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ABBREVIATIONS

MMA—The Metropolitan Museum of Art

MMAB—*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*

MMJ—*Metropolitan Museum Journal*

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# Amenemhat I and the Early Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes

DOROTHEA ARNOLD

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## AN UNFINISHED ROYAL FUNERARY MONUMENT AT WESTERN THEBES

**B**ETWEEN THE HILLS of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna and Qurnet Marai in the Theban necropolis runs a valley that meets the floodplain at the site of the mortuary temple of Rameses II, the Ramesseum (Figures 1, 2).<sup>1</sup> The valley is a counterpart to the valley of Deir el-Bahri, where the temples of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra and Hatshepsut are situated. But unlike the Deir el-Bahri valley, this valley does not contain famous standing monuments. Today, the valley presents a wild, almost desolate, appearance (Figures 3, 5, 21). A closer look, however, reveals features that indicate major landscaping efforts were undertaken in ancient times. Figures 2 and 3 show two separate places where quarrymen cut trenches into the rock preparatory to removing the entire rock face at the southwestern side of the valley.<sup>2</sup> And at the western end of the valley where the limestone rock surrounds a natural bay, a considerable part of the ground was leveled to form an even plateau (Figure 3).

Herbert E. Winlock in 1914 was the first to recognize that the plateau and trenches were traces of building activities.<sup>3</sup> The discovery was important enough for him to record it in the opening paragraphs of *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes* (1947). It is a memorable description of archaeological intuition:

One day just before the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the groom and I were exercising my horses behind Sheikh Abd el Kurneh Hill. The light was exactly right, and as I came to the highest bit of path, with the towering cliffs to the right and the lower hill to the left, I noticed below me for the first time a

flat platform and the upper part of a sloping causeway ascending from the cultivation. In a flash I was spurring down the hill and up onto the level place to look down the line of the ancient roadway to the point where it disappeared behind the Ramesseum. I realized that in the flat terrace under the cliffs we had the grading for a temple like the one built in the Eleventh Dynasty at Deir el-Bahri just to the north.

In 1920–21 Winlock cleared the platform under the cliffs of later debris.<sup>4</sup> In the course of this work, he reexcavated an underground passage and burial chamber (Figure 4) that had first been excavated by Robert Mond in the winter of 1903–4.<sup>5</sup> Winlock rightly connected this burial chamber of royal proportions with the landscaping efforts described above, and he identified the ensemble as an unfinished royal funerary monument.

At first, it seemed a simple matter to identify the individual for whom this monument had been intended. The similarities in the plan of the burial chamber—as well as in the general shape of the causeway and funerary temple—to the great funeral monument of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra in the neighboring valley of Deir el-Bahri<sup>6</sup> pointed to a successor of that king as the owner (Figure 1, nos. 1 and 5). Further indications of a late Eleventh Dynasty date for the structure were thought to exist because of the large tomb of the chancellor Meketra, situated at the northern side of the valley (Figure 5). This official was known to have served Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra as “overseer of the six great law-courts” around year 39 of that king’s reign.<sup>7</sup> During the last years of Nebhepetra’s reign, Meketra was “chancellor” (*imy-r’ htm*) and was depicted or mentioned in this capacity several times in the relief decoration of Nebhepetra’s funerary temple at Deir el-Bahri.<sup>8</sup> The fact that Meketra’s tomb was not sit-

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The notes for this article begin on page 41.

