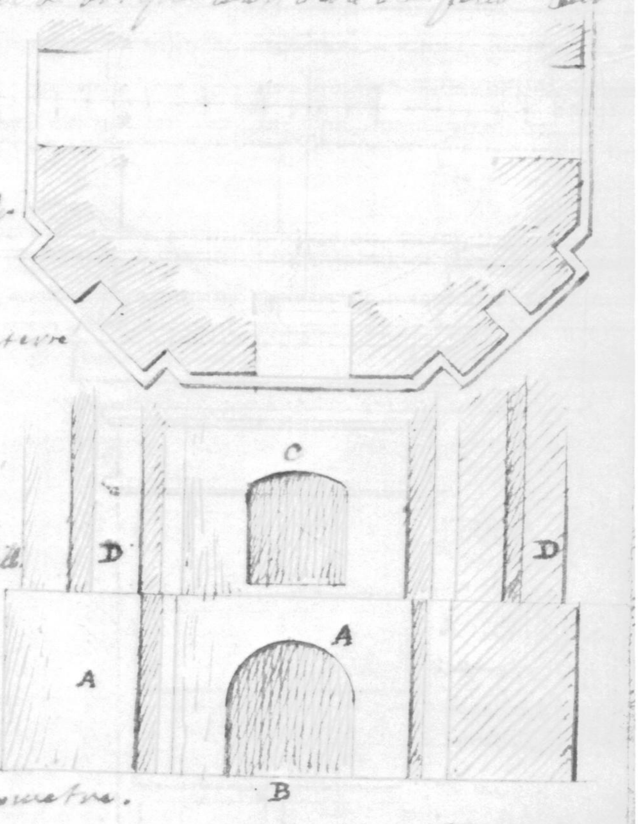
51. Bellicard, *The Tombs near the Reservoir*, from Notebook, p. 24



52. Bellicard, *The Tomb of Agrippina at Bayoli near Baia* (top) and *Livorno: Oil Magazine* (bottom), from Notebook, p. 26

Dun Temple di
de Neptune.

Apres avoir vu le tombeau d'Agrippine l'on va jusqu'a Bayes par mer et l'on debarque au pied du temple de Neptune. ce temple est octogone et est batie tout de brique considerable pour leur grandeur.



Ce Temple qui est octogone a sur quatre faces d'un pilastre dont aujourd'huy il ne reste pas assés pour scavoir si c'étoit un ordre d'architecture qui decoroit cet edifice.

Le soubassement A. est fort enterré aussy bien que la porte .B. qui est plein cintre.

Audessus de cette porte il y a une croisé qui une est plein cintre [illegible] Elle en est voutée.

par le peu qui reste de ce Monument il est a presumer que les quatre face étoient semblables.

Les pilastres D peuvent avoir environ. 3. pi. 6°. de diametre.

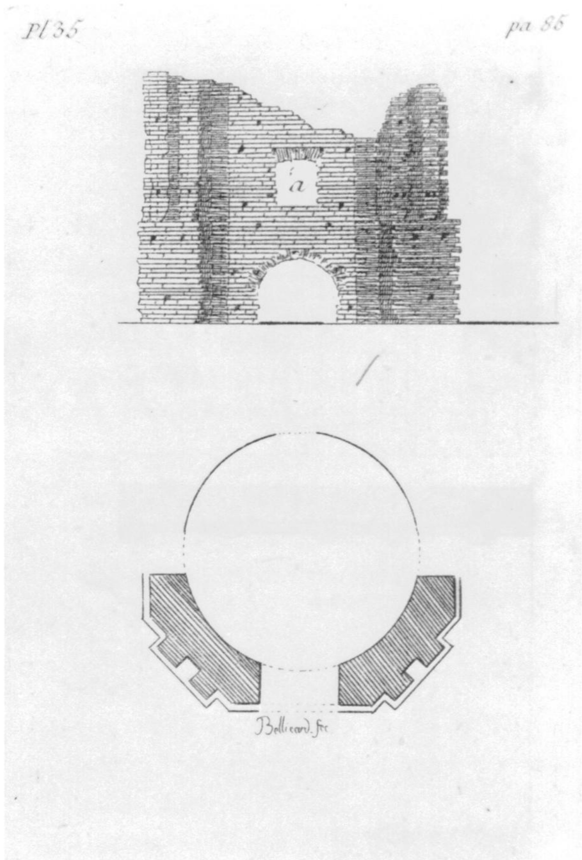
Et tout le Temple peut avoir environ 5. a 6. Toises de diametre dans l'interieur.

Vase du Palais Pitti et de la Gallerie a Florence.

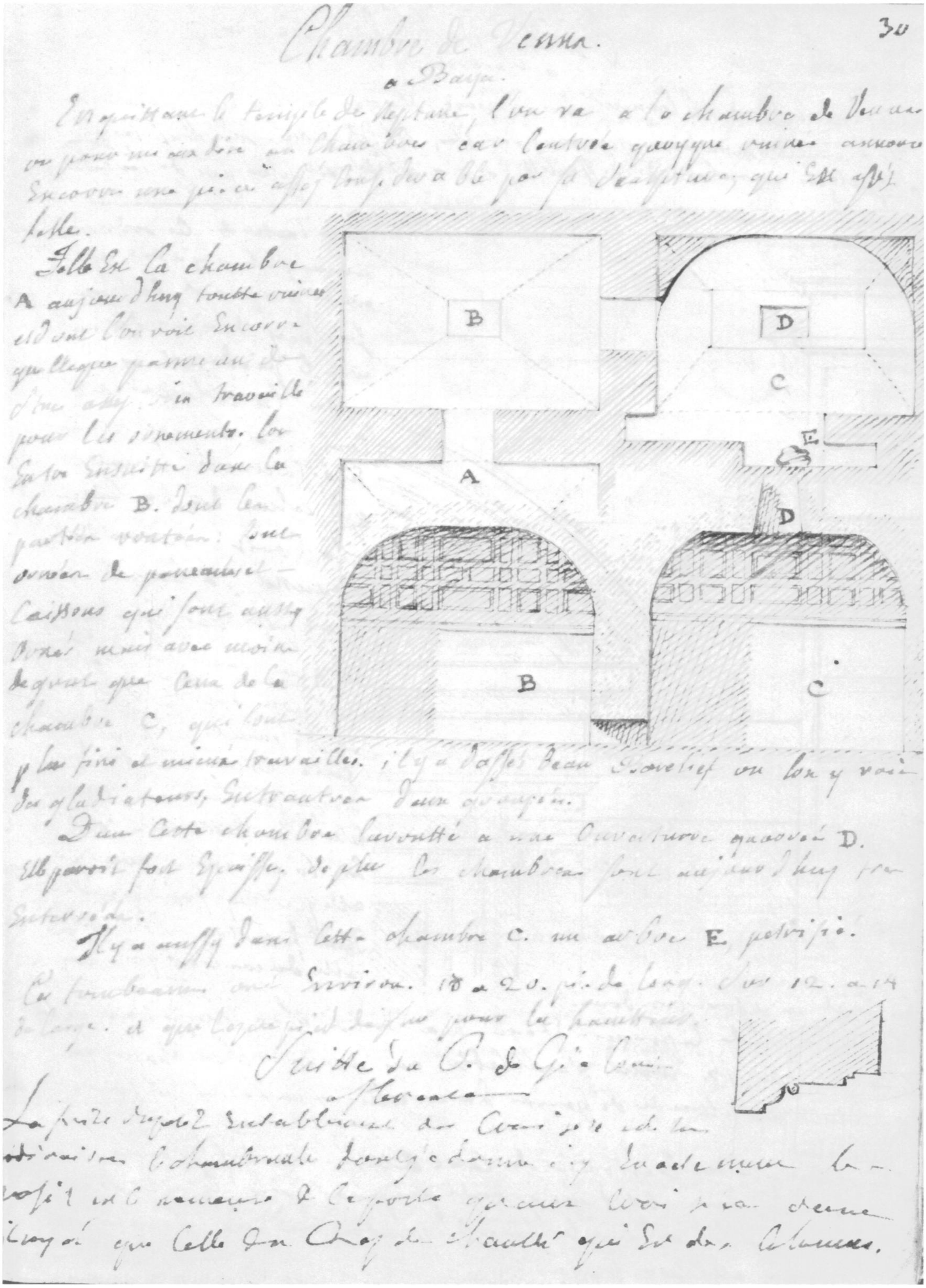
One of the buildings at Baia was the octagonal structure Bellicard called the Temple of Neptune (Figures 53, 54), which attracted his attention for its construction with oversized bricks. This great, centrally planned building is commonly called the Temple of Venus. It was the centerpiece of a bath complex and originally stood close to the shore, where it collected both seawater and thermomineral waters for a dual-purpose gathering hall and swimming pool.[101] Within the same complex were the smaller, elaborately decorated rooms that Bellicard called the Chambers of Venus (Figure 55). His drawings are the earliest visual record of these two small rooms with vaults decorated with stucco ornaments. These very beautiful rooms—originally fitted out with ten couches and ten baths—were destroyed along with other parts of the baths by the pozzolana quarries and new houses built at Baia in the nineteenth century. Therefore, Bellicard's notebook illustration and description and his more detailed published etching (Figures 55, 56) are among the most valuable records he has left us.

The best preserved of the rotunda baths at Baia is the so-called Temple of Mercury, which is the only structure to have kept its dome intact (Figure 57). Lit from above by an oculus and constructed of massive wedge-shaped tufa blocks, this structure predates considerably the Pantheon in Rome and represents a significant instance of sophisticated Roman engineering dating to the end of the Republican era.[102] When Bellicard visited in the mid-eighteenth century it was during a descending bradyseismic phase and this extensive circular bath was filled with water, thus approximating its original appearance as a vast indoor swimming pool. Bellicard was unaware of this fortuitous accident. The baths were originally fed with hot thermal waters delivered by an aqueduct through the partially submerged great niche in the end wall, through which eighteenth-century visitors were carried in order to stay dry. Today, in an ascending bradyseismic phase, the building is dry and silted up to the dome, so that the great niches and vaulted corridors linking the rotunda to its adjacent barrel-

53. Bellicard, *Details from the So-called Temple of Neptune* (above) and *Vases from the Pitti Palace and the Gallery at Florence*, from Notebook, p. 28



54. Bellicard, *The Temple of Neptune*, from *Observations*, 1754, pl. 35



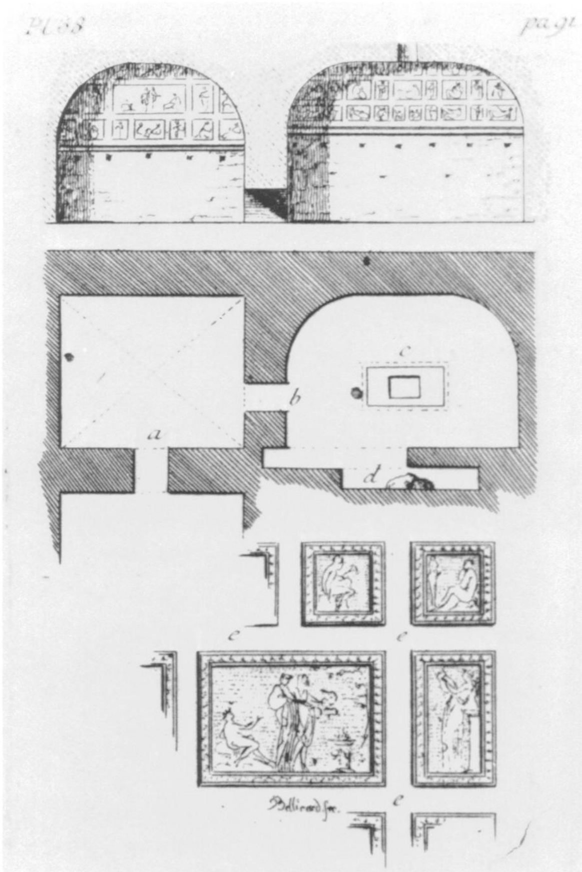
55. Bellicard, *The Chamber of Venus at Baia*, from Notebook, p. 30

vaulted halls (marked *A* in Bellicard's drawings) lie buried. The stairs that originally led bathers down to the water are no longer visible, and only bits of painted decoration and the mosaic of the dome described by Bellicard still exist.

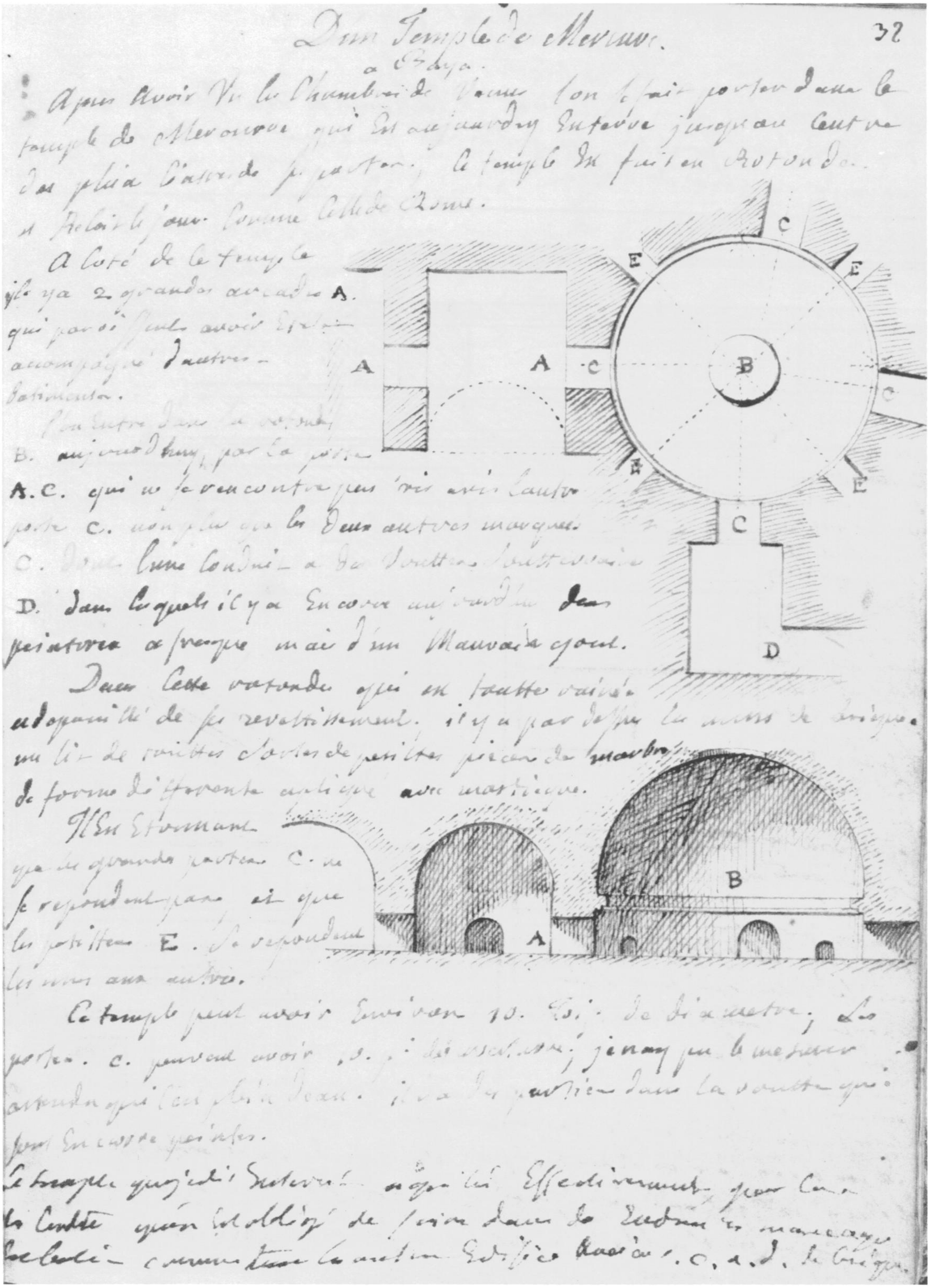
Near the Temple of Mercury is another element of the large thermal complex identified as the Temple of Diana (Figure 59). Bellicard was quick to notice that its vault was in what he termed the Gothic style ("goût Gothique"), meaning that its roof was in the shape of a rotated pointed arch, and this immediately cooled his interest in the place. He saw the half-ruined building in a sectional view, for in crumbling the pointed dome had been sliced open, which left a section of the original vault standing (Figure 60). Bellicard seems to have understood immediately that the building was domed with a pointed vault, yet this was proved only by excavations in the twentieth century. It is very much to his credit that Bellicard accepted the fragmentary visual evidence of the rare pointed Roman vault rather than insisting on a semicircular dome by extrapolating from the many known single-centered, curved Roman vaults.

It is only when Bellicard dealt with the metaphorically named Ovens, or Stoves, of Nero (Stufe di Nerone) that he acknowledged the use of an ancient place as a spa. What he visited and drew (see Figure 59) were the last remains of the sweating rooms, which were but a small part of a vast complex of steam baths prized in Imperial Roman times for their therapeutic value. The chambers Bellicard drew were carved into the tufa rock halfway up the flank of the hill overlooking Lake Lucrinus at Bauli. He describes as a sequence of ramps leading from the swimming pools by the shore the tunnels that trapped the steam rising from the fumaroles, or volcanic fissures, in the rock face. What Bellicard calls a curving path (*G*) for going down to the baths is actually a gallery carved to collect steam.[103] Within the sweating rooms (*C*), the brick couches covered with stucco (*D*) were designed to allow the exhausted patients to rest.

On the same sheet with the previous two sites Bellicard goes on to describe what was shown to him as the supposed grotto of the Cumaean Sibyl on the shores of Lake Avernus, at the very base of the Monte di Cuma near a Temple of Apollo. The place described by Bellicard was a vault twelve *pieds* in



56. Bellicard, *Chambers of Venus*, from *Observations*, 1754, pl. 38



57. Bellicard, *The Temple of Mercury at Baia*, from Notebook, p. 32

height by nine or ten *pieds* in width[104] that narrowed down to an opening that one could only pass *à nu*—implying that one could only squeeze through unclothed—before emerging into the supposed grotto of the sibyl. It was in fact the partially filled-in southern entrance of one of two *crypta*, or tunnel galleries, built by the Roman military to link forces in the Gulf of Baia with forces in Cumae without having to sail around or climb over the steep mountainous spine of the peninsula. It was only in 1932 that the true grotto of the mysterious ancient oracle described by Virgil was discovered.[105] Understandably, Bellicard did not dwell on this modest site, which seemed to be unworthy of its mythic descriptions in ancient literature. Indeed, he was justified; for, once found, the true grotto proved to be an awe-inspiring troglodytic world of echo chambers, cisterns, pools, and shrines.

Everywhere in the region of the Phlegraean Fields, the Romans had expended enormous resources on the supply and storage of fresh water by means of aqueducts and underground cisterns—some of vast proportions, like the Piscina Mirabile at Misenum. There must have been thousands of smaller, private cisterns.[106] One of the most remarkable of these was a circular vatlike reservoir constructed at Pozzuoli in such a way that the vessel of the cistern did not come into contact with the surrounding earth (Figure 61). This reservoir was locally called the Piscina of the Capucins after the convent later built over it. Bellicard was fascinated by this engineering achievement and drew this cistern in plan and section. The reason for the special arrangement was to insulate the fresh

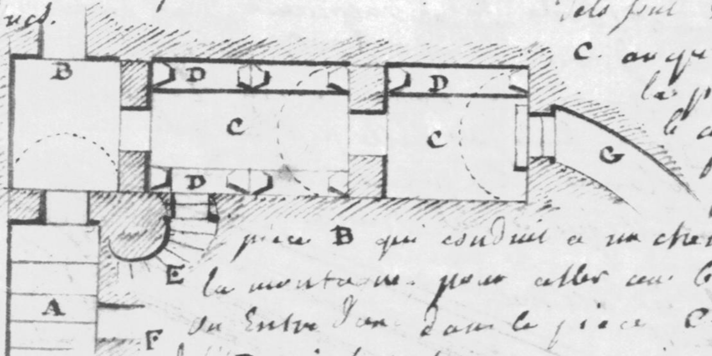
58. P. A. Paoli, *Visitors to the "Temple of Mercury" at Baia*, 1768, from A. Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*, fig. 46. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

Du Temple de Diane et des Bains de Neron, et de la grotte de la Sibille.

34

A quelques pas du temple de Mercure l'on voit un reste du Temple de Diane dont la voutte est en gout Gotique, il n'y a rien de remarquable pour l'architecture de ce temple ou il ne reste rien que quelques mauvaises peintures a fresque.

Apres avoir veu tout le temple dont il est parle plus haut l'on va aux bains de Neron qui sont placés sur une hauteur, l'on parvient au premier a plusieurs petites chambres ou il y a meme des lits de pierres.



Tels sont encore les chambres C. auxquelles on parvient par la pente d'icy A. dont le commencement est au bord de la mer.

On entre d'abord dans une petite piece B qui conduit a un chemin qui mene sur la montagne pour aller aux bains de Neron.

On entre dans la piece C au fond des espaces de lits D qui servent a ceux qui y vont pour reussir a prendre les vapeurs de cet eau, a laquelle l'on descend par le chemin tournant. G. il y a dans la premiere chambre C. un petit escalier tournant E qui va en dessus, mais il est autant ruiné que plusieurs autres pieces marquées F. qui sont le long de cette pente A.

Il y a apparence qu'il y avoit beaucoup de logement sur l'angle de cette montagne; l'on en peut juger par la quantité de restes qui en font foy.

Ces chambres peuvent avoir environ 10. a 11. pi. de long.

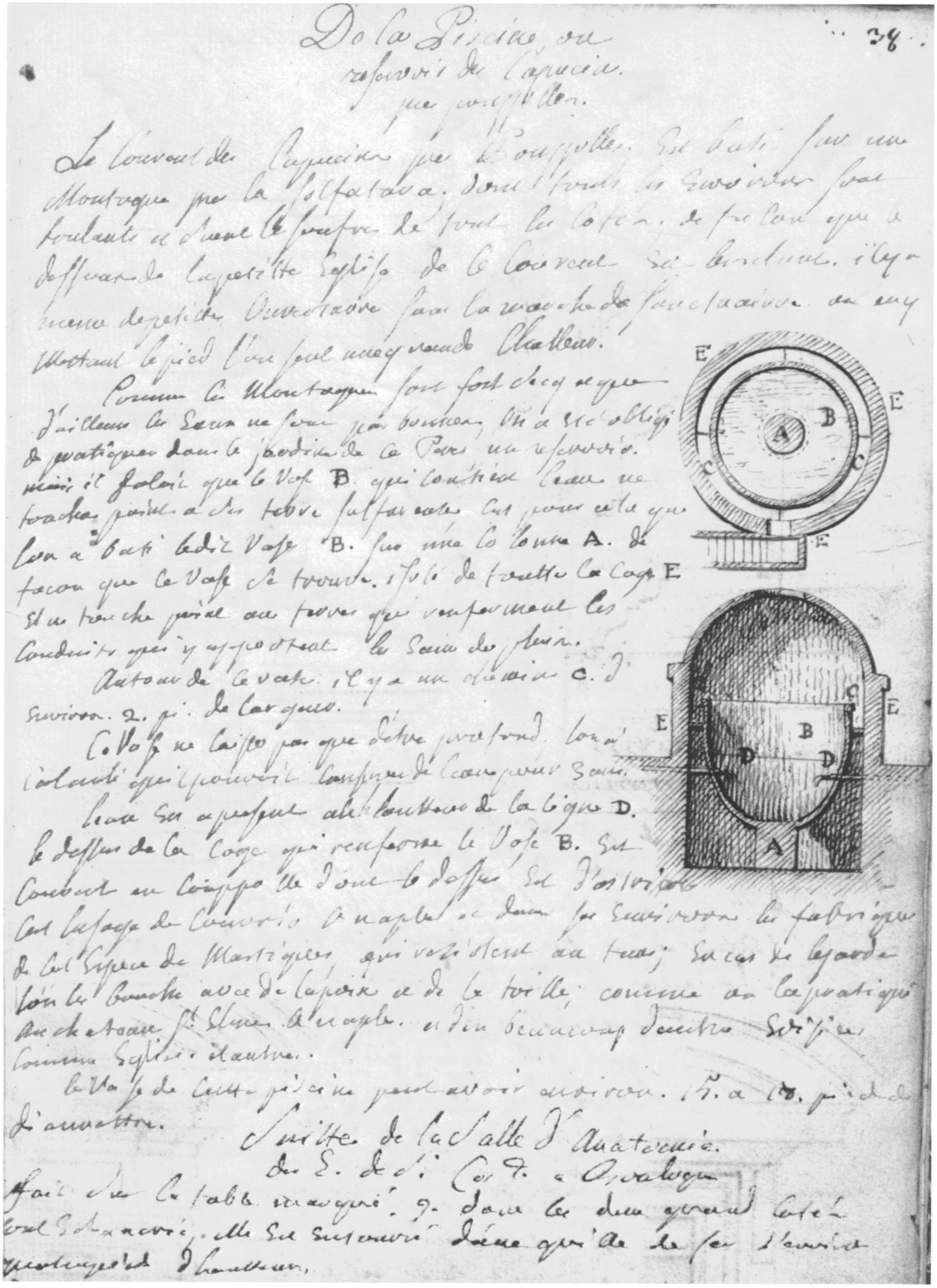
Apres avoir veu les bains de Neron l'on va a la grotte de la Sibille de Cumes, qui est située dans une montagne auprès du lac de L'Averne, sur l'autre bord duquel il y a une

59. Bellicard, *The Temple of Diana, Nero's Baths, and the Sibyl's Grotto*, from Notebook, p. 34. The vault of the temple of Diana is at upper right. The plan at center left is of the Baths (or "Ovens") of Nero. There is no drawing of the (false) Grotto of the Cumaean Sibyl.

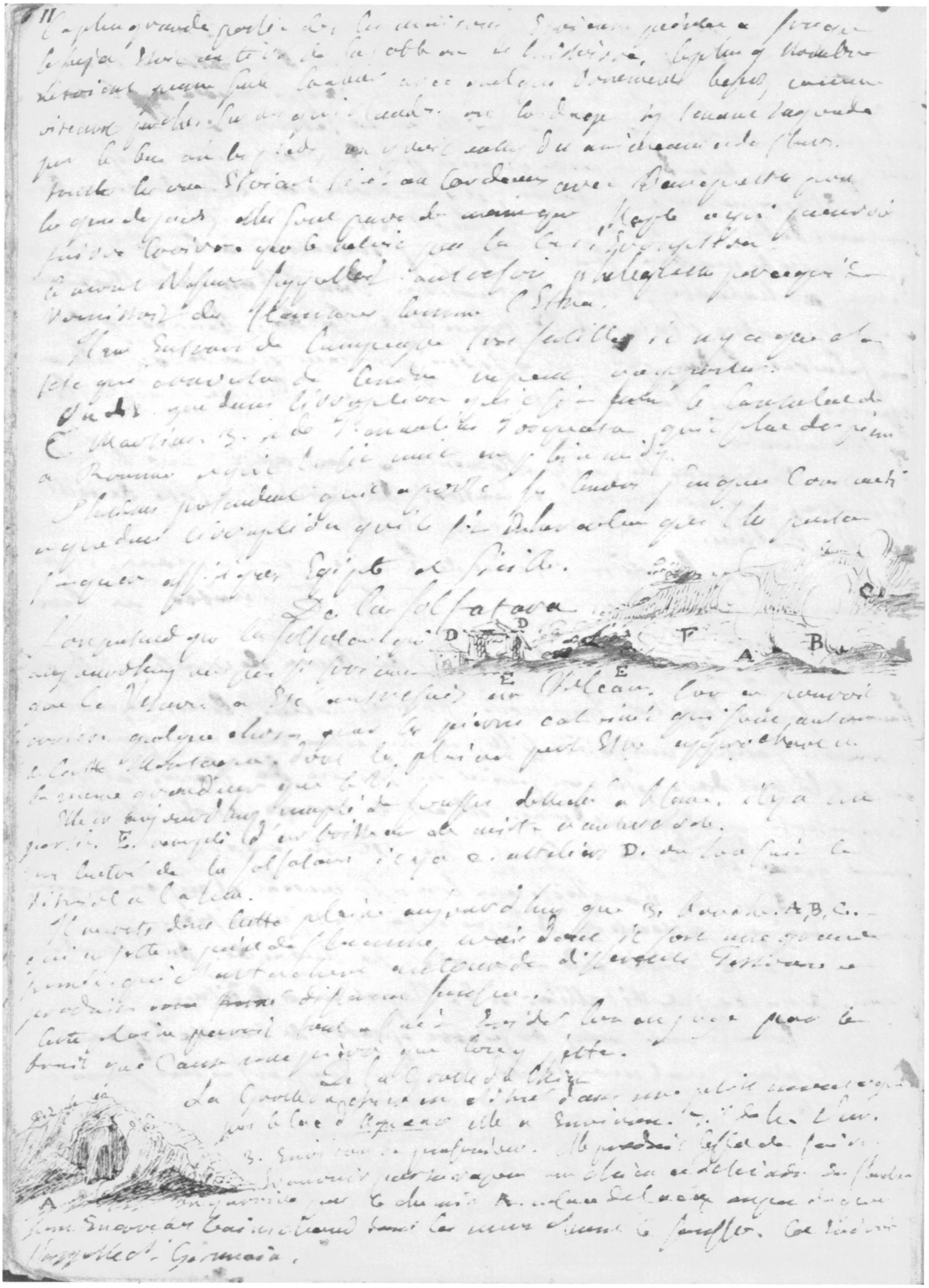
60. Photograph of the so-called Temple of Diana, from Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*

water in the tank from the geothermal heat present in the volcanic zone, just inland from Pozzuoli.

Vandières and his party visited two popular sights in the active volcanic zone between Pozzuoli and Naples. One was the spectacular field of fumaroles, which the ancients called the Forum Vulcani and which was commonly called La Solfatara (Figure 62). The other was the infamous suffocating "grotto of the dog," or Grotto del Cane, near the thermal area known as the Ovens of San Germano (Stufe di San Germano) on Monte Spina. The oddity of the place is that carbon dioxide seeps into this one cave in such a peculiar way that it lies approximately eighteen inches thick at floor level. While not knowing anything of the properties of gases, the locals had remarked that a man standing erect when entering the



61. Bellicard, *The Reservoir of the Capuchins near Pozzuoli*, from Notebook, p. 38



62. Bellicard, *The Solfatara* (above right) and *The Grotto of the Dog* (below left), from Notebook, p. 11

63. Bellicard, *The Grotto of the Dog*, from *Observations*, 1753, pl. 27

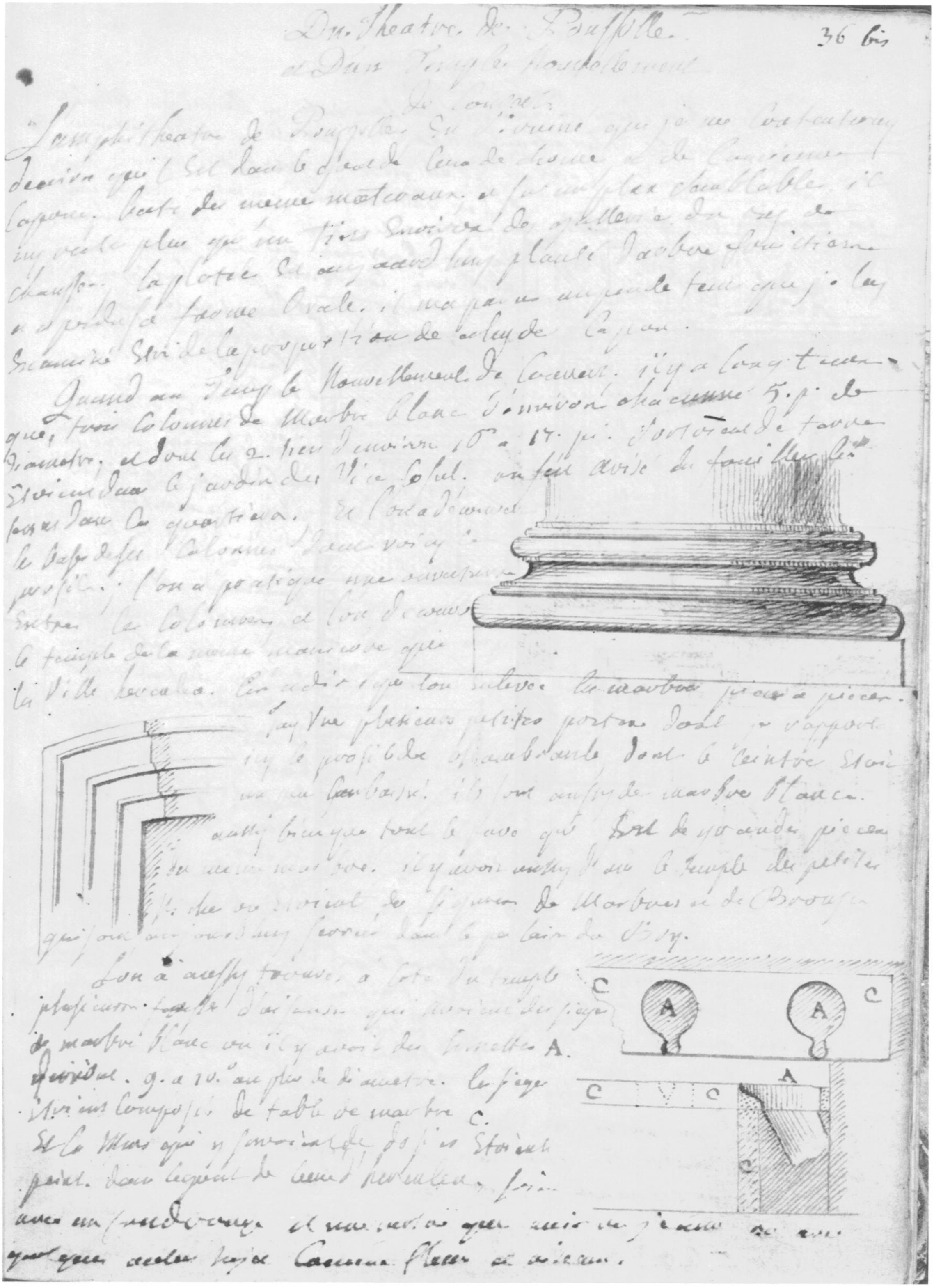
cave would suffer no ill effects while a dog or—one assumes—a child would suffocate if exposed for too long. The peasants of the neighborhood, for a small fee, made a grisly business of demonstrating this deadly phenomenon to tourists by using dogs who were repeatedly stupefied with gas.[107] In the etching Bellicard published (Figure 63), he shows a dog on a leash being dragged into the cave.

Bellicard devoted only a few lines to the large but badly ruined amphitheater at Pozzuoli (Figure 64). When he saw it in 1750, trees were growing on the floor of the amphitheater and no excavation had taken place. He briefly noted that it was in the style and scale of the better preserved theater at Capua, which he had visited earlier.

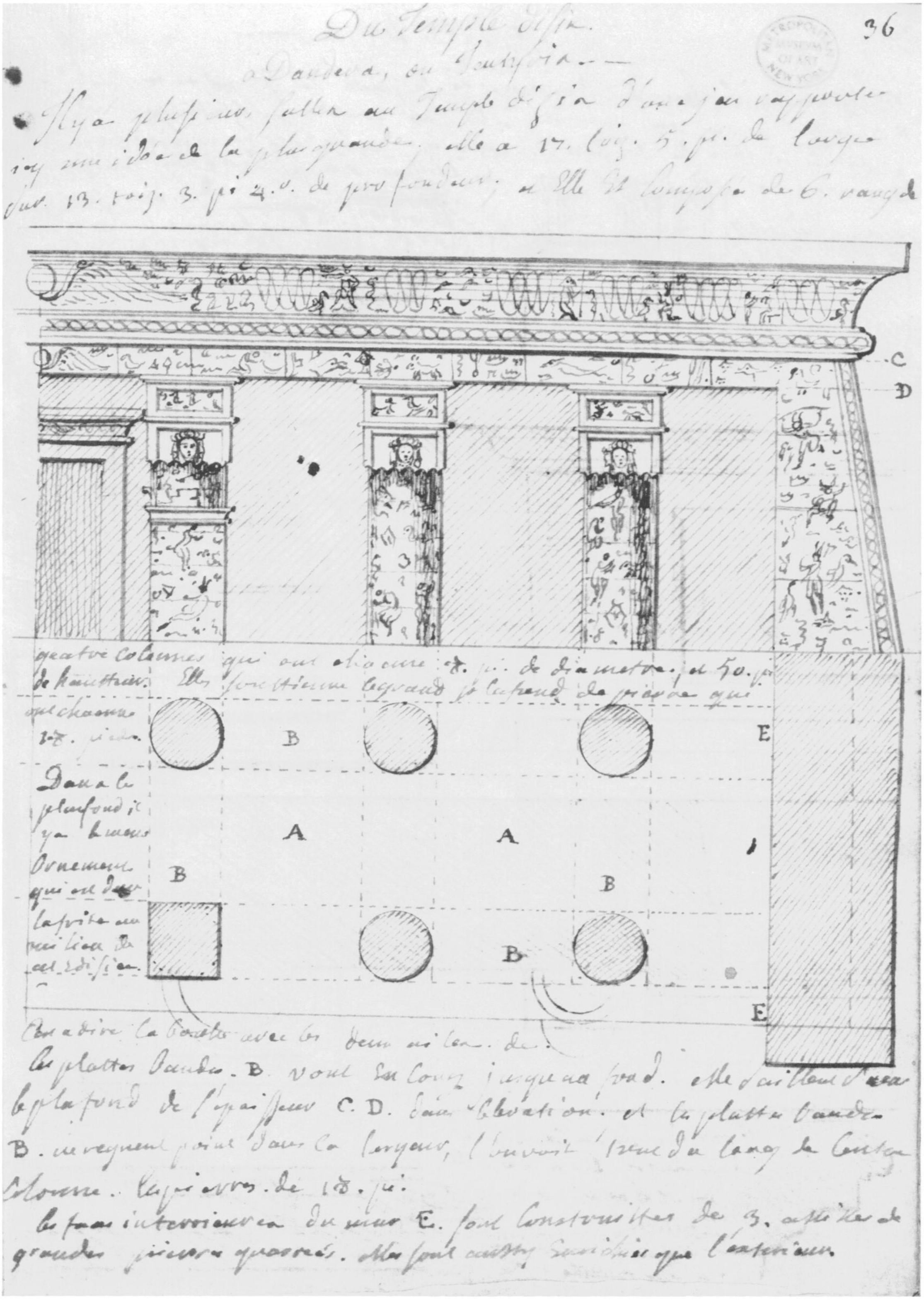
Bellicard and the members of Vandières's party were fortunate enough to be in Pozzuoli in 1750, shortly after excavations had begun on the market, or *macellum*,[108] which Bellicard refers to only as a newly discovered temple.[109] Bellicard had already seen this site in 1749, when all that was visible were three massive cipollino marble columns projecting from the earth. At the time of the later visit the bases of these columns had been revealed as well as parts of the arcade, doorways into the surrounding shops, and one of the large public toilets (see Figure 64, lower right and center left) that were placed at the two corners of the rear of the marketplace. It was only in subsequent excavation that the full plan of the market was discerned and its similarity to other Roman markets was recognized. At the *macellum*, Bellicard only drew details of a column base, the moldings of a doorway and (labeled *C* in his drawing) the continuous carved benchlike marble toilet seat through which (labeled *A* in his drawing) the outfalls descended to the sewer. It is characteristic of Bellicard, the practical architect, to concentrate on such amenities.

A marble statue of the Egyptian god Serapis was found in the excavation (which Bellicard did not draw because it had already been removed from the site), and this led to the erroneous identification of the market as the Temple of Serapis.[110] Immediately preceding the so-called Temple of Serapis in the sequence of pages of Bellicard's notebook is the startling presence of the drawing, albeit inaccurate, of the Egyptian temple of Hathor at Dendera, the ancient Tentyra (Figures 65, 66).[111] Bellicard mistakenly identifies the Temple as dedicated to Isis instead of the correct dedication to the cow-goddess Hathor, sister of Isis with whom she became conflated in late Egyptian mythology. This was most likely a longstanding error that Bellicard heard repeated in the eighteenth century. Hathor was a love-goddess similar to Isis and Aphrodite.[112] The surviving structure, illustrated by Bellicard, was begun by Ptolemy Soter II (116–107 B. C.) and was added to and embellished by both Egyptian and Roman rulers down to and including Trajan (A. D. 98–117).[113]

Since Bellicard certainly did not go to Egypt, the existence of this drawing in his notebook poses a most intriguing mystery. Indeed, the evidence that there was a drawing of an Egyptian temple in circulation in Italy in 1750 for him to copy is something of a revelation. I have been unable to identify the source for Bellicard's drawing. There are four travelers who might have brought back drawings of the temple at Dendera in time for Bellicard to have copied them in 1750. None of these travelers' publications, however, include designs with the detail or point of view necessary to have served as a model for Bellicard and none of these names can account for the presence of an original drawing or an unpublished engraving in the Naples area specifically. No published engravings I have found provided the models for Bellicard.[114] It is tempting to think that Richard Dalton (1715–91), an English draftsman and engraver who studied in Rome and traveled to



64. Bellicard, *The Theater at Pozzuoli and a Newly Discovered Temple*, from Notebook, p. 36bis



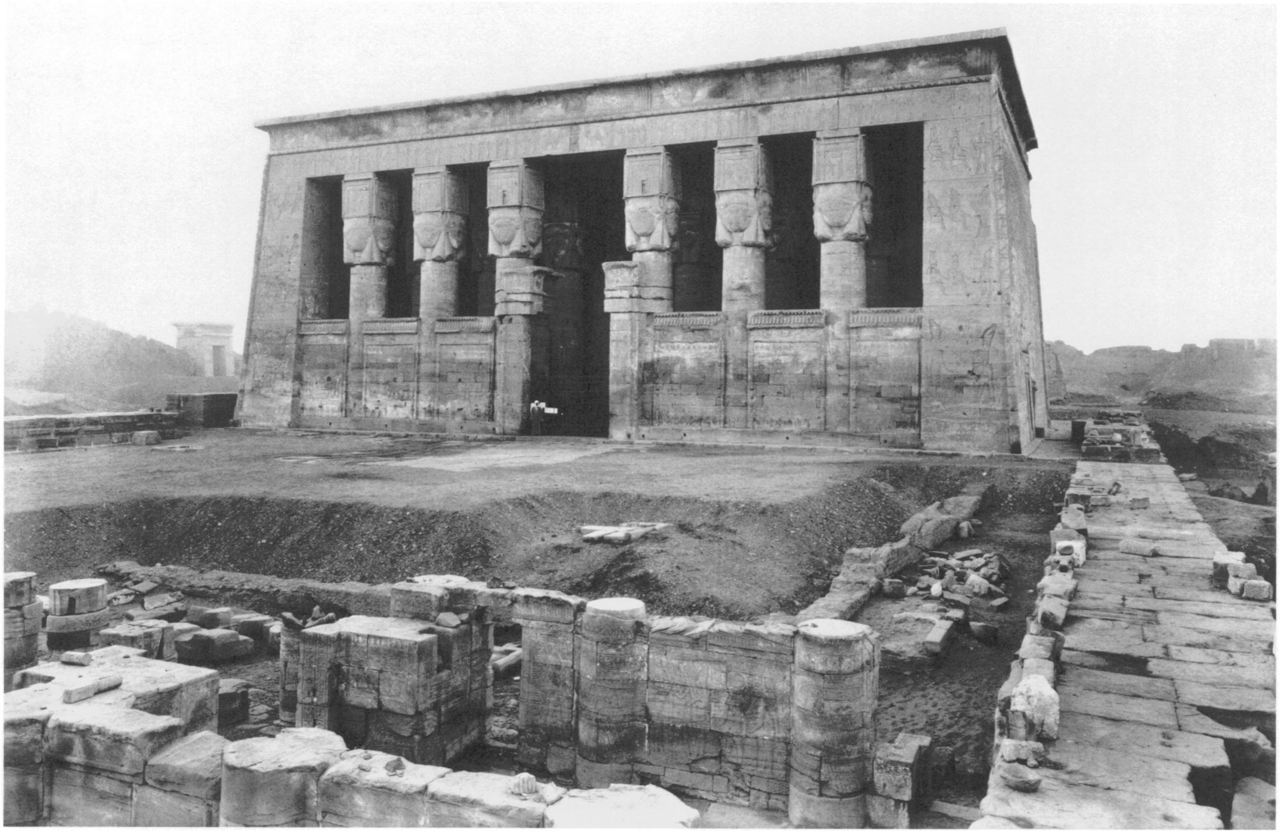
65. Bellicard, *The Temple of Isis [Hathor] at Dendera or Tentyra*, from Notebook, p. 36

Greece and Egypt in 1749 (he published his engravings decades later), who had just returned from Egypt to Italy may have met Bellicard or a mutual acquaintance of Bellicard through d'Arthenay's English connections or through such fellow artist-antiquarians as John Russell. In any event, the location of the drawing of the Egyptian temple in Bellicard's notebook in the midst of material seen in the Phlegraean Fields makes it possible to speculate that Bellicard saw and copied the design of the Egyptian shrine from a person encountered during this part of the journey.[115] It is also tempting to think that even in the mid-eighteenth century someone or some group of scholars working at Pozzuoli or Naples was interested in the ancient links with Egypt evidenced in the figure of Serapis newly found in the *macellum* and in the two Herculaneum frescoes depicting Egyptian religious ceremonies in which the sacred ibis is prominent.

66. Facade of the Temple of Hathor photographed from the north in 1929 or earlier. The Egyptian Expedition, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Vandières and his companions spent two months in Naples and Campania, from the first days of November until after Christmas 1750. Their stay was plagued with stormy weather that made it too dangerous to venture out to sea to continue their planned journey to Sicily and Malta. In Naples the heavy rains resulted in terrible mudslides and loss of life and property.[116] Frustrated in their effort to see the less-frequented sites to the south, they were able to make a thorough investigation of Campania. Knowing that the time allotted for the southern leg of their tour was over, they prepared for a direct return to Rome and thence back to France by way of Tuscany, Emilia, and the Veneto.

While the roads were muddy and the winds adverse for sailing south, the winds were right for traveling up the coast. The group departed shortly after December 26 on the ship of one Captain Gameau. The crossing from Naples to Anzio was made in the



extraordinarily fast time of five hours because of the high winds in this extremely stormy season.[117] From Anzio, the group traveled by coach the short distance to Rome.

During the winter of 1751, the notebook probably began to serve its purpose, as Cochin, with Bellicard as understudy, prepared the first drafts and illustrations of his "Lettre" that would appear in the *Mercure de France* in September. Vandières and his companions stayed again at the French Academy and resumed their study of the arts and mores of the city. But Vandières was aware from reports coming from Paris that the health of Lenormant de Tournehem was deteriorating, so he accelerated his itinerary for an early return to France.

Bellicard carried his notebook with him when he accompanied Vandières on the first part of his homeward route via Florence and Bologna. This part of the journey begins with their departure from Rome on March 3 and continues to late June 1751.[118]

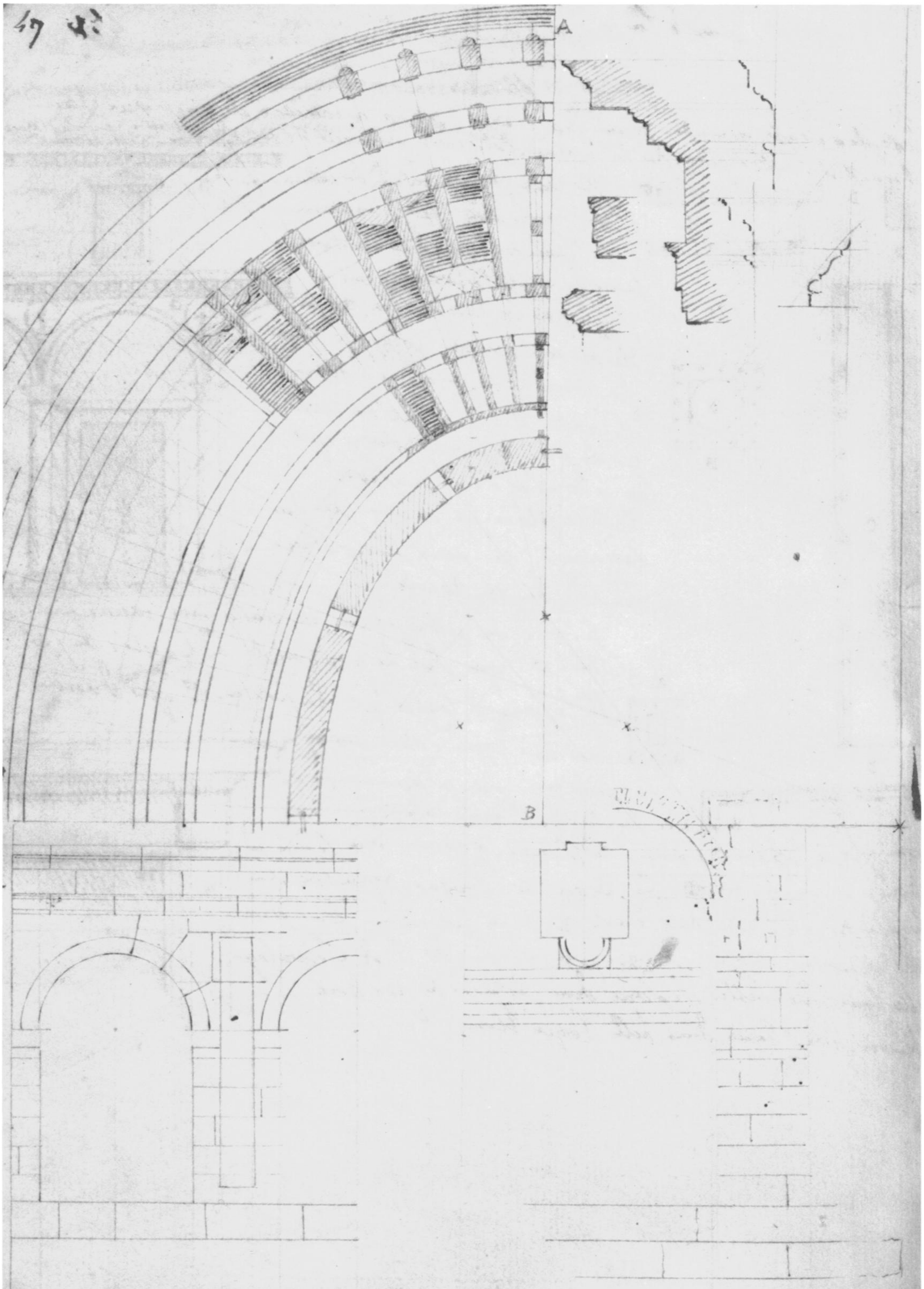
None of the material added in this second journey—dealing primarily with medieval, Renaissance, and modern architecture—was ever published by Bellicard, nor does it seem likely that he had publication in mind when he made the notes. Rather, the later additions to the notebook seem genuinely to reflect the interests of Bellicard and his traveling companions in their critical and comparative evaluations of the art of the past.

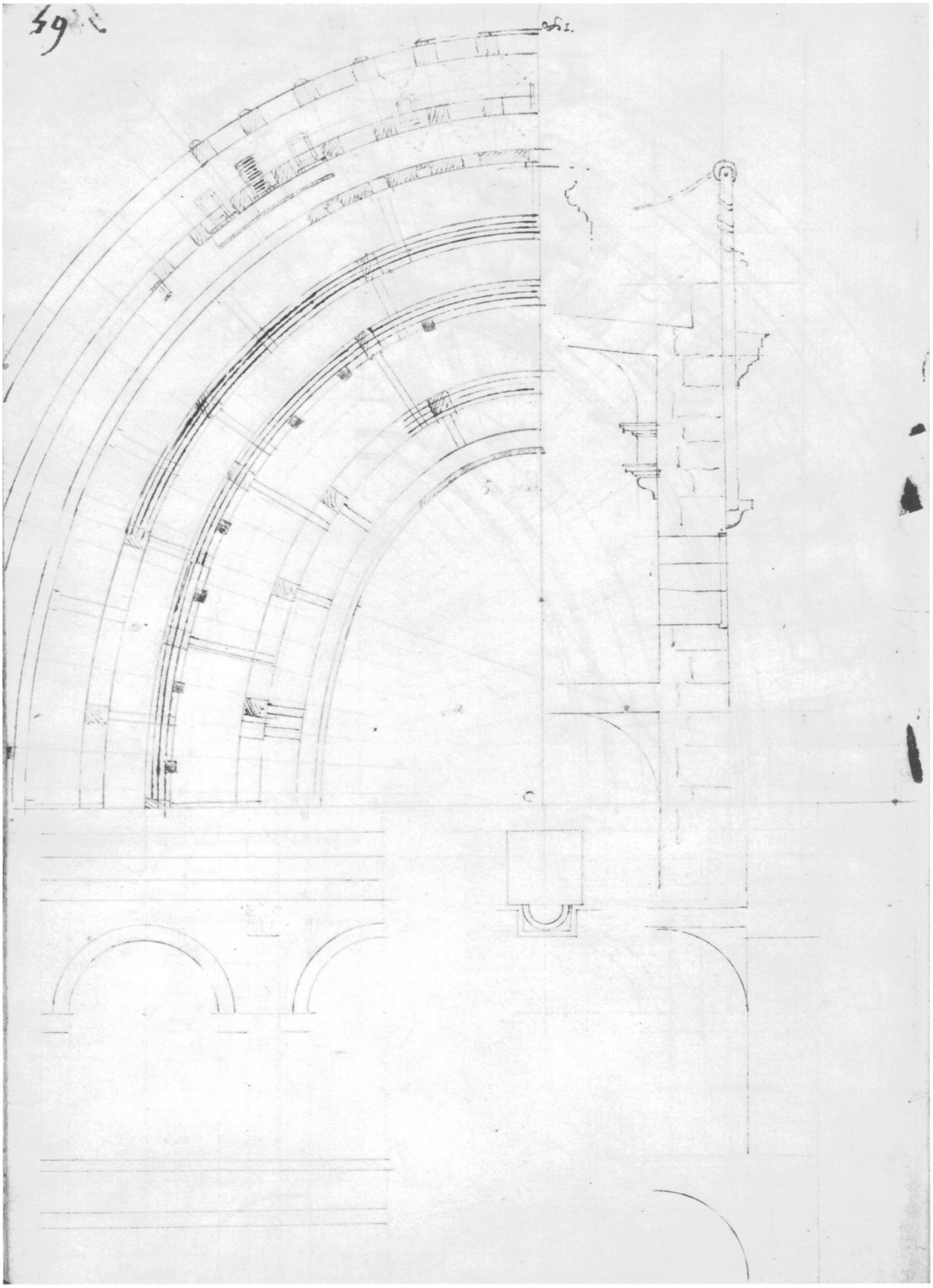
The notes that follow the descriptions of Herculaneum and ancient Campanian sites are not so much a comprehensive travelogue of places visited or a collection of material illustrating themes in Vandières's curriculum of study, as they are notes echoing Bellicard's or Vandières's personal interests. In this sense, the non-Herculaneum parts of the notebook are capsule studies of sites meriting attention. Bellicard was often far more concerned with feats of engineering than he was with style or specific categories of use. Following the pattern established in his discussions of the extant ancient architecture at Baia, Bellicard scrutinized medieval architecture for its complex engineering and exotic qualities, while Renaissance and post-Renaissance architecture was studied for the practical applications to be learned by an architect who saw himself as both modern and in continuity with the tradition of Italian masters such as Michelangelo, Palladio, and Vignola. The lessons of ancient architecture were not intended to replace the traditions of architecture of the immediate past but to augment it. The pages of Bellicard's notebook are almost equally divided between ancient and non-antique material.

It is remarkable that, in his later notes, Bellicard concentrated far more on modern material than on ancient. With the exception of a tiny part of one page depicting ancient vases in the Pitti Palace (see Figure 53) and several sheets of drawings reconstructing the section and details of the plan and orders of various levels of the Colosseum in Rome (Figures 67–70), no single antiquity is referred to or drawn. This leads one to think that the interest of Herculaneum was in the novelty and completeness of the site and not a product of a pervasive scholarly attitude toward antiquity.

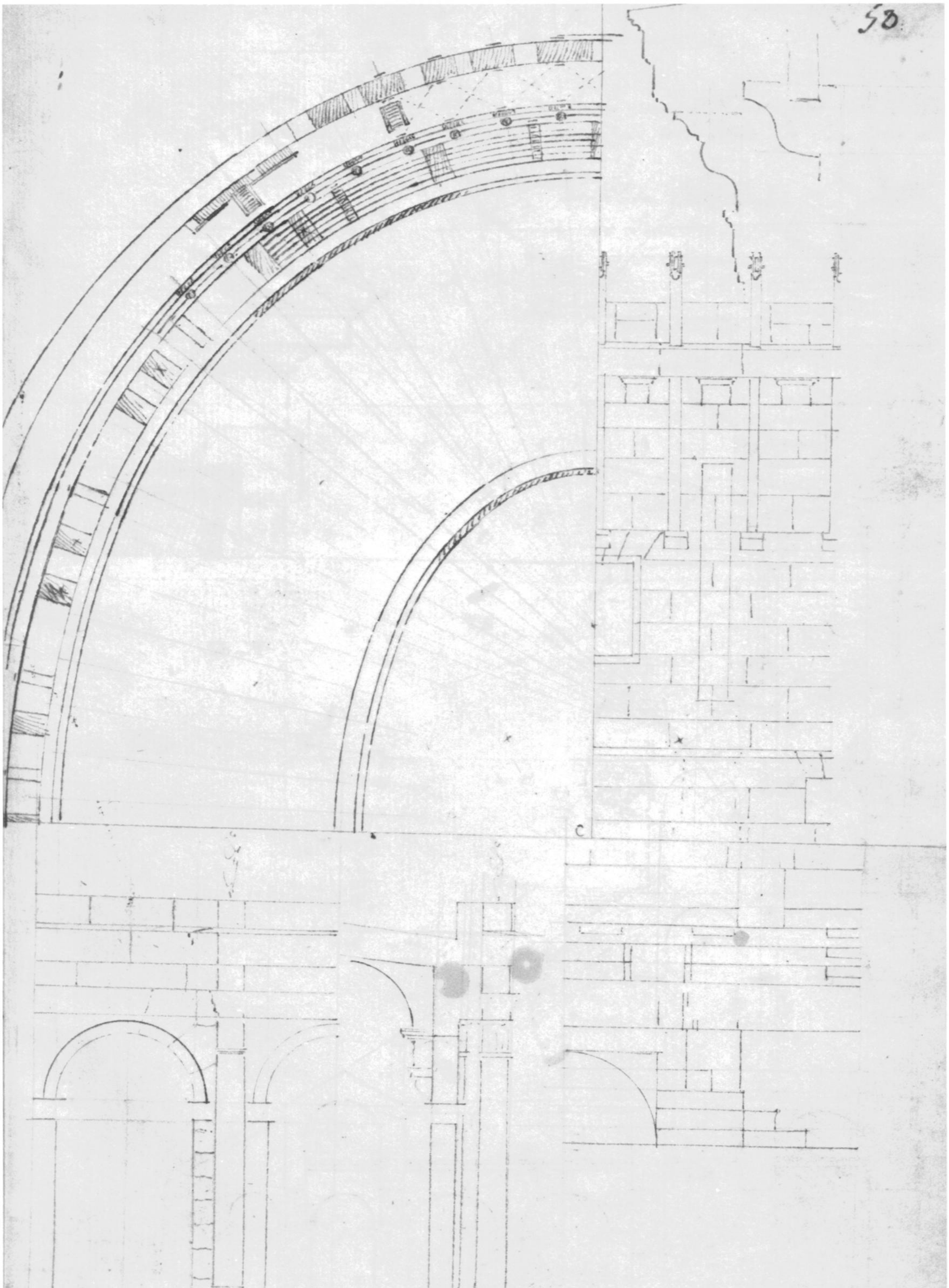
It is more revealing to treat Bellicard's notes by subject than by the order of the itinerary, which can be briefly summarized. The travelers went north to Ronciglione from Rome (where they studied the novel design of the water-driven forge hammers in the iron mills), thence to Caprarola, Viterbo, Montefiascone, Bolsena, Acquapendente, Radicofani, San Quirico, Siena, and Florence, which they reached six days later on March 9.[119] The party stayed in Florence until April 9 but made a side trip, from March 22 to 31, to Poggio a Caiano, Pistoia, Pisa, Lucca, and Livorno. After their month-long stay in Tuscany, they moved on to Bologna on April 10 for a seven-week stay. Departing Bologna on May 28, they proceeded to Ferrara and Padua and then on to Venice, where they remained for four weeks.[120] Despite the length of time in Bologna, very little was added to the notebook and virtually nothing from Venice, implying that Bellicard did not stay the entire time with the group in Bologna; that he did remain with them in Bologna but did not go on to Venice with the others; that he did go but found nothing of particular interest for his notes; or that he had begun an entirely new set of notes, which are now lost. Most likely he left the others at Bologna and his note-taking diminished once he was deprived of the

67. Bellicard, *Architectural Elements of the Upper Part of the Colosseum at Rome with Profile of an Entablature*, from Notebook, p. 47

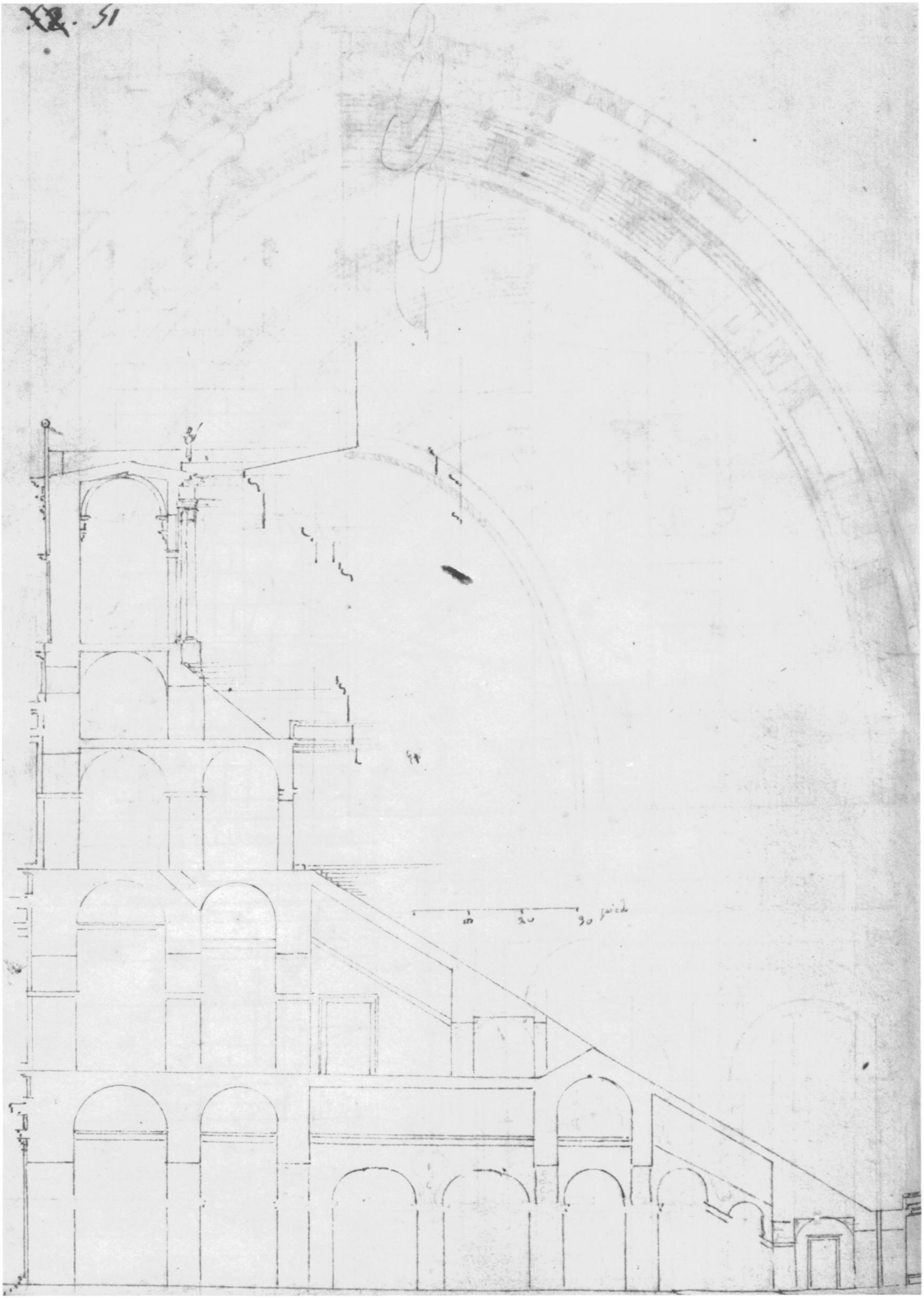

47
A
B



68. Bellicard, *Architectural Elements of the Upper Part of the Colosseum at Rome with Reconstruction of the Masts for the Awning in Section*, from Notebook, p. 49



69. Bellicard, *Architectural Elements of the Upper Part of the Colosseum at Rome Showing the Awning Masts and Location of Statuary*, from Notebook, p. 50



stimulation and intense interests of his traveling companions. The notebook ends with a few desultory and barely visible drawings of architectural details with measurements and several entries and sheets left unfinished.[121] Returning to Rome, Bellicard used the notebook to help prepare the two separate sets of etching plates used in the London and Paris editions of the *Observations*.

Among the very few drawings of antiquities made after his departure from Campania are five sketches reconstructing the Colosseum in Rome with its apparatus for suspending the *velarium*, or awning, which the Romans stretched over masts and webs of rope to shade their amphitheaters and theaters (Figures 67–70).[122] These drawings were not made from direct observation but are more likely sketches after another artist's reconstructions. These kinds of reconstructions are very much a part of the commerce of ideas among scholars, amateurs, and architects whom Bellicard would have encountered either among the members of the academy at Florence[123] or among artists and antiquarians in Rome. These drawings clearly indicate the long-forgotten wooden masts over which the rigging for the *velarium* was passed down to the sailors, detached from the fleet at Misenum, and stationed in Rome to maintain and operate the cable-and-tackle apparatus for unfurling the awning in accordance with the movement of the sun. Bellicard never published these drawings nor did he make any reference in his publications to the *velarium* in comparing the Colosseum in Rome with the amphitheaters at Capua or Pozzuoli.

ARCHITECTURE

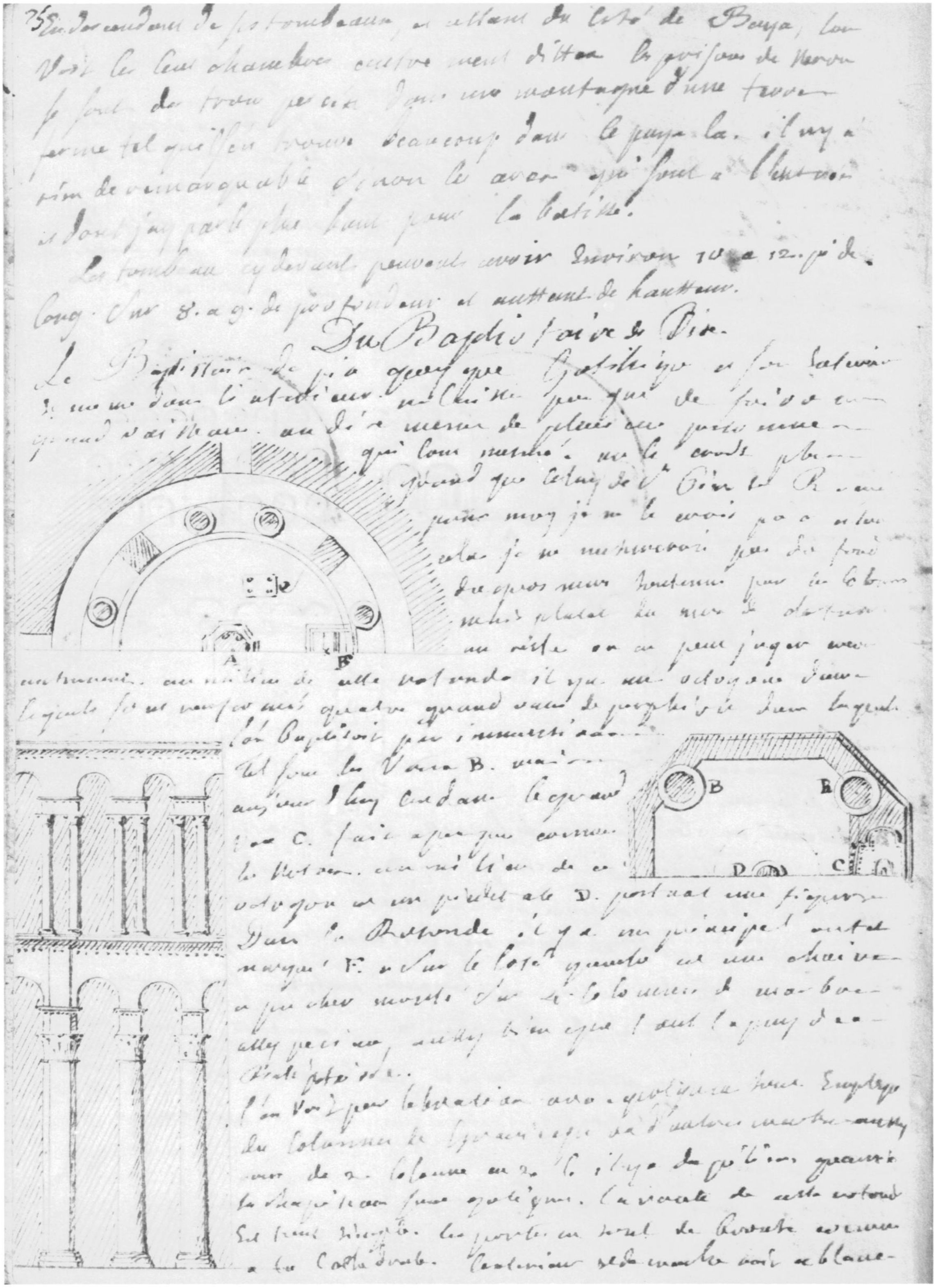
The Campanile, Cathedral, and Baptistery at Pisa, which are admired today for their rich Gothic style, would not normally be of interest, one would expect, to an artist trained in the shadow of Le Vau and Gabriel at the Royal Academy of Architecture in Paris or to a disciple of Piranesi in Rome. Indeed, Bellicard states that their Gothic architectural style is of no particular interest, although in the notebook he takes special notice in his marginal remarks of the reuse of ancient fragments and columns in the Pisan complex. However, he is captivated by difficult problems of engineering in construction, whether they occur in ancient, Gothic, or modern structures. He devotes a full-page discussion to the incline of the Tower of Pisa and upon its probable origin in the subsidence of the soil (see Figure 5). He goes on to praise the unknown engineer who tried to compensate for the tilt of the building by elongating the columns on the downward side and gradually diminishing their height on the upward side at the fifth, sixth, and seventh stories and in the eighth-story bell chamber.

The Baptistery in Pisa (Figure 71) wins grudging admiration from Bellicard largely for its achievement, even in an inferior (i.e., Gothic) style, of a vast, vaulted, centrally planned space. The architect admires the rich effects of the combination of materials and colors and notes the lavish use of different marbles in the columns and interior decoration, the porphyry baptismal fonts, and the bronze sculpture and doors.

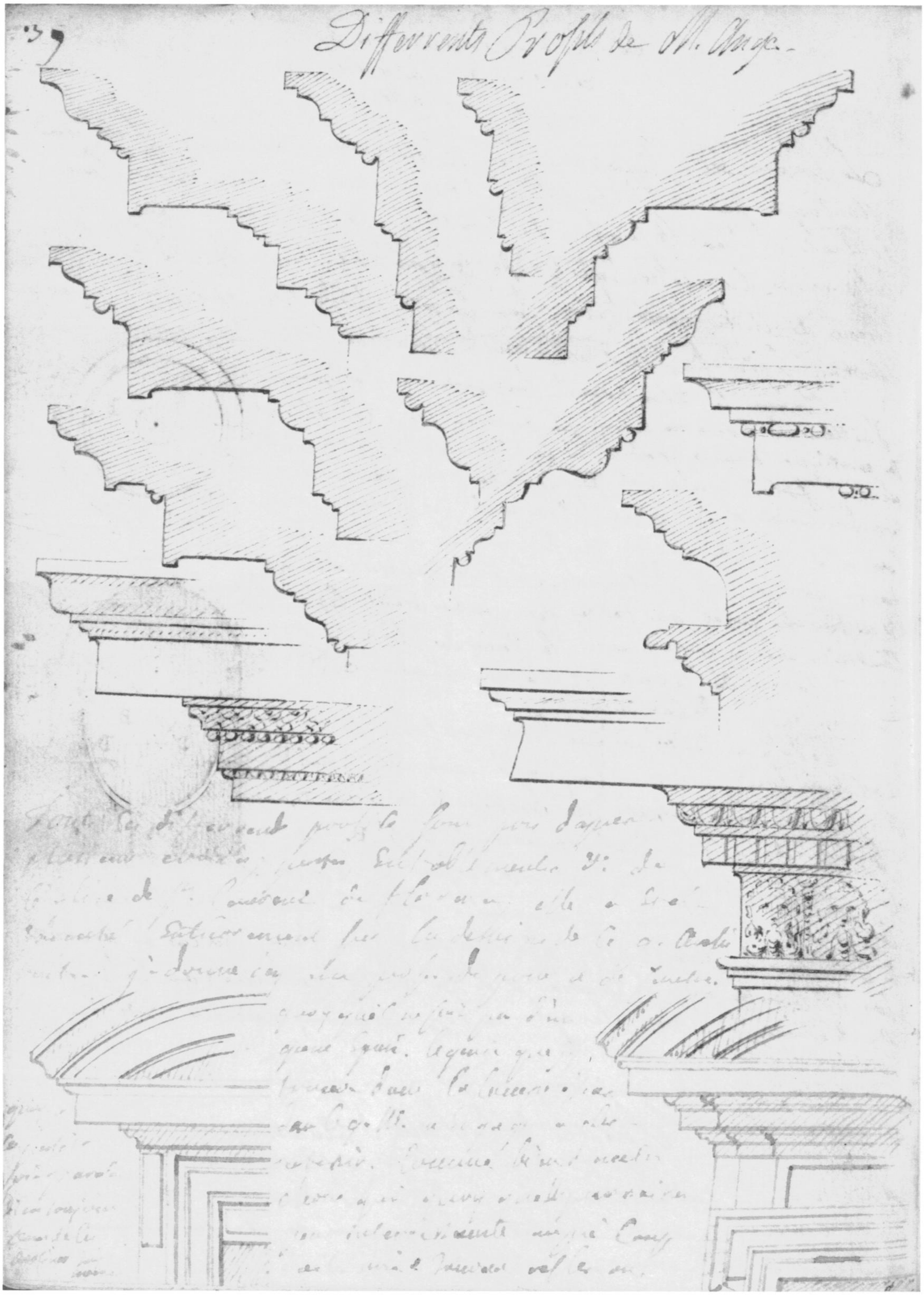
In his notebook Bellicard devotes much of his attention to the architecture of the Renaissance and Baroque periods, placing the greatest emphasis on the late sixteenth century. This is what we should expect of an architect trained in the living tradition of classicizing architecture as it was practiced in France. No matter how strong his attraction for antiquity, an architect preparing to practice in the second half of the eighteenth century would have found his models in the great architecture of the tradition in which he worked. For Bellicard, this meant the language of architectural conventions developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and he was instinctively drawn to the more austere examples, regardless of date or authorship. Bellicard was an architect with a scholarly attraction to the obscure and unknown example. Just as he had been attracted by the idea of the unpublished finds at Herculaneum, so he studied one of the lesser examples of architecture attributed to Michelangelo, which had the additional interest of being in a genre—domestic architecture—that the master rarely practiced.

In addition to filling corners of his notebook with profiles of moldings attributed to Michelangelo from

70. Bellicard, *Section through the Colosseum at Rome Showing Location of Awning Masts and Statuary*, from Notebook, p. 51



71. Bellicard, *The Baptistery of Pisa*, from Notebook, p. 25



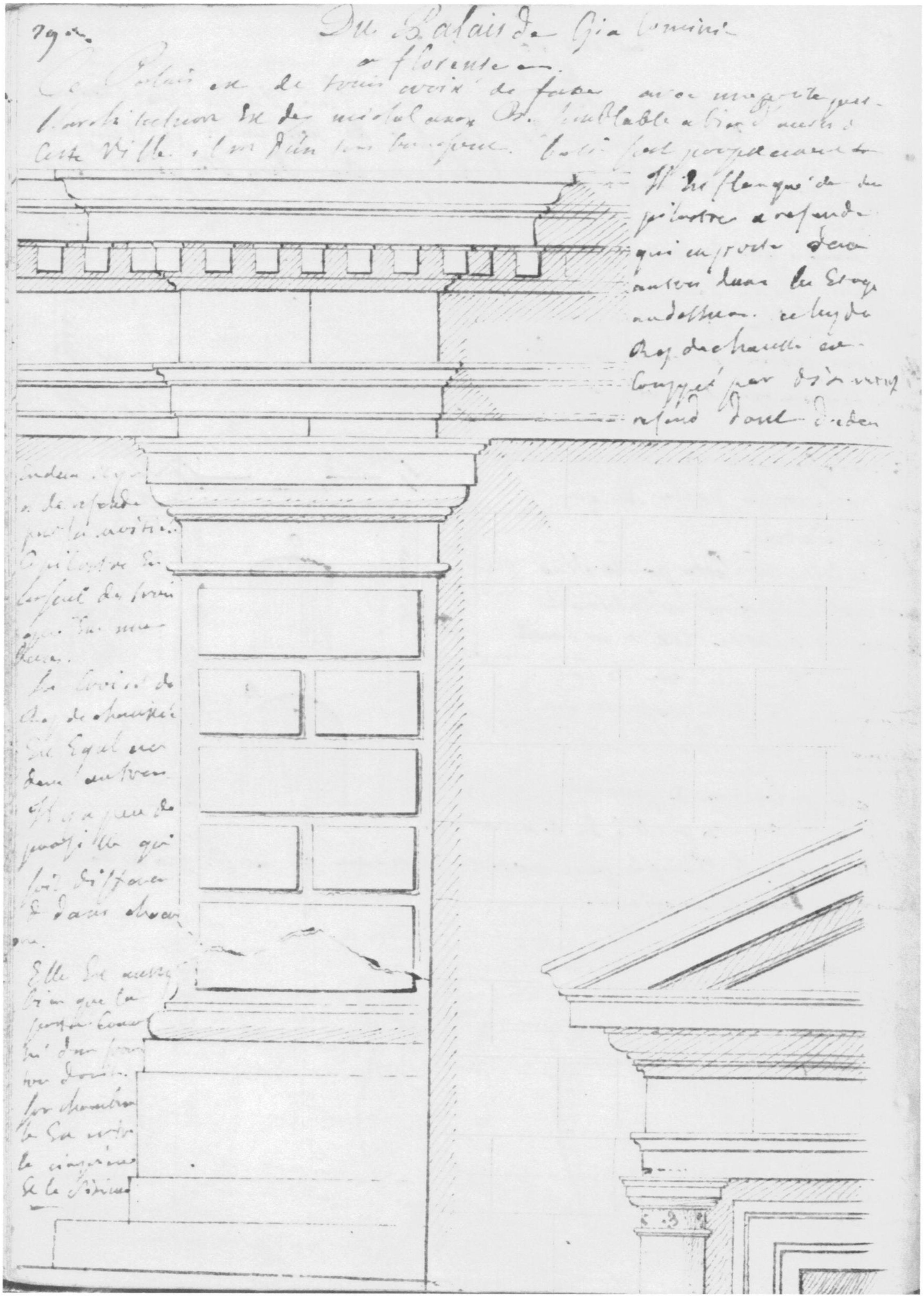
72. Bellicard, *Different Profiles of Michelangelo* (above) and *Details from the Palazzo Giacomini* (below), from Notebook, p. 39

73. Giovanni Antonio Dosio, *The Palazzo Giacomini-Larderel*, ca. 1580 (photo: Alinari)

San Lorenzo in Florence (Figure 72 and the four sections at the bottom of Figure 92), Bellicard chose to study an obscure palace on the via dei Tornabuoni that he and others mistakenly attributed to Michelangelo: he devoted more pages to it than to any other monument, ancient or modern. The Palazzo Giacomini, later called the Palazzo Michelozzi and currently known as the Palazzo Larderel (Figure 73), is a narrow three-story town house distinguished by handsome fenestration. The portal and windows at the ground floor are articulated with engaged Doric columns capped with triangular pediments that are echoed in pilasters with triangular pediments on the upper story. The central axis is enforced by using triangular pediments at all three stories. The facade is varied by the insertion of two segmental pediments in the flanking bays of the second story. The whole composition is framed by a heavy cornice and massive, rusticated corner pilasters.[124]

"This palace has three bays on the front with a portal. The architecture is by Michelangelo B[uonarotti] similar to many others in this city," Bellicard wrote.[125] He was probably comparing the windows supported on scroll brackets that Michelangelo added to the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi with those on the ground floor of the Palazzo Giacomini. Bellicard described and drew every important part of this restrained design. He drew details of the portal and of the ground-floor level of the rusticated corner pilaster (Figure 74), a section of the door-frame molding of the portal leading into the courtyard (Figure 75), the segmental pediment at the second level (Figure 76), the heavier cornice and corner pilaster at the top level (Figure 77), and the "Doric" pediment of the portal (Figure 78). He finished with a beautiful page of elevations and plans of the bases of the windows and the main portal on the ground floor, as well as perspectival views of the scroll bracket supporting the windows of the ground floor and of the large modillions, or ornamental square brackets, under the cornice at the top of the building (Figure 79).