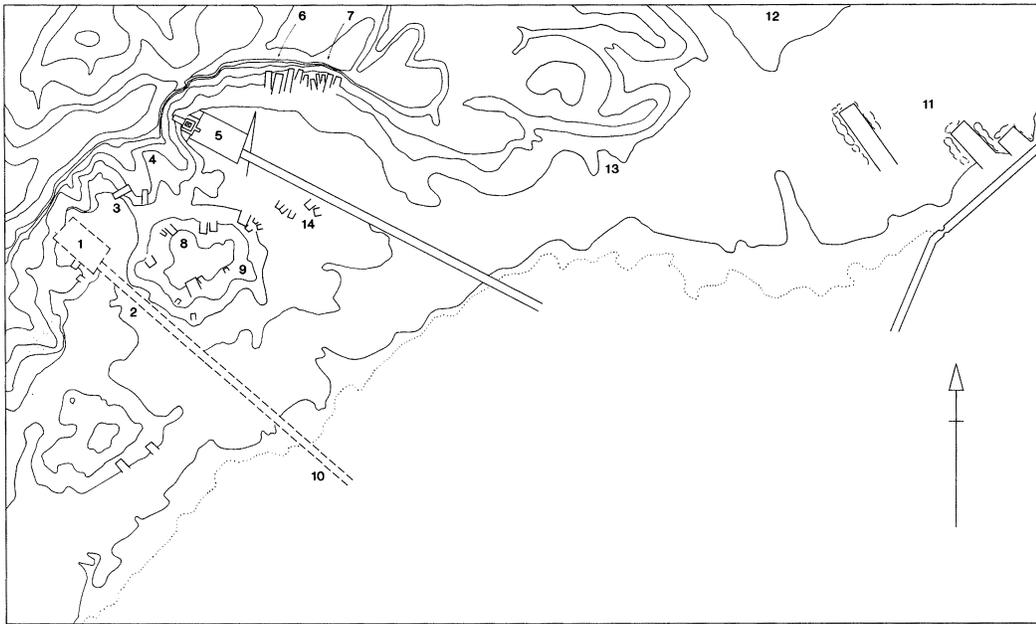


Figure 1. The Theban necropolis in the Middle Kingdom (Barry Girsh, after Winlock, *AJSL* [1915] pp. 8-9, fig. 1)

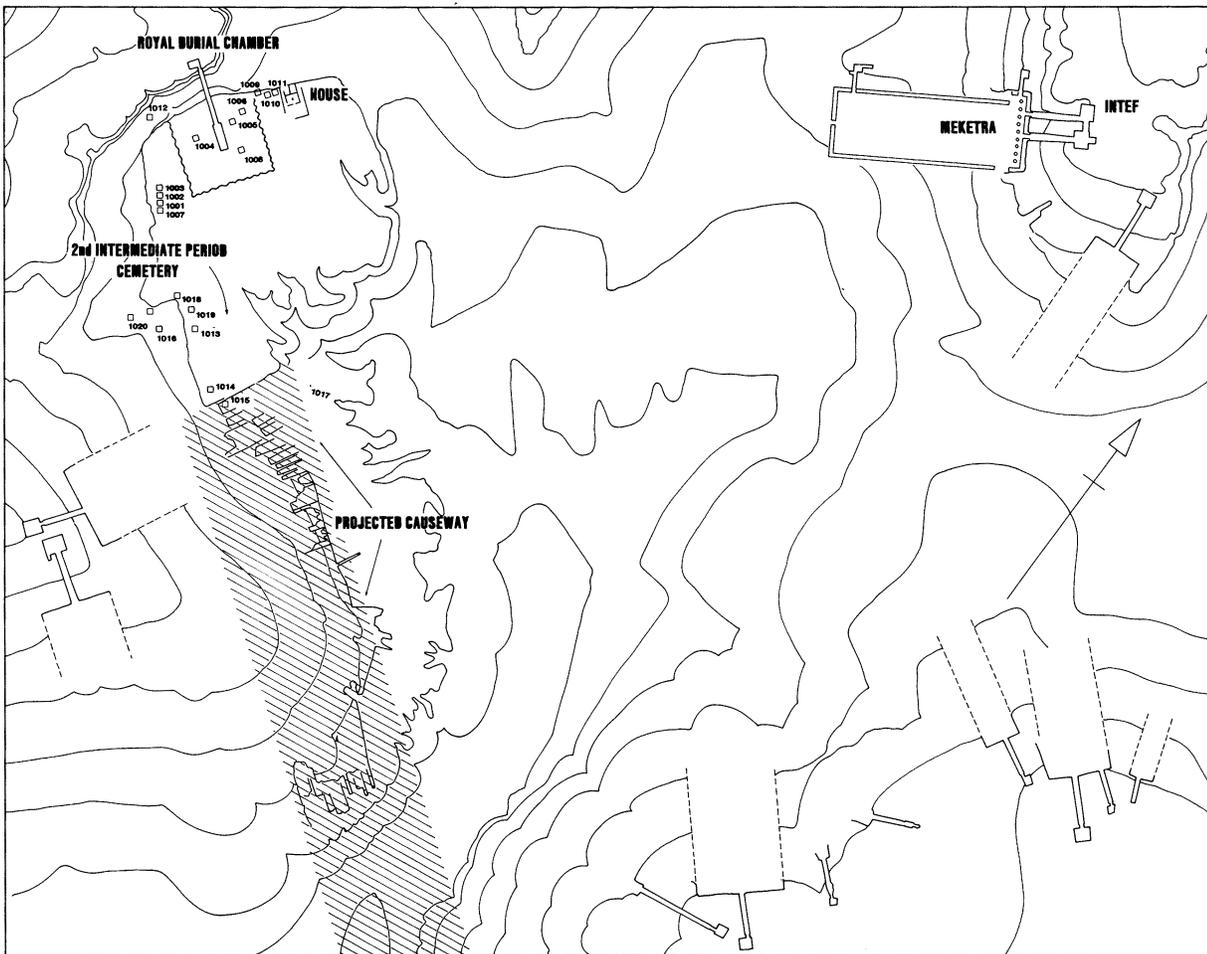
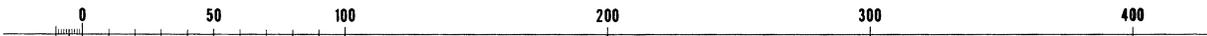