The building is now dated to about 1580 and attributed to Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533–1609), an architect, antiquarian, and engraver and a man with whom Bellicard would have had an affinity. Dosio's 1569 publication of Roman antiquities is a document evincing a continuing interest in Roman architectural style by architects in the Renaissance tradition.[126] The



74. Bellicard, *The Palazzo Giacomini, Florence*, from Notebook, p. 29

relationship between Dosio's antiquarian interests and his own architecture is similar to the aspirations of Bellicard and his antiquarian colleagues.

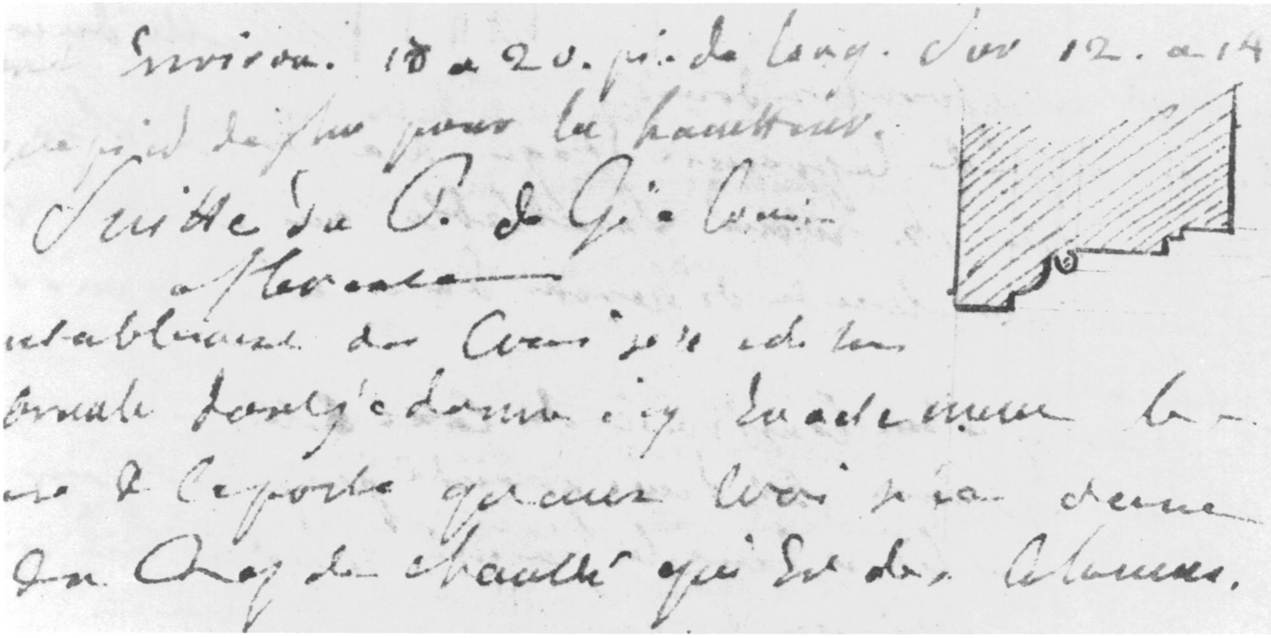
While Bellicard did not know very much about the architectural history of the High Renaissance and *maniera*, he recognized that the Palazzo Giacomini exemplified many of those qualities of the continuing legacy of antiquity to classicizing modern architecture: restraint, traditional applications of the orders, and a rhythmic and rational organization of the facade. Bellicard had incorrectly identified these qualities of Renaissance architecture with Michelangelo, who was far more experimental and unorthodox in using traditional forms than Bellicard would have approved. Leaving the misattribution aside, Bellicard had nothing but praise for the Palazzo Giacomini and its architect.

Bellicard dismissed the plan of the church of the Santissima Annunziata as only rather good and the decoration of the ceiling as "sticking to the taste of all churches in Naples and Rome" (Figure 80).[127] He concentrated on the centrally planned sanctuary completed by Leon Battista Alberti in 1477. He singled out for attention and praise the architectural and decorative ordonnance of the square chapel designed by Giovanni Bologna (1529–1608) to be his own tomb (Figure 81). As in his discussion of the Baptistery in Pisa (see Figure 71), Bellicard proves sensitive to the effects achieved by mixing colored marble with other materials in the tomb chapel of Giovanni Bologna and in the rotunda of the Annunziata (Figure 82). It is worth noting that this kind of rich coloration is spoken of in Bellicard's *Observations* as being "in the manner of the ancients."

Bellicard completed his drawings in Florence with one of the Piazza della Santissima Annunziata and the orphanage of the Innocenti, and commented in particular on the equestrian statue and fountains he attributed to Giovanni Bologna (Figure 83).[128]

En route from Rome to Florence, Vandières and his party had stopped to see the Farnese villa at Caprarola. Both Cochin and Bellicard treated Caprarola in their respective notes, and there Bellicard drew some of the most beautiful sketches in the notebook.[129] He devoted most of one page to an extremely positive evaluation of the great pentagonal

75. Bellicard, *View of the Palazzo Giacomini, Florence*, from Notebook, p. 30 (detail)

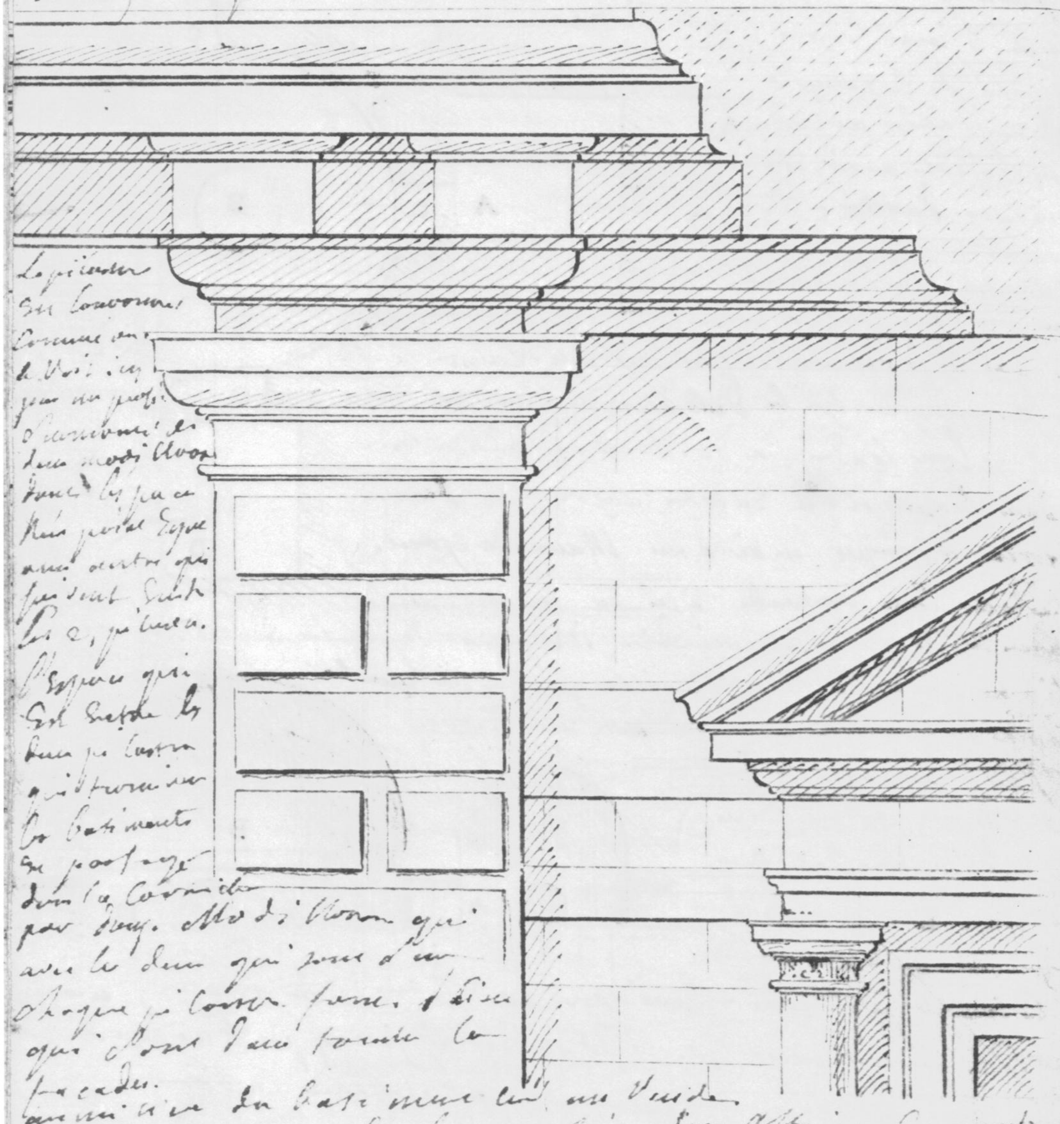


76. Bellicard, *View of the Palazzo Giacomini, Florence,* from Notebook, p. 31

33

Suitte du P. de Giacomini a florence

La Corniche qui couronne le batiment de deux étages est d'une assez beau profille, son ordre les plus lourd que les deux autres, et na point de base.

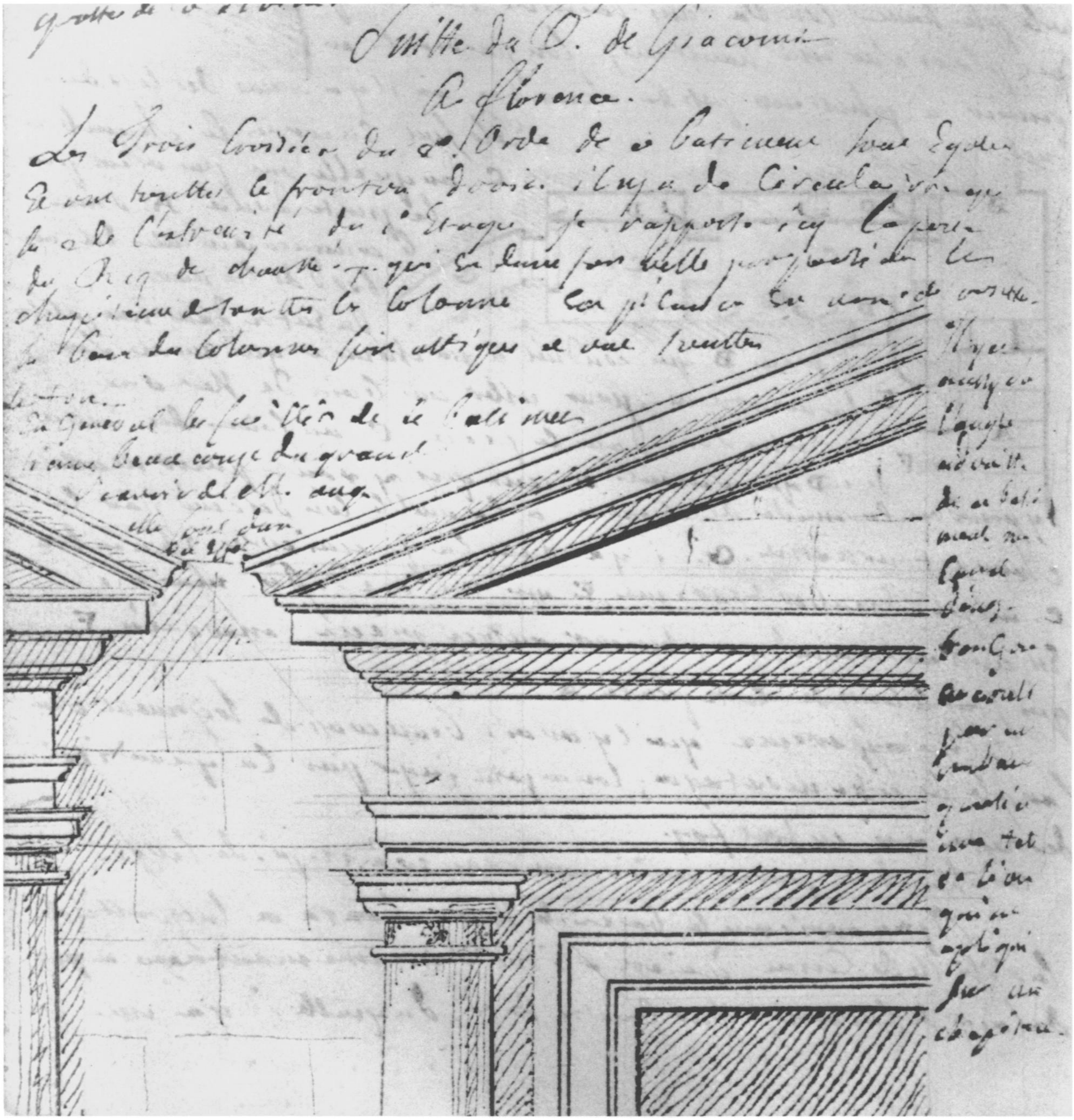


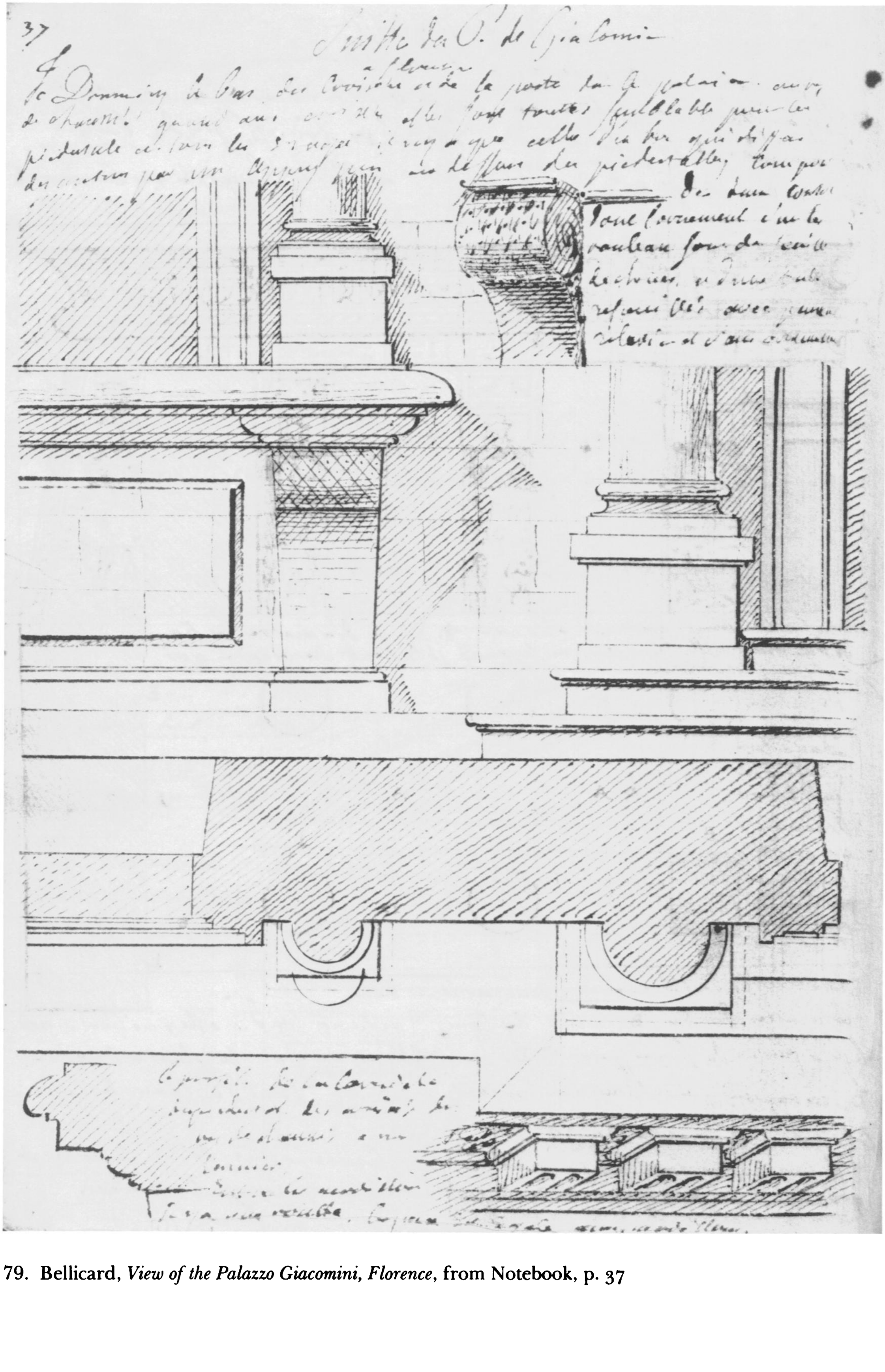
Le pilastre qui couronne comme on le voit ici par son profil d'ornement et deux modillons dont les [illegible] espace avec autres qui [illegible] les [illegible]. L'espace qui est [illegible] les [illegible] qui [illegible] le batiments en passage dans la Corniche par [illegible] modillons qui avec les deux qui sont d'un étage [illegible] forme [illegible] qui sont [illegible] la facade.

[illegible] de base [illegible] au [illegible] les [illegible] la projection des [illegible] qui [illegible] le [illegible] par 13. [illegible] semblables [illegible] qui [illegible] la croisée qui est aussy semblable a celle d'au dessous. [illegible]

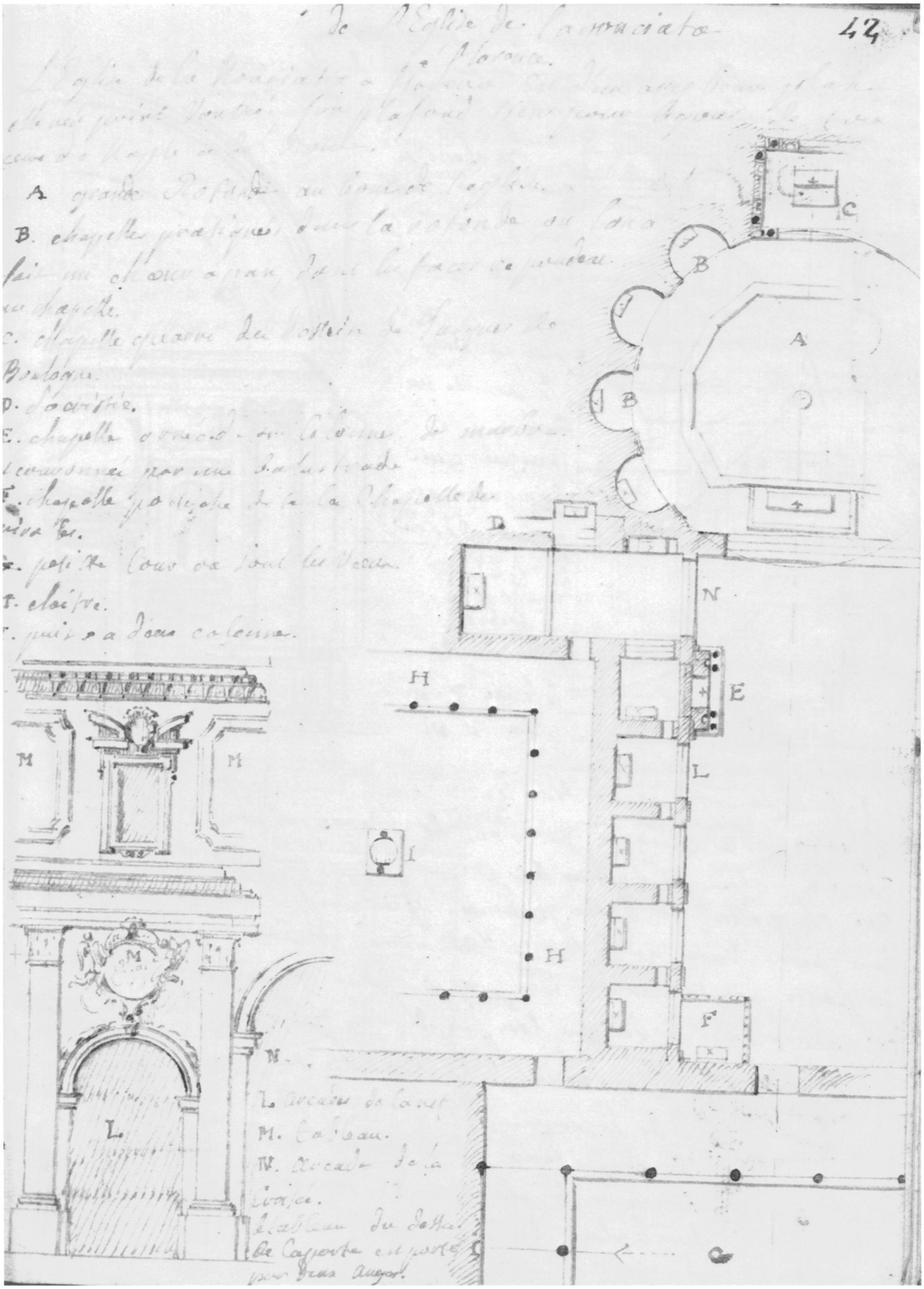
77. Bellicard, *View of the Palazzo Giacomini, Florence*, from Notebook, p. 33

78. Bellicard, *View of the Palazzo Giacomini, Florence*, from Notebook, p. 35 (detail)

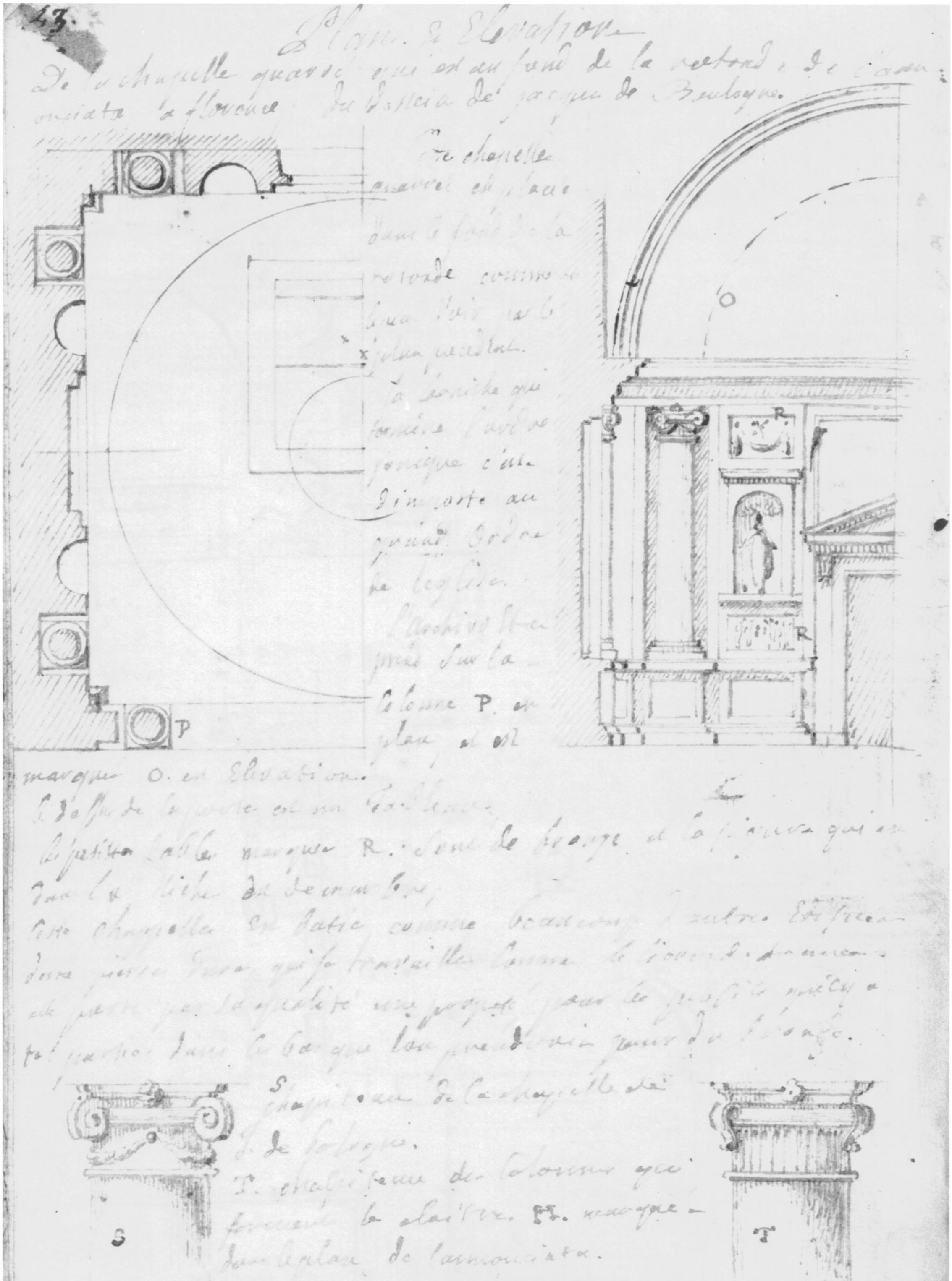




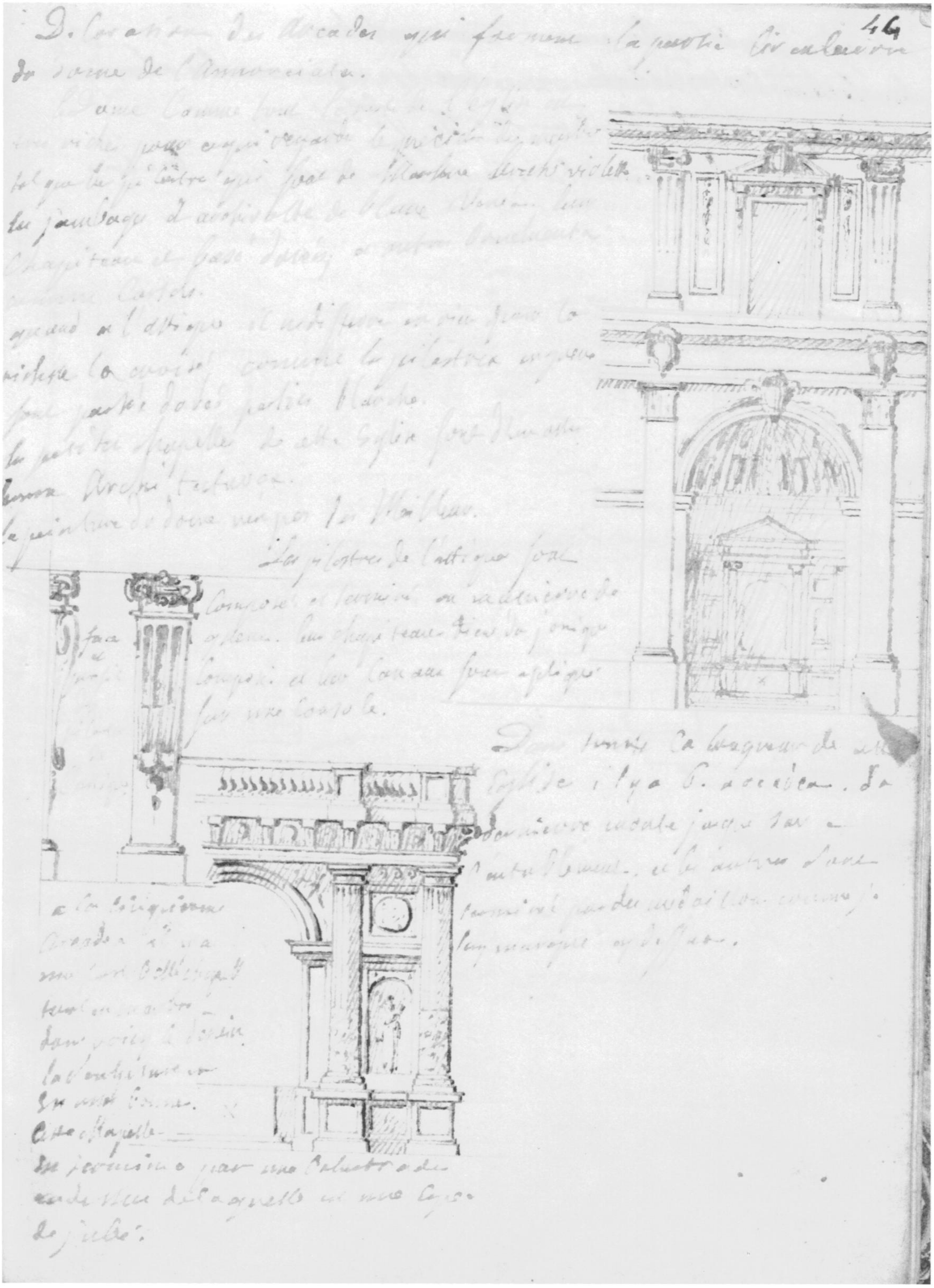
79. Bellicard, *View of the Palazzo Giacomini, Florence*, from Notebook, p. 37



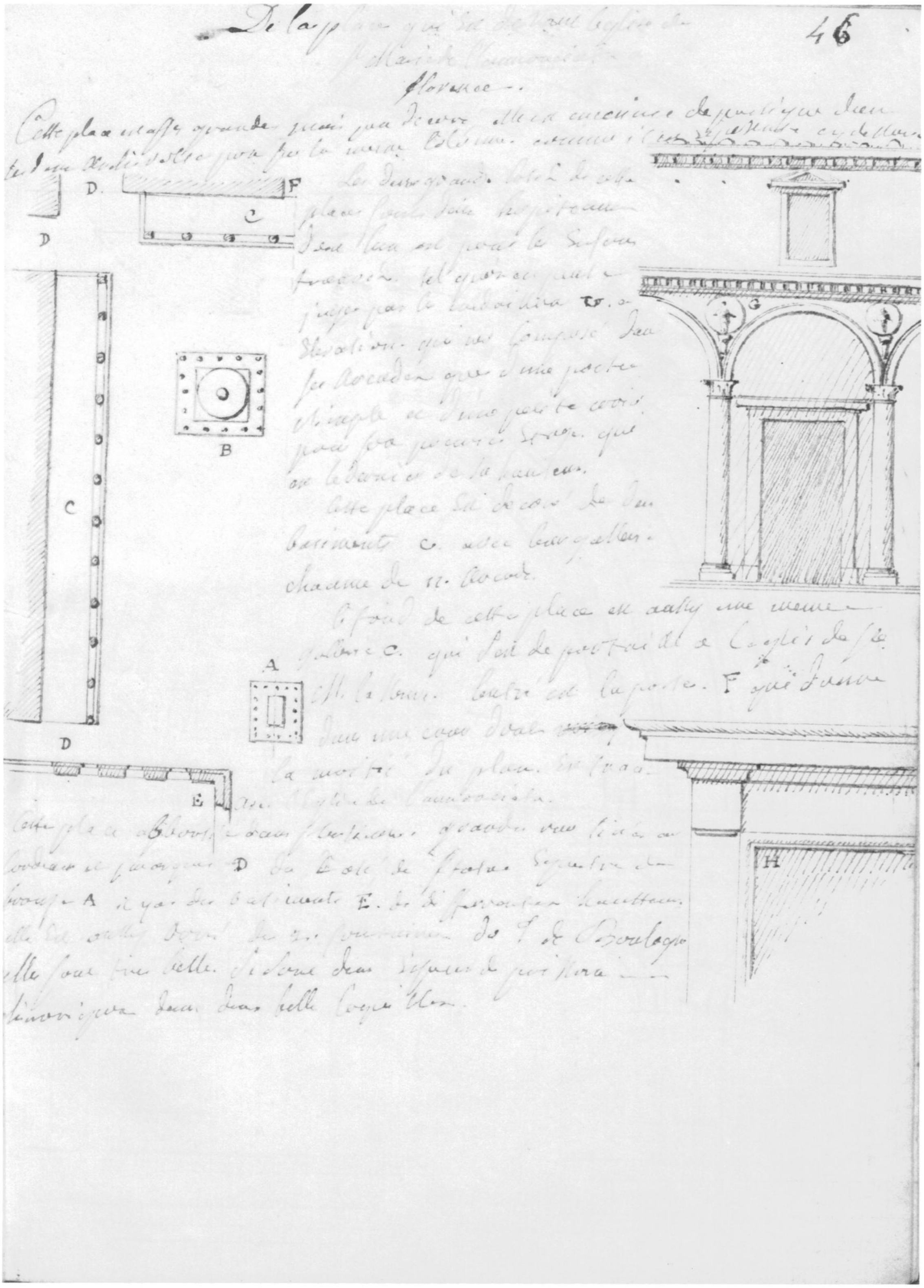
80. Bellicard, *The Church of the Santissima Annunziata*, from Notebook, p. 42



81. Bellicard, *Plan and Elevation of a Chapel of the Santissima Annunziata*, from Notebook, p. 43



82. Bellicard, *Decoration of the Arcades that Form the Circular Part of the Dome of the Annunziata*, from Notebook, p. 44



83. Bellicard, *From the Piazza in front of the Church of Santissima Annunziata, Florence*, from Notebook, p. 46

villa designed by Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola (1507–73) between about 1565 and his death, and completed in 1584 by an architect known only as Maestro Giovannantonio.[130] Bellicard paid special attention to the elevation and decoration of the circular inner courtyard (Figure 84). Bellicard admired the gallery at ground level and the articulation of the piers to receive sculpture in square openings that alternated with arches of elegant proportions. He also discussed (but did not illustrate) the fresco decoration of this gallery based on the *grotteschi* in the style of Raphael in the Vatican. Cochin elaborated on this description by noting that the decoration of the vaults of the courtyard arcade were arabesques in "good" taste, but that the overall effect was bad because the colors of these ornaments clashed with the overall slate color of the stonework.[131]

What particularly attracted their interest was not the villa itself but the garden architecture, the cascades, and the small casino called the Palazzina (Figures 6, 85).[132] It was in all probability Vandières's personal interest that inspired the attention given to the garden architecture at Caprarola.[133] He had a lifelong interest in gardens and was later to create a magnificent garden at the Château de Ménars, complete with hydraulic machines, architectural follies, and specific souvenirs of his memories of Italian gardens.

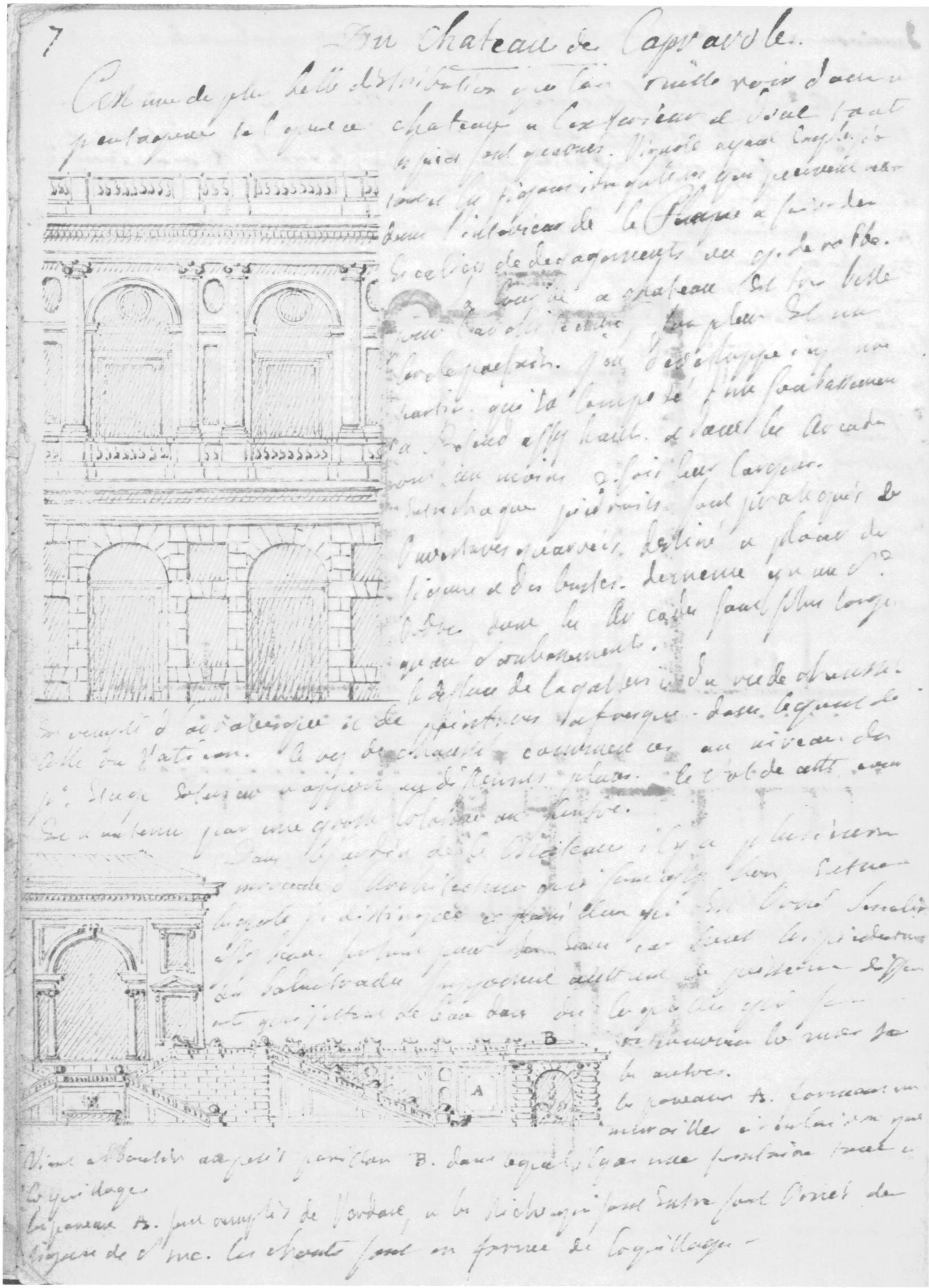
Vandières's personal interest also likely explains Bellicard's splendid drawing of the hydraulically powered forge hammer (Figure 86) seen during a visit to the ironworks at Ronciglione.[134] Throughout his life Vandières had been fascinated by mechanical inventions; he sponsored experimental designs of wine presses and unsinkable boats and kept a laboratory at each of his houses.

Bellicard drew several villas in the Veneto, as he states in his notes, but only one sketch of a villa (Figure 87) survives in the notebook.[135] From Cochin we know that the group visited the Villa Cataio or Cattaglio, at Cataio near Battaglia Terme, between Monselice and Padua.[136] However, the drawing in Bellicard's notebook does not seem to be of that house. It has a distinctly Palladian quality, but it does not quite correspond to any of the villas designed by Antonio Palladio (1508–80). The drawing looks more like the Villa Chiericati-Porto at Vancimuglio,[137] although it shows a pediment supported by square piers with Ionic capitals at the ends and Ionic columns at the center, with a flight of stairs as wide as the portico, while the Villa Porto has four Ionic columns and a narrow stair. The fenestration of the two facades also differs, and there is a rusticated basement in the drawing but not at the villa. Unfortunately, Bellicard never completed the written description for this design. Without question, his (and Vandières's) interest in the beauty, exterior decoration, and large gardens of the villas between Padua and Venice was of a piece with the attention he had given to the gardens at Caprarola.