Figure 2. The valley northwest of the Ramesseum (William Schenck, after Walter Hauser and Lindsley F. Hall)



Figure 3. The valley northwest of the Ramesseum after excavation, Jan. 1, 1922, looking east (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M3C 36)

uated among the tombs of the other officials of Nebhepetra's court, on the slopes around the valley of Deir el-Bahri (Figure 1, nos. 6 and 7),<sup>9</sup> suggested to Winlock and others that Meketra outlived Nebhepetra and went on to serve his successor, Mentuhotep III Seankhkara. It was therefore logical to assume that the unfinished royal tomb in the valley, situated below the tomb of Meketra, belonged to King Mentuhotep III Seankhkara. (See Appendix I.)

A group of inscriptions on nearby rocks seemed to corroborate the identification of the unfinished monument as the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep III. Between the valley, or rock bay, of Deir el-Bahri and the bay in which the unfinished royal funerary monument is situated lies yet another, smaller bay surrounded by limestone cliffs (Figure 1, no. 4).<sup>10</sup> In this smaller bay numerous graffiti of Middle Kingdom date are incised in the rock cliffs high above the valley floor. Winlock recognized that various groups of priests had incised their names here.<sup>11</sup> Among these names, the greatest number were

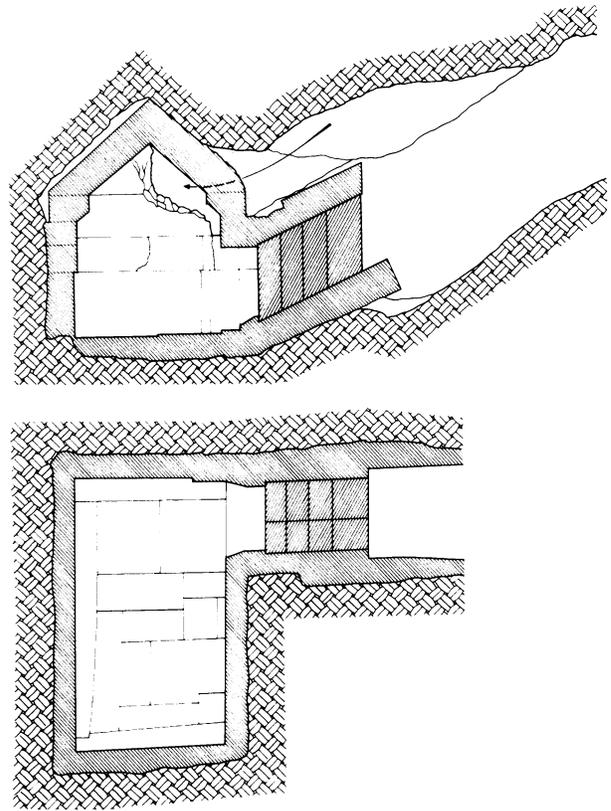


Figure 4. Plan and section of the underground chamber of the unfinished royal monument as found by Robert Mond (Barry Girsh, after Mond, *ASAE* 6 [1905] p. 79, fig. 15)

those of priests who served in the funeral cult of King Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra or of priests who served his deceased successor, Mentuhotep III Seankhkara. Some priests of the god Amun and functionaries of the necropolis had also left graffiti.

Winlock interpreted the graffiti on the cliff as evidence of a lookout site used by the priests who were stationed here to announce the arrival of the bark of Amun when it crossed the Nile during the annual festival called "the beautiful feast of the desert valley." During that feast the bark with the image of the god would visit the temple of Nebhepetra and remain there overnight. Indeed, one graffito expressly mentions the feast.<sup>12</sup> Winlock's assumption that the two priesthoods of Nebhepetra and Seankhkara waited together at the lookout seemed again to fit the identification of the unfinished monument as the funerary temple of Seankhkara.

The historical picture reconstructed by Winlock is, however, less well founded than is generally believed. No temple was ever actually erected on the plateau in the valley northwest of the Ramesseum.



Figure 5. View from the valley onto the courtyard of the tomb of Meketra, 1920–21  
(photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. MCC 4)

The building activities only reached the stages of leveling the platform, starting to remove rock for a causeway, and cutting and casing an underground chamber. Therefore, if this really was the site of Seankhkara's mortuary monument, the priests of Seankhkara, who according to their graffiti officiated during the entire Twelfth Dynasty, never actually had a place in which to perform the ceremonies associated with the funerary cult for the king.