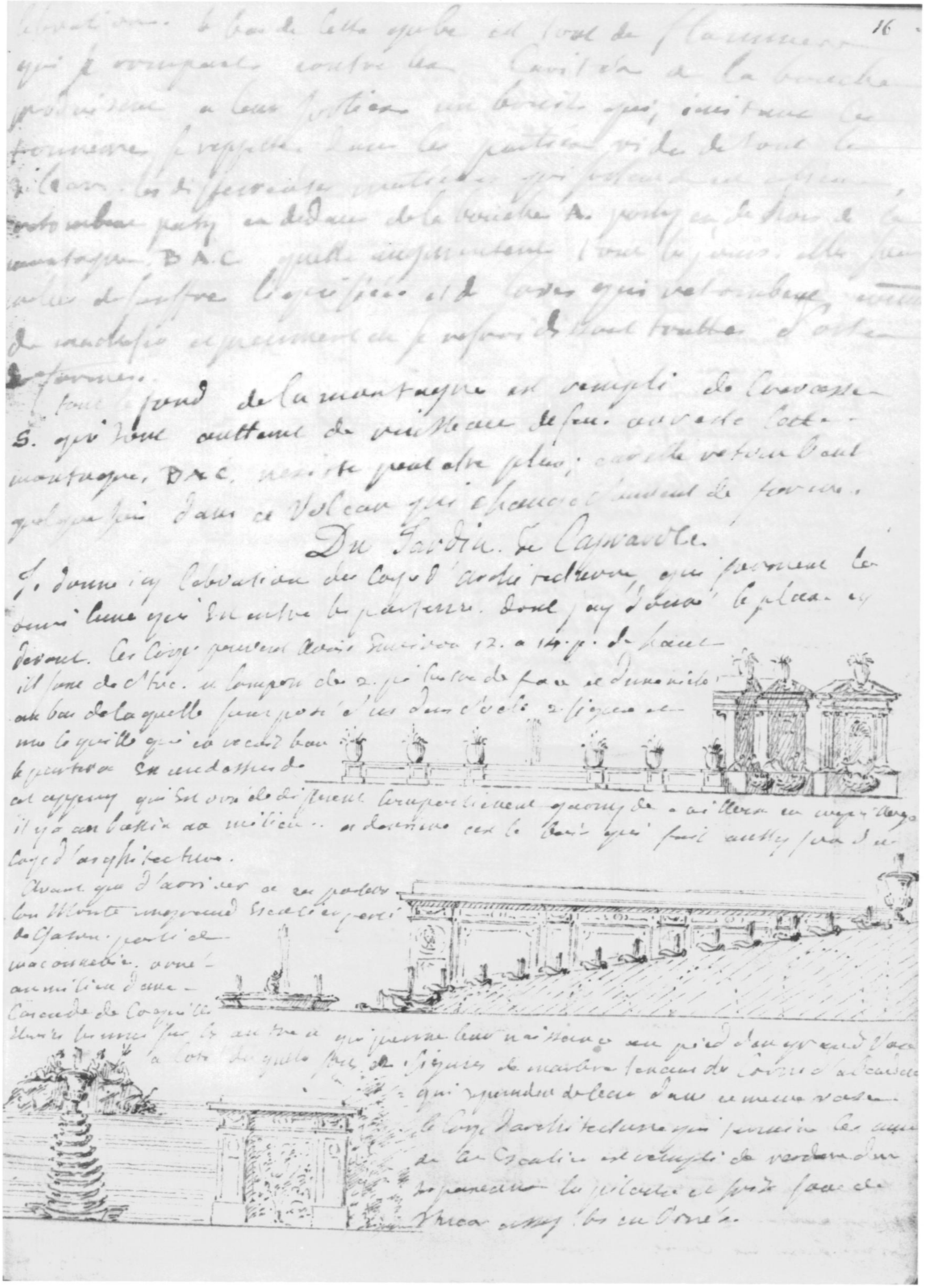
In comparison to the amount of space devoted to the Pisan medieval monuments, Bellicard characteristically gave more to the early-seventeenth-century loggia at Pisa, called the Loggia di Banchi (Figures 88, 89).[138] He was impressed by the way the architect had disguised the massiveness of the piers by clustering heavily rusticated pilasters around them. Cochin also discussed this loggia and amplified the evaluation found in Bellicard's notes:

> At the end of a marble bridge, there is an edifice built by the Medicis, as one may ascertain by the coat of arms which is there. It resembles a loggia suitable for merchants. It is arcaded, with grouped pilasters of the Doric order. There are triglyphs only on the pilasters and at the middles of the arches, which results in a naked and irregular frieze [seen in Bellicard's drawing]. This building is beautiful up to the cornice of the first order, which is the original part. It has been raised by the addition of a story in modern style which is not good. The capitals seem defective in that the quarter round has too much curve which makes them seem heavy.[139]

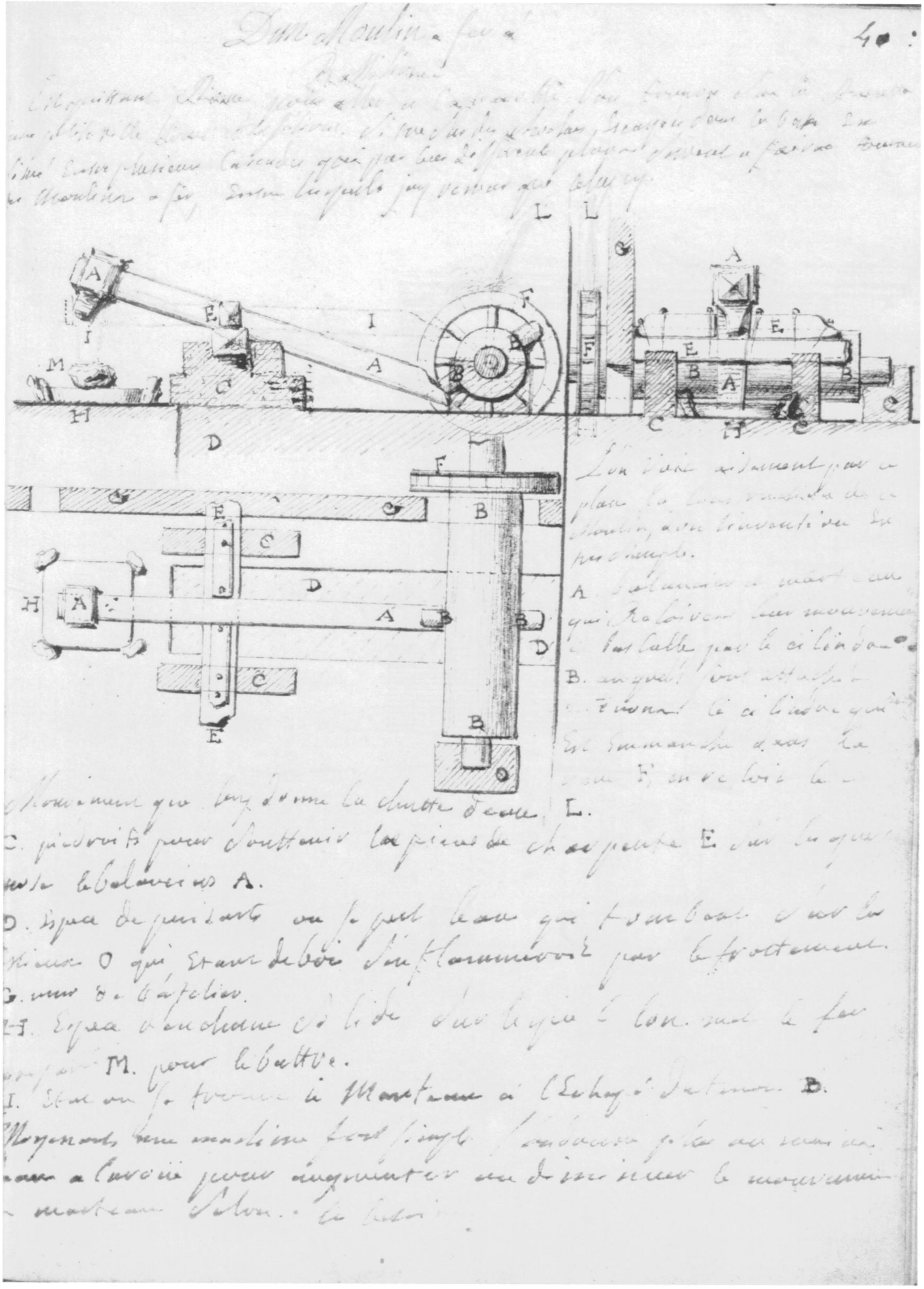
Among the seventeenth-century monuments Bellicard included in the notebook is one of his rare interior drawings. This was the dignified Anatomy Theater (Figure 90) of the Archiginnasio, the seat of the ancient University of Bologna, which was renowned as the first school to practice the dissection of the human body.[140] The Anatomy Theater, which is above the chapel of the Archiginnasio, was built between 1638 and 1649 based on designs by Antonio Levanti. The walls are of carved fir and the ceiling is of cedar of Lebanon. The walls are decorated with niches that contain statues of great men of medicine, and above them small oval niches contain busts of great teachers of the Bolognese faculty of anatomy



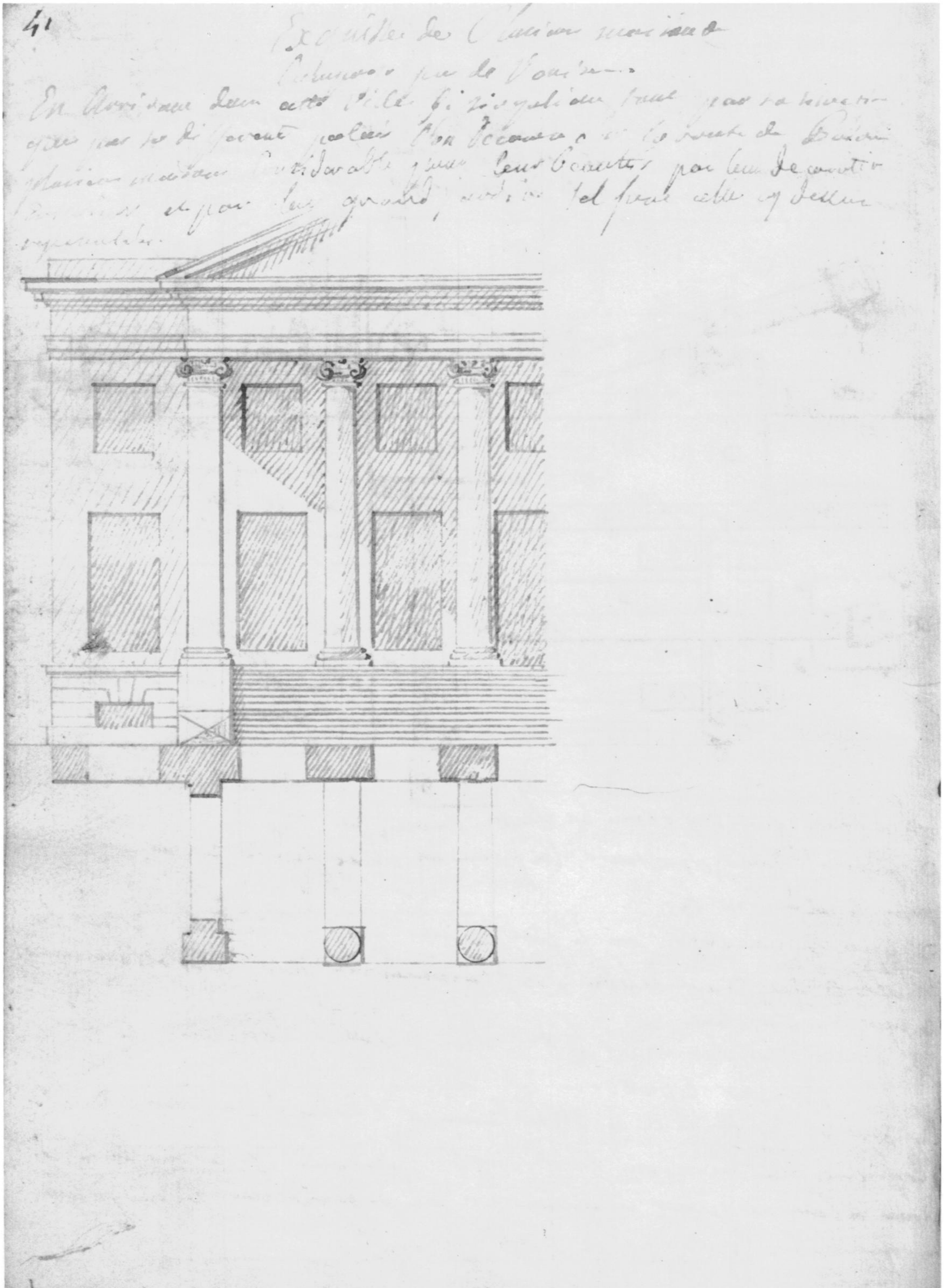
84. Bellicard, *Views of the Villa of Caprarola* (the Farnese villa above and the Palazzina below), from Notebook, p. 7



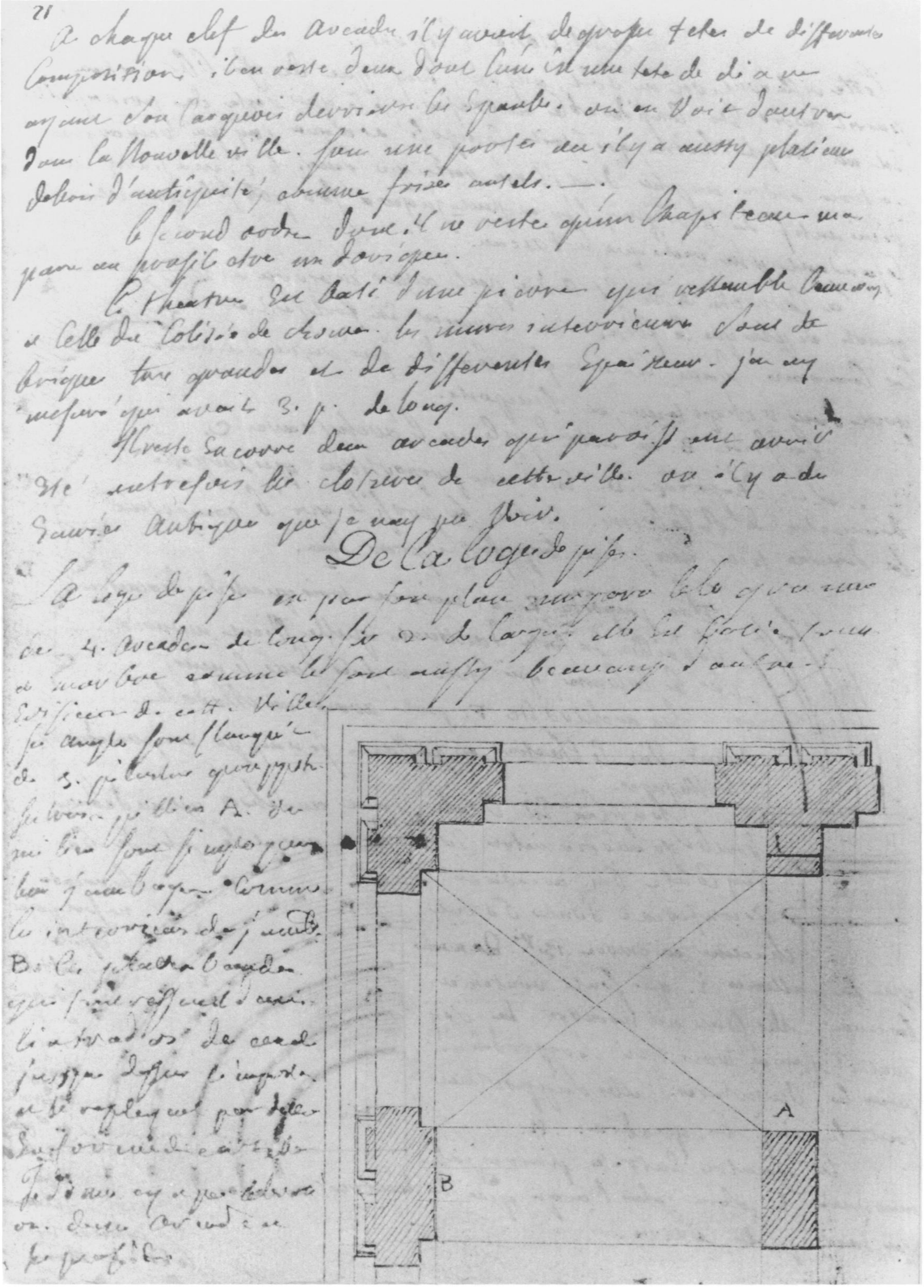
85. Bellicard, *The Garden at Caprarola*, from Notebook, p. 16



86. Bellicard, *Forge Hammer at the Iron Mill at Ronciglione*, from Notebook, p. 40



87. Bellicard, *Sketch of Several* [*sic*] *Country Houses near Venice*, from Notebook, p. 41


21
A chaque clef des arcades il y avoit des grosses tetes de differentes compositions. il en reste deux dont l'une est une tete de diane ayant son carquois derriere les epaules. on en voit d'autres dans la Nouvelle ville. sur une porte où il y a aussy plusieurs debris d'antiquité, comme frises autels.—

Le second ordre dorique. il ne reste qu'un chapiteau [illegible] un dorique.

Le theatre est bati d'une pierre qui ressemble beaucoup à celle du colisée de Rome. les murs interieurs sont de brique tres grandes et de differentes epaisseurs. j'en ay mesuré qui avoit 3. p. de long.

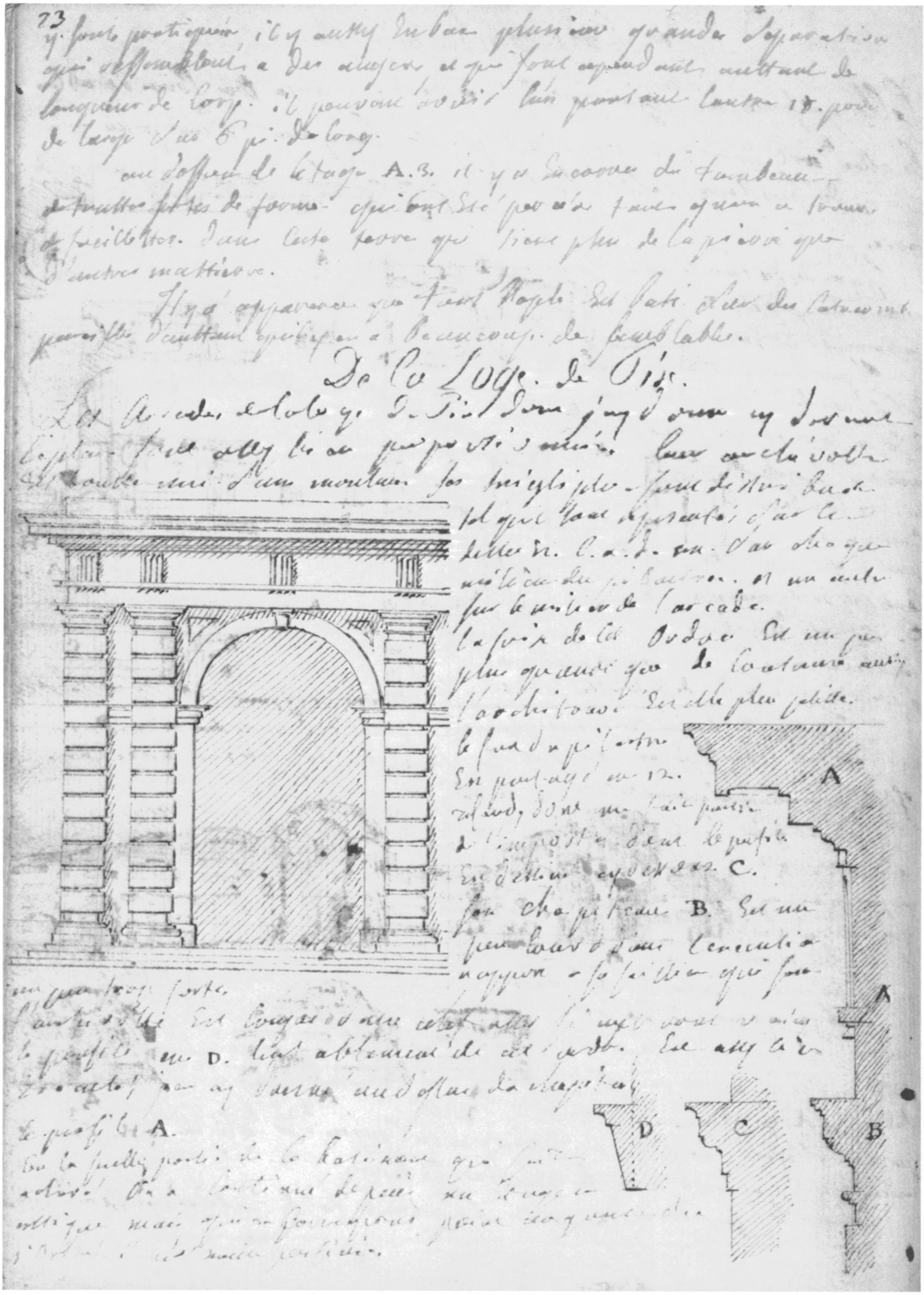
Il reste encore deux arcades qui paroissent avoir été autrefois les clotures de cette ville. où il y a des [illegible] antiques que je n'ay pu [illegible].

De la loge de pise.

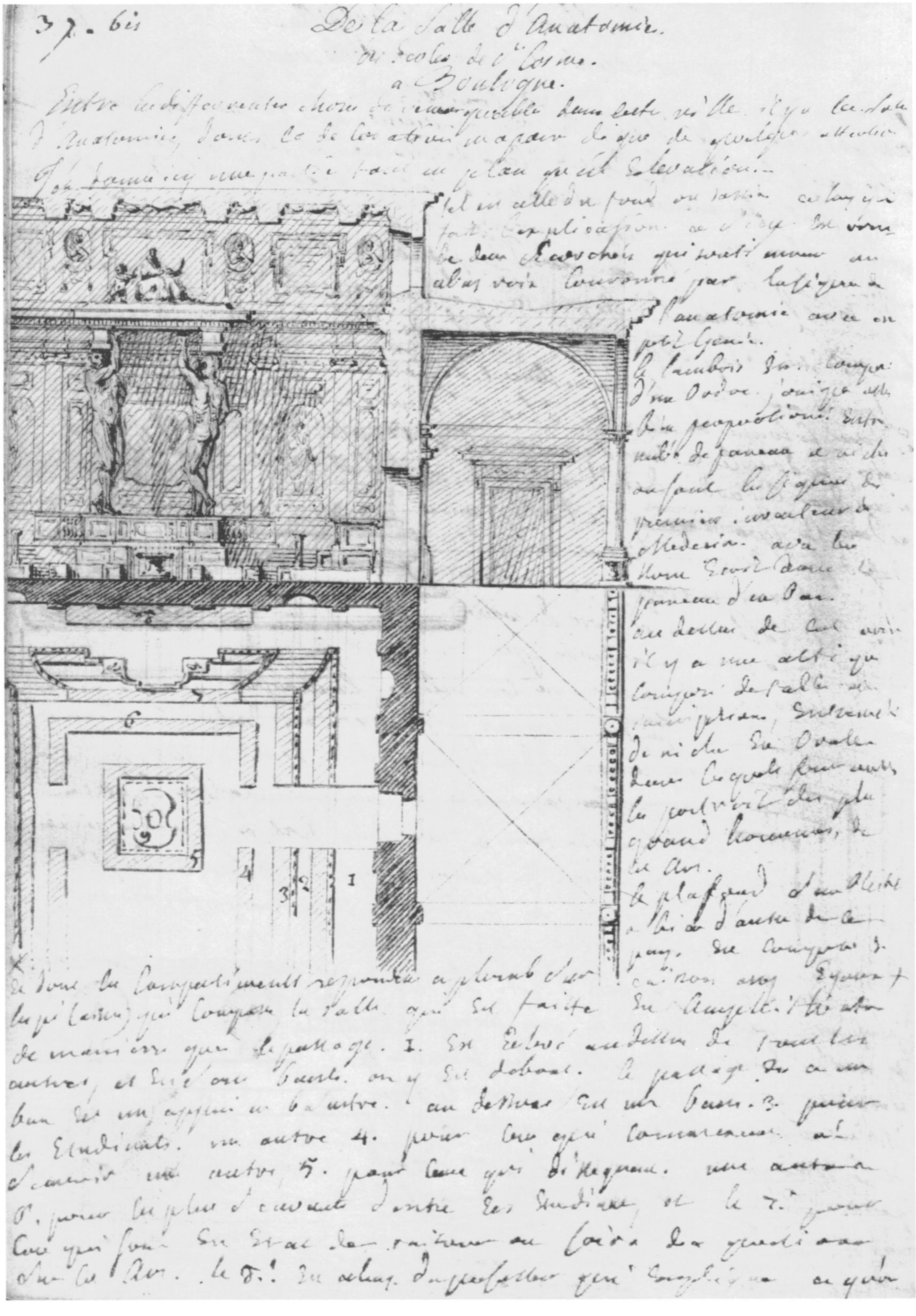
La loge de pise est par son plan quarré long [illegible] de 4. arcades de long sur 3. de large. elle est batie toute de marbre comme le sont aussy beaucoup d'autres edifices de cette ville.

ses angles sont flanqués de 3. pilastres [illegible]

88. Bellicard, *The Loggia di Banchi, Pisa*, from Notebook, p. 21



89. Bellicard, *The Loggia di Banchi, Pisa*, from Notebook, p. 23



90. Bellicard, *The Anatomy Room at the Academy of St. Cosimo*, from Notebook, p. 37bis

with their names inscribed below.[141] At the place of honor—marked *8* on Bellicard's plan—was the presiding professor's seat beneath a canopy borne by two flayed male caryatids supporting an allegorical personification of Anatomy, accompanied by a putto representing Genius. Bellicard appreciated the arrangement of the risers in the Theater as a means of effecting both the practical business of demonstration and the ceremonial ordering of the students of differing accomplishment—the practicing anatomists and the faculty. Bellicard's design is of added value in that the Anatomy Theater was largely destroyed in 1944 (Figure 91).

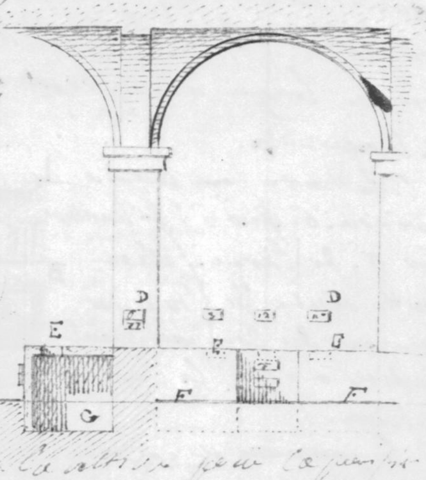
Bellicard included only one eighteenth-century building in the notebook, and it reflects the common threads of novel building type and bravura engineering that he admired in ancient structures. In Livorno he described at length the Bottini dell'Olio (Figures 52, 92)—a warehouse for the storage and shipment of olive oil—built in 1703 by Cosimo III de'Medici and enlarged in 1731 by Gian Gastone after designs by the sculptor-architect Giovanni Battista Foggini (1652–1725). This depot was designed to hold 24,000 barrels of oil in 304 waterproof slate tanks built into the walls.[142] Located behind the Fortezza Vecchia on the Viale Caprera on a canal leading directly to the harbor, this oil magazine was an ingenious solution to the difficult mercantile problem of handling large quantities of liquids owned by many different merchants. Bellicard's description of the oil warehouse's vaulted hall suggests that the architect was comparing it to the Piscina Mirabile at Misenum (see Figure 50).

VEDUTE IDEATE

Included in the Metropolitan Museum notebook are five *vedute ideate* on one sheet. Such imaginary architectural views including or combining real buildings in fanciful settings with invented structures are often called *capricci*. These pretty drawings are the only such views in the notebook and very likely predate the journey. They are drawn on a loose sheet of paper, which Bellicard must have kept folded between the pages. When the notebook was eventually bound, the loose sheet was pasted down on a page and bound in with the fascicles of notes. On the verso of these architectural fantasies is a first draft of Bellicard's description of the initial discovery of Herculaneum. This text is, almost word for word, identical to the text copied into the notebook as page 1. My hypothesis is that, on reading d'Arthenay's pamphlet, Bellicard took a sheet of drawing paper upon which he had already made some drawings and began to make notes on the back. He then realized that he would eventually want to make more extensive notes on his reading and to illustrate them. He then acquired the notebook, copied his first passages into it, folded up his first essay, and tucked it between the sheets.[143]

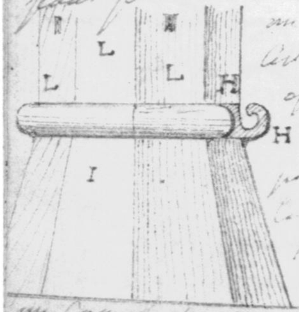
91. Photograph of the Anatomical Theater of the Archiginnasio, Bologna (photo: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University)

l'ordinaire d'environ 1 p. d'épaisseur et ont une ouverture C. d'environ 1 p. en quarré au bas ou au dessus de ses ouvertures sont les inscriptions D. qui sont assez effacées ce sont de petites tables d'environ 1 p. de long sur lesquelles sont écrits les noms des [illegible] l'on voit par la coupe du [illegible] C qu'il descend jusqu'au niveau du corridor F. chacune de ces [illegible] E. est fermée d'un couvercle de terre à cachet.

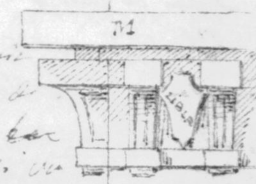


Au milieu du corridor A. marqué au plan du portique un canal qui répond à chaque caisson en cas que l'eau vienne à fuir elle coule dans ce même canal et va se répandre dans une autre citerne faite exprès dans la cité pour la purifier le canal peut avoir environ 9 a 10 p. de large. il est de pierre.

Ce canal me fait ressouvenir d'une invention assez bonne pour pouvoir avoir de l'eau douce et potable dans



un endroit entièrement marqué exposé a la [illegible] on me trouve. I. a Livourne qui est en mer. Cette tour construite



autrefois de la république de Pise, mais depuis les Médicis pour [illegible] la [illegible] a fait revetir en feuille de marbre blanc. le gros tore marqué icy en H. est creusé par dessus et forme un canal tout autour des [illegible] L. de cette tour et recueille l'eau du ciel qui y tombe et la conduit dans une citerne où on la conserve. Le creux de ce tore comme on peut juger ne paroit point au dehors. il peut avoir environ 18 p. de diamètre. la tour est d'une fort grande proportion elle est couronnée par l'entablement marqué M. qui est orné de consoles assez belles entre lesquelles il y a différentes cartouches. le tout est de marbre blanc comme je l'ai déjà dit.

Différents Profils de M. Ange.

92. Bellicard, *Architectural Details of the Bottino dell'Olio at Livorno, with (at bottom) Unrelated Drawings of Moldings Attributed to Michelangelo*, from Notebook, p. 27

The views themselves are of a type much favored by students at the French Academy in Rome, where perspective was taught by an Italian master, Giovanni Paolo Pannini, the celebrated maker of architectural *vedute*, which had become extremely popular with tourists and collectors. To some extent, such designs were exercises in perspective drawing and were practiced by all students of painting and architecture as a means of perfecting this useful illusionistic skill. For students, *vedute ideate* became forms of exercise in historicizing and proto-Romantic imagination. Rome's surviving monuments provided a lexicon of fragments lifted from their actual context and recombined with figures, invented natural phenomena (such as rivers, forests, and hills), and completely imaginary architectures that gave free rein to the artists' fantasies, hence the name *capriccio*.

Bellicard's five imaginary scenes are characteristic of this genre and together make up a small gallery of views, as if five paintings were hung edge to edge (Figure 93). The fact that no single recognizable "antiquity" is repeated across the designs emphasizes this sense of ensemble. We recognize the Pantheon (top left), the column of Trajan (top right), the Colosseum, columns of the Temple of Jupiter (bottom left), and other sites in the four small square compositions; but in the most dramatic—the long horizontal image at the center—we recognize absolutely nothing: for it is the only completely fanciful design of them all. Exploiting devices that Bellicard had seen Paninni and Claude-Joseph Vernet use and that Hubert Robert would repeat two decades later, Bellicard places the viewer in the shadow of a bridge and lets us look out through the frame of its arch toward a busy river with passing boats and a second monumental bridge, above which towers a range of columned and balustraded ashlar buildings surmounted by scores of free-standing sculpted figures.

Here at last we see realized in Bellicard's imagination a proof that connects his studies of great monuments of the past with his aspirations as an architect. Clearly reflected in this imaginary picture of architectural fantasy is his love of a kind of monumental architecture that defies the capacity of man and mere materials to realize. Yearning for the ability to make an engineering reality of such grand designs, the young architect seems to have sought examples of triumphant feats of ambitious architecture that had actually been made.

CONCLUSION

The sheets in Bellicard's notebook make up two distinct collections of monuments. One group was assembled as the preliminary research for a publication with the goal of satisfying a demand for up-to-date information and illustrations of Campanian antiquities. The other assemblage is a miscellany of drawings made for personal instruction and was not intended for publication. Unlike the published collection of antiquities, the latter category concentrates on but is not limited to post-Renaissance monuments. The sum of these two different but related classes of monuments reveals the omnivorous interests of Vandières's traveling companions. The selection of ancient, Gothic, and modern monuments and of natural phenomena is characteristic of the broad scope of the Enlightenment sensibility. Bellicard's notebook, along with the history of Vandières's tour, represents an openness to the critical examination of artistic conventions and styles of all periods.

Bellicard's writing on the archaeological finds at Herculaneum is intimately linked to the rise of a self-conscious history of architecture. For artists, architects, and serious amateurs, the need to travel for firsthand study of the great achievements of the past became increasingly urgent as the century's historicist tendencies made themselves felt. In the years after 1750, the nascent archaeology and the controversy between the ancients and moderns found new outlets in "popular" journalism, in art criticism, and among the learned men who contributed to the first volumes of the *Encyclopédie*.[144]

Bellicard's historical position is at the threshold of modern archaeology and at the late moments of the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns—as it were, at the beginning of the loss of innocence about antiquity. This is the moment when architectural history begins to disengage itself from training for the practice of architecture in what has come to be the modern attitude to the separation of the study of the past (for its own sake) from the skills needed for contemporary professional activity. Bellicard's notebook is part of the birth of a self-conscious historical study of the arts and is one small point of demarcation in the evolution of the modern sensibility.

Bellicard's publications and his notebook assure him a place in the history of archaeology and travel literature. He was more than a mere connoisseur of architecture but not just an antiquarian driven by nostalgia for the past. Men like d'Arthenay and Bellicard were interested in a factual recording of the actual state of monuments and in their essential social context. He gave little attention, however, to what we now recognize as the preoccupations of modern archaeology—the anthropological, historical, or sociological lessons to be derived from the site and the relationships of buildings and objects found there. Bellicard, as a harbinger of the new archaeology, was willing to present quite unimproved the fragmentary findings of past civilizations. It was just this fragmentary nature that made the surviving ancient monuments and works of art appear so limited in use to the French Academy.

In 1768, eighteen years after Bellicard's journal was begun and fifteen years after the publications based upon it, the Royal Academy of Architecture in Paris went on record as saying that archaeological studies of ancient sites such as Herculaneum were more useful to the history of architecture than to furthering the practice of architecture. Referring to the most recently issued volumes of the *Delle Antiquità di Ercolano*, edited by Ottavio Antonio Bayardi and published by the Royal Academy at Naples, the minutes of the French Academy's session record: "La Compagnie a vu cet ouvrage avec plaisir, mais elle a jugé qu'il pouvoit être plus utile pour l'histoire de l'architecture que pour ses progrès, les édifices qu'on y voit ayant plus de rapport avec l'architecture chinoise et arabesque qu'avec la belle architecture grecque et romaine."[145]

This statement masks a subtle division within the Academy between the orthodoxy of the classical French tradition, as personified by Ange-Jacques Gabriel (1698–1782), First Architect to the king, and a new architectural tradition, nowhere more forcefully evident than in the Parisian church of Sainte-Geneviève (already under construction in 1768, and known to us today in its deconsecrated form as the Panthéon), which Vandières had commissioned from his former traveling companion Soufflot. In this new tradition, architects accepted a far broader spectrum of models as valuable in the process of forming a style that would build upon the classicizing tradition and yet go beyond it in creating a language of symbolic form and in the engineering that would make dramatic spatial achievements a reality. For men like Soufflot, the study of Roman and Renaissance architecture, of Italian and exotic examples, were all valid. If nothing else, Bellicard's notebook disproves a statement of the French Academy in 1768 that the fragmentary remains of antiquity held no practical lessons for architects.

What is most revealing about the full range of interests reconstructed in Bellicard's notebook is the "modern" context against which the ancient material must be viewed. What we see in his selection and treatment of sites is not a "neoclassical" orthodoxy seeking fodder for imitation of a previously selected ideal style,[146] but a probing attitude that admires old solutions to problematic architectural conditions and shows respect for extremely pragmatic issues in engineering.

The way Vandières's group studied the ancient, modern, and natural phenomena of Italy in 1750 and 1751 helps us feel the pulse of an age. These men looked at artifacts as connoisseurs and explorers, and not with a scientific or sociological attitude. Their interests had a broad sweep. They exercised the same degree of interest and the same level of insight into modern as well as ancient things. Most dramatically, they did not look upon the past, as we often do today, as a fossil of some rather incomprehensible extinct being, but saw themselves in a living continuum with it, and this made the lessons they learned applicable to themselves and to contemporary architecture.

93. Bellicard, *Five Architectural Fantasies*, from Notebook, p. 54

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NOTES

1. Acc. no. 40.59.6. The Bellicard notebook in the Metropolitan Museum has an interesting provenance. It was purchased at Parke-Bernet, May 1, 1940, lot 54, from the working library of the late Whitney Warren. Mr. Warren, a noted New York architect, had received it as a gift in 1917 from a French officer, commandant de Malleray, who served on the General Staff at Pétain's headquarters near Provins. The gift was made, Mr. Warren wrote on the flyleaf, "in souvenir of many chats we had together in those troublesome times." Their hours of conversation on more civilized and one assumes architectural topics must have distracted them from the realities of their situation.

2. Such as James Dawkins and Robert Wood's ruins of Palmyra and Baalbek published in 1753 and 1757 respectively; J.-D. Le Roy's *Ruines de Grèce* of 1758; Robert Adam's measured drawings of Diocletian's palace at Spalato published in 1763; and James Stuart and Nicholas Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* (the first volume appeared in 1762); and the seminal writings of J. J. Winckelmann in his history of ancient art, which began to appear in German in 1763. (See also Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture* [London, 1943, 1970] p. 356.) A useful compilation of recent work on all aspects of Pompeii and Herculaneum is V. Kochel et al., "Fund und Forschungen in den Vesuvstädten," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut*, Archäologischer Anzeiger (1985) pp. 495–571 (1986) pp. 443–569.

3. Vandières was raised to the titled nobility in 1754. On Sept. 14, 1754, the estate of Marigny, recently inherited by Vandières from his late father François Poisson, was raised to a *marquisat* by Louis XV. Archives Nationales P 2473, fols. 58–65 and X^{1a} 8760, fols. 192–95. After retiring, he was given the additional title of Marquis de Ménars by Louis XVI; he was known by this name in the years 1778–81.

4. Bellicard, Notebook, p. 14.

5. The first edition was published in London under Bellicard's name although Cochin is cited as co-author in the preface. So intense was the interest in Herculaneum, the *Observations* were published in three English-language editions in London in 1753, 1756, and 1758 and in three French editions in Paris in 1754, 1755, and 1757. Bellicard wrote section one, on the history and plans of the principal buildings at Herculaneum, and section three, describing the antiquities in the neighborhood of Naples. Section two, a dissertation on the paintings discovered at Herculaneum, is based on Cochin's ideas and he substantially wrote it. Each author made the etched plates accompanying his respective section of the book. The etchings vary from edition to edition. See note 25 below and Appendix.

6. Despite frequent repetition in the secondary literature, there is no evidence that Madame de Pompadour chose Vandières's tutors and planned the trip. This issue is beyond the scope of the present essay and will be discussed in my forthcoming book on Marigny's life and career.

7. The architecture given special attention included theaters, churches, garden architecture, and antiquities; public squares, details of architectural ornament, and urban planning also received considerable attention. Theater design was of particular current interest at the French court. Madame de Pompadour's activity in the Théâtre des Petits Cabinets had created a desire for a palace theater at Versailles. Vandières and his companions gave much attention to a comparative study of ancient and modern theaters. Indeed, Bellicard includes in the *Observations*, 1753, pp. 21–30, a comparison of the Theater of Herculaneum with the Theater of Marcellus at Rome and Palladio's Theater at Vicenza.

8. Hélène Monod Cassidy, *Un Voyageur-Philosophe au XVIIIe siècle: L'Abbé Jean-Bernard Le Blanc* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941).

9. The trip had to end after twenty-one months when Lenormant de Tournehem, who Vandières was to succeed, became seriously ill. He died on Nov. 19, within eight weeks of Vandières's return to Paris in Sept. 1751.

10. Bellicard had won his Rome prize fellowship in architecture in 1747. Under the sponsorship of the abbé de Lowendal, Bellicard had departed Paris in late 1748 and been assigned a place at the French Academy in Rome in 1749.

11. Gilbert Erouard, *Piranèse et les Français, 1740–1790*, exh. cat., French Academy in Rome (Rome, 1976) p. 52.

12. Hautecoeur, p. 8.

13. Ibid.

14. During the years of his official career, Vandières was a subscriber to Piranesi's publications and maintained a sporadic correspondence with him through Charles Natoire, the director of the French Academy in Rome. Vandières owned several Piranesi publications in his private collection. Ménars Sale, lots 521, 522, and 523.

15. Bellicard states that he had been to Pozzuoli in 1749 but makes no references to earlier visits to Herculaneum. *Observations*, 1753, pp. 129–130.

16. Furthermore, Bellicard and Vandières were both aged twenty-four.

17. This was recognized immediately and gratefully by the young architect's father, who wrote to Vandières from Paris on May 8, 1751, saying: "Les faveurs dont vous avez honoré mon fils et la joy que vous avez fait de luy pour avoir l'honneur de vous accompagner dans vos voyages est d'autant plus flateuse pour moy qu'elle me fait esperer que votre compagnie et les lumières qu'il acquiera auprès de vous augmenteront les talents que vous aviez bien voulu reconnôitre en lui." BHVP FM, N. A. 90, fol. 354.

18. Michel Gallet, *Stately Mansions: Eighteenth-Century Paris Architecture* (New York, 1972) p. 143.

19. Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale, *Inventaire du Fonds Français, Graveurs du Dix-Huitième Siècle*, 14 vols. (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 1937–69) p. 295. He was awarded this pension in Jan. 1777. After his death, his widow received an annual pension of 1,200 *livres*.

20. AAE, Cor. Pol., Naples, vol. 61, fol. 321–26; 330–32; 354–65; 413–17; BHVP FM, N. A. 91, no. 25, letter of Toussaint Combe to Vandières, Jan. 5, 1751.

21. AAE, Cor. Pol., Naples, vol. 61, fol. 323–25v, letter of the French ambassador, the marquis de l'Hôpital to the marquis de Puysieulx, Nov. 7, 1750.

22. First published by Charles-Antoine Jombert in Paris in 1756 and later revised and republished in 1758 as *Voyage d'Italie*. Both the 1756 and 1758 editions are dedicated to Vandières under his newly granted title of marquis de Marigny (see note 3 above). Cochin's *Voyage* went through many subsequent editions. The rare 1756 *Voyage Pittoresque* is particularly interesting for students of the grand tour because it is presented nearly in diary format and gives the dates of arrival and departure at stopping places, thus retaining some of the flavor of the actual journey.

23. There is much that Bellicard saw in Naples that did not become part of his notes, notably the modern architecture of the city. For the full range of activities of Vandières and his companions in the city of Naples, the best clues are contained in Cochin's *Voyage d'Italie*, where it is abundantly clear that the greatest part of the time was spent looking at Baroque—that is modern, if not contemporary—art in royal and private collections and in public places and churches.

24. Cochin, "Lettre," pp. 3–4. In this passage Cochin uses the excuse of his collaborator's possession of a notebook as a kind of facetious explanation to his fictitious correspondent as to why he had been unable to produce evidence in Paris of his claims about the inferiority of ancient painting to modern painting. That he produced this excuse as a literary device is an interesting allusion to the credibility of the kind of working relationship he actually had with Bellicard, though I would not dare to claim this example as a "proof" for the actual existence of the notebook in question. The "Mémoire" Cochin refers to in this passage is identified by Christian Michel as by the comte de Caylus (Michel, pp. 107–108).

25. The first French edition of 1754 is dedicated to Vandières. The later editions—after his elevation to a *marquisat*—are dedicated to him under the name of marquis de Marigny.

26. Vandières was an object of fascination to all the Italian courts. He was traveling under the aegis of Louis XV and, as the only sibling of Madame de Pompadour, he was inspected physically and spiritually for some clue to the qualities that made his sister the most successful courtesan in Europe. He was introduced to the king and queen of the Two Sicilies and was included in the entertainments given by the Neapolitan court and aristocracy. He hunted with the king and enjoyed an enormous social success.

27. Notably Hautecoeur, p. 3.

28. Grell, pp. 33–34.

29. As the sites at Baia, Pozzuoli, and La Solfatara had been above ground since antiquity, they had been on the itinerary of serious amateurs since the seventeenth century. However, for the same reasons, they had long since been stripped of any sculptural ornaments and were extremely eroded. Compared to the great interest and the number of publications about Herculaneum, Stabia, and Pompeii, they were given relatively little attention in the 18th and 19th centuries. The important new discoveries in the Phlegraean Fields did not occur until serious excavation was undertaken. In most instances this did not occur before the 20th century; and indeed much still remains to be explored.

30. BHVP FM, N. A. 90, fol. 233.

31. It is unfortunate in this regard that none of Cochin's notebooks have survived and this tends to make Bellicard's notebook all the more valuable.

32. These drawings were made by Soufflot, Bellicard, and Cochin. Ménars Sale, lot 404: "Trente Dessins de Palais, Tombeaux, Temple, Vases & Ustensils d'Herculanum, Théâtres, &c. dessinés en Italie pendant le Voyage de M. le Marquis dans les années 1749, 1750 & 1751"; lot 405: "Dix-sept plans des plus beaux Théâtres d'Italie"; and lot 407: "Dix-huit Elévations de Palais en Italie, Escalier des Prémontoirés à Paris, Bibliothèque de la Minerve à Rome, . . ." In addition to these lots of drawings kept in portfolios, Marigny had other drawings from the Italian journey framed and hung in his bedroom.

33. The original softbound book lost its soft covers and was rebound in tan leather. The obverse of the first sheet was glued down to the front board of the present binding, and, as a consequence, p. 1 appears at the left, and p. 2 at the right, and so on. An error in numbering led to two pages being numbered 36bis and 37bis.

34. For example, the notes he made on Caprarola begin on p. 7, leap to the bottom of p. 13, and conclude on the bottom of p. 16. See Figures 84, 85.

35. Bellicard's elevations of the garden structures at Caprarola (Figure 85) or of the forge hammer at Ronciglione (Figure 86) are examples of drawings made directly from the original site or object. Under ideal conditions, the architect has the time to make measurements to ensure the accuracy of his design. In drawings of the second type, the draftsman makes a copy of an existing drawing or engraving made at some previous time by another person. This was a long-standing practice in artistic circles going back to the copy books which circulated in studios in the early Renaissance. Bellicard's drawings of the Theater and Forum (Basilica) at Herculaneum (Figures 9 and 16) and the extraordinary drawing of the Egyptian temple of Hathor at Dendera (Figure 65) all fall into this category. In the least perfect situation, the artist was forced to draw from memory. There are many examples of this in Bellicard's notebook—among the most obvious are the thumbnail sketches of the frescoes, mosaics, and furnishings removed from Herculaneum and exhibited at the royal palace at Portici (see Figures 21 and 6).

36. Resina, Retina, or Retsina, but again now officially renamed Ercolano.

37. Marchese Don Marcello Venuti, *A Description of the First Discovery of the Ancient City of Heraclea . . . made in the years 1689 and 1711*, English trans. by Wickes Skurray (London, 1750) passim, and Corti, pp. 100ff.

38. Corti, pp. 103–104. Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven, 1981) p. 74. Eugene installed them in a special room that he opened to the public. These female figures subsequently passed into the Dresden Museum collections, where they were identified as portraits of three members of the Balbi family; they were part of a group of free-standing statues that stood in niches in the proscenium of the Theater of Herculaneum commemorating that family's patronage. Michael Ruggiero, *Storia degli Scavi di Ercolano* (Naples, 1885) passim, and Barker, passim.

39. Corti, chap. IV, treats the sporadic researches around Vesuvius up to 1735.

40. The son of Augustus the Strong, he reigned also as Frederick Augustus II, Elector of Saxony.

41. Corti, p. 110. These were the three statues that so impressed a young librarian at Dresden, J. J. Winckelmann, that he began to formulate and write down his ideas on classical antiquity. This became the first systematic effort to describe the attributes of ancient art.

42. He was later to purchase Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* and other treasures that helped make the Dresden collection great.

43. He later became king of Spain, where he reigned from 1759 to 1788 and was considered an enlightened monarch.

44. David Irwin, *Winckelmann* (London, 1972) p. 19.

45. This was absolutely necessary as theft of fragments was widespread even among nominally respectable people. Soufflot pilfered pieces of mural painting from the dig when he visited in the summer of 1750. He gave them to the comte de Caylus who audaciously published them. See also Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, p. 75.

46. Russell, vi, explained the restrictions: "In the meantime (awaiting the official publication), to prevent any anticipation, no one, who is admitted to the sight of these Antiquities, is permitted to make use of a pencil, either in the subterraneous City, or in the palace at Portici." For more on Russell, see note 55 below.

47. Paderni, a portrait painter and architectural draftsman, also prepared drawings for reproductive engravings after paintings for George Turnbull's *A Treatise on Ancient Painting [with] remarks on Raphael, Michel Angelo, Nicholas Poussin and the use they made of the remains of Antiquity. The Whole illustrated with fifty pieces of ancient painting accurately engraved from drawings of Camillo Paderni* (London, 1740). Little is known about him; he died about 1770.

48. Venuti held this post for the relatively brief though crucial moments of the dig, from Nov. 1738 to June 1740.

49. Camillo Paderni was the first artist to prepare drawings for publication after the frescoes were removed from Herculaneum. Among other editions, Paderni's drawings were the basis for engravings published in George Turnbull, *A Treatise on Ancient Painting*.

50. Ottavio Antonio Bayardi, *Catalogo degli Antichi Monumenti Dissotterrati dalla Discoperta Città di Ercolano*, 2 parts in 4 vols. (Naples, 1755–65) was subsumed under the larger publication *Delle Antichità di Ercolano*, O. A. Bayardi, ed. (vols. 1, 2), and Pasquale Carcani, ed. (vols. 3–7) (Naples, 1757–92). Waldstein and Shoobridge, p. 130.

51. Monsieur d'Arthenay and his guests became good friends and they later corresponded. We know of this relationship from the firsthand evidence of d'Arthenay's surviving letters to Vandières, written after the latter's departure from Naples and before his return to Paris. BHVP FM, N. A. 90, fols. 252ff, 270ff, 280ff, 288ff, 298ff, 310ff, 344ff, 394ff, and 400ff. D'Arthenay, writing to his superiors in the foreign office in Paris in his official capacity, explained that he was serving as Vandières's guide. AAE, Cor. Pol., Naples, vol. 61, fols. 321–26; 330–32; 354–65; 413–17.

52. *Mémoire Historique et critique sur la ville souterraine découverte au pied du Mont-Vésuve* (Avignon, 1748) 74 pp. This and the Paris editions are published as edited by the abbé Moussinot, about whom nothing is known. D'Arthenay's study was published in Paris by C. Hérissant, 1748, 51 pp.; in Göttingen by A. Vandenhoec, 1748, 38 pp.; in Florence, Giuseppe Pavini, 1749, trans., 80 pp., and in London (as *Memoirs Concerning Herculaneum, the Subterranean City, Lately discovered at the Foot of Mount Vesuvius*) trans. from Italian by William Fordyce, D. Wilson at Plato's Head . . . in the Strand, 1750, 68 pp.

53. BHVP FM, N. A. 90, fol. 344v, May 4, 1751.

54. He goes unmentioned in even the most recent scholarly studies of French involvement with the rediscovery of ancient Italy; e.g., Chevallier, p. 37 n. 9, mentions only that one dictionary of French literature ascribes to him the 1748 tract often attributed to a certain Moussinot. Grell, p. 54 n. 21, makes the assumption that Moussinot and d'Arthenay are one and the same and refers to him as Moussinot d'Arthenay. In all likelihood, the "abbé Moussinot" is a nom de plume for d'Arthenay who, as a foreign diplomatic officer, could not disclose his involvement with the clandestine circle of Neapolitan amateurs of archaeology. He, like so many close associates of Vandières's early life, reappears years later as a beneficiary of Vandières's official patronage. In the case of d'Arthenay, he was appointed to the post of Premier Commis des Bâtiments on July 1, 1765, upon the retirement of François Perrier, but died less than four months later on Oct. 19, 1765. (Archives Nationales, [1]*2265, fol. 405 verso). D'Arthenay was favored with an apartment in the Louvre which his heirs still occupied in 1777. BHVP FM, N.A. 91, fol. 35–6, Goy to Marigny, May 19, 1777. I would like to thank Christian Michel for pointing out that d'Arthenay was among the Italian circle of Vandières who later benefited by receiving one of his administrative appointments. For more on d'Arthenay, see note 89 below.

55. This Russell is identified by Ellis Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of British 18th-Century Painters in Oils and Crayons* (London, 1981) p. 323, as James Russel instead of John Russell. Waterhouse's spelling of the surname would accord with that of the publisher of Russell's letters, W. Russel, who appears to have been either the artist's father or brother. A man named William Russel is listed as a publisher in London about 1751–55 at Horace's Head without Temple-Bar. H. R. Plomer et al., eds. *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775* (Oxford, 1932).

56. Imperiali was active in Rome by 1730.

57. Lesley Lewis, *Connoisseurs and Secret Agents in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (1961) p. 188.

58. James III (1688–1766), called the Old Pretender.

59. Russell's *Letters* are illustrated with a few engravings. They are not of the same subjects drawn later by Bellicard and did not serve as one of Bellicard's sources. Russell's letters describing his visits were written beginning in 1741.

60. There were several very brief notices published almost immediately: Marchese Don Marcello Venuti, *Novelle letterarie*, Florence, 1, 1740, no. 9, Feb. 26, 1740, pp. 138–139; W. Hammond, "An Account of the discovery of the Remains of a city underground near Naples," *Philosophical Transactions*, 41, pt. 1, no. 453, 1740, p. 345; "Extracts of two letters from Sig. Camillo Paderni," *Philosophical Transactions*, 41, pt. 2, no. 458, 1740, pp. 484–487; "Extracts from a letter of Mr. George Knapton," *Philosophical Transactions*, 41, pt. 2, no. 458, 1740, pp. 489–493; "Extract of a letter from Mr. Crispe," *Philosophical Transactions*, 41, pt. 2, no. 458, 1740, pp. 493–495. The more extensive pre-1750 publications were: Antonio Francesco Gori, *Notizie del Memorabile scoprimento del Antica Città Ercolano* (Florence, 1748); d'Arthenay, Russell, and de Brosses. De Brosses was the first of the important French travelers to Herculaneum; he saw it in 1740, immediately after the excavations had been reopened in 1738–39.

61. Cochin's attitude toward the frescoes removed from Herculaneum has been discussed by Michel, pp. 105–117.

62. This is not unusual in the case of artist-authors. Cochin also made liberal use of information and even of opinions taken from other commentators and guidebooks in preparing his *Voyage d'Italie*, 1758.

63. Maiuri, *Ercolano*, p. 3.

64. This plan was studied by V. Catalano, *La scoperta di Ercolano. Il Fuidoro* II (Naples, 1955) pp. 7–10, who attributed it to Alcubierre and dated it 1747–48. For more on Alcubierre, see note 78 below. The plan has subsequently been reproduced in Minervini, *Bull. Arch. Ital.*, 1861, pl. III, and in Grell, pl. 3. The early-18th-century tunneling out from the 1689 well shaft *L* are the random paths near the center of the drawing. The 1740s tunnels near the second shaft *M* are more systematic and followed the stairs and circumference of the theater so as better to find works of art and to measure the building. The description of the stage *G* is considered fanciful.

65. "On ne peut discerner les objets qu'à la lueur des torches, qui remplissant de fumée ces souterrains dénués d'air, me contraignoient à tout moment d'interrompre mon examen pour aller vers l'ouverture extérieur respirer avec plus de facilité," de Brosses, p. 7.

66. Herculaneum is covered by the volcanic matter of no fewer than fifty-six eruptions since the destruction of the city in A. D. 79. Vesuvius's peculiarity of sucking the sea into itself and

then spewing forth a mixture of lava, cinders, and seashells that dried to adamantine hardness was observed in 1631. Bellicard's source for this is Maximilien Misson, *Nouveau voyage d'Italie, faite en l'année 1688*, 5th ed., 4 vols. (Paris, 1743) vol. 2, p. 59, and vol. 3, p. 354.

67. *Observations*, 1753, p. 19.

68. It is worth noting that a new campaign of excavation inaugurated in 1987 to explore the Villa of the Papyri will be conducted through the original 17th-century well shaft and by re-excavating the old 18th-century tunnels through which Bellicard passed and that had subsequently been blocked.

69. Chevallier, pp. 25–26.

70. *Observations*, 1753, p. 11.

71. De Brosses, passim.

72. *Observations*, 1753, pp. 16, 19–20.

73. Indeed, four sheets are missing from the sketchbook between pp. 1 and 2 where the discussion of the Theater begins. These sheets could have contained sketches consumed in the later process of making the printing plates or those plates could have been made from entirely different drawings of a different format or on separate sheets of paper.

74. *Observations*, 1753, p. 16.

75. There is no good explanation as to why he published different plans in the English and French editions other than that he had to prepare two entirely separate sets of etching plates for the two nearly simultaneous editions. Perhaps to save time, he used a plate he had previously prepared based on the "eyewitness" version of what he had seen but which he subsequently rejected as too fragmentary. In the later editions in France he prepared new plates similar to the superimposed plans of the 1753 English edition.

76. D'Arthenay, 1750, pp. 16–17. The argument based upon the use of "auditory" vases was cited in the debate as to whether the Theater at Herculaneum was built by Greeks rather than Romans. Bellicard, p. 2.

77. No fewer than twenty plans of the Theater are known to have been made between 1739 and 1751, some by Alcubierre, some by Bardet, and some by Weber; however, most of these have been lost. Waldstein and Shoobridge, p. 129 n. 1. For a summary of the early plans of the Theater, both lost and extant, see Barker, p. 214. It is impossible to say today which plan Bellicard saw and copied, though it is clear that it was not one of the extant plans.

78. Alcubierre was a military engineer in Spain and had come to Naples with King Charles III. Alcubierre directed the excavation from 1738 until 1750, with the exception of an interval from 1740 to 1745, when his duties were taken first by Francesco Rorro and then by a Frenchman named Pierre Bardet. Ruggiero, passim; Waldstein and Shoobridge, pp. 127–128.

79. "The 'Forum' of Herculaneum," Bellicard, Notebook, pp. 4, 5, 6.

80. A. de Vos and M. de Vos, *Pompei, Ercolano, Stabia*, Guide archaeologche Laterza (Rome/Bari, 1982).

81. Barker, p. 215.

82. From its placement in the notebook, Bellicard's drawing of the tombs found at Herculaneum must have been made after a later descent into the tunnels beneath Resina.

83. *Observations*, 1753, pp. 40–41 and pl. 18.

84. Cochin, "Lettre," pp. 171–183. Extracts from the "Lettre" had been previously published in the *Journal de Trévoux* (June 1751) pp. 1355–1368. The "Lettre" was originally published without illustrations. Cochin then prepared the five etchings reproduced here to accompany a reprinting of the "Lettre" as an independent booklet. This private printing of the "Lettre" at Paris in 1751 was undertaken outside the normal system of Royal censorship and appeared without the name of a publisher, place, or date. Cochin's contribution to the *Observations* was to reuse the five etchings he had made to illustrate his "Lettre" with an altered text bearing much the same message. (See note 24 above.) For a complete discussion of the issue of Cochin's point of view in the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns, see Michel, pp.105–117.

85. See Enrica Pozzi, *Le Collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Rome, 1986), nos. 174, 177, 187, 197, 270, 271.

86. Bellicard, Notebook, p. 10.

87. *Mercure de France*, Oct. 1751, p. 170. The text, by the editor of the *Mercure,* reads in part: "Quoique les difficultés qu'on rencontre à dessiner les précieux monuments qu'offrent les ruines d'Herculanum soient presque insurmontables, nous sommes parvenus à avoir un dessein très-exact d'un des côtés de la belle Statue équestre de marbre élevée à l'honneur du Proconsul Balbus: tous les Artistes qui l'ont vûe l'ont admirée, & la mettent fort au dessus de celle de Marc Aurelle & des autres qui sont venue jusqu'à nous. Il ne nous a pas été possible d'avoir les deux principaux aspects de ce beau monument. . . . Malgrè les éloges que l'Auteur donne au Peintre, d'après lequel il a fait graver cette superbe Statue, ni celui ci, ni le Graveur dont il a fait choix, ne donneront jamais une idée juste & favorable des ouvrages qu'ils voudront conserver à la Postérité."

88. Bellicard, Notebook, pp. 14, 15, and the top of p. 16.

89. D'Arthenay, "Journal d'Observations dans les differens Voyages qui ont été faits pour voir l'éruption du Vésuve par M. d'Arthenay" and "Suite des Observations pendant l'éruption du Vésuve" in *Mémoires de Mathématique et de Physique présentés à l'Académie Royale de Sciences* IV (Paris, 1763) pp. 247–280.

90. The French *pied du Roi* equals 12.789 inches, or 32.48 centimeters. A *toise*, or fathom, varied enormously from country to country. I assume Bellicard is thinking in terms of the "*toise de Paris*," which would have been "*6 pieds du Roi*" or, in modern terms, 1.949 meters (6.395 feet). Horace Doursther,

Dictionnaire Universel des Poids et Mesures Anciens et Modernes (Brussels, 1840) pp. 524–527.

91. A 1756 engraving by Pierre-Quentin Chedel (1705–63) after Cochin is preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, EE 15 Réserve tome 4, J 237, but it was never editioned. The surviving sheet bears the handwritten explanatory inscription: "Vue du Mont Vésuve, dessiné sur les lieux en 1750. M. Cochin n'ayant pas été content de la Manière dont le Graveur avoir rendu son dessin, a Supprimé totalement cette planche, en sorte que cette Estampe n'ayant pas paru."

92. The placement in the notebook of the treatment of Capua suggests that Bellicard made a special trip to Capua, a half-day journey north of Naples, in the middle of his stay at Naples. It is possible, however, that he transferred to his notebook comments on Capua made en route from Rome on Nov. 2, 1750, when Vandières and his party stopped there. Cochin, *Voyage Pittoresque*, pp. 93–96.

93. Canon Mazocchi, *Commentarius in mutilum Campani Amphiteatri titulum, &c.* (Naples, 1727).

94. Baia (ancient Baiae) was named for Ulysses's helmsman Baios, and Misenum was named after a companion of Aeneas. Aeneas consulted the oracle at Cumae.

95. In Greek legend, the steaming volcanic vents of the Phlegraean Fields led to the realm of giants who fought their battle with the gods on this plain running from Cumae to Capua. The Elysian Fields were close by.

96. John H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970) and J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (New York, 1969).

97. The preliminary drawing for the grotto at Posillipo is not in the Metropolitan notebook.

98. Cochin, *Voyage Pittoresque*, I, p. 213. This reconstruction is corroborated by the sequence of use of the even-numbered pages beginning with p. 24 in the Metropolitan notebook, with the exception of the use of p. 17. Bellicard undoubtedly broke the pattern here because most of p. 16 and all of p. 17 had been left blank after the completion of the description of Vesuvius and it faced the description of the Tombs (of the Balbi) at Herculaneum on p. 18. On p. 17 he proceeded to describe the subterranean pool at Misenum and followed immediately, on p. 24, with his description of the tombs near the pool.

99. Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*, p. 87.

100. A. Maiuri, *Bolletino d'Arte* (1930–31) pp. 241–253.

101. Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*, p. 80.

102. Ibid., pp. 77–78.

103. Ibid., p. 64.

104. The space Bellicard describes is 12 *pieds* high (about 12.67 feet, or 3.89 meters) by 9 or 10 *pieds* wide (9.28 to 10.65 feet, or 2.92 to 3.24 meters).

105. Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*, pp. 132–135.

106. Ibid., p. 51.

107. Unless the peasant miscalculated the exposure and killed his canine assistant.

108. Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*, pp. 24–31.

109. *Observations*, 1753, p. 129. In the published work he identifies the "temple" with Serapis.

110. Serapis was a deity of mysteries, wine, and indulgence. The center of the worship of Serapis was at Canopus, just outside of Alexandria on Egypt's Mediterranean coast. The dedication of the market to an Egyptian divinity is explicable because Pozzuoli was the center of the trade with Roman Egypt and by the fact that both Pozzuoli and Canopus were tourist resorts. The large (1,500 ton) corn ships routinely made the Puteoli (Pozzuoli) to Alexandria run in twelve days and carried 600 passengers (Balsdon, *Life and Leisure*, p. 227). Communication, trade, and travel between the two coasts were remarkably frequent and easy, especially after 30 B. C., when Egypt became a Roman province. "For two centuries there was an era of tourism that was not to be equalled until the present day.... Travellers could go direct from Pouzzolez [*sic.* Pozzuoli] to Alexandria.... Thus in revelry they came to Canopus, where Ptolemy Soter had built a temple of Serapis, celebrated throughout the antique world. This god was a concoction of Ptolemy Soter's ... compounded of the Egyptian god of the Underworld, Osiris, and Apis the bull god of Memphis," Leslie Greener, *The Discovery of Egypt* (London, 1966) pp. 12–13; also Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*, p. 27.

111. Bellicard's drawing is a very notional representation of the upper quadrant of the colonnade of the right half of the north facade of the Temple of Hathor in the temple complex at Dendera. He has misunderstood the relationship of the squarish Hathor-head column capitals to the round column shafts. He has also omitted the low curtain wall interrupted by the column shafts which encloses the porch. His suggestion of the hieroglyphs is conceived in terms of the distribution of ornament across the surface and makes no indication of them as meaningful, ordered inscriptions. The plan in the lower part of the drawing is of the principal interior space as testified to in the text of Bellicard's notebook, p. 36, ll. 4ff.

112. Bratton F. Gladstone, *A History of Egyptian Archaeology* (London, 1967) p. 191.

113. Peter A. Clayton, *The Rediscovery of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1982) pp. 12–13, 97–101.

114. The 18th-century travelers who, on a strictly chronological basis, could have been the conduits for the circulation of drawings of Dendera in Europe before 1750 are: Father Claude Sicard (1677–1726), a French Jesuit missionary, who was in Egypt from 1707 to 1726 with orders from Philippe d'Orléans to draw monuments; Paul Lucas (1664–1737), the son of a Rouen goldsmith, who traveled in Egypt in 1714 collecting coins, manuscripts, and antiquities and later published accounts

of his journeys with the assistance of writers who made up for Lucas's lack of literary abilities; and the Reverend Richard Pococke (1704–65), who traveled in Egypt in 1737–38 and published a two-volume illustrated *Description of the East* in 1743 that includes the so-called Temple of Isis at Dendera but only in a view without plan or elevation. One further traveler-author must be ruled out as a source. He is the Danish naval captain Frederik Ludwig Norden (1708–42), who was sent to Egypt by the Danish king, Christian VI, in 1738, and whose account was published posthumously in 1755 but does not include Dendera. Warren R. Dawson, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (London, 1951) passim; Greener, *The Discovery of Egypt*, passim.

115. However, if the notes and designs relating to the Phlegraean Fields were only recorded after Bellicard's return to Naples and he used other, more temporary field notes, then his source for the Egyptian drawing was found in Naples.

116. AAE, Cor. Pol., Naples, vol. 61, fols. 321–26; 330–32; 354–65; 413–17.

117. BHVP FM, N. A. 91, no. 25. The passage is referred to in a letter of the merchant Toussaint Combe to Vandières, Jan. 5, 1751.

118. The itinerary, as mentioned by Cochin and borne out by the correspondence of Vandières, corroborates the sequence in which Bellicard filled up almost all of the space in his pocket notebook. In his use of the notebook on this second journey, Bellicard was obliged to use the blank versos of the sheets he had skipped over in his first notations in the book.

119. Cochin, *Voyage Pittoresque*, pp. 164–176.

120. Departing from here on July 1, Vandières with Le Blanc and Cochin continued back to France via Vicenza, Verona, Mantua, Cremona, Brescia, Bergamo, Milan, Pavia, and Genoa, where they embarked on Aug. 13 to go by sea, stopping at Toulon on Aug. 18 and arriving in Marseilles on Aug. 22. Cochin, *Voyage Pittoresque*, passim.

121. Examples of this are the unfinished sheets that begin to treat the Mint in Bologna and the facade of a villa in the Veneto. Bellicard, pp. 52, 41.

122. Rainer Graefe, *Vela Erunt: Die Zeltdächer der römischen Theater und ähnlicher Anlagen* (Mainz, 1979) passim.

123. All three of Vandières's traveling companions—Cochin, Le Blanc, and Bellicard—were inducted into the Florentine Academy. From the placement of these sheets in the notebook, the drawings of the amphitheater in Rome seem to have been made either at the end of Bellicard's stay in Florence or early in his stay in Bologna. If my reconstruction of the sequence in which the sheets of the notebook were used as a guide to the chronology of the drawing is correct, then, in all likelihood, these designs are based upon discussions and other drawings in circulation in Florence.

124. Leonardo Ginori Lisci, *I Palazzi di Firenzi* (Florence, 1972) I, pp. 53, 63, 237–239; Walter Limburger, *Die Gebäude von Florenz* (Leipzig, 1910) pp. 67, 85, 367.

125. Bellicard, Notebook, p. 29.

126. Giovanni Antonio Dosio, *Le Antichità di Roma*, 1569, published in facsimile with notes and bibliography (Rome, 1970). On the Palazzo Giacomini-Larderel there is very little. See Vera Daddi Giovannozzi, "Il Palazzetto Giacomini-Larderel del Dosio," *Rivista d'Arte* 17 ser. II (1935) pp. 209–210.

127. Bellicard, Notebook, p. 42.

128. The fountains (1629) in the Piazza della Santissima Annunziata are today attributed to Pietro Tacca (1580–1649) and his pupils. It was Tacca who cast Giovanni Bologna's last work, the equestrian figure of Grand Duke Ferdinand for the same square in 1609.

129. Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie*, II, pp. 216–220. Bellicard, pp. 7, 13, 16.

130. Loren W. Partridge, "Vignola and the Villa Farnese at Caprarola—Part I," *Art Bulletin* 52 (1970) passim.

131. Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie*, II, p. 216.

132. Most of this was probably the work of Maestro Giovannantonio, made between 1584 and 1586, although this was, of course, unknown to Bellicard; Partridge, "Vignola and the Villa Farnese," pp. 81–87.

133. The upper gardens surrounding the Palazzina are quite distinct from the formal gardens of the villa, with the Palazzina and its gardens on steeply rising terrain leading up to a pine forest. At the first terrace approaching the Palazzina Bellicard drew the cascade flanked on both sides by ramplike stairs and enclosing walls leading up to two colossal allegorical figures of river gods which frame a large vase-fountain at the level of the second terrace (seen at the bottom of Figure 85). This second terrace is immediately below the casino, which sits atop the third and highest terrace. Immediately behind the Palazzina, which is here atop the highest point of the upper garden, are paired ramps (seen at the bottom of Figure 84) and each ramp (decorated with a cascade of sculpted fish down its center, seen in the middle drawing of Figure 85) leads to a broad fourth terrace with one large and two small fountains—today they are without the figures Bellicard clearly indicated. At the very back of the upper garden is a raised step-terraced flower garden of three levels surrounded by a stonework parapet that ends on axis in a semicircular "apse," or gate, of free-standing pedimented aedicula with niches ornamented with great shells (seen in the top drawing of Figure 85 and in the plan at the bottom of Figure 11). Both Cochin and Bellicard remarked that these strange gates were not linked at the pediment by a cornice although Bellicard illustrates how the sill of the surrounding balustrade and the gap in the broken pediments above were meant to carry vases filled with flowers.

134. Ronciglione (Rassilione as Bellicard incorrectly writes it) on the shores of Lake Vico north of Rome was the site of a small 18th-century iron industry located there for the convenient water power supplied by its cascades. Cochin gives a brief description of the iron mills at Ronciglione in the *Voyage d'Italie*, I,

p. 215. The forge hammer drawn by Bellicard is called a tilt-hammer and is among the simplest types of forge hammers. See Frederick Overman, *The Manufacture of Iron in All Its Various Branches* (London, 1854) 3d ed., pp. 334–335. Cochin, interestingly, speaks of the village with its mills as picturesque and suggests it as offering many pleasing views for an artist to draw.

135. Others may have been on two leaves that are missing from the notebook between pp. 41 and 42. Bellicard, Notebook, p. 41.

136. Built in 1570 to 1572 in only two years by Pio Eneo I Obizzi and enlarged in the 17th century by the original builder's nephew Pio Eneo II, the house became a property of the dukes of Modena, housed a significant collection, and was further enlarged in the 19th century. *Veneto*, Touring Club Italiano (1969) p. 405; Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie*, III, pp. 169–171. The frescoes in the interior had been represented to Vandières and his group as the work of Veronese. Cochin takes exception to this attribution at some length. He was correct. The frescoes of the exploits of the Obizzi family are now known to have been painted by Gian Battista Zelotti in 1571.

137. Built in 1554–57. See James S. Ackerman, *Palladio's Villas* (Locust Valley, 1967) pp. 72–73 and fig. 41.

138. The loggia opens on to a piazza on the southern bank of the Arno and was built between 1603 and 1605 by Cosimo Pugliani, perhaps to designs by Bernardo Buontalenti.

139. Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie*, II, pp. 105–106. Translation by the author.

140. Alta Macadam, ed., *Northern Italy* (London, 1978) p. 389.

141. These figures were carved by Silvestro Gianotti. *Emilia-Romagna*, Touring Club Italiano (1971) pp. 105–106.

142. *Toscana*, Touring Club Italiano (1974) p. 687.

143. Conversely, one might speculate that Bellicard began his note-taking on loose paper, decided upon his need for a notebook, and later used the back of this discarded sheet for his five small fanciful sketches. In either case, the relationship of the text on the verso of the drawings to the text on p. 1 of the Metropolitan notebook would be identical.

144. The *Encyclopédie* was published between 1751 and 1765, but the earliest article on Herculaneum did not appear until 1765. Chevalier de Jaucourt, "Herculanum," *Encyclopédie* (1765) VIII, pp. 150–154.

145. *Procès Verbaux de l'Académie Royale d'Architecture* (Paris, June 6, 1768) VIII, p. 16.

146. This is an error often made by art historians in discussing the Neoclassical phenomena in painting and sculpture. The *goût grec*, as it was called by practicing artists in the mid-18th century, was primarily iconographic and fundamentally unrelated to a profound interest in the styles of Roman painting or sculpture. The classicizing tendencies of artists such as Gavin Hamilton, Jean-Baptiste Greuze, Anton Raphael Mengs, and Joseph-Marie Vien have more to do with Poussin than with the frescoes found at Herculaneum and Pompeii.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAE, Cor. Pol.—Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Correspondance Politique, Paris

d'Arthenay, 1748—Anon. (d'Arthenay), abbé Moussinot, ed., *Mémoire Historique et critique sur la ville souterraine découverte au pied du Mont-Vésuve* (Avignon, 1748) 74 pp. and other editions

d'Arthenay, 1750—Anon. (d'Arthenay), *Memoires Concerning Herculaneum, the Subterranean City, Lately discovered at the Foot of Mount Vesuvius, Giving a particular Account of the most remarkable Buildings, Statues, Paintings, Medals and other Curiosities found there to the present Time*, translated from the Italian of a Memorial drawn up by the Secretary of the Marquis d'Hôpital Ambassador from France to the Court of his Sicilian Majesty at Naples, by William Fordyce, M. A. (London, 1750)

BHVP FM—Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, Fonds Marigny

Barker—Ethel Ross Barker, *Buried Herculaneum* (London, 1908)

Bellicard, Notebook—Notebook. Department of Prints and Photographs, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940, 40.59.6. Here attributed to Jérome-Charles Bellicard (1750–51)

de Brosses—President Charles de Brosses, *Lettres sur l'Etat actuel de la ville souterraine d'Herculée* (Dijon, 1750)

Chevallier—E. et R. Chevallier, *Iter Italicum: Les Voyageurs Français à la découverte de l'Italie ancienne*, Bibliothèque du Voyage en Italie 17 (Geneva, 1984)

Cochin "Lettre"—Charles-Nicolas Cochin fils, "Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum, Aujourd'hui Portici," *Mercure de France*, Sept. 1751, pp. 171–183, fictitiously datelined Brussels, Jan. 20, 1751, republished in Cochin and Bellicard, *Observations sur les Antiquités d'Herculanum suivies de 'Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum, Aujourd'hui Portici'* (Geneva, 1972)

Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie*—Charles-Nicolas Cochin fils, *Voyage d'Italie ou Recueil des Notes sur les ouvrages de peinture et de sculpture, qu'on voit dans les principales villes d'Italie* (Paris, 1758) reprinted Geneva, 1972

Cochin, *Voyage Pittoresque*—Charles-Nicolas Cochin fils, *Voyage Pittoresque d'Italie ou Recueil des Notes sur les Ouvrages de Peinture et de Sculpture, qu'on voit dans les principales villes d'Italie* (Paris, 1756). In enlarged form, this book went through many subsequent editions. The first edition, 1756, is rare.

Corti—Egon Caesar Conte Corti, *The Destruction and Resurrection of Pompeii and Herculaneum* (London, 1951) trans. from the original German ed. of 1940

Grell—Chantal Grell, *Herculanum et Pompéi dans les Récits des Voyageurs Français du XVIIIème Siècle*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français de Naples, ser. 3, I (Naples, 1982)

Hautecoeur—Louis Hautecoeur, *Histoire de l'Architecture Classique en France* IV (Paris, 1952)

Maiuri, *Ercolano*—Amadeo Maiuri, *Ercolano: I Nuovi Scavi*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1958)

Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*—Amadeo Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*, V. Priestley, trans. (Rome, 1958). 3d ed.

Ménars Sale—*Catalogue des differens objets de Curiosités dans les Sciences et Arts, qui composoient le Cabinet de jeu Monsieur le Marquis de Ménars*. . . . by F. Basan and F. Ch. Joullain (Paris, 1781), Lugt no. 3376. Although the catalogue was published in 1781, the sales took place in 1782.

Michel—Christian Michel, "Les peintures d'Herculanum et la Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes (1740–1760)," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1984)

Observations, 1753—[Charles-Nicolas Cochin fils and] Jérôme-Charles Bellicard, *Observations upon the Antiquities of the Town of Herculaneum, discovered at the Foot of Mount Vesuvius. With some Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Ancients. And a short Description of the Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Naples* by Mr. Bellicard, Architect, Member of the Academies of Bologna and Florence, enriched with Forty-two plates, designed and engraved by the author (London, 1753) 236 pp. plus a 3-page index, 42 etchings. 1st English edition published without Cochin's name

Observations, 1754—Charles-Nicolas Cochin fils and Jérôme-Charles Bellicard, *Observations sur les antiquités de la ville d'Herculanum, avec quelques réflexions sur la peinture et la sculpture des Anciens; & une courte description de quelques antiquités des environs de Naples* by Messieurs Cochin le fils et Bellicard (Paris, 1754) 102 pp. 1st French edition

Observations, 1755—Charles-Nicolas Cochin fils and Jérôme-Charles Bellicard, *Observations* . . . (Paris, 1755). 2d French edition

Observations, 1756—Mr. Cochin the younger . . . and Mr. Bellicard, *Observations upon the antiquities of the town of Herculaneum, discovered at the foot of mount Vesuvius. With some reflections on the painting and sculpture of the ancients. And a short description of the antiquities in the neighbourhood of Naples* (London, 1756). 2d English edition, with additions

Russell—John Russell, *Letters from a Young English Architect in Italy* (London, 1748)

Waldstein and Shoobridge—Charles Waldstein and Leonard Shoobridge, *Herculaneum Past Present and Future* (London, 1908)

Appendix

PUBLISHING HISTORY OF BELLICARD'S *OBSERVATIONS SUR LES ANTIQUITÉS D'HERCULANUM*

That there was intense interest in the subject of Herculaneum is proven by the existence of no fewer than six editions of *Observations*, three in French and three in English, published during the 1750s.

Observations upon the Antiquities of the Town of Herculaneum, discovered at the Foot of Mount Vesuvius. With some Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Ancients. And a short Description of the Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Naples by Mr. Bellicard, Architect, Member of the Academies of Bologna and Florence, enriched with Forty-two plates, designed and engraved by the author. London, Printed by D. Wilson, and T. Durham, at Plato's Head, in the Strand, MDCCLIII. vii, 236 pages plus a three-page index, 42 etchings, part folding, incl. plans, 20½ cm.

The first edition, London, 1753, does not bear the name of Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Younger as a coauthor. Because of the improbable yet seemingly accurate dating of the English edition a year earlier than the first French edition, it is worth examining the evidence bearing on the accuracy of the date 1753. There seem to be three pertinent areas of evidence: the history of the printing firm, the internal evidence of errors existing in the 1753 edition (which are not present in the later editions), and the evidence of wear and condition of the etched plates. A likely fourth area, that of watermarks, is not helpful, as the examples of the 1753 edition I have examined are printed on unmarked paper.

A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775, H. R. Plomer et al., eds. (Oxford, 1932 [for 1930]), pp. 80–81 and 266, explains that T. Durham was a bookseller and publisher in London from 1753 to 1775, at, successively (1) Plato's Head, near Round Court, Strand; (2) Golden Ball, Savoy, over against Exeter Change; (3) against Ivy Bridge; (4) Charing Cross. In 1753 he was in partnership with D. Wilson at Plato's Head, from which address they published *The Works of Christina Queen of Sweden* as advertised in the *Public Advertiser* (formerly the *Oracle and Public Advertiser*) on Jan. 5, 1753. D. Wilson was a bookseller and publisher in London who had established himself in 1751 at the sign of Plato's Head in the Strand, where he remained in business until 1777. Wilson was in partnership with George Nicol and in 1753 with T. Durham. The firm was known as D. Wilson and Co. D. Wilson died at an advanced age in July 1777. Thus, the date of 1753 is entirely consistent with the chronology of Wilson and Durham's short-lived partnership at the Plato's Head.

A first French edition appeared in 1754, followed immediately by a second French edition in 1755.

Observations sur les antiquités de la ville d'Herculanum, avec quelques réflexions sur la peinture et la sculpture des Anciens; & une courte description de quelques antiquités des environs de Naples. par Messieurs Cochin le fils et Bellicard. Paris, C. A. Jombert, 1754. In–8°, xxxvi, 102 pp., fig. et pl. (BN) (The BM identifies the 1754 edition as in–12°.) (The NUC identifies the book as having only 98 pp. and measuring 18 cm.)