The architectural remains found on the plateau consist of a serpentine wall north of the entrance to the underground passage, which the excavators reconstructed as having surrounded this entrance, and a small house still farther north (Figures 2, 3). Serpentine walls occur frequently at Middle Kingdom cemetery sites. In some cases serpentine walls enclosed areas in a necropolis where debris could be dumped. In other instances, the serpentine walls served to secure the mouth of a shaft whose underground chambers had been dug out while the

aboveground architecture had not yet been finished.<sup>13</sup> The latter was certainly the case at the unfinished monument site. If anything, the presence of a serpentine wall accentuates the unfinished status of the monument.

A brick building consisting of three rooms exists on the northern part of the platform (Figure 6), but it was certainly a house rather than a temple, and its date is much later than the Eleventh Dynasty. Houses having this same plan, with a larger room in front and two smaller rooms at the back, were found both at Amarna and in the village at Lisht, where they date from the later New Kingdom to Third Intermediate Period.<sup>14</sup>

Some ritual objects were found in the debris covering the platform. Among these objects are a few that might have been used in a royal cult; they consist of a limestone altar, roughly 58 centimeters square, and some pottery. None of these objects is of a character or quality that outweighs the absence

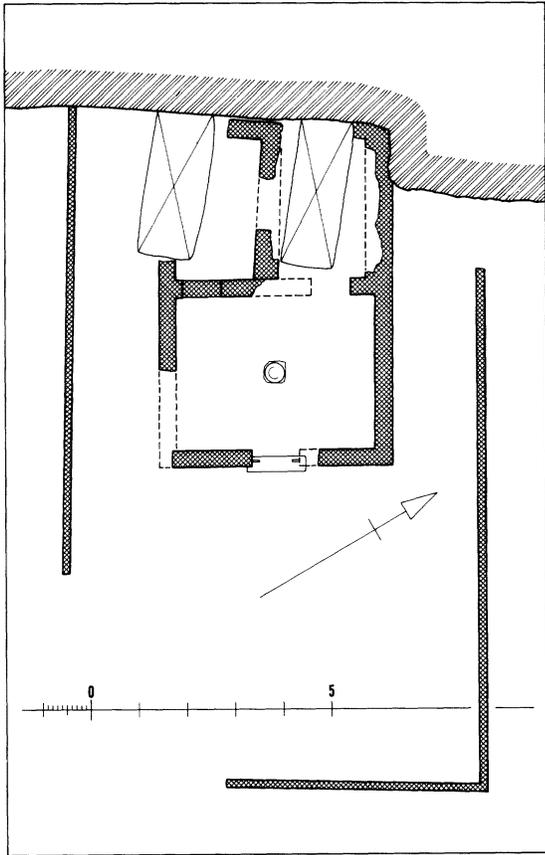


Figure 6. The remains of the New Kingdom house seen in Figure 3, left foreground (William Schenck, after pencil plan AM 1651)

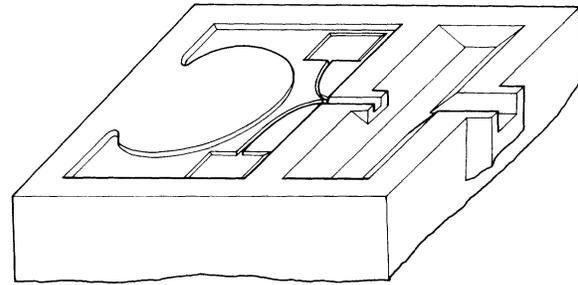


Figure 7. Limestone altar found at the mouth of the underground passage to the royal burial chamber of the unfinished monument (Barry Girsh, after Mond, *ASAE* 6 [1905] p. 77, fig. 1)

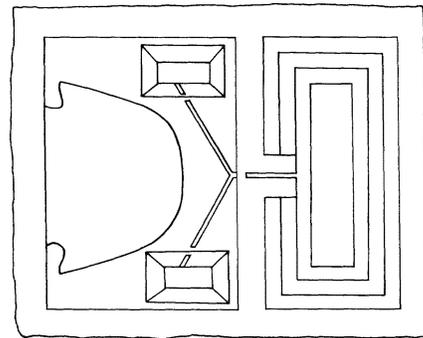


Figure 8. Altar from Sebennytos, Alexandria Museum 460 (Barry Girsh, after Kuentz, *BIFAO Supplement* [1981] p. 255, fig. 13)

of a funeral temple befitting a king like Mentuhotep III Seankhkara, who erected many fine monuments throughout Upper Egypt during his reign of twelve years.