Observations . . . , 1755. 2ᵉ édition. Paris, C. A. Jombert. In–8°, xliv, 104 pp., fig. et pl. (BN) (The BM identifies the 1755 edition as in–12°.) (The NUC identifies this as having 104 pp. with plates, part folding, and measuring 18 cm.)

A third French edition was published in 1757. (The BM identifies the 1757 edition as in–8°. The NUC suggests that this is a reprint of the 1755 edition, but it differs in number of pages in introduction, body, and number of plates and dimensions: xxxxi, 84 pp., 40 [41] pls., part folding, 17½ cm.)

A second English edition was printed in 1756 and a third English edition in 1758 (Lowndes: 8°, 42 plates, 6 shillings. Have they misread MDCCLIII for MDCCLVIII?).

Observations upon the antiquities of the town of Herculaneum, discovered at the foot of mount Vesuvius. With some reflections on the painting and sculpture of the ancients. And a short description of the antiquities in the neighbourhood of Naples. By Mr. Cochin the younger ... and Mr. Bellicard ... Enriched with forty-two plates, designed and engraved by Mr. Bellicard. The 2d ed., with additions. London, D. Wilson and T. Durham, 1756. 2 pp. 1., iii–vii, 236 {3}, 43 pls. 20½ cm.

There are variations in all of these editions regarding the length of the introductions and the advertisements, the length and order of the text and of the plates. There are no fewer than four different sets or combinations of etching plates used in the various editions: one for the 1753 London edition; one for the 1754 Parisian edition reused with significant changes in the 1755 Parisian edition; and a fourth, quite inferior set of plates for the 1757 Parisian edition.

The publication date of 1753 for the first English edition does not appear to be a typographical error as suggested by the cataloguer of the NUC. Nor did a 1751 edition exist of the entire contents as stated by the editors of the Minkoff Reprint edition of 1972 reproducing the 1755 2d French edition. Cochin did publish, independently, in 1751, the part of the book he authored, namely the second volume on the paintings at Herculaneum called the *Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum, Aujourd'hui Portici.*

Sources checked: Printed catalogues of the Bibliothèque nationale (BN); the British Museum Library (BM); the National Union Catalogue of the Library of Congress (NUC); William Thomas Lowndes, *Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature* (Lowndes), new edition by Henry G. Bohn, London, 1869, I, 151; Research Libraries I. Network, Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue (RLIN–ESTC)

The Garden Room from Schloss Seehof and Its Furnishings

DANIËLLE O. KISLUK-GROSHEIDE
Assistant Curator, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

A PROMINENT PLACE IN THE NEW GALLERIES devoted to Central European decorative arts and sculpture at the Metropolitan Museum is occupied by a remarkable set of eighteenth-century furniture (Figure 1). The two corner settees, the pair of armchairs, the four side chairs, and the two wall brackets were part of the Lesley and Emma Sheafer Collection, bequeathed to the Museum in 1973. It was known at the time that these pieces came from Schloss Seehof, near Bamberg in Franconia, but only recently have they been identified as having been in the garden room of its Franckenstein Pavilion.[1]

With its four monumental domed corner towers, Schloss Seehof, also known as Marquardsburg, was built during the late seventeenth century as the country seat of Prince Bishop Marquard Sebastian Schenk von Stauffenberg (1644–93) (Figure 2).[2] It is believed that the Italian architect Antonio Petrini (1624/25–1701) was responsible for the design and construction of the castle.[3] The interior decoration and furnishing of Schloss Seehof, the layout of its gardens, and the construction of secondary buildings were carried out by the successive prince bishops of Bamberg, in whose possession the estate remained until the secularization of 1802.[4]

The Franckenstein Pavilion as well as the gardener's house, at the east and the west ends of the greenhouses respectively, were built under Johann Philipp Anton von Franckenstein, prince bishop from 1746 to 1753. The pavilion was demolished between 1867 and 1870, but a 1752 design for it by the Bamberg architect Johann Jakob Michael Küchel (1703–69) has survived (see Figure 2 in the article by Burkard von Roda, which follows this one).[5] In May 1753 the well-known architect Balthasar Neumann (1687–1753) proposed some changes in the design, and construction probably started later that year.[6] The gardener's house, built in 1752, is very similar to Küchel's design and gives a good idea of the Franckenstein Pavilion's architecture (Figure 3).

The pavilion, also called the Franckenstein Schlösschen, was intended to contain a small apartment for the prince bishop.[7] Prince Bishop von Franckenstein, however, did not see the garden pavilion's completion, as he died in 1753. His successor, Franz Konrad von Stadion (1679–1757), was already seventy-four years old at the time of his election to the bishopric and seems not to have had any interest in the decoration of the castle and its gardens or in the completion of the Franckenstein Pavilion. In 1757 this situation changed dramatically, when Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim (1708–79), the prince bishop of Würzburg, was elected prince bishop of Bamberg (Figure 4).

One of the most powerful prince bishops of South Germany, Seinsheim divided his time between the two official residences at Würzburg and Bamberg and his three summer castles, Veitshöchheim, Werneck, and Seehof. Preferring the country to the city, he spent about three months a year at Seehof, where he could enjoy hunting and walking. Fond of gardens, he did much to embellish the castle and especially the park, where a maze, a theater, a cascade with grotto, and trelliswork arcades, as well as an extensive network of water pipes for fountains, were constructed.

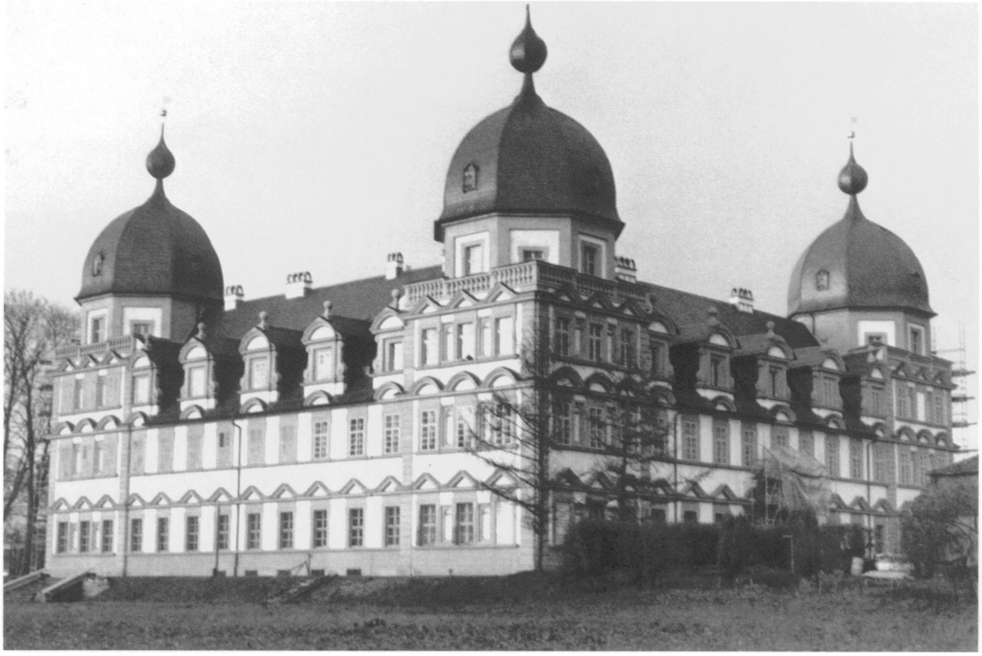
In 1760 Ferdinand Tietz (1708–77), who had worked for Prince Bishop von Franckenstein but left

The notes for this article begin on page 158.

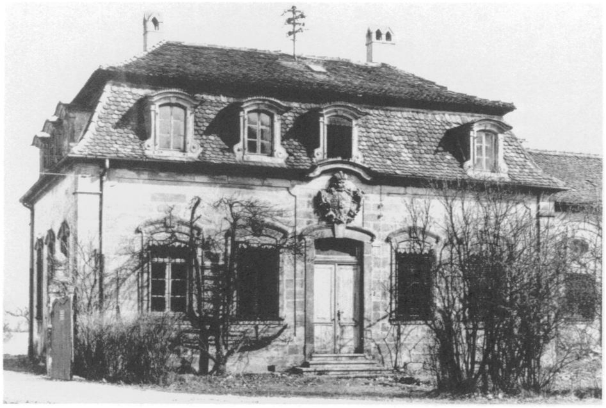
Bamberg after his death, was called back to Seehof as court sculptor. Under Seinsheim's patronage Tietz executed many stone figures, groups, and vases—in all more than four hundred pieces of sculpture.[8] Seinsheim ordered work resumed on the Franckenstein Pavilion in 1761 and decided to have its main rooms, the so-called *Saal* and the *Audienz-zimmer*, decorated with frescoes and stuccowork. He gave his Würzburg court painter, Franz Anton Ermeltraut, precise instructions for the decoration of these rooms.[9] The *Fürstliche Audienz-zimmer* ("princely audience chamber") was to be painted as a garden room with trelliswork and flowers and finished with a small ceiling painting ("um und um als ein Perso obenherum mit Blumen gehänckt, und in der Decken ein kleiner Plavone";[10] see discussion in von Roda). Ermeltraut was to receive 250 gulden for this work. The stucco was executed by Michael Krieger and Friedrich Manger and was finished in the fall of 1761.[11] The painting took much longer, primarily because of Ermeltraut's frequent illnesses.[12] Moreover, occasional disputes between the painter and the bishop about payments also delayed the completion of the project.[13] The Seven Years' War was straining Seinsheim's already limited funds,[14] and in December 1762 he put a halt to the painting and gilding of the windows and doors in the Franckenstein Pavilion.[15]

This fact led Margarete Kämpf to question whether the planned decorations of the audience chamber were ever executed at all.[16] Archival sources, including inventories, indicate that work on the garden room was resumed and completed sometime later in the decade.

1. View of the Seehof furniture in the galleries of Central European decorative arts and sculpture at The Metropolitan Museum of Art

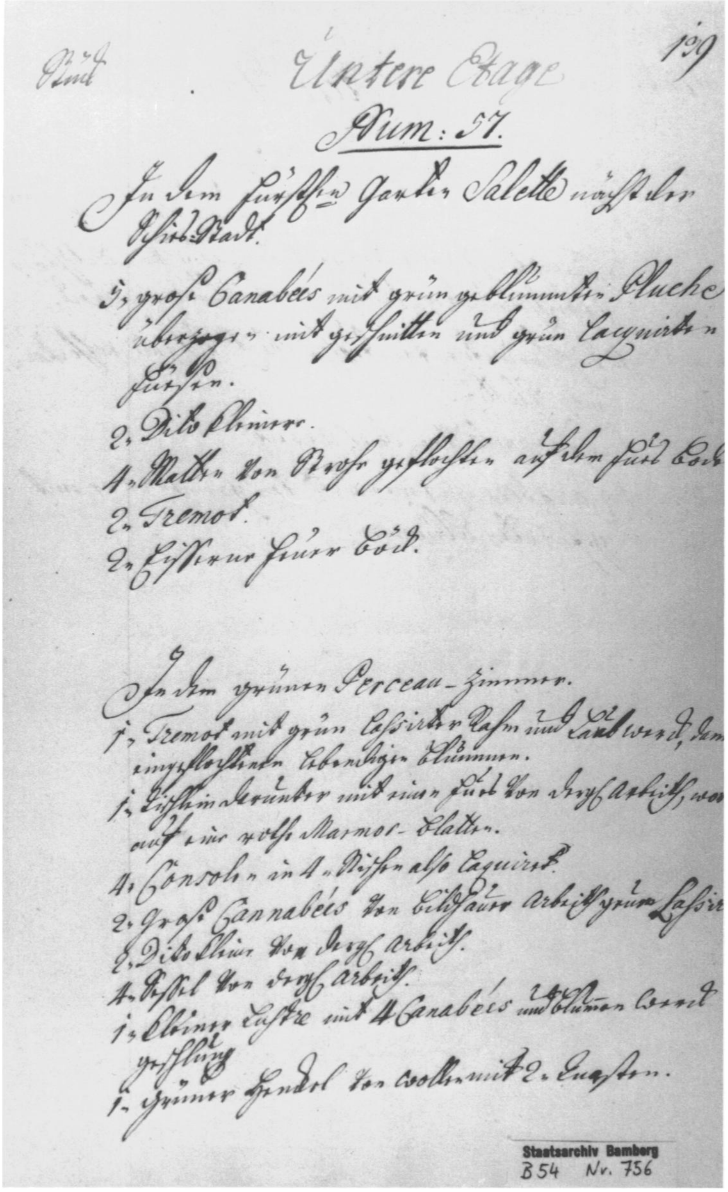


2. Schloss Seehof, north of Bamberg, late 17th century, attributed to Antonio Petrini (1624/25–1701) (photo: author, 1989)



3. Gardener's house in the park of Schloss Seehof, 1752, built by J. J. M. Küchel (photo: Sowieja, Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Munich, 1976)

4. Nicolaus Treu, *Portrait of Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim in the Garden of Seehof*, German, 1761. Oil on canvas, 99 3/16 × 70 1/2 in. (252 × 179 cm). Collection of Zdenko Freiherr vom Hoenning O'Carroll, Schloss Sünching (photo: Zwicker-Berberich, Würzburg)



5. Page 139 of the 1774 inventory describing the furnishings in the *grünen Perceau-zimmer*. Staatsarchiv Bamberg, Rep. B54, no. 756, fol. 139 (photo: Staatsarchiv Bamberg)

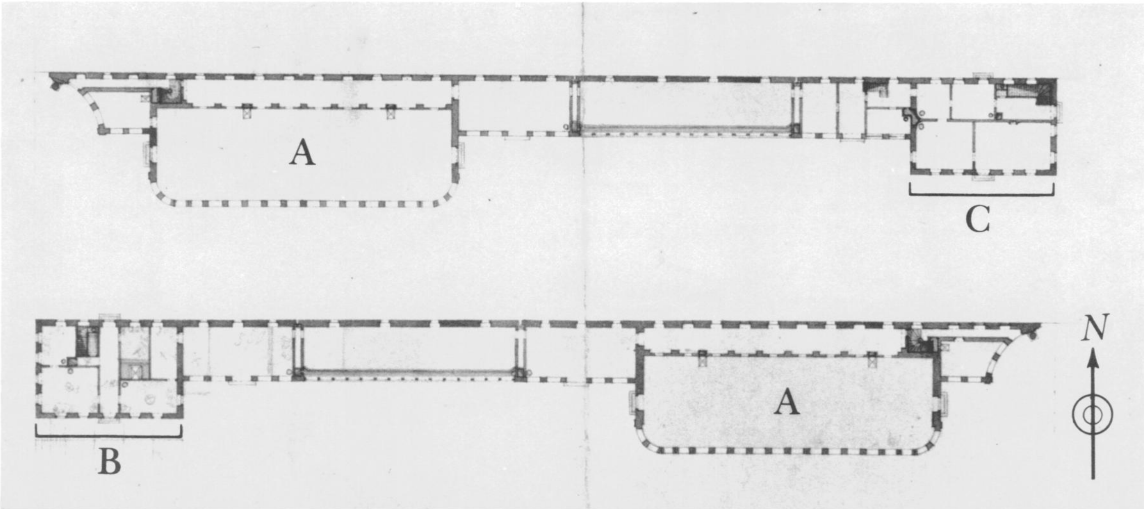
Especially important is the 1774 inventory of Schloss Seehof, which included furnishings and paintings in the Franckenstein Pavilion.[17] The second room in the pavilion was referred to in the inventory as the *grünes Perceau-zimmer* ("green trelliswork chamber"), not only indicating that the decoration by Ermeltraut was indeed carried out but also giving clues to the location of the room (Figure 5).

In an undated plan of the entire complex of orangery buildings, greenhouses, the gardener's house, and the Franckenstein Pavilion—possibly incorporating Neumann's suggested alterations—the pavilion has, in addition to the entrance, only one other door in the main room, called *Saalet* by Küchel (Figure 6).[18] This door connected the two front rooms so that the garden room could only have been to the left of the entrance, the *Wohn und Spiehl-zimmer* in Küchel's design. In 1774 the room had the following furnishings:

1 Tremot mit grün lassirter Rahm und Laubwerck, dann eingeflochtenen lebendigen blummen [a pier glass with green-glazed frame and foliage, interlaced with lively flowers].
1 Tischlein darunter mit einen fues von dergl Arbeith, worauf eine rothe Marmor-blatten [a small table under it with a support of similar work, and a red marble top].
4 Consolen in 4 Nischen also laquiret [four brackets in four niches, lacquered as well].
2 grose Cannabées von bildhauer Arbeith grün Lassirt [two large settees, carved, glazed green].
2 Ditto kleine von dergl Arbeith [two ditto small ones, similarly carved].
4 Sessel von dergl Arbeith [four chairs, similarly carved].
1 kleiner Lustre mit 4 Canabées und blumen werck geschlungen [a small chandelier with four branches, interlaced with flowers].
1 grüner Henckel von wollen mit 2 Quasten [a green woolen bell cord with two tassels].

This description indicates that the Metropolitan Museum's furniture was in the garden room at that time and that the Museum's pair of wall brackets was originally part of a set of four.

Another inventory, drawn up at the time of the secularization in 1802, noted some changes in the furnishing of the room.[19] The red marble tabletop, for instance, had been replaced by one of white marble. The listing of four large green-lacquered settees, instead of two, must have been an error, as the following inventory of 1817/1818 again mentions only one pair of settees.[20] They were at that time described as *grün angestrichen, mit Laubwerck* ("painted green, with foliage"). The chairs and settees were fitted with pillows of green *plösch* (silk velvet). No longer listed are the pier glass and its table, the wall



6. Plan of the orangery (A), gardener's house (B), and Franckenstein Pavilion (C), ca. 1755. Archive at Schloss Seehof (photo: Sowieja, Bayerische Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Munich)

brackets, and the bell cord. The small chandelier was said to be of metal (*Blech*).

The more detailed inventory of 1820/1821 contains additional information about the garden room. Its painted walls, ceiling, and doors, as well as green-painted window frames, were described for the first time.[21] The inventory also mentions that the room had a parquet floor and no stove, as the room was *nicht Heitzbar* ("not heatable"). The seating furniture and the small metal chandelier remained the only furnishings.

The last inventory, dated 1829, described the two settees as standing in two corners of the room and the two armchairs as "fastened" in the other corners.[22] The pillows of the entire set, made of horsehair and still covered with green *plüsch*, were kept at that time in the main castle.[23] The chandelier was described as small, made of metal, and decorated with foliage. What is new is the green-lacquered pier table, with its support shaped like a tree and fitted with a marble top. The missing mirror was said to have been recently sent to Munich along with several others.[24]

The pier table and, presumably, the mirror, documented as being in the garden room in 1774 and 1802, were executed by the *Hofschreiner* Nicolaus Bauer.[25] In 1761 Bauer had provided a model for a pier table for the audience chamber "in dem Seehofer Haus," the Franckenstein Pavilion.[26] It was possibly based on Ermeltraut's design and was probably made of wood (see Figure 3 in von Roda). After examining the model, Seinsheim told the cabinetmaker to execute the work on the mirror with greater delicacy and to carve the flowers, especially on the table, in a less compact manner so that the work could be kept light in feeling. Although the mirror was referred to in the document, no model was specifically mentioned. Bauer was to receive 24 Franconian gulden for the carving of the table support. For the gilding of the table and the mirror frame, Georg Müller, the gilder, was to be paid 40 Franconian gulden. It is, therefore, not clear whether Bauer was to execute both pieces at this time or whether the mirror had already been made but lacked the gilding.

Interesting are the precise instructions given by Seinsheim to the two craftsmen about the finishing of both pieces. The carved decorations of the table and mirror were to be retouched (*nachhelffen*) by Bauer when a primary coating had been applied. The pieces were then to be gilded and Müller was asked to supply a choice of three different samples of gilding.[27] The prince bishop chose to have the pieces gilded and then covered with a green glaze. The flowers were to be painted like porcelain, in bright colors, and then a durable varnish was to be applied. The pier glass and its table are also described as having been finished in this manner in the 1774 inventory.

7. Stove, German, 1750–51, possibly by Johann Bernhard Dober from Dresden. Tin-enameled earthenware, iron firebox, limestone legs, 119 × 30 × 22½ in. (302.3 × 76.2 × 57.2 cm). Originally at Schloss Seehof. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1959, 59.88

In his report of September 10, 1762, to the prince bishop, the *Oberstallmeister* ("chief equerry") mentioned a small model for a stove, commissioned from a young potter from Hollfeld, for the *Perso* or *Audienz-zimmer*.[28] The work of this craftsman, who had lived abroad, was said to surpass in quality the stoves made in Dresden. Quite appropriately for a garden room and corresponding with a representation of spring on the ceiling, the stove was to depict a figure of Flora executed in bright colors. This model, and the stove itself, may, in fact, have never been made; in his reply a week later, Seinsheim stated that although he was very eager to receive the model, he had seen no sign of it.[29] Nothing more was written about this project, and it is possible that it was abandoned in favor of the settees and armchairs, which, by occupying the four corners of the room, left no suitable wall space for a stove. Moreover, the 1820/1821 inventory specifically states that the garden room could not be heated. It is, therefore, highly unlikely that the small faience stove decorated with gilt dragons, originally at Seehof and since 1955 at the Museum (Figure 7), was ever used in the garden room of the Franckenstein Pavilion as has been suggested.[30]

Nothing is known about the present location of the small metal chandelier described in the various inventories. The Museum's large chandelier of painted iron (Figure 8), with eight branches and decorated with flowers of soft-paste porcelain, is mistakenly thought to have come from the Franckenstein Pavilion.[31] Inventory documents allow us to ascertain that it was originally in the audience chamber of the main castle until it was moved to the dining room of the von Zandt family, owners of Seehof from 1842 until 1951 (see Figure 15).[32]

Fortunately, the Museum's set of seat furniture as well as the two wall brackets give us some idea of the former splendor of the garden room and its original furnishings. The two settees, two armchairs, and four side chairs, with their serpentine gilded frames consisting of large C- and other scrolls, have openwork aprons decorated with polychrome flowers and foliage (Figures 9–11). They are supported on slightly curved legs carved with reeds and rest on bun feet that are partly covered by foliage. Most remarkable and in total harmony with their original setting are the off-white studded trelliswork and the carved, gilt, and painted foliage on the inner backs of

8. Eight-light chandelier, German with French porcelain flowers, ca. 1767–70. Painted iron, gilt-bronze and soft-paste (Vincennes?) porcelain, H. 45½ in., Diam. 32 in. (H. 115.6 cm, Diam. 81.3 cm). The chandelier, formerly in the audience chamber at Schloss Seehof, was originally decorated with more flowers. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Lesley and Emma Sheafer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Sheafer, 1973, 1974.356.150

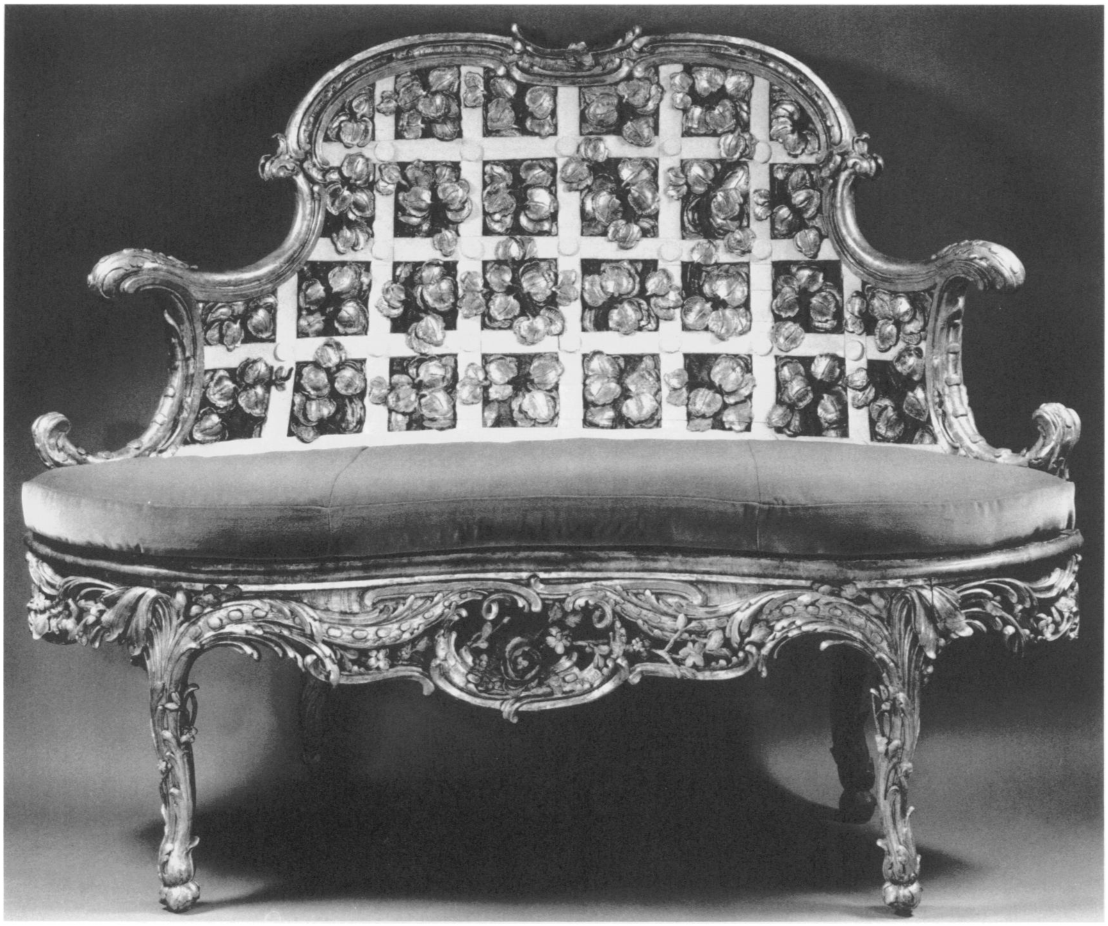
all eight pieces and on the outer backs of the side chairs. The outer backs of the settees and armchairs were left unfinished and have the number 56B painted on them in eighteenth-century script (Figure 12).[33] In contrast to the side chairs, which could be seen in the round, the settees and armchairs were placed against the wall or in corners. In fact, it will be recalled that the 1829 inventory describes the settees as standing and the armchairs as fastened in the corners of the room; the holes on the backs of these chairs attest to this installation. The strange gaps on the backs of the settees indicate that they were once also secured to the walls.

Traces of green-colored glaze, so-called *Lüsterfarben*, are found on the seat furniture, revealing that a layer of green glaze was originally applied over the gilding. This glaze was probably similar to the finish Seinsheim chose for the pier glass and table in the same room. It also corresponds to the various inventory descriptions listing the seat furniture as being *grün lassirt*, *grün lackirt*, and *grün angestrichen*. The furniture must have retained its colored glaze until well into the present century, as it was so described by Wilhelm Schonath in 1956.[34]

The individually asymmetrical gilt and polychrome wall brackets are each other's mirror image (Figures 13, 14). Fitted with a shaped shelf, they are carved with a combination of C-scrolls, foliage, and floral trails terminating at the bottom in pendant clusters of leaves, flowers, and berries. The slightly concave shape of the backs is explained in the 1774 inventory, which listed the four brackets as hanging in niches. The reference here is possibly to rounded corners rather than proper niches, so that the brackets were placed above the settees and armchairs in the corners. The brackets also show traces of *Lüsterfarben*.

The set of furniture was brought to the main castle presumably at the time of the demolition of the Franckenstein Pavilion and, along with the large chandelier, was used in the dining room of the von Zandt family. Photographs made at the turn of the century and around 1930–40 show the seat furniture, supplied with cut-velvet pillows, and two of the wall brackets in the former anteroom between the white hall (*Weisse Saal*) and the audience chamber (Figures 15–17). These photographs reveal large carved flowers flanking the central outward curving motif of the top rail on both settees and armchairs, which have since disappeared.[35] Interesting are the vase-shaped carvings barely visible on top of the brackets (Figures 15, 16). It is believed that the missing pair of brackets and tops were used for the construction of the center table, also visible in the same pictures.[36]

In 1956, the suite of seat furniture, two brackets with their tops, as well as the table, were offered by the von Hessberg family, Seehof's last private owners, to a Munich dealer. The dealer, Fischer-Böhler, sold the chairs, settees, and the table in the same year to Mrs. Emma Sheafer for use in her New York apartment. Two years later the wall brackets were also



9

10

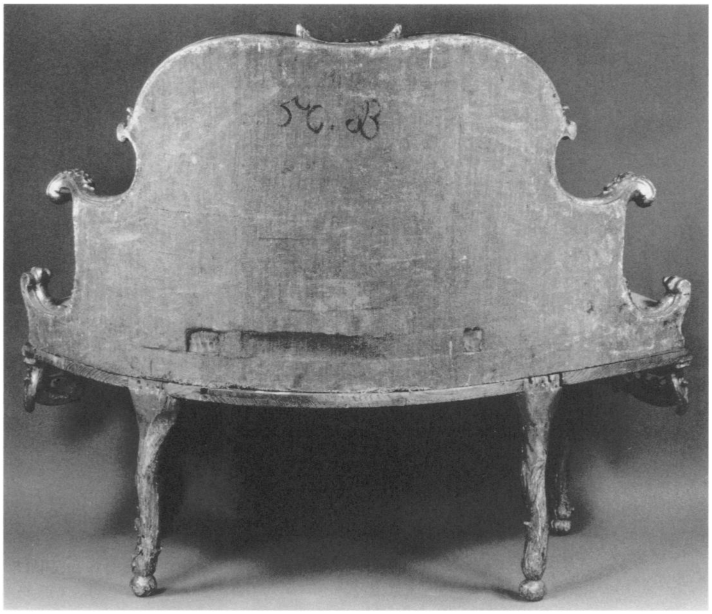
11

9. Settee, one of a pair, German, ca. 1763–64. Painted and gilded lindenwood, 43 × 54½ × 25¼ in. (109.2 × 138.4 × 64.1 cm). Made for the garden room in the Franckenstein Pavilion. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Lesley and Emma Sheafer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Sheafer, 1973, 1974.356.120

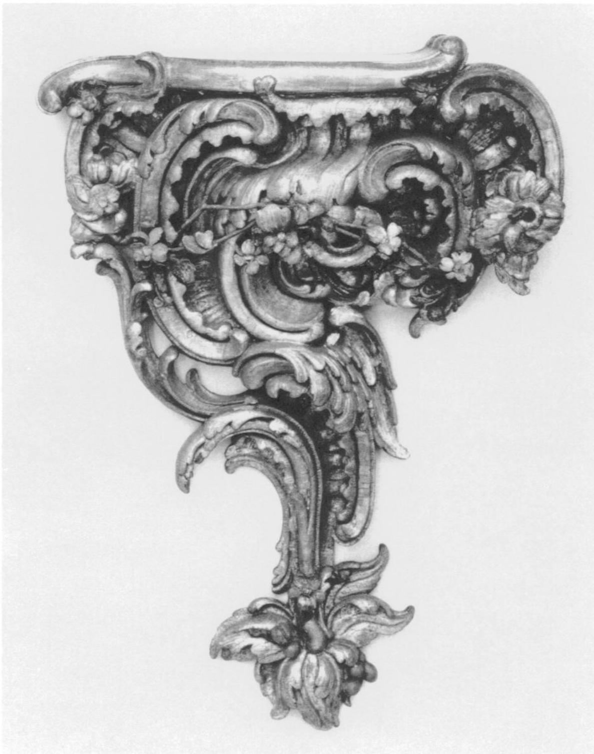
10. Armchair, one of a pair, German, ca. 1763–64. Painted and gilded lindenwood, 44 × 26 × 21 in. (111.8 × 66 × 53.3 cm). Made for the garden room in the Franckenstein Pavilion. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Lesley and Emma Sheafer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Sheafer, 1973, 1974.356.119

11. Side chair, one of a set of four, German, ca. 1763–64. Painted and gilded lindenwood, 39½ × 19¼ × 17½ in. (100.3 × 48.9 × 44.5 cm). Made for the garden room in the Franckenstein Pavilion. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Lesley and Emma Sheafer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Sheafer, 1973, 1974.356.116

12. Detail of Figure 9, inv. no. 56B



13, 14. Pair of wall brackets, German, ca. 1763–64. Painted and gilded lindenwood, 29 × 20 × 6¼ in. (73.7 × 50.8 × 15.9 cm). Two of the four wall brackets originally made for the garden room in the Franckenstein Pavilion. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Lesley and Emma Sheafer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Sheafer, 1973, 1974.356.123, 124




15

16


15. Interior of the dining room of the von Zandt family (former anteroom) at Schloss Seehof, ca. 1890–1900. Munich, Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege

16. Dining room of the von Zandt family (former anteroom) at Schloss Seehof, ca. 1930–40. Munich, Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege (photo: Fotoatelier Gundermann, Würzburg)

17. Armchair in the dining room of the von Zandt family at Schloss Seehof, 1946 (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

18. Table, German, late 19th or early 20th century with 18th-century carvings. Carved, painted, and gilded lindenwood, oak top, 32 × 57½ × 43 in. (81.2 × 146 × 109.2 cm). Presumably made for the dining room of the von Zandt family at Schloss Seehof to match the seat furniture. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Lesley and Emma Sheafer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Sheafer, 1973, 1974.356.122

17

18

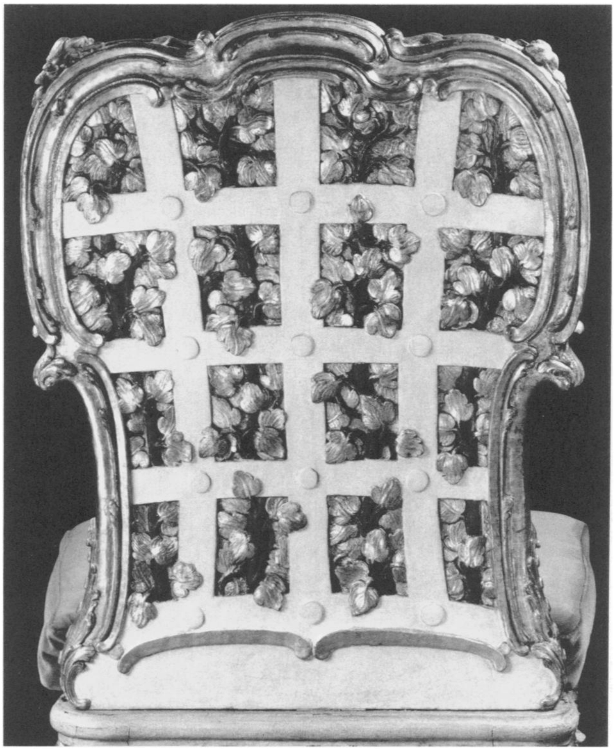
19. Pair of vase-shaped carvings, German, ca. 1763–64. Painted and gilded lindenwood, $24^{13}/_{16} \times 18^{7}/_{8} \times 6^{5}/_{16}$ in. (63 × 48 × 16 cm). Two carvings (originally four) for the tops of the wall brackets in the garden room of the Franckenstein Pavilion. Residenz Würzburg, Inv. no. Ver. 1, 2 (photo: Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, Munich)

20. Settee, one of a pair, German, ca. 1763–64. Painted and gilded lindenwood, covered in painted silk, $43 \times 54^{1}/_{2} \times 25^{1}/_{4}$ in. (109.2 × 138.4 × 64.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Lesley and Emma Sheafer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Sheafer, 1973, 1974.356.121

acquired by Mrs. Sheafer. Their tops had been previously purchased by the Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, and they are still in its collection today (Figure 19).[37]

At the time of purchase, the set of furniture was covered, presumably by the dealer, with eighteenth-century painted Chinese silk (Figure 20). Only the trelliswork carving on the outer sides of the side chairs was left exposed (Figure 21). Since its purchase by Mrs. Sheafer, the seat furniture with its Chinese silk upholstery has been illustrated and described in several publications, and the chairs came to the Museum in that condition in 1973.[38] It was, therefore, an exciting surprise when the original trelliswork carving was recently rediscovered.

Since no other documents pertaining to this set of furniture other than the inventories cited here are known, it is interesting to note the attribution, date, and provenance provided by the Munich dealer in 1956. Fischer-Böhler stated that these pieces were made by the Würzburg artist Johann Köhler in about 1765 and that they were presented by the margravine of Bayreuth to Prince Bishop von Seinsheim for the Franckenstein Pavilion.[39] The information about the maker must have derived from the studies by Heinrich Kreisel, who, not very convincingly, ascribed a similar corner settee in the Würzburg Residenz to Johann Köhler (Figure 22). In 1764 the otherwise unknown sculptor Köhler received 82 gulden 10 kreuzer "für unterschiedlich in das in der hochf. Residenz neue eingerichtete Zimmer verfertigte Bildhauerarbeit" (for sculptural work/carving executed in the newly furnished chamber in the princely residence).[40] On the basis of certain similarities Kreisel attributed the Museum's set to Köhler as well and dated it 1766.[41] Since it is true that Seinsheim was prince bishop in both cities, it would not have been unusual for craftsmen from Würzburg to work for him in Bamberg as well. The court painter, Franz Anton Ermeltraut, for instance, was employed at the Würzburg Residenz, at Veitshöchheim, and at Seehof. However, there is no trace of Köhler's presence at Seehof. Neither is there any evidence that the sculptor Ferdinand Tietz supplied the design for, or participated in the carving of this extraordinary set, as has been suggested.[42] The only furniture Tietz is known to have executed during his stay at Seehof and Veitshöchheim is a number of stone tables and benches for the gardens.[43]



21. Back view of side chair in Figure 11

It is most likely that this furniture, described in the 1774 inventory as "von bildhauer Arbeith," was indeed made by one or more sculptors or master carvers, as it seems that more than one person was responsible for the carved decoration.[44] The foliage of the side chairs is different—finer and in lower relief than the bold, more sculptural abundance of overlapping leaves with curved tips found on the settees.

The involvement of a cabinetmaker should not be ruled out, since contemporary documents show that collaboration between sculptors and cabinetmakers occurred regularly.[45] Although the cabinetmaker Nicolaus Bauer is known to have provided the carved pier table and possibly also the mirror for the garden room in 1761, this does not necessarily imply that he was among the craftsmen responsible for the rest of the furniture. Considered part of the wall decoration, pier glasses and their tables were specially designed to fit the pier in a particular room; additional furniture was usually ordered separately.

A major reason for the absence of references to this garden-room furniture in the Seehof records could be that Seinsheim settled the accounts in Würzburg.[46] Another may be that it was indeed a gift to the prince bishop, perhaps from the Bayreuth margravine as Fischer-Böhler stated. Sophie Caroline von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1737–1817), widow of the Bayreuth margrave Friedrich von Brandenburg-Bayreuth (1711–63), is known to have visited Seinsheim regularly in Würzburg and also at Seehof.[47] Pieces of furniture were occasionally exchanged; Seinsheim sent the margravine a small writing table in 1771 and he received a firescreen in return.[48] A complete set of furniture would have been a rather large gift and would probably be mentioned by Seinsheim in his correspondence with his brother in Munich, Joseph Franz (1707–87). Not all the letters, however, have been preserved.[49]

In favor of a Bayreuth provenance is the florid style of the pieces; the Rococo furniture of Bayreuth was characterized by unrestricted use of naturalistic motifs such as foliage, flowers, reeds, and birds. For example, one of the rooms at the Neues Schloss in Bayreuth was furnished with a settee confidante, its gilt frame decorated with brightly colored flowers. Another room in the same palace had four chairs with yellow frames carved with green foliage.[50] There was also a preference in Bayreuth for naturalism in interiors. Several rooms in the Neues Schloss were, before 1760, already decorated as garden rooms or treillage cabinets in imitation of latticework pavilions, the first examples of their kind in Germany.[51] (See discussion in von Roda.) In fact, it is possible that the idea of executing such a garden room in the Franckenstein Pavilion came from Bayreuth. However, inventory descriptions of one of these rooms, the so-called *Spalier-zimmer* at the Bayreuth palace, show that it was furnished in 1785 with upholstered furniture and did not have the decorative unity of the Franckenstein garden room at that time (Figure 23).[52]

Because the Museum's furniture was in such perfect harmony with its original setting, it was most likely ordered for the room rather than having been a gift. Seinsheim's attention to the most minute details of Seehof's embellishment also favors this argument.[53] The Museum's pieces are unique; except for

22. Settee, German, ca. 1760. Painted and gilded wood, covered in tapestry, 49⁹⁄₁₆ × 57½ × 22¹⁄₁₆ in. (126 × 146 × 56 cm). Residenz Würzburg, inv. no. M465 (photo: Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, Munich)

the Würzburg settee, no other pieces known today bear the slightest resemblance to the garden-room set. Its unusual nature and the absence of archival documents make it impossible to attribute the set to specific artists. Among the possible makers of these pieces one should perhaps consider the two Bamberg sculptors Bonaventura Joseph Mutschele (1728–80/82) and his younger brother Franz Martin (1733–1804). The two brothers were familiar with work executed in Bayreuth, and their pieces were often decorated with flowers and floral festoons. Although they do not seem to have worked in Würzburg, Seehof documents do indicate that Franz Martin received a number of commissions from Seinsheim.[54]

Both the garden-room furniture and the Würzburg settee bear some resemblance to the engravings of the sculptor Johann Martin Hoppenhaupt (1709–ca. 1755). His Rococo furniture designs frequently incorporate naturalistic motifs, combined with curved and sometimes asymmetrical outlines. Among Hoppenhaupt's designs for interiors is a garden room showing a close unity between the decoration of the wall and the furniture.[55]

More restrained than the exuberant settee of about 1760 in the Würzburg Residenz, the Museum's pieces were probably executed somewhat later. They must have been made during the period between 1761, when the interior decoration of the garden room was started, and 1774, when the pieces were described in situ. As a model for a stove was discussed in September 1762, the set of furniture could only have been ordered after that time.