There is, moreover, a chronological discrepancy between the date of the objects found on the platform and the time of the death of Seankhkara. The altar (Figure 7)<sup>15</sup> is of a peculiar type that shows two small basins for liquid offerings connected to a larger basin by curved channels. Numerous examples of this type of altar were found at Lisht, all dating well into the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>16</sup> A variant of this type of altar has straight channels connecting the three basins, which may have had antecedents in the late Eleventh Dynasty.<sup>17</sup> The only securely dated example (Figure 8) bears the name of Amenemhat I, the first king of Dynasty 12.<sup>18</sup> A Twelfth Dynasty date is, therefore, probable for the altar found on the platform.<sup>19</sup>

Some of the pottery found in the area of the un-

finished monument must have belonged to foundation deposits because the shapes are known from other foundation-deposit pots of the period. Pits suitable for receiving foundation offerings were uncovered during the excavation (see the small, round holes west of the main shaft in Figure 3). Foundation-deposit pottery is thought to be difficult to date because of its tendency to adhere to traditional shapes rather than follow contemporary development. Nevertheless, the pots found on the platform are strikingly close in shape to examples of the early Twelfth Dynasty found in the funerary precincts of Amenemhat I and his son and successor, Senwosret I, at Lisht.<sup>20</sup>

Some sherds of Upper Egyptian light-colored ware, decorated with incised patterns, resemble pottery found in tombs and temples of both Dynasties 11 and 12 (Figure 9).<sup>21</sup> A number of round-shouldered *h.s.t* vases and hemispherical cups (Figures 10, 11) were also found on the plateau.<sup>22</sup> These

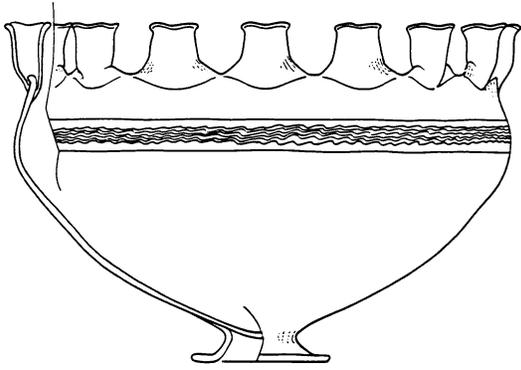


Figure 9. Ritual vessel with applied cups and incised decoration, found in the debris covering the unfinished royal monument. H. 29.5 cm (William Schenck, after tomb card Thebes 3234)



Figure 10. Libation (*hs.t*) vases. Center: Cairo, Egyptian Museum Journal d'Entrée 47331-6. Others: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1922, 22.3.16,17, H. 26 cm, 28 cm (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. MCC 179)



Figure 11. Drinking cups. Cairo, Egyptian Museum Journal d'Entrée 47331-6, and Chicago, Oriental Institute. H. (left to right): 9.5 cm, 10.5 cm, 9.5 cm (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. MCC 181)

latter vessels are decidedly not of late Eleventh but of early Twelfth Dynasty date. A close parallel to the round-shouldered *hs.t* vases was found in the tomb of Senet, mother of Intefiker, the vizier of Senwosret I.<sup>23</sup> Eleventh Dynasty vases of this type tend to have angular rather than round shoulders.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, the hemispherical cups, with their extremely thin walls, red ocher coating, and rather shallow shape, are close to cups of the early Twelfth Dynasty from the pyramid complex at Lisht South. Eleventh Dynasty cups are thick-walled and only partly coated on the outside.<sup>25</sup>

Both Robert Mond and Winlock's Metropolitan Museum Expedition found fragments of wooden models and boats in the debris covering the platform.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, there is only one photograph preserved of these models (Figure 12).<sup>27</sup> It shows a number of oars, tiny model pots and baskets, and four human figures. Because of their proportions, these figures can be dated to the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>28</sup> The Metropolitan Museum crew also uncovered fragments of a fine, nonroyal offering table dedicated to a person named Bebjankh,<sup>29</sup> a name repeatedly used for women.<sup>30</sup> In view of the fact that not a single fragment of wooden models was reportedly found in the royal burial chamber, or the passage leading to it, it seems more likely that the wooden models originally belonged to the nonroyal burial of Bebjankh. Other female burials were laid down in the area, as discussed below.

Since no object found on the platform of the unfinished monument suggests with certainty a date before the early Twelfth Dynasty, and no evidence points to a royal funerary cult commencing with the death of King Mentuhotep III Seankhkara, grave doubts are raised concerning the validity of the attribution of the unfinished monument to Mentuhotep III Seankhkara. Further questions arise when one looks more closely at the underground passage and chamber of the unfinished monument (Figure 4).<sup>31</sup> Could this chamber have been used for a burial? The casing of the room with limestone slabs was evidently finished, but no sarcophagus was found. All traces of an actual burial—such as coffins, cartonnage, linen, and other funeral equipment—might have disappeared completely, thanks to repeated robberies, but a sarcophagus of stone, or a stone shrine like that found in the burial chamber of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra at Deir el-Bahri,<sup>32</sup> could not have disappeared without a trace. This is supported by the fact that the chamber was found blocked by four limestone slabs. Robert Mond describes this blocking as follows: "I found the en-

Figure 12. Fragments of wooden models from the area of the unfinished royal monument, 1920-21 (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. MCC 174-7623)



Figure 13. View from top of the cliffs on the back of the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna hill, showing entrances of unfinished tombs, 1920-21 (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. MCC 101)



Fig. 14

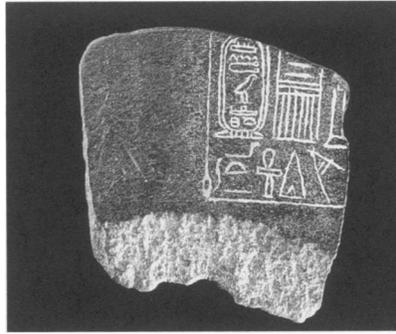


Fig. 15



Fig. 16

Figure 14. Sherd from clay vessel inscribed in ink: "the lady-in-waiting *Hw*." H. 5.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1922, 22.3.358

Figure 15. Front of fragment of slate bowl, showing name of Metuhotep IV Nebtawyra. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1909, 09.180.543

Figure 16. Back of slate bowl in Figure 15, showing name of Amenemhat I and dedication to Hathor of Dendara

Figure 17. Reconstruction of slate bowl in Figure 15. H. 16 cm (William Schenck)

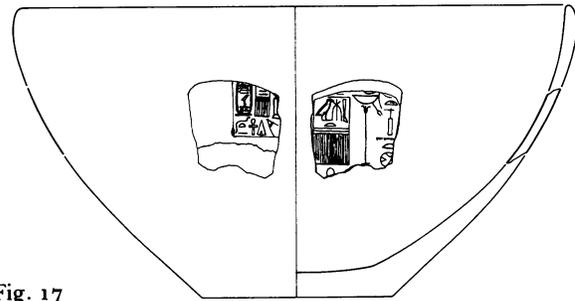


Fig. 17

trance blocked with thick slabs of carefully cut limestone; the first, about 1 m 50 cent. square and 0 m 60 cent. thick, was so carefully inserted in the four huge inclined slabs with which the passage was lined that it was difficult to introduce the blade of a penknife in the joints. Three other blocks of 0 m 40 cent. thickness each followed.<sup>33</sup> The robbers' channel visible in Figure 4 (marked by an arrow) is too narrow to permit the extraction of a sarcophagus. Mond describes this channel as "a very small passage along the roof, large enough to admit a person lying down."<sup>34</sup> Mond lists the objects found in the chamber as: "a small pot similar to those already found; another was found below the door slab. A rock crystal bead broken, some fragments of bones (oxen?), and a human tooth."<sup>35</sup> All this is either debris or, at most, some sort of foundation-deposit material; it is not the remains of a royal burial. We must therefore conclude that a burial was never deposited in this chamber.

The most logical explanation of the evidence found would be that when work aboveground

stopped, for some reason or other, the builders were left with a royal burial chamber, finished and cased with limestone but as yet devoid of any burial. Since the chamber had been intended for a royal burial, and had most probably been ritually consecrated (vide the foundation deposits), it became necessary to close it in a proper fashion, i.e., to block it as if a burial had been brought in. The presence of an altar (Figure 7) and pottery (Figures 9–11) suggests that ritual procedures were performed during the blocking. The scenario fits the evidence as found, but the assumption that this was the burial place of King Mentuhotep III Seankhkara has to be discarded.

Doubts about Seankhkara's being the owner of the unfinished royal tomb are reinforced by consideration of the group of unfinished private tombs that pierce the western and southern slopes of the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna hill (Figure 1, no. 8, and Figures 2, 13) and the northern face of the hills south of the unfinished monument. None of these tombs was completed, and no official of the early Middle



Figure 18. The pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht seen from the site of the Middle Kingdom capital Itj-tawy, 1906–7 (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. L 6-7 379)

Kingdom was buried here.<sup>36</sup> The situation is entirely different from that in the valley of Deir el-Bahri, where all tombs were finished and used—if not at the time of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, then later under the reign of one of his successors. It is also impossible to account for the unfinished state of the tombs in the valley behind the Ramesseum as owing to the short reign of Mentuhotep III Seankhara. Senwosret II, the fourth king of Dynasty 12, ruled only nine years, but there were no tombs left unfinished around his pyramid at Illahun.<sup>37</sup>

It is instructive to examine the nature of the few burials that were actually laid down in the valley of the unfinished monument during the early Middle Kingdom. They are: the burials in the tomb of the chancellor Meketra, with its dependent chambers, and an unknown number of burials, mostly of women, at the edge of the platform.