The Franckenstein Pavilion was finished or near completion in 1764, when it was praised in a poem by members of the Society of Jesus.[56] Seinsheim probably visited his Schlösschen in May 1765, when he inspected the small pleasure garden, newly laid out behind the pavilion.[57] Later that same year a glazier cleaned the fourteen windows and five large mirrors in the *neuen Salet*, an indication that the Franckenstein Pavilion was then ready for use.[58] These facts and the late-Rococo style of the pieces appear to suggest that the set was very likely made in 1763 or 1764.

We cannot, however, disregard the fact that the inventory number 56B, painted on the outer back of each of the six chairs and the pair of settees, does not correspond with the number under which the garden room was listed in any known Seehof inventory.[59] Other pieces of furniture originally at Seehof do not seem to have received inventory numbers at all. Does this imply that the pieces were somewhere else before 1774 and that they were, in fact, a gift? The answer to this question may still lie buried in some Franconian archive.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to Olga Raggio, chairman of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, who initiated new research on the Seehof furniture. I would like to thank Michael Petzet, director of the Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege in Munich, and Gisela Masching of the same organization, who assisted me in my archival work in Germany. The research was facilitated by the generosity of Jayne Wrightsman.

23. Spalier-zimmer in the Neues Schloss, Bayreuth, ca. 1757–58 (photo: Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, Munich)

NOTES

1. See Sigrid Sangl, "Das Bamberger Hofschreinerhandwerk im 18. Jahrhundert" (dissertation, Erlangen, 1985) pp. 358–367.

2. The estate with a hunting lodge was already in possession of the Bamberg see at the end of the 15th century. For a complete history of Schloss Seehof, see Margarete Kämpf, "Das fürstbischöfliche Schloss Seehof bei Bamberg," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg* 93/94 (Bamberg, 1956) pp. 25–254.

3. York Langenstein and Michael Petzet, *Seehof: Baugeschichte und Restaurierung von Schloss und Park, Denkmalpflege Informationen, Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege* (Munich, 1985) p. 2.

4. Privately owned for more than a century, the empty castle, its contents sold and its park neglected, was acquired by the State of Bavaria in 1975. At the present time Seehof serves as a branch office for the Munich-based Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, which is also carrying out an extensive restoration program.

5. The demolition of the Franckenstein Pavilion took place either in 1867 (see Kämpf, "Das fürstbischöfliche Schloss," p. 78 n. 2; J. M. Ritz, *Schloss Seehof bei Bamberg* [Bamberg, 1925] p. 18, and Konrad Schrott, *Memmelsdorf: Ortsgeschichte eines ehemaligen Hochstift-bambergischen Amtssitzes* [Memmelsdorf, 1975] pp. 390–391) or 1870 (see Wilhelm Biebinger, "Der Schlossgarten von Seehof, seine Topographie und Figurierung," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg* 96 [Bamberg, 1959] p. 182, n. 38).

6. Staatsarchiv Bamberg, Rep. B53, no. 326, prod. 58, May 3, 1753.

7. Ibid., "Von den Pavillion zu seehoff unten bey denen glasshaüssern, Worinnen Eüer Hochfürstl. gnaden Ein Kleines Apartement gnädigst haben Wollen."

8. For detailed information about the gardens and Tietz's sculpture, see Kämpf, "Das fürstbischöfliche Schloss," pp. 130–158, and Biebinger, "Der Schlossgarten von Seehof," pp. 173–205. See also Gerhard Bott, "Ein Plan des Schlossgartens von Schloss Seehof bei Bamberg," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (Nuremberg, 1966) pp. 134–141.

9. Franz Anton Ermeltraut was born in Heidelberg; his precise dates are not known. See Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler* XI (Leipzig, 1915) pp. 2–3.

10. Staatsarchiv Bamberg, Rep. B53, no. 458, fols. 114–117, June 1, 1761.

11. Ibid. According to Thieme and Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler* XXIV (Leipzig, 1930) p. 12, F. Manger worked in the Würzburg Residenz beginning in 1763. There is no indication that the stucco-worker J. Vogel worked on the project, as stated by Kämpf, "Das fürstbischöfliche Schloss," p. 95.

12. Staatsarchiv Bamberg, Rep. B66, no. 2, prod. 71, Sept. 17, 1761: "die übrige in dem Seehofer Garten-Hauss-Salet bald zu Ende gehende Stucator-Arbeit ziemlich gut ausfalle. Der Würzburger Hof-Mahler Ermeltraut aber so bis anhero und noch zwar immerhin mit dem 4.tägigen Fiber behafftet."

13. Kämpf, "Das fürstbischöfliche Schloss," p. 227, Q.138, pp. 228–230, Q.139, Q.140, Q.142, Q.143, Q.144, Q.145.

14. Burkard von Roda, *Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim, Auftraggeber zwischen Rokoko und Klassizismus. Zur Würzburger und Bamberger Hofkunst anhand der Privatkorrespondenz des Fürstbischofs (1755–1779)*, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Fränkischen Kunstgeschichte, VI (Neustadt/Aisch, 1980) p. 16 n. 73, p. 45, pp. 112–114.

15. Staatsarchiv Bamberg, Rep. B53, no. 456, prod. 66, Dec. 17, 1762; also Rep. B53, no. 343, prod. 73, Dec. 23, 1762: "Da Ich bey diesen Zeiten eben nicht gemeinet bin, Vieles bauen zu lassen, so kan diese Vergolter arbeith bis auf meine weithere befehl zuruckbleiben, und ist überhaubt in dem bauweesen dermahlen mehr als sonsten gesparsam zu werck zu gehen."

16. Kämpf, "Das fürstbischöfliche Schloss," p. 95.

17. Staatsarchiv Bamberg, Rep. B54, no. 756, fols. 139–149, 1774.

18. Kämpf, "Das fürstbischöfliche Schloss," p. 88, dates this plan about 1755.

19. Transcript of the 1802 inventory, Hausarchiv of Schloss Seehof:

Room no. 57B:

1 Trumeau mit grünem Rahme, Laubwerk und lebendigen Blumen.

1 Tischlein mit einem Fusse von dergleichen Arbeit, worauf eine Platte von weisem Marmor.

4 Consoln grün lackirt.

4 Dito grosse Canapees.

2 Dito kleine.

4 Sessel von dergleichen Arbeit.

4 kleine Lüstres mit 4. branches.

1 grüner Hängel von Wollen mit 4. Quasten.

20. Transcript of the 1817/1818 inventory, Hausarchiv of Schloss Seehof, p. 37, no. 2A:

2 Cannapee grün angestrichen, mit Laubwerk, mit grün plöschenen Kissen.

6 Sessel grün angestrichen mit Laubwerk mit ditto.

1 Kleiner Lüster von Blech.

21. Transcript of the 1820/1821 inventory, Hausarchiv of Schloss Seehof, p. 47, no. 2:

Die Wände und Plafond und Thüren gemahlt, Fenster wie im vorigen [mit grüner Oehlfarbe], ein Parquet Boden, nicht Heitzbar.

2 Kanapee grün lakirt, und mit Laubwerk, die Kissen von grünen plüsch.

6 Sessel dergleichen mit dem nemlichen Kissen.

1 kleiner Lüster von Blech.

22. Transcript of the 1829 inventory, Hausarchiv of Schloss Seehof, VI 2, Grünes Kabinet, nos. 875–879:

2 Kanapee Gestell, grün lackirt, und mit Laubwerk verzieret, in den Ecken des Zimmers. Die dazu gehörigen Kissen komen unter N. 301 vor.

2 Armsessel in den andern Ecken des Zimmers befestiget, in gleicher Art garnirt.

4 Sessel in derselben gearbeitet. Bemerkung. Die hierzu und den vorigen zwey Nummern gehörigen Kissen, sind unter B.n. 16 aufgeschrieben.

1 kleiner Lüster von Blech mit Laubwerk.

1 Consol Tisch, grün lackirt, der Fuss baumartig, und mit Marmorplatte belegt. Bemerkung. Der fehlende Spiegel ist nach Aussage der beiden Richard mit mehreren andern vorlangst nach München gekommen.

Most likely the settees stood in the corners of the wall opposite the windows as there was more space for them than in the corners near the windows where the armchairs were probably placed.

23. Ibid., no. 301: "2 kleine Kanape Kissen, und 6 Sesselkissen von Rosshaar mit Plüsch überzogen, grün."

24. See note 21 above. It is not clear if the mirror was the same as that listed in 1774 and 1802; none was mentioned in 1817/1818 or 1820/1821. It is possible that a different mirror and pier table were placed here at some point, since the table listed in the 1829 inventory does not match the earlier descriptions.

25. There are no written accounts for the table and the mirror.

26. Staatsarchiv Bamberg, Rep. B66, no. 2, prod. 67, Aug. 13, 1761. See also Rep. B53, no. 456, prod. 56, Aug. 19, 1761; Rep. B66, no. 2, prod. 67, Aug. 20, 1761.

27. ". . . die Von dem Vergulder Müller gleicher gestalten Verfertigte Probe des Verguldens, und zwar auf dreyerley Arth, ob . . . auf Silber-Grund gantz lassiret, oder . . . gantz Verguldt und grün Schattiret, oder . . . Verguldt und gantz darüber lassiret." Staatsarchiv Bamberg, Rep. B66, no. 2, prod. 67, Aug. 13, 1761.

28. Ibid., prod. 103, Sept. 10, 1762.

29. Ibid., prod. 103, Sept. 17, 1762.

30. Acc. no. 59.88. See C. C. Dauterman, "The Frankenstein Dragon Stove," *MMAB* (Jan. 1960) pp. 168–170. The MMA stove was probably one of the six white-and-gold "Porcellane Öfen" that were supplied by Johann Bernhard Dober from Dresden in 1751. Staatsarchiv Bamberg, B53, no. 455, prod. 57, May 21, 1751, and A231/I, no. 2331/IV, June 19, 1751.

31. Acc. no. 1974.356.150. Kämpf, "Das fürstbischöfliche Schloss," p. 95; Heinrich Kreisel, "Der Untergang der Garten- und Raumausstattung des Schlosses Seehof," *Schönere Heimat Erbe und Gegenwart* 48 (1959) no. 1/2, p. 24; Sangl, "Das Bamberger Hofschreinerhandwerk," pp. 194–195 n. 30, pp. 362, 365 n. 19. Sangl suggests that one of the two chandeliers from the Sheafer collection came from the Franckenstein Pavilion, but the second chandelier (acc. no. 1974.356.149) was never at Seehof.

32. This chandelier was described in 1774 (fol. 41): "1 groser Lustre mit armen von Porcellainen Blumen gezieret"; in 1802 (room 31f): "1 grosse Lüster mit Armen und porzelainen Blumen"; in 1817/1818 (no. 6a, p. 6): "1 Luster mit 8 Arm mit Messing, mit Laubwerk von Porzellain"; in 1820/1821 (no. 6–80): "1 Lüster von Messing und 8 Arme mit Laubwerk von porzellain; in 1829 (no. 30–489): "1 Lüster mit 8 Arm von Messing mit Porzellain Blumen garnirt an einen roth umwundenen Strange."

The audience chamber was refurnished in 1767/68 with "Pariser" seat furniture presumably executed locally in the French fashion. Staatsarchiv Bamberg, Rep. B66, no. 4, prod. 15, Jan. 19, 1768; see also Kämpf, "Das fürstbischöfliche Schloss," p. 70 nn. 80–81. The soft-paste (Vincennes?) porcelain flowers may have been purchased in France at this time.

33. The presence of similar numbers on the polychromed surface of the outer backs of the side chairs was detected by ultraviolet light.

34. The suite of seat furniture from the garden room, together with some other pieces, was described in 1956 as: "Das Leichte und Elegante der Form wurde noch untermalt von jener prachtvollen Tönung, die dadurch hervorgerufen wurde, dass die bunten Farben in Lasur über silbernem und goldenem Metallgrund aufgetragen waren." See Wilhelm Schonath, "Der Ausverkauf des fürstbischöflichen Sommerschlosses Seehof," *Fränkische Blätter für Geschichtsforschung und Heimatpflege* 9, no. 2 (1956) p. 7.

35. One of these photographs also shows that the front apron of one armchair (acc. no. 1974.356.118) has been changed.

36. The large center table (acc. no. 1974.356.122), not documented in the 18th- or 19th-century inventories, was made during the late 19th or early 20th century, most likely when the von Zandt family needed a dining-room table in the same style. Eighteenth-century carvings were used for the table's frieze.

37. Inv. no. 2218, Sachkatalog, ver. 1–2. The vase carvings were bought from Fischer-Böhler in 1956. I am grateful to Sigrid Sangl for this information.

38. Heinrich Kreisel, *Fränkische Rokokomöbel* (Darmstadt, 1956) pp. 20–21, 38–39, fig. 23; idem, *Die Kunst des deutschen Möbels* II (Munich, 1970) pp. 200, 398, figs. 550–553; MMA, *Notable Acquisitions 1965–1975* (New York, 1975) p. 263 and ill.; Yvonne Hackenbroch and James Parker, *The Lesley and Emma Sheafer Collection: A Selective Presentation*, exh. cat. (MMA, New York, 1975) no. 25 and ill.; Denys Sutton, "Rococo Furnitüre from Schloss Seehof," *Apollo* 116 (Oct. 1982) pp. 265–266, figs. 6–8; *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide* (New York, 1983) p. 220, no. 42, and ill.; Langenstein and Petzet, *Seehof, Baugeschichte*, pp. 10–11 and ill.; Florence de Dampierre, *The Best of Painted Furniture* (New York, 1987) pp. 128, 129, and ill.

39. This information is listed on the backs of photographs of the furniture taken at the time of the sale to Mrs. Sheafer. These photos are at present in the files of the Museum's Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts.

40. Heinrich Kreisel, *Die Kunstschätze der Würzburger Residenz* (Würzburg, 1930) pp. 29–30.

41. Kreisel, *Fränkische Rokokomöbel*, pp. 20–21, 34 n. 28, 38–39, fig. 23. The date 1766 was mistakenly based on documents published by Kämpf, "Das fürstbischöfliche Schloss," p. 70 nn. 80, 81. Kämpf refers here to two settees and eight chairs for the audience chamber at Schloss Seehof and not to furniture for the garden room of the Franckenstein Pavilion.

42. Kreisel, *Fränkische Rokokomöbel*, p. 21.

43. Kämpf, "Das fürstbischöfliche Schloss," pp. 148–149, 220–221, Q.123–125, pp. 224–225, Q.133. See also Bernd Wolfgang Lindemann, *Ferdinand Tietz 1708–1777. Studien zu Werk, Stil und Ikonographie* (Weissenhorn, 1989) p. 88 n. 231, pp. 323–326, 357–359, figs. 313–319 and 369. Several of the benches are still at Seehof.

44. The meaning of the term *Bildhauer Arbeith* is not clear. It could either refer to the fact that it was made by a sculptor or, more likely, that a certain piece had carved decorations.

45. A good example of this is the writing cabinet in the Würzburg Residenz, made by the cabinetmaker Karl Maximilian Mattern and sculptor Johann Wolfgang van der Auvera in 1742. See Erich Bachmann and Burkard von Roda, *Residenz Würzburg und Hofgarten: Amtlicher Führer* (Munich, 1985) p. 50, fig. 14.

Seehof accounts show that the sculptor Franz Martin Mutschele, together with a cabinetmaker, made a cardtable in 1760. Beatrice Trost, *Die Bildhauerfamilie Mutschele Studien zur Bamberger Dekoration und Skultur im 18. Jahrhundert,* Quellen und Darstellungen zur Fränkischen Kunstgeschichte, VIII (Neustadt/Aisch, 1987) pp. 99, 204 Q.127.

46. Unfortunately, not all of these records have been preserved, as part of the Würzburg Archives was destroyed during World War II.

47. Staatsarchiv Bamberg, Hofdiariën, Rep. B24/I no. 21, pp. 188–191 (June 16, 1770) and no. 21, pp. 279–283 (Oct. 26, 1771). See also Burkard von Roda, *Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim*, p. 96.

48. Von Roda, *Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim*, p. 96.

49. Ibid., p. 5.

50. Staatsarchiv Bamberg, Rep. C9/IV 2000, Bayreuth inventory of 1785, fol. 135, no. 91: "Ein canapé mit zwey neben sitzen von bleumouranten reuhen [rauhen?] Gros du Tour überzogen und mit silberene Taessen [Tressen?] eingefasst, das gestell ist vergoldet und mit bunten blumen ausgezieret"; Staatsarchiv Bamberg, Rep. C9/IV 2006, Bayreuth inventory of 1789, fol. 33, no. 56: "Vier dergl. [von rothen Damast] Sessel mit gelben gestellen und grünen Laubwerck."

51. Eva Börsch-Supan, *Garten-, Landschafts- und Paradiesmotive im Innenraum* (Berlin, [1967]) p. 300; Hella Müller, "Natur-Illusion in der Innenraumkunst des späteren 18. Jahrhunderts," dissertation (Göttingen, 1957) pp. 4–5, and idem (Hella Arndt), "Gartenzimmer des 18. Jahrhunderts" (Darmstadt, n.d.) pp. 19–20, 32, figs. 2, 3.

52. Staatsarchiv Bamberg, Rep. C9/IV 2000, fol. 130–131, no. 87; in 1785 the *Spalier-zimmer* was furnished as follows:

Zwey rollvorhange von Bleumouranten Taffend, mit blauen leinewand gefuttert, sehr alt

Ein dreytheiligen Tremeau mit vergoldeten Rahmen

Ein hang leuchter von böhmischen glas mit 6. Armen

Ein grosses vergoldetes Tischgestell mit marmor platten

Zwey Fauteuils und vier Tabourets mit blau damastenen Kissen und perlen farben vergoldeten gestellen und leinewandtenen überzugen

Drey tapeten Banden mit chinesischen figuren von Jucht gemahlt.

53. Trost, *Die Bildhauerfamilie Mutschele*, pp. 98, 211, Q.151. The sculptor Franz Martin Mutschele was commissioned in 1763, for example, to carve 840 wooden roses for the two trelliswork arcades near the cascade on the south side of the gardens.

54. Ibid., pp. 56–57, 97–99, 103, fig. 19.

55. See Wilhelm Kurth, *Die Raumkunst im Kupferstich des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, [1923]) pls. 221, 223. See also Sangl, *Das Bamberger Hofschreinerhandwerk*, pp. 364–365.

56. First published in 1764 in Latin with the title: *Deliciae Hortenses Castri A Marquardo Nuncupati.* Also 1764 German translation: *Garten-Lust der Marquards-Burg, oder des sogenannten See-hoffes nächst Bamberg*, pp. 31–32.

See also Biebinger, "Der Schlossgarten von Seehof," pp. 181–182.

57. Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim in a letter to his brother of May 15, 1765: "Habe ein halbes Stündge gefunden, mein neues Puzgärtge an dem Gartenhaus bey der Schiessstatt zu betrachten, welches recht artig reussiert hat." See von Roda, *Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim*, p. 226, Q.106.

58. The glazier's bill for this work is dated Sept. 8, 1765. Staatsarchiv Bamberg, Rep. A231/I no. 2345/IV.

59. In the 1774 inventory (see note 17 above) several rooms of the Franckenstein Pavilion, including the garden room, were described under number 57. Number 56 was the orangery; 56B did not exist at that time. In the 1802 inventory (see note 19) the orangery remained number 56, the garden room was listed under number 57B.

The Design for the "Berceau" Room at Seehof

BURKARD VON RODA

Deputy Director, Historisches Museum Basel, and Curator, Department of European Sculpture, Painting, and Decorative Arts

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART owns two corner settees, two upholstered armchairs, four side chairs, and two wall brackets from a suite of furniture created for the former summer residence of the prince bishops of Bamberg, one quite without parallel among the creations of the South German Rococo (Figure 1).[1] The most striking feature of these pieces—their carved backs imitative of latticework with intertwining foliage—would suggest that they came from a room decorated with a garden motif. And, as it happens, we know from an inventory made in 1774 of the furnishings of Schloss Seehof, in Bamberg, that they were among the appointments of the "green perceau room" (*sic*), or a room decorated to resemble an arbor.[2] The room in question was not in the palace itself but rather "in His Highness's garden apartment next to the shooting-stand."

This apartment, the original home of these unusual furnishings, is generally known as the Franckenstein Pavilion, inasmuch as it was built at the behest of Prince Bishop Johann Philipp Anton von Franckenstein (r. 1746–53). An inscription on the plan for the structure (Figure 2), signed by its architect, Michael Küchel, in 1752, fittingly describes it as a "secondary princely residence," a kind of retreat that, though a mere two hundred meters away from the main palace, would provide the prince with a getaway when he grew weary of the strict protocol of his court. Regrettably, no record of the pavilion's interior decoration was preserved when the building was razed between 1867 and 1870, so that heretofore nothing has been known of the original setting for the unusual design of the suite of furniture. A previously unpublished decoration drawing, however, discovered in the Martin von Wagner Museum in Würzburg (Figure 3), would seem to provide some answers.[3]

The Franckenstein Pavilion[4] formed the eastern end of the orangery wing, the main block of which still stands and whose two greenhouses doubled as concert and dining halls. A single-story sandstone structure with a cellar below and a mansarded attic floor above, the pavilion matched the surviving gardener's house to the west, so we still have a general idea of the building's exterior. Moreover, the Küchel drawing provides a clear picture not only of the pavilion's facade but also of its interior, with floor plans of the three levels and a cross section through the whole. Küchel's inscriptions even suggest the proposed function of its individual rooms. We see that the prince's apartment occupied the ground floor above a wine cellar. Three steps up from the level of the garden, one passed through a portal adorned with a coat of arms and entered directly into the dining room. Behind the dining room lay the sitting room, living room, and bedroom, the last extending into the adjoining greenhouse structure to form part of the orangery.

The room to the left of the dining room is designated a "salon and gaming room," and this is the space that concerns us here. The notion of it as a berceau room nine years later, when the room was called also the princely audience chamber, is nowhere prefigured in Küchel's plan; the architect merely suggests paneled walls above a wainscoting and a porcelain stove in a niche in the back left corner.

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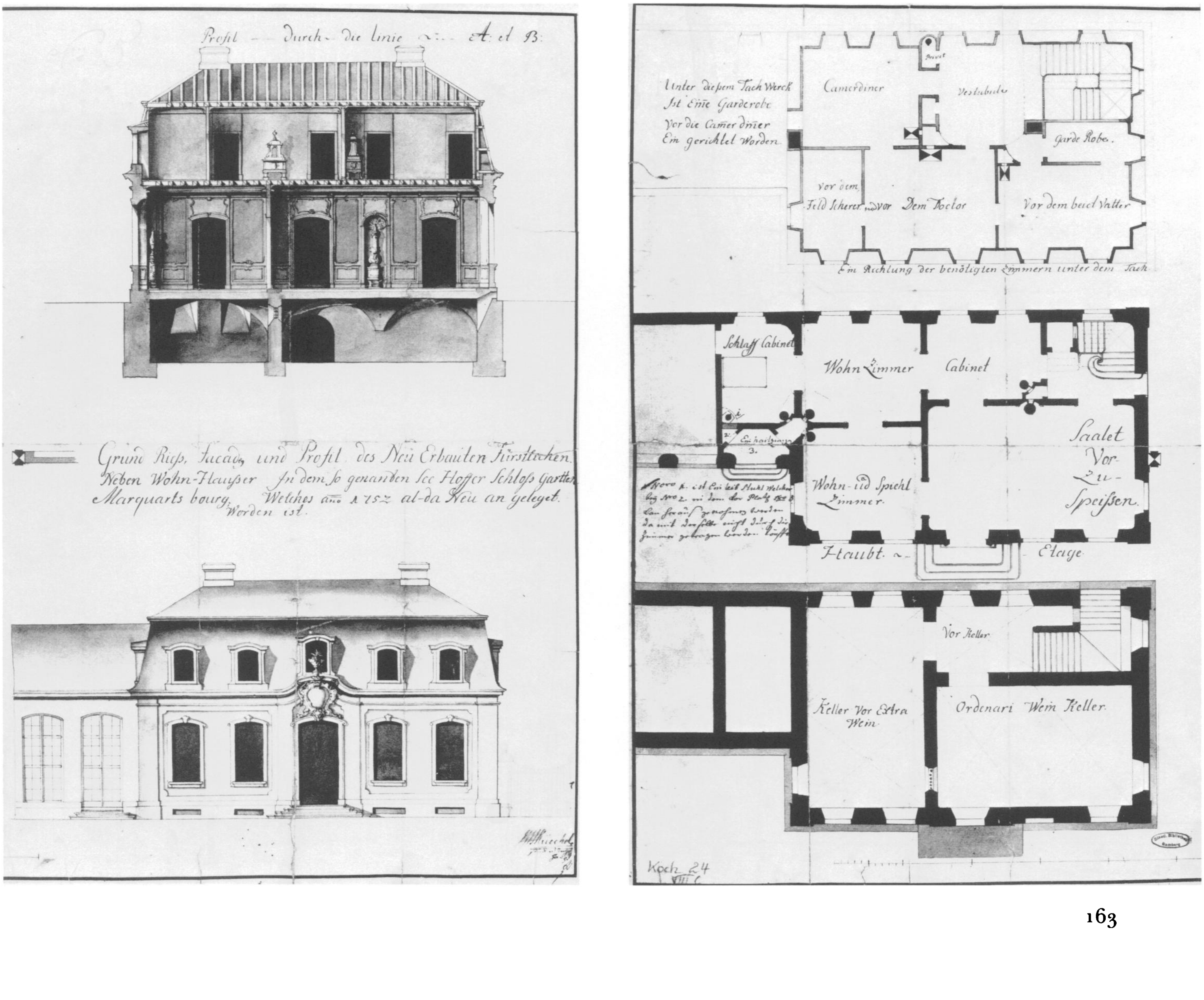
The notes for this article begin on page 168.

1. Armchair, one of a pair, German, ca. 1763–64. Painted and gilded lindenwood, 44 × 26 × 21 in. (111.8 × 66 × 53.3 cm). Made for the garden room in the Franckenstein Pavilion, Schloss Seehof. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Lesley and Emma Sheafer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Sheafer, 1973, 1974.356.119

2. Johann Jakob Michael Küchel, Facade elevation, cross section, and floor plans of the Franckenstein Pavilion, 1752(?). Pen and ink with wash. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Koch Collection, no. VIII, C24 (photo: Staatsbibliothek Bamberg)

This stove, as well as those in the bedroom and living room, could be tended, handily enough, from a separate service room with its own entrance, and from this room too, the plan informs us, an unseen servant could also empty the princely chamberpot. Rooms for the prince's confessor, physician, and manservant were accommodated in the attic.

Construction was undertaken in 1753, after the architect, Balthasar Neumann, had made certain changes in Küchel's original plan in May of that year. It would appear, however, that the interior work was put off for a time. It is not until 1761, during the reign of Prince Bishop Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim (r. 1757–79), that we learn, both from court records and from the prince himself, something



of the progress of the pavilion's decoration. Two changes in the princely succession—not to mention the Seven Years' War—had delayed completion of the project until that time. Adornment of the garden had also been postponed. A portrait of Seinsheim from that same year, 1761, by the Würzburg court painter Nicolaus Treu, places him in front of the garden and depicts him as a frustrated patron bursting with plans for improvements (see Figure 4 in the preceding Kisluk-Grosheide article).[5]

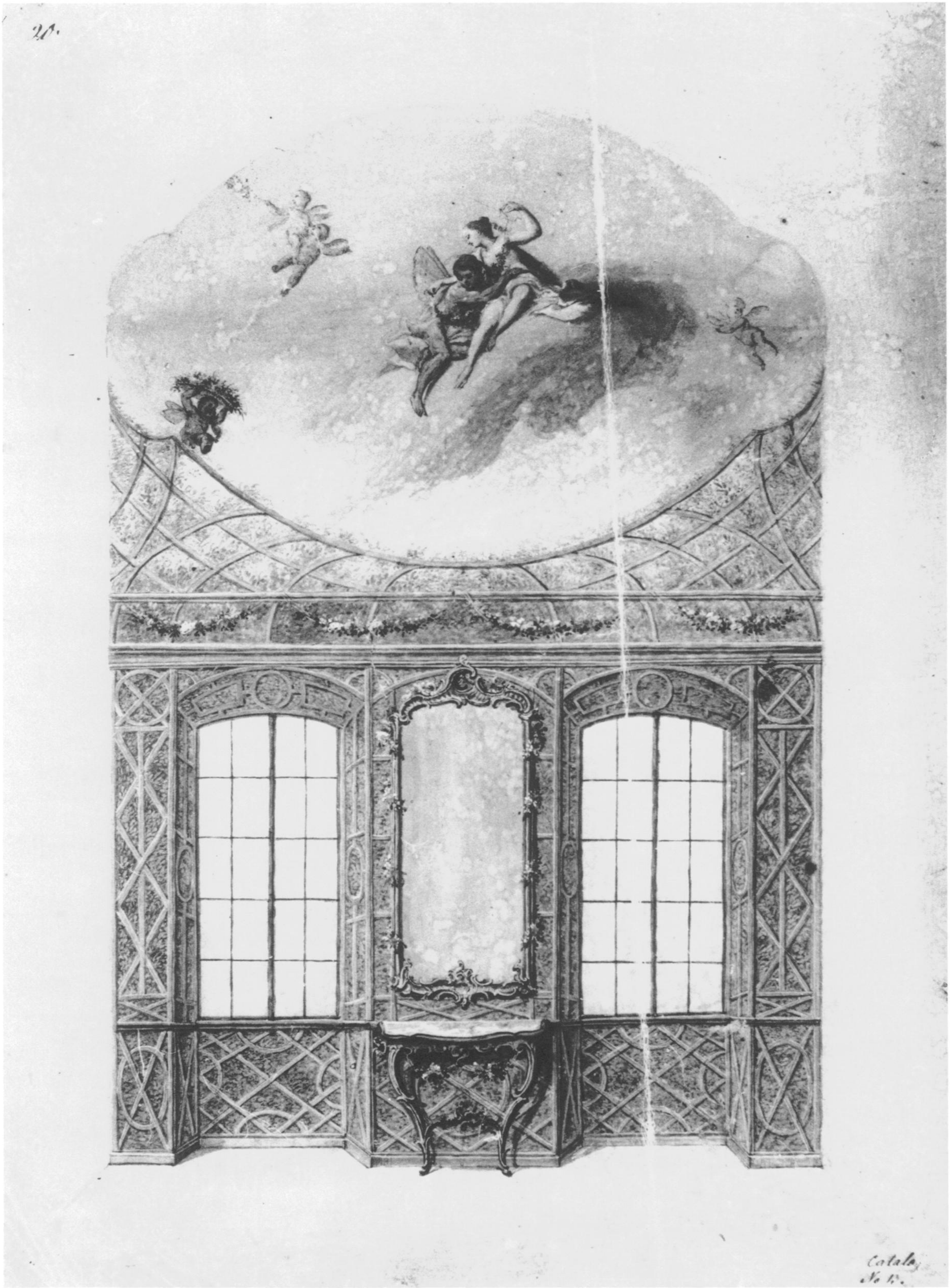
A shortage of funds as a result of the war was reason enough, but there was an additional cause for the delay in the decoration of the Franckenstein Pavilion, namely, the poor health of the artist commissioned to do the work, the Würzburg court painter Franz Anton Ermeltraut. In a letter from Bamberg dated October 25, 1761,[6] the prince bishop complains: "Here, too, there are various things in hand that appear to be turning out well; my Indian house in the little residence garden [in Bamberg] promises to be quite charming, as does the small house [the pavilion] at Seehof, which would be finished already if only the painter Ermeltraut didn't suffer constant fever. . . ." Only five months before, on June 1, 1761, the prince bishop had directed his chamberlain to have the pavilion's dining room decorated with frescoes and stuccowork and its audience chamber with frescoes.

The chamberlain's notes from June 1, 1761, prove most rewarding for our investigation. They tell us that the court painter Ermeltraut was prepared to undertake the painting of the dining room and its adjacent audience chamber. Happily, they also include some indication of the style of the decoration that had been commissioned: ". . . then for the prince's audience room wholly in the form of a perso [*sic*], with hanging flowers above, and with an insert of painted sky on the ceiling . . ."[7] Although we find further mention in the chamberlain's file of the slow progress in the painting of the dining room up through the end of the year 1762, there is no indication just when the proposed painting of the audience chamber as a berceau room was completed. We gather that it was finally done from the mention of a "green-painted room" in the court surveyor's protocol of December 12, 1762, as well as from the more precise designation "perceau room" in the inventory of 1774, which lists the furniture appropriate to such a space.

The design appears on a large, unsigned sheet (Figure 3) found among the original holdings of the Martin von Wagner Museum in Würzburg, preserved in a portfolio that includes signed drawings by Ermeltraut.[8] Unlike the other designs in the folder, the one in question has been executed with particular care. The entire sheet has been painted with a thick ground of gesso. On this there is a detailed preliminary drawing in graphite pencil, to which the colors have been added in gouache with a brush. Such a technique explains why the vertical fold across the sheet appears as a prominent flaw. The size of the design and its elaborate detail and careful draftsmanship, meant to create a distinct impression, suggest that the sheet was intended as a presentation to a patron. In all of the court art from Würzburg and Bamberg from the von Seinsheim period, this is the most imposing extant interior decoration design.

The drawing, with no indication of scale, presents a perspective view of the window wall and ceiling of a room whose painted decor counterfeits latticework panels with intertwining foliage in the manner of an arbor, or berceau. Furnishings are suggested with the inclusion of a pier glass and its accompanying console table between the windows. For a clearer view, the ceiling has been hinged upward at the level of the cornice, which is hung with garlands of flowers. Above these the lattice gives way to a longish oval, with rounded protuberances on each end, offering a glimpse of the sky, with Zephyr and Flora seated on a bank of clouds surrounded by four hovering cupids. While it is true that Ermeltraut painted a similar evocation of spring in the northern garden pavilion of the Würzburg summer palace, Veitshöchheim, in 1765, it is my conviction that the drawing just described dates from 1761 and represents the artist's working design for the berceau room of the Franckenstein Pavilion. For one thing, it conforms in detail to the commission as outlined on June 1, 1761, cited above. Ermeltraut was to paint the entire space

3. Franz Anton Ermeltraut, Decoration design for the window wall and ceiling of the garden room in the Franckenstein Pavilion, 1761. Gouache drawing over pencil on gesso ground, 16¾ × 12 in. (42.6 × 30.8 cm). Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, Universität Würzburg, inv. no. 555/126, 20 (photo: Martin von Wagner Museum)



as a berceau, "with flowers hanging above," complete with a small fresco on the ceiling. Moreover, the furnishings included in the design reveal details that conform to those of the furnishings of the berceau room as listed in the inventory of 1774: they are painted green and ornamented with "intertwining lifelike flowers." Although decorated with "foliage-work," as the inventory listing assures us, they were nonetheless executed in pure Rococo forms.

To test my conviction, it was necessary to make the decorative design conform to the cross section and floor plan of the "salon and gaming room" from Küchel's plan. Taking the proportions of the windows as a means of establishing a common scale, it is true that Ermeltraut's design and Küchel's plan agree on the height of the room, but there remain certain inconsistencies regarding the floor plan, because the design for the berceau room calls for a space that is wider and deeper.

4. Arbor room in the Neues Schloss, Bayreuth, ca. 1757–58 (photo: Fotoverlag Gundermann, Würzburg, archive no. 3447)

Assuming that the painter did not simply make mistakes in his drawing, these could well be explained by the alterations to Küchel's plan made by the architect, Balthasar Neumann, in 1753, of which, unfortunately, we have no record. However, there is another floor plan of the Franckenstein Pavilion dating from about 1755 (see Figure 6, Kisluk-Grosheide), the only one to survive besides Küchel's, and from it we can see that certain changes with regard to the disposition of interior spaces were definitely made.[9] This one shows that the berceau room had been enlarged, made both wider and deeper. Also, the disappearance of the round niche in the front corner of the room and the unequal widths of the wall surfaces on either side of the window more closely resemble the structure assumed in the design.

It is possible to trace the notion of interior spaces as gardens back to classical antiquity.[10] In the second half of the eighteenth century, a change in the concept of nature occasioned a new fashion of designing interiors as natural bowers, the illusion enhanced by wall frescoes, tapestries, sometimes even wallpaper. The present design represents an early South German example of a special type of berceau, or trellis room.

One might point to two additional examples from this same early period not far from Bamberg, namely in Bayreuth, where the margravine Wilhelmine von Bayreuth, the sister of Frederick the Great and a passionate gardener, was in residence until 1758.[11] These examples are nonetheless quite unlike the berceau room at Seehof. The latticework room in the Neues Schloss at Bayreuth was probably created in 1757/58 (Figure 4). Executed in stucco and enhanced with paintings on leather, its arbor motif remains architectonic and stylized, a matter of applied decoration. By contrast, the garden salon in the Eremitage of the Neues Schloss near Bayreuth strives for an effect of complete illusion (Figure 5). Its decoration, completed between 1759 and 1763, employs actual wooden lattices in a rustic style with three-dimensional orange and lemon trees, grapevines, and honeysuckle executed in plaster and wood, all of which serve to blur the boundaries between nature and art.

The craze for latticework decor also left its mark in France, witness the example of Mlle Guimard's dining room in Paris from about 1771.[12] From roughly this same period, there are two additional South German examples worthy of mention: the arbor room in the former residence of the margraves of Baden, Schloss Karlsruhe, executed in stucco between 1771 and 1773 after designs by Philippe de la Guêpière (destroyed in World War II), and the room from Munich's Palais Tattenbach, dating from 1772–79, preserved in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich. Registering the epoch's new awareness of nature, a contemporary admiring the painted latticework decor of the latter room in 1783 remarked that "everything that Nature has to say is here at hand."

Translated from the German by Russell Stockman

5. Garden salon in the Neues Schloss Eremitage near Bayreuth, ca. 1759–63 (photo: Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, Munich)

NOTES

1. Heinrich Kreisel, *Die Kunst des deutschen Möbels* II (Munich, 1970) pp. 398–399, nos. 550–553 (with illustrations); Yvonne Hackenbroch and James Parker, *The Lesley and Emma Sheafer Collection: A Selective Presentation*, exh. cat. (MMA, New York, 1975) no. 25. The MMA suite of furniture is discussed in greater detail in two other articles in *MMJ* 25: Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, "The Garden Room from Schloss Seehof and Its Furnishings," and Kathryn Gill et al., "The Conservation of the Seehof Furniture."

2. Inventory of furnishings for Schloss Seehof, 1774, fol. 159. For information regarding the inventory and sources relating to the Franckenstein Pavilion, I am deeply indebted to Ms. Gisela Masching of the Hausarchiv of Schloss Seehof.

3. Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg, Graphische Sammlung, Mappe Ermeltraut, inv. no. 555/126, 20; provenance: Wagner Collection. On the 42.6 × 30.8 cm sheet, the drawing takes up 34.6 × 22.3 cm. The sheet bears the old page number 20 and the inscription "Catalogue No. 13." In my dissertation (*Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim, Auftraggeber zwischen Rokoko und Klassizisimus. Zur Würzburger und Bamberger Hofkunst anhand der Privatkorrespondenz des Fürstbischofs (1755–1779)*, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Fränkischen Kunstgeschichte, VI [Neustadt/Aisch, 1980] pp. 145–147; also n. 772), I made reference to the existence of the design, but I did not relate it to the Franckenstein Pavilion. I am grateful to the curator of the Martin von Wagner Museum, Dr. Thomas Korth, as well as to the chief restorer, Ulrich Popp, for information provided.

4. The history of the building and furnishing of the Franckenstein Pavilion summarized here is based, where not otherwise noted, on the standard presentation by Margarete Kämpf, "Das fürstbischöfliche Schloss Seehof bei Bamberg," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg* 93/94 (Bamberg, 1956) pp. 25–254, specifically pp. 91–96.

5. See von Roda, *Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim*, pp. 58–61.

6. Ibid., pp. 33 and 221, document 82.

7. See Kämpf, "Das fürstbischöfliche Schloss," pp. 94, 226–227 Q135.

8. See note 3 above.

9. Hausarchiv of Schloss Seehof, case 1, no. 51, folder 1, p. 28. See Kämpf, "Das fürstbischöfliche Schloss," n. 4, pp. 77 (illus.) and 88.