The burials of Meketra's dependants<sup>38</sup> were, of course, centered around this nobleman's interment (see Figures 21, 22); there was no need for them to be attached to a royal tomb. The reconstruction of

the early Middle Kingdom burials in the area of the unfinished monument is difficult because most of the tomb shafts existing on and near the platform were reused from the Second Intermediate Period to the early Eighteenth Dynasty, at which time a small cemetery was in use farther east at the southeastern edge of the bay (Figure 2, nos. 1013–1020). Also at the beginning of the New Kingdom, a number of shafts were cut into the debris covering the platform. These shafts penetrated the rocky surface of the platform (Figure 2, nos. 1004–1006, 1008–1011). One shaft was again reused in the Third Intermediate Period.<sup>39</sup> The best candidates for early Middle Kingdom burial places are the four shafts that lie in a row at the southeastern corner of the platform (Figure 2, nos. 1001–1003, 1007). In the westernmost of these shafts (no. 1003), large marl clay jars were found, of a type used in the tombs of the vizier Ipy in the Deir el-Bahri valley and in the tomb of Meketra for the deposition of embalming material.<sup>40</sup> Further evidence for early Middle Kingdom burials in the area are the above-mentioned re-

mains of wooden models (Figure 12) and the nonroyal offering table dedicated to Bebjankh found in the debris covering the platform.<sup>41</sup> These finds attest that one or more nonroyal burials of the early Middle Kingdom took place in the vicinity of the platform.

The presence in the debris covering the platform of a number of sherds with ink inscriptions provide further clues as to the identity of the persons buried. The inscriptions mention “the lady-in-waiting *Hw*” (Figure 14).<sup>42</sup> The burial of a high-ranking woman in close proximity to a royal tomb recalls the six priestesses of Hathor and royal wives buried below their magnificent shrines inside the funerary temple of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra at Deir el-Bahri.<sup>43</sup> It is known that some of these women died and were buried before the completion of the temple, well before Nebhepetra’s own death. The burial of another woman inside the royal pyramid complex of Senwosret I at Lisht comes to mind; it took place when building activities were still under way in the pyramid complex.<sup>44</sup> It is therefore consistent with contemporary practices that the lady-in-waiting *Hw* was buried in the area of the unfinished royal monument while work on the royal tomb was still in progress. This also applies to the other early Middle Kingdom nonroyal burials on the platform.

The evidence concerning nonroyal tombs in the valley behind the Ramesseum can be summed up as follows: While building activities were still in progress, a number of female burials were laid down around the platform. Of all cliff tombs, only the tomb of Meketra and his dependents and relatives was ever finished and used. Clearly, an event occurred, after which the valley ceased to be a desirable burial place. This event must have been the decision not to use the monument in the valley for a royal burial. Without a royal burial at the center, the valley behind the Ramesseum was no longer an attractive location for interment in the eyes of Middle Kingdom officials. It is significant that the valley did become a burial ground in the Second Intermediate Period and the early Eighteenth Dynasty, when private burials no longer sought the neighborhood of royal monuments.<sup>45</sup>

The following history of the valley behind the Ramesseum thus emerges. An unknown king planned to have his funerary monument erected in the valley, and building activities were begun on both the monument itself and tombs for the officials of his court. During the building period a number of ladies of court rank died and were buried on the plat-

form. The chancellor Meketra was the only official to have his tomb finished, and when he—and some of his dependents and family—died, they were buried in the tomb. But the main tomb of the king and the rest of the tombs of officials were never finished or used. The only ritual activities that have left traces on the platform were ephemeral rites performed not at the end of Dynasty 11 but at the beginning of Dynasty 12.

It is evident that Winlock’s identification of the owner of the unfinished funerary monument as Mentuhotep III Seankhkara does not fit the facts. But who was the owner of the unfinished monument? There can be no question about the royal status of the person; the similarity of the plan to that of the Nebhepetra precinct at Deir el-Bahri is evidence enough (see Figure 1, nos. 1 and 5). The same similarity leads to the assumption that the date of the unfinished monument cannot be far removed from the reign of Nebhepetra, but all objects found seem to point to a date in the early Twelfth Dynasty. The search must, therefore, focus on a king of the early Twelfth Dynasty who had connections with Thebes but was ultimately not buried there. The only king to fit this description is Amenemhat I.

#### THE DATE OF THE PYRAMID OF AMENEMHAT I AT LISHT

Descriptions of the reign of Amenemhat I usually begin with the statement that, immediately after assuming the throne, the king moved his residence and court from Thebes to the newly founded city of Itj-tawy, near present-day Lisht, roughly thirty miles south of Cairo.<sup>46</sup> There is, however, no evidence to corroborate the view that this event really took place “immediately” after Amenemhat ascended the throne. The earliest date actually recorded for the existence of Itj-tawy is that of year 30 of Amenemhat’s reign—which is the same as year 10 of the reign of Senwosret I, if the coregency of the two kings is accepted.<sup>47</sup>

True, a fragment of a slate bowl found at Lisht North (Figures 15–17)<sup>48</sup> is inscribed on the outside with the official titulary of King Mentuhotep Nebtawyra and on the inside with that of King Amenemhat I. Mentuhotep IV Nebtawyra is a king otherwise known from inscriptions in the amethyst quarries of Wadi el-Hudi and from four large rock inscriptions in the Wadi Hammamat in which a vizier, Ameny, plays a prominent role.<sup>49</sup> It is usually assumed that Nebtawyra succeeded Mentuhotep III

Seankhkara and ruled for a fairly short period. Vizier Ameny is thought to have later become king under the name of Amenemhat I.<sup>50</sup>

The connection of the two royal titularies on the slate bowl from Lisht has been assumed to indicate that the city of Itj-tawy and the northern pyramid of Lisht were founded at a time when recollections of the last king with the name of Mentuhotep were still fresh, i.e., “immediately” after Amenemhat I seized the throne. But the existence of a stone vessel that links the name of one king with that of a predecessor does not furnish enough evidence to date the site where the vessel is found.

The excavators, and some commentators on the slate vessel, have noted that the two inscriptions are incised in a different style of writing (Figures 15, 16).<sup>51</sup> It is clearly necessary to assume that Amenemhat had his name added to an older vessel that already bore the name of Mentuhotep IV Nebtawyra. The addition of royal names to monuments or objects of an earlier date and inscribed with earlier royal names occurs at various times during Egyptian history, although a considerable amount of time usually separates the inscriptions.<sup>52</sup> There is, therefore, no reason to assume that the addition of Amenemhat’s name to the bowl was made at the very beginning of his reign. Strictly speaking, the bowl does not even prove that Nebtawyra immediately preceded Amenemhat I. The only fact to be gleaned from the bowl is that Amenemhat dedicated to a sanctuary at Lisht a vessel that had previously been the votive gift of Nebtawyra to the Hathor of Dendara. Presumably the vessel came originally from a sanctuary in Upper Egypt. It should be remembered that the transfer of cults from Upper Egypt to the new residence at Lisht is attested in another way. An altar found in the canal that now runs through the region of Itj-tawy is inscribed with the names of Senwosret I “beloved of” both Amun of Karnak and Montu, the lord of Thebes.<sup>53</sup>

If the bowl fragment cannot be used as evidence of the founding of Itj-tawy early in the reign of Amenemhat I, what evidence is there for dating this event before the earliest literary source of regnal year 30? In the absence of any further remains from the townsite itself, we must turn to the pyramid that was erected on the desert plateau west of the town, the pyramid of Lisht North (Figure 18).

Two sources exist among the excavated remains of the Lisht North pyramid that can be used for a chronological evaluation. One is an ink inscription

on a building stone found on the west side of the pyramid;<sup>54</sup> the other is a group of reliefs that were reused as foundation blocks in the substructure of the pyramid temple. The ink inscription is dated to “year 1” of an unnamed king. At first glance, this date would seem to corroborate the founding of the new residence soon after Amenemhat’s ascension to the throne, followed quickly by the start of construction on his pyramid. Opposing this interpretation is the evidence of the reliefs that were used as foundation stones in the pyramid temple.

Relief-decorated limestone blocks reused in the foundations of the pyramid temple of Amenemhat I (Figure 19) were found by the French Institute excavations under Gustave Jéquier and Joseph E. Gautier<sup>55</sup> and by that of the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>56</sup> It is not the purpose of this essay to discuss the type of building to which these blocks originally belonged.<sup>57</sup> It is enough to state that the pyramid temple of Amenemhat I at Lisht was built on foundations that incorporated stones datable to a period late in his reign.

The late date of the reused blocks is attested to primarily by two observations. The first concerns the prominent role played by the Sed-festival in the relief scenes to which William Kelly Simpson has rightly drawn attention.<sup>58</sup> Amenemhat’s Sed-festival is thought to have been in preparation when he died. The second observation concerns the fact that the reliefs were obviously executed during the coregency of Amenemhat I and his son Senwosret I. On a block in the Metropolitan Museum, for instance,<sup>59</sup> the name of Amenemhat I (Figure 19, right) appears confronting that of his son (Figure 19, left), and the latter is apostrophized as “*nswt ḏs.f*” “the king himself” (Figure 21, center).<sup>60</sup> These scenes have always been taken as evidence for the existence of a coregency of the two kings, which is otherwise attested by a number of inscriptions jointly dated to both reigns.<sup>61</sup> The fact that the reused blocks emphasize the coregency is clear evidence that the building to which the blocks originally belonged was erected during the last ten years of Amenemhat’s reign. The coregency must have been established by the time the original building to which the reused blocks belonged was decorated.<sup>62</sup>

The conclusion to be drawn from the date of the reused blocks late in the reign of Amenemhat I is that his pyramid temple, in which the blocks