10. Eva Höllinger, "Der Innenraum als Garten" (dissertation, Cologne, 1963). For this particular period, see also Hella Müller, "Naturillusion in der Innenraumkunst des späteren 18. Jahrhunderts" (dissertation, Göttingen, 1957), and, especially, the same author's shortened version of her work, from which I have taken the following examples as comparisons: Hella Arndt, "Gartenzimmer des 18. Jahrhunderts" (Darmstadt, n.d.).

11. See Lorenz Seelig, *Friedrich und Wilhelmine von Bayreuth. Die Kunst am Bayreuther Hof 1732–1763* (Munich, 1982), with more precise dating of the room decorations than that given in Arndt.

12. Illustrated in Peter Thornton, *Authentic Decor. The Domestic Interior 1620–1920* (London, 1984) p. 166.

The Conservation of the Seehof Furniture

KATHRYN GILL

Assistant Conservator, Department of Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

JACK SOULTANIAN

Conservator, Department of Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

ANTOINE M. WILMERING

Associate Conservator, Department of Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

WHEN THIS UNIQUE SUITE of German polychromed furniture[1] arrived at the Museum in 1973, it was upholstered with eighteenth-century painted silk panels. Although it was known that these silk coverings were not original, there was no reason not to believe that the inner back panels were always meant to be upholstered. New documentary evidence, however, researched by the Museum's Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, suggests that the upholstery covering the inner backs of the entire suite was introduced later and that it actually concealed elaborate polychromed and gilded carved panels.

Certain aspects of the construction of the suite are typical of German furniture of the period, such as the joints of the legs to the seat rails, the use of nails made of wood (not to be confused with the wooden dowels used today), and the suspension, by metal wires, of independently carved flowers within the openwork aprons. But other facets are highly unusual. Commonly, the open framework of such furniture has extended back legs formed in one piece with the seat back, but in the case of this suite the seat is constructed like a stool with the back attached separately.[2] Most of the joinery is fairly simple, and remarkably so for a period when the level of craftsmanship in cabinetmaking might have encouraged more sophisticated methods. Indeed, the wood chosen—lindenwood—is more often found in sculpture than in furniture of the period. The choice of material and manner of construction, together with the free and unique design of the pieces, suggest that the suite may have originated from the workshop of a carver or sculptor rather than from that of a cabinetmaker.

Stretched over and tacked to each of the seat frames is a layer of green linen and an open interlaced lattice of linen webbing. Examination of the tacks confirmed that the green linen, the webbing, and the majority of the tacks are original to the frame.[3] In addition, the original glued linen facing remained intact on the outer backs of both settees.[4]

The entire surface of the furniture received a layer of carbonate gesso as preparation for the polychromy.[5] The flowers of the apron, rail, and frame also have a coating of lead white, on top of which the paint layers of the leaves and petals in pigments common to the period were applied. These layers, especially the reds and greens, have, sadly, lost most of their original glazes.

What is highly unusual is that the branches of the leaves behind the trelliswork are studded with copper flakes. These flakes, which have been randomly applied, create an irregular and rough surface texture that simulates bark. On the settees and armchairs, the gesso has been left in a coarse state,

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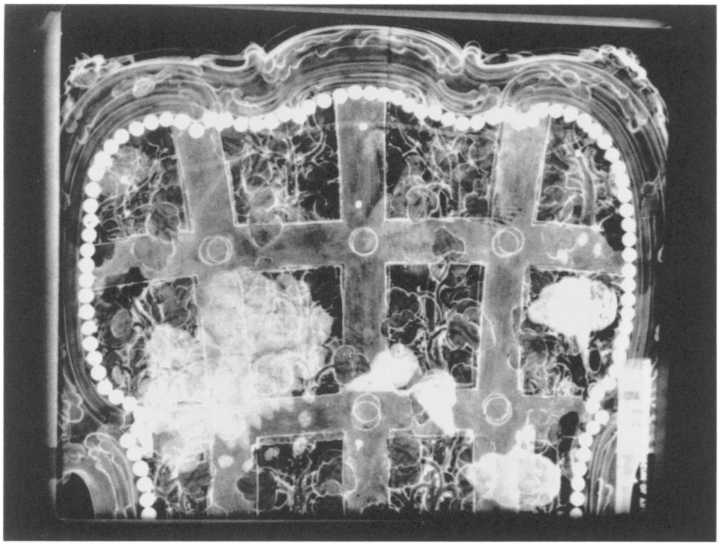
The notes for this article begin on page 173.



1. X-radiograph of the back of a side chair, one of a set of four, German, ca. 1763–64. The upholstery is still attached; the upholstery nails and the carved decoration are clearly visible. The white irregular patches are the lead-bearing pigments on the painted silk. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Lesley and Emma Sheafer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Sheafer, 1973, 1974.356.115

perhaps intentionally as a "tooth" to receive these flakes. Accordingly, the copper flakes are better preserved in these examples.

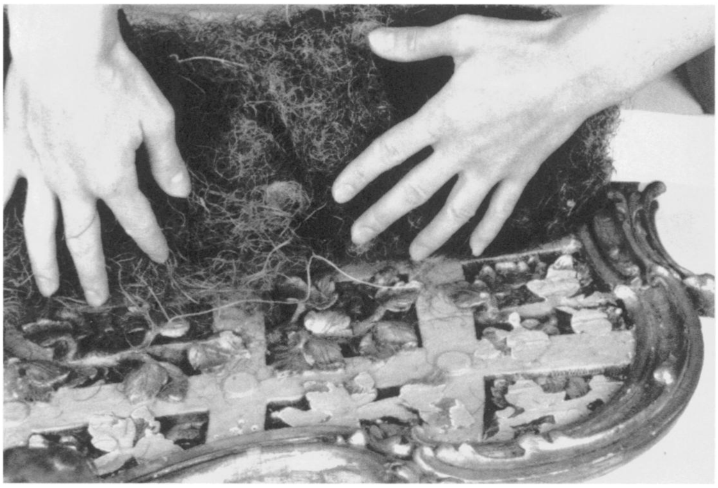
Whether the suite was to be left in its present form, with its later silk upholstery, or corrected to its appearance at the time of its manufacture, was contingent upon the condition of the carved panels. X-radiography of sections of the back panels confirms that the carving was largely intact, although those areas of carving adjacent to the wood were either damaged or completely missing (Figure 1). In order to assess the extent of the damage, decorative nails and tacks anchoring the layers of upholstery were lifted from a corner of one of the side chairs to expose a section of the carving for examination. Apart from areas of damage to the carving (discussed more fully below), the panels appeared to be in good condition, and the decision was made to remove the later upholstery. Samples of the upholstery materials were retained, and the outer panels—fine examples of eighteenth-century Chinese painted silk—were fully documented and prepared for flat storage.

After the fabric and foundation material were removed, it was discovered that extensive damage had occurred to the original carving, polychromy, and gilding of the furniture (Figure 2). While it is very likely that regular repairs and maintenance were made during their tenure in Schloss Seehof, the primary alterations took place during the middle of this century. The major damage at this time was the removal of the foliage around the inner edge of the frame in order to accommodate the later upholstery.

From photographs taken in the early part of this century and in 1946,[6] it is apparent that the inward curling C-scrolls at the middle of the backs of the side chairs are now missing (Figure 3). The armchairs and settees have lost the large, rather robust carved flowers at the top of the frames, and the front aprons of the armchairs now have a different design. Further examination revealed that one settee (acc. no. 1974.356.121) had two back legs replaced.

The trelliswork of the front of the settee and the chair backs has been overpainted with a thick gray paint. The back of one armchair was planed down at the joint in the middle of the back, reducing its width by one-eighth of an inch (Figure 4).

2. Armchair, one of a pair, German, ca. 1763–64. The removal of the later upholstery of the inner back shows the areas where the foliage is chipped away. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Lesley and Emma Sheafer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Sheafer, 1973, 1974.356.118

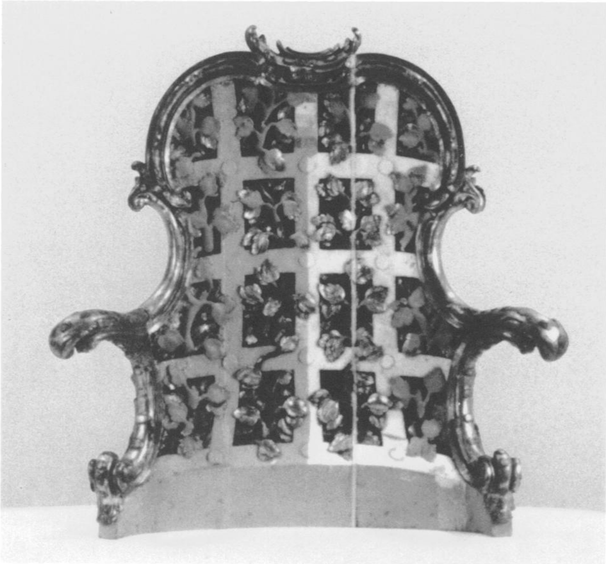


3. Side chair (MMA, 1974.356.116) photographed in the dining room of the van Zandt family at Schloss Seehof, ca. 1890–1900 (Photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

4. Armchair in Figure 2 showing damaged foliage and early repair of the split in the back (see arrow). In this photograph the original linen is partially lifted for examination.

One particularly exciting discovery was the presence of a green glaze, or *Lüsterfarbe*, over the gilding.[7] This glaze was especially well preserved on the foliage of three of the side chairs. Careful examination of all the pieces revealed that originally this green luster was applied over all of the gilding, including that of the frames and legs. Unfortunately, the armchairs and settees and the frames of the outside backs of the side chairs were overcleaned in the past,[8] and large parts of the frames were regilded. Thus, it is only by looking at the inside backs of three of the side chairs that we may gain an impression of the original conception of the furniture.

While *Lüsterfarben* are commonly found on sculpture from the Middle Ages onward, their application on furniture is very rare. The original appearance of the pieces would have been a variety of transparent to opaque green tones with the gilding partially shining through. It is not surprising to see the pieces referred to in the various inventories as *grün angestrichen* (green-painted), or more accurately as *grün lassiert* (green-glazed).[9] It is consistent that Prince



5. Armchair in Figure 2 showing gray overpaint removed from the right side, the missing foliage reconstructed, and the new wooden fill

Bishop von Seinsheim had three different samples made before selecting his final choice for a pier table intended for the same room. Two of the techniques considered by him were almost identical, as they both incorporate a true green glaze, one on silver leaf, the other on gold leaf.[10] The third, however, is quite different: it incorporates opaque greens directly on the gold leaf in addition to green glaze. It is this last technique that is found on the Seehof suite.

The green glaze used on the furniture is based on a copper-gilt dissolved in a resinous medium.[11] Copper salts are commonly used for green glazes and are mentioned in the early seventeenth century by de Mayerne, who recommends verdigris and Venetian turpentine as the main ingredients. He also states that this glaze may be applied over gold and silver.[12] A century later, in 1743, Cröcker also refers to verdigris for green glazes but is less clear about the nature of the medium. He, too, mentions its use on gold and silver, stating that "on silver it gives a nice, bright, transparent green and on gold it is transparent, too, but grass-green."[13]

The various types of damage and options for treatment were individually evaluated as to how they might affect the overall appearance of the pieces, and all decisions concerning treatment were made in conjunction with the curators.[14]

The thick gray overpaint covering the trelliswork, which had been obscured by the later upholstery, was removed mechanically to reveal a beautifully preserved and original lead-white monochromy (Figure 5). Losses to the paint layer, especially apparent around the edges of the frames, where tacks had been applied to hold this upholstery, were filled and then inpainted to match the surrounding areas.

As the original outlines of the leaves, also lost at the time of the later upholstery, were still evident, it was decided to reconstruct the foliage. Subsequently, these areas were gessoed, gilded, and patinated to match the surrounding leaves. The missing "curls" of the backs could be reconstructed on only one of the side chairs, because an early photograph of the chair provided sufficient information for such reconstruction (see Figure 3). The join at the back of one armchair (acc. no. 1974.356.118) was taken apart in order to restore it to its original width.

The aprons of the armchairs were left as they were, and the missing flowers on the frames of the armchairs and settees were not replaced, the early photographs providing too little information for reconstruction. Reapplication of the green luster lost from the frames, legs, and foliage of the armchairs and settees was considered, although not made, as there was no possibility of fully understanding the variety of tone and opaqueness of the eighteenth-century *schattieren* technique.

The treatment of the remaining original upholstery was restricted to cleaning by vacuum to remove loose surface soils. It may be deduced from the style of the frames and surviving documentary photographs that the upholstery was probably supplemented by loose cushions. It is thought that the loose cushions, now missing but still extant with the suite in an early photograph,[15] were not original.[16] From documentary evidence, however, found in the 1817/1818 and the 1867/1870 inventories,[17] it is apparent that each piece of furniture originally had loose cushions, which were filled with animal hair and covered in a green silk velvet. No material evidence was found regarding the profile or the construction of the cushions, and, therefore, modern reproductions were designed. As the suite is unique, it is impossible to glean information by comparison with similar examples. Consequently, designs were based on the shape, proportions, and dimensions of the frames, as well as by review of the inventories and other sources that indicated the use of cushions during the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century. These other sources included contemporary paintings,[18] etchings from upholsterers' manuals,[19] and surviving examples of eighteenth-century squab cushions,[20] in addition to secondary source material.[21] Reproduction squab cushions covered with velvet cases have been constructed to replace these missing elements.

NOTES

1. The suite of furniture is also discussed in the two preceding articles in *MMJ* 25: Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, "The Garden Room from Schloss Seehof and Its Furnishings," and Burkard von Roda, "The Design for the 'Berceau' Room at Seehof."

2. All the backs are made of smaller or larger pieces of wood glued together in order to create the curve and bulk that were needed for carving. The backs are attached to the seats either by shallow mortise and tenon joints (side chairs) or simply by screws from underneath the seat rails (armchairs and settees).

3. The fiber and weaves were examined under magnification (including the polarized microscope), and the fabric was identified as a plain-weave linen and the webbing as a plain-weave warp-faced linen. The green dye was identified, using thin layer chromatography, as a mixture of indigo and a yellow natural dye.

4. The number 56B is painted in black on the back of each settee and armchair. The same number can be observed by ultraviolet light at the polychrome surface of the outer back panel of each side chair.

5. All the elements of the polychromy and the glaze were identified through EDS analysis by Mark Wypyski of the Department of Objects Conservation, MMA.

6. See the photographs in the Kisluk-Grosheide article, Figures 15–17.

7. *Lüsterfarben* are pigments, or other colorants, dispersed or dissolved in a medium creating a translucent paint. They come in a variety of colors—ranging from red to yellow, green, and blue—and are utilized as glazes.

8. One of the side chairs is in an overcleaned state that precludes its exhibition at this time.

9. See Kisluk-Grosheide.

10. Ibid., n. 27.

11. EDS analyses confirmed the presence of copper.

12. "Pour faire le Vert transparent que s'applique sur un fond d'or ou d'argent." In J. A. Van der Graaf, *Het De Mayerne manuscript als bron voor de schildertechniek van de Barok* (Mijdrecht, 1958) p. 174.

13. "Unvermischt bedienet man sich dessen ben Lacquiren, denn so man das Silber damit nette übermahlet, so gibt er eine schöne helle durchsichtige grüne Farbe, übermahlet man aber das Gold damit, so wird es auch durchscheinig, doch Grasgrüne." In J. M. Cröcker, *Der Wohlanführende Mahler* (Jena, 1743; reprint Rottenburg, 1982).

14. The treatment of the polychromy was performed by Kim Travis; the treatment of the gilding and structural aspects by Yuri Yanchyshyn; the fabrication of the new cushions by Sherry Doyal and Diane Arbeit.

15. See Kisluk-Grosheide, Figure 15.

16. The shape and construction of the cushions suggest that they were made at a later date.

17. See Kisluk-Grosheide.

18. J. A. J. Camelot, *Portrait of Marquis de Mirabeau*, 1743, illustrated in Peter Thornton, "Upholstered Seat Furniture in Europe," in *Upholstery in America and Europe from the Seventeenth Century to World War I*, Edward S. Cooke, ed. (New York, 1987) p. 34.

19. R. Manwaring, *The Cabinet and Chair Maker's Real Friend and Companion* (London, 1765) pls. 24, 26, 28.

20. Osterly Park House, London. Leather squab cushion on a chair from the library, ca. 1770; squab cushions on a set of painted satinwood chairs, ca. 1770.

21. P. Fowler and P. Cornforth, *English Decoration in the Eighteenth Century*, 2d ed. (London, 1974) pp. 158–159. Peter Thornton, "Upholstered Seat Furniture in Europe," p. 33.

Nō Motifs in the Decoration of a Mid-Edo Period Kosode

NAOMI NOBLE RICHARD

IN PREMODERN JAPAN, as in the West, clothing reflected social class, personal taste, and (at least in later centuries) prevailing fashion. But traditional Japanese clothing was also an art form, one that shared many of the aesthetic canons of painting, lacquerware, ceramics, and poetry. Among the foremost of these canons is allusiveness—what is expressed, or explicitly depicted, must also imply, connote, and evoke ranges of further meaning or feeling. A cherry blossom is never merely a cherry blossom. It is also the quintessential symbol of mortal beauty, particularly feminine beauty; of the ephemerality of all mortal things; and of the guardsman-turned-monk Saigyō (1118–90), arguably Japan's best-known and -loved poet, who celebrated in his verses the evanescent glory of wild cherry groves in flower in the Yoshino Mountains.[1] As an art form, traditional Japanese clothing was laden with cultural significance analogous to that found in Western tapestries but rarely, if ever, in Western apparel. It is in this aspect that traditional Japanese clothing differs most profoundly and significantly from Western, and it is this aspect of which most Western viewers are unaware.

As always in history, accidents of survival limit the evidence and therefore our conclusions: by "traditional Japanese clothing" we can mean only outer garments of the well-to-do of both sexes, from the mid-sixteenth to the late nineteenth century (the Early Modern period, 1568–1867). Of the clothing of the poor we cannot speak, for it was worn to rags, and little clothing of any kind has survived from before the sixteenth century.

For Japanese attitudes toward clothing, however, we have abundant evidence in literature dating at least as early as the eleventh century. Where Western authors would describe features or character, their Japanese counterparts unfailingly imply these by describing dress: beautiful garments identify a great beauty, harmonious and impeccably appropriate apparel signifies an attractive and sensitive man. In a society that prized connoisseurship, not everyone was expected to be an adept at paintings or calligraphy or swords, but everyone wore clothing, and it was a mark of the cultivated person to show a fine discrimination toward it. Clothing, being an accepted index of both physical attractiveness and personal quality, was in all centuries a subject of nearly obsessive interest and rigorous connoisseurship.[2]

That being the case, we must ask what made a "good" design, one that lent its wearer the required aura of refinement, beauty, and elegance. The Japanese kosode, precursor of the kimono and outer garment of both sexes from the sixteenth through the nineteenth century, was to a greater or lesser degree always "custom made." Since kosode show almost no variation in cut and little draping, their art and distinctiveness lie entirely in the designs that were woven, dyed, embroidered, or pasted onto the fabrics. What was required in these designs was excellent delineation and composition, harmonious color, skillful execution, and thematic appropriateness.

All of these criteria except the last are familiar in the West. Moreover, Westerners also acknowledge certain correspondences between clothing designs (and colors) and the occasion, the season, and the wearer's age and sex: floral patterns are more appropriate for women than for men, more for summer than for winter, more for leisure than for work; and children are often dressed in navy blue but never in

The notes for this article begin on page 182.

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black, except for black velvet worn on festive occasions.

Yet in Japan "thematic" appropriateness means infinitely more than that. Many, if not most, Japanese clothing designs are not generically decorative but specifically emblematic. They are pictures, and almost without exception the pictures function also as symbols. Clothing designs refer to seasons of the year or to particular holidays, festivals, and ceremonies; to famous episodes or periods in Japanese history; to places noted for their scenic beauty; to elevated moral qualities or simple wish fulfillment; and to literature. To Westerners, this last category is the most unexpected of all. We do not ornament our clothing with deliberate though more or less veiled references to the works of Shakespeare, Chaucer, or Keats, still less to scenes from *Le Morte d'Arthur* or Ovid's *Metamorphoses* or *The Aeneid* or *The Odyssey*. But Japanese clothing designs of the Early Modern period teem with just such allusions to similarly esteemed works in the Japanese and Chinese literary canon.[3] The effect was to "invest" the garments with the connotations of their literary referents and thereby lend them a cultural weight entirely absent from Western apparel.

The body of literature to which these literary referents belong was all "classical," that is, both elevated and old, and, by twentieth-century Western standards, it was not large. It included the various compilations of poems by the so-called Immortal Poets of various periods; poems from the imperial anthologies, primarily the tenth-century *Kokinshū* and thirteenth-century *Shin Kokinshū*; poems from Fujiwara Teika's hugely popular thirteenth-century anthology *Hyakunin Isshu*; poems of and tales about the twelfth-century monk-poet Saigyō; the tenth-century *Tales of Ise* (a collection of poems enclosed in brief narrative vignettes); the works of certain Chinese poets, notably Tao Yuanming (365–427) and Bo Juyi (772–846); *The Tale of the Heike*; *The Tale of Genji*; and various Nō plays, most of them probably of fourteenth- or fifteenth-century origin, in which the diction is deliberately "high" and "poetical." As can be seen, this body of literature was heavily weighted toward poetry. Although meant for adults, it also tended, by long Japanese tradition, to be "published" (or at any rate produced) with illustrations.

It was an indication of refinement and cultivation to ornament one's clothing with motifs drawn from this body of literature that alluded aptly to one's situation or frame of mind or to the occasion on which the garment was to be worn. And it was equally a measure of sophistication to be able to identify such allusions with casual expertise. The word *kosode* means, literally, "small sleeves," and the Japanese of the Early Modern period may, to a considerable extent, be said to have worn their level of culture, sensibility, and literary sophistication on their sleeves.

Not that the literary designs on kosode were mainly narrative in content; quite the contrary. Most often they consist of elements of the natural setting or the man-made appurtenances of the scene. Among the most ubiquitous are chrysanthemums bordering or floating in a stream, which summon up the legend of the page boy Kikujidō, whose vindicated innocence and miraculous gift of eternal youth became the subject of the Nō play of the same name; large wooden cartwheels evoke *The Tale of Genji* in general and one scene of the novel in particular (the cartwheel motif is known, in fact, as *Genji-guruma*, "Genji wheels"); irises by a stream, with or without an angled bridge, refer to *Tales of Ise*.[4] These are only some of the commonest and most easily recognized examples.

Most literary kosode seem to offer only a single theme, but one, in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 1), boasts at least three, possibly more. All of these are taken from dramatic literature, and probably (though not certainly) all are from Nō plays.

The fabric of this kosode is an aubergine silk crepe (*chirimen*), with somewhat stylized decoration in a most appealing palette of persimmon reds, aquamarines, white (in reserve), and metallic gold. Its designs were accomplished in a variety of techniques: brush dyeing (*yūzen*), stenciled imitation tie-dyeing (*kata-kanoko* or *suri-hitta*), silk-thread embroidery in satin stitch, and a liberal use of couched gold. All these techniques, and their use together, are consistent with the late-eighteenth-century date originally

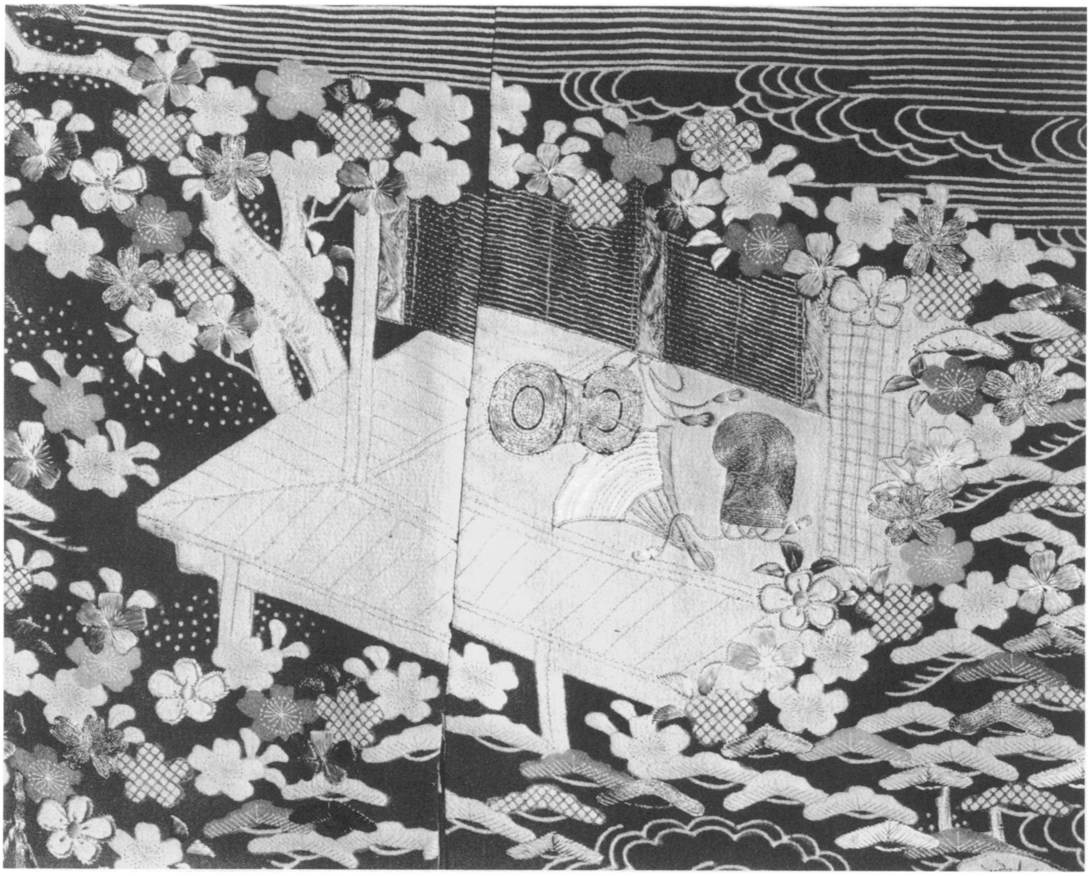
1. Kosode decorated with Nō motifs (back view). Aubergine silk crepe with *yūzen* and *kata-kanoko* dyeing, satin-stitch silk embroidery, and couched gold embroidery. Late 18th or early 19th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Hamilton King, 1956, 56.59

assigned by the Museum, but an early-nineteenth-century date is now considered more plausible.[5] Although the profuse floral decoration makes the robe seem feminine to the Western eye, we cannot say for certain whether it would have been worn by a woman or by a man.

The back of the right sleeve establishes indubitably the reference to drama (Figure 2). A stage is embroidered against a background of pines, cherry blossoms, cloud, and mist. On the stage are the hand drum (*ko-tsuzumi*) that provided background music for Nō performances, the fan (*shite*) invariably carried by the leading actor, and a tall court hat (*eboshi*). On the left sleeve, on a field of mist, cloud, and blossoming plum, is a warrior's horned helmet (Figure 3). Both hat and helmet came into use during the Heian period (794–1185) and were worn, with little apparent variation, for centuries thereafter. A thick scattering of white dots across the shoulders and sleeves most likely represents falling snow and visually links the motifs on the right and left sleeves.

Unquestionably this motif cluster takes its subject from the principal heroic conflict in Japanese history, which occurred during the second half of the twelfth century. This conflict had two phases: the first a seesawing mortal struggle for power between the Taira (or Heike) and Minamoto (or Genji) warrior clans, which ended in the extermination of the Taira; the second, immediately ensuing, an equally deadly power struggle among the victorious Minamoto leaders. The winner of this latter contest was Minamoto no Yoritomo, who became the first shogun of Japan, but its tragic hero is his young half brother Minamoto no Yoshitsune. It may be mere literary tradition that endowed Yoshitsune with equal measures of military brilliance, knightly valor, and courtly accom-

2. Detail of Figure 1. Right shoulder: Nō stage with props—hand drum, fan, and court hat, amid pine and blossoming cherry



plishments, but it is historical fact that the jealous and suspicious Yoritomo hounded him to his death. For later authors, the stirring events of this period became a quarry to be mined repeatedly for subject matter. The same historical personages and episodes, variously presented and embellished, turn up in several surviving Nō dramas (as well as prose tales and Kabuki plays).

We cannot be certain which particular Nō play (or plays) is represented on the upper section of this robe. To this author the most likely candidate seems to be *Eboshi Ori*. In its action this play echoes the David and Goliath story: the very young Yoshitsune single-handedly cuts down a gigantic bandit leader and scatters his followers in a bloody retreat. During the time of the action Yoshitsune is hardly more than a child (still called, in fact, by his boyhood name, Ushiwakamaru), his clan has been nearly destroyed by the rival Taira house, and he himself has just escaped house arrest and is being relentlessly hunted by Taira forces. He needs a disguise, and for this he goes to the Hatmaker, whom he requests to make him a "left-folded *eboshi*." The prescient Hatmaker protests that in these days of Taira triumph one must not wear a left-folded *eboshi*, the kind worn by the men of the Minamoto clan before their defeat. But Yoshitsune persuades him, and as the Hatmaker works, the Chorus chants his ruminations about the "things [that] were, but shall not be again / . . . / When the houses of Gen and Hei [Minamoto and Taira] were in their pride / Like the plum tree and cherry tree among flowers / . . . / Then, as snow that would outsparkle the moonlight / Gen strove with Hei. . . ."[6] It is all there on the robe: the snow, the blossoming plum and cherry, the helmet of the clan warrior in battle. Only Yoshitsune's sword, which the noble-souled Hatmaker refuses in payment for the *eboshi* and with which Yoshitsune later destroys the bandits, is missing from among the motifs on the robe. In Nō performances, however, the fan of the leading actor doubled as many another prop, including, very often, a sword. And a fan there is, prominently placed on the stage on the right sleeve of the kosode.

It is also possible, however, that the two sleeves refer to two different Nō plays, which were derived from other episodes in the same historic conflict. The stage and its appurtenances on the right sleeve may allude to the beautiful dancer Shizuka Gozen, Yoshitsune's loved and loving concubine, who figures prominently in two pertinent Nō plays. In *Funa Benkei*, Shizuka is given an *eboshi* as a keepsake at her parting from the hunted Yoshitsune. In *Yoshino Shizuka*, in which Shizuka delays her lover's pursuers, her keepsake is a hand drum (*ko-tsuzumi*) that was originally a gift from the emperor to Yoshitsune.[7] The helmet and plum blossoms on the left sleeve may well symbolize Yoshitsune's warrior-follower Kajiwara Genta no Kagesue, protagonist of the Nō play *Ebira*, whose bravado impelled him to adorn his panoply with plum blossoms to make himself an easier mark in battle.[8]

3. Detail of Figure 1. Left shoulder: Warrior's helmet

It is *Eboshi Ori* that seems most simply and completely to account for the design across the shoulders and sleeves of the kosode. But whatever the particular reference intended by its wearer and designer, it

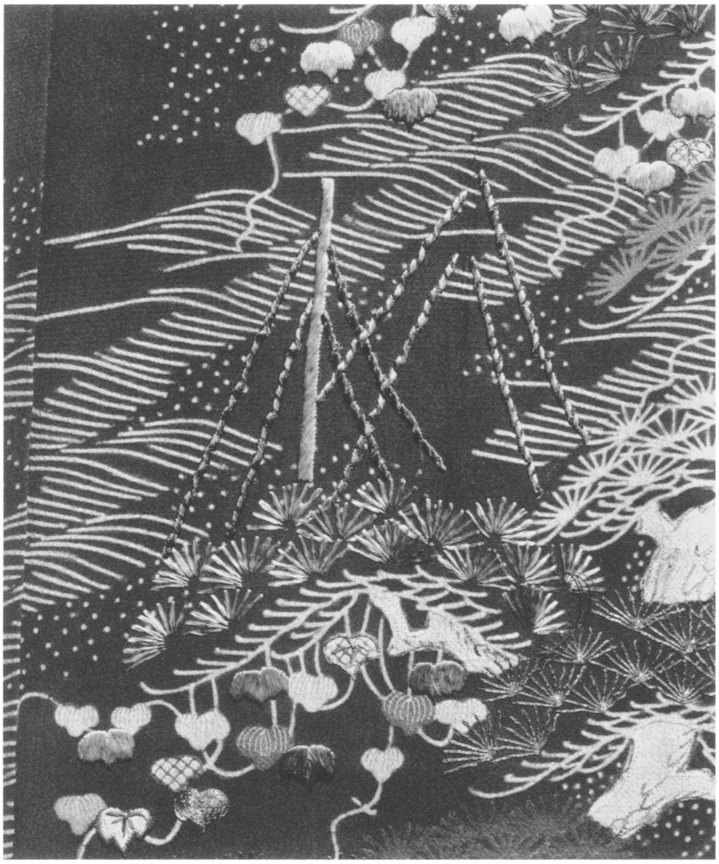
seems certain that this design was meant to evoke some episode—perhaps several episodes—in the Yoshitsune legend.

Hagoromo was a well-known legend throughout most of East Asia even before it became one of the most popular of Japanese Nō plays. It tells of the Fisherman who lands along a pine-clad beach and finds there, hanging on a pine bough, a glorious feathered cloak (*hagoromo*). Never has the Fisherman seen a thing of such radiant beauty, and he is about to take it home when he is intercepted by the Immortal Lady, to whom it belongs. She pleads for her cloak, as she cannot return to the realm of the Immortals without it. At first the Fisherman refuses, then, moved by her distress, he gives it back to her. The Immortal Lady puts on the cloak and in gratitude dances for the Fisherman, while the Chorus sings.[9]

At the most prominent point on our kosode, the very center of the back, we find embroidered the feathered cloak (Figure 4). Notes in the Museum's files identify the cloak as a "phoenix," but this "phoenix" has neither head nor wings, nor any other part pertaining to a bird; it is unmistakably a cloak or cape and has, moreover, unmistakable sash ends with

4. Detail of Figure 1. Center skirt: Feathered cloak hung on pine bough

5. Detail of Figure 1. Center skirt: Fisherman's rod and creel



6. Detail of Figure 1. Right skirt: Fishing nets drying on poles

which to tie it around the shoulders. The cloak is shown flung over a pine tree, and around it are other pine trees, the Fisherman's rod and creel (Figure 5), and poles with fishing nets draped over them to dry (Figure 6).

The third motif is a band of chrysanthemums bordering a river or stream (*kiku-sui*) (Figure 7). This appears just below the Yoshitsune motif cluster and again above the hem of the robe. Chrysanthemums and water are the identifying emblems of Kikujidō, hero of the legend and Nō play of the same name. Kikujidō, in ancient times, was a young page, banished from the court of a Chinese king to the wilderness, for inadvertent or falsely charged lèse-majesté. In this rude exile he was expected to die, but Kikujidō drank from a stream into which dew had fallen from the chrysanthemums lining its banks, and this chrysanthemum dew proved to be an elixir of eternal youth. The theme is youth immortal and innocence triumphant; small wonder that it was perennially popular, on the stage and as a motif in paintings and all the decorative arts.[10]

The fourth motif cluster is the most problematic: a half-open gate, of a type that appears in many paintings of the medieval period, set amid blossoming cherry trees and pines (Figure 8). Evidently this motif was thought worthy of emphasis, for it appears twice: once at the center back, somewhat below the Yoshitsune cluster and above the fishing nets of *hagoromo* (Figure 6), and once on the left front at about breast level. In Japanese poetry and art the half-open gate may suggest a lover visiting his lady, but neither the author nor several historians of Japanese art and literature have been able to connect this motif with an extant Nō play. Conceivably it alludes to a play whose text has been lost; we know of many such. Or it may in fact have been used merely as decorative "filler."[11] But any reader who can offer a literary source for this scene is invited to do so.

By the eighteenth century, to which this kosode might be dated, Nō had become a strictly aristocratic entertainment. Unlike the Kabuki, whose performances were open to anyone with the price of a

7. Detail of Figure 1. Skirt hem: Chrysanthemums along stream

8. Detail of Figure 1. Center shoulder: Half-open gate

ticket, Nō plays could be seen only by commanding a performance or being invited to a command performance. Acting troupes were maintained and performances commissioned by the great daimyo (highest-level samurai) houses, including the Tokugawa shoguns and collateral branches of their clan, who derived considerable cultural kudos from their patronage. Typically, a single performance included at least two plays and as many as five, always interspersed with comic interludes (*kyōgen*).

Doubtless this well-designed and finely executed kosode was made for a passionate aficionado of the Nō theater, conceivably to attend or to commemorate a specific performance. Although we have no proof, it seems a reasonable hypothesis.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author offers profound thanks to Jean Mailey, head of the Textile Study Room at the Metropolitan Museum, for generously permitting repeated access to the Japanese textiles in her charge. It is she who originally suggested that the identification of the motifs on this kosode be published.

NOTES

1. Each of these connotations has myriad literary references, of which we shall cite only a single example: "Her hair fell in a wide, graceful cascade. She was of just the right height, so beautiful in every one of her features that they added up to more than perfection. A cherry in full bloom . . . " (Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, Edward G. Seidensticker, trans. and intro. [New York, 1983] p. 602); "It is just because / they scatter without a trace / that cherry blossoms / delight us so, for in this world / lingering means ugliness" (*Kokin Wakashū*, Helen C. McCullough, trans. and annot. [Stanford, Calif., 1985] no. 71); "Why should my heart / still harbor / this passion for cherry flowers / I who thought / I had put all that behind me?" (poem by Saigyō in *From the Country of Eight Islands*, Hiroaki Sato and Burton Watson, eds. and trans. [New York, 1981] p. 171).

2. For a measure of the kind of significance and degree of attention accorded to clothing, the reader is referred to Murasaki, *The Tale of Genji*, p. 425 (11th century); *Murasaki Shikibu: Her Diary and Poetic Memoirs*, Richard Bowring, trans. and ed. (Princeton, 1982) pp. 151–153 (11th century); *The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon*, Ivan Morris, trans. and ed. (Baltimore, 1971) p. 40 (11th century); *The Poetic Memoirs of Lady Daibu*, Phillip T. Harries, trans. and intro. (Stanford, Calif., 1980) p. 40 (13th century); *The Tale of the Heike*, Hiroshi Kitagawa and Bruce T. Tsuchida, trans. and eds. (Tokyo, 1975) p. 559 (13th century); *The Confessions of Lady Nijō*, Karen Brazell, trans. and ed. (Stanford, Calif., 1973) p. 55 (14th century); *Masukagami*, in Donald Keene, ed., *Anthology of Japanese Literature* (New York, 1955) p. 252 (14th century); Ihara Saikaku, *Five Women Who Loved Love*, in Keene, ed., *Anthology*, p. 337 (17th century). The single citation from each work is intended only as an example; meticulously detailed descriptions of dress are ubiquitous in these works and throughout premodern Japanese fiction and diaries.

3. Chinese literature was esteemed in Japan much as Classical, i.e., Greek and Latin, literature was in the Renaissance West and later.

4. I know no English translation of *Kikujidō*; the tale itself may be found in Henri Joly, *Legend in Japanese Art* (Rutland, Vt., 1967). The cartwheel episode in *Tale of Genji* occurs in chap. 9, and the irises denote chap. (more accurately, episode) 9 in *Tales of Ise*.

5. Barbara Ford, Associate Curator of Asian Art at the Metropolitan Museum, has stated in a private conversation that she believes the robe to be of the 19th century.

6. Arthur Waley, *The Nō Plays of Japan* (Rutland, Vt. / Tokyo, 1976) p. 72.

7. Shizuka and the drum also figure prominently in the Kabuki play *Yoshitsune Sembonzakura*. Although Nō and Kabuki theater shared a great many subjects (including the various legends surrounding the figure of Yoshitsune), they differed radically in their aesthetic principles and in the public to which they appealed. Two other motifs on the kosode allude unmistakably to Nō, and it seems extremely unlikely, though not categorically impossible, that one garment would have incorporated references to Kabuki as well as Nō. For this possible alternative identification of the motif, the author is indebted to Barbara Ford.

8. For the suggestion that the helmet and plum blossoms on the left sleeve constitute a separate motif alluding to *Ebira*, I am indebted to Masako Watanabe. If in fact they are an individual motif, they unquestionably allude to the audacious Kagesue. There are, however, many versions of Kagesue's story; in some he adorns his helmet, in others his cuirass, in yet others his quiver. The word *ebira* means "quiver" and the kosode does not depict a quiver, but a helmet and crossed arrows.

9. Waley, *The Nō Plays*, pp. 176–184.

10. Chrysanthemums and water became one of the stock motifs of Japanese art, commonplace in all ages and mediums; doubtless they were often used as a kind of filler or background design, with the reference to Kikujidō only glancingly or subliminally intended. Here, however, the motif is twice repeated and rendered in embroidery and couched gold, lending it an emphasis that suggests a purposeful allusion to the Nō play.

11. This possibility has been espoused by Dr. Iwao Nagasaki of the Tokyo National Museum, who very kindly studied photographs of the robe for me.

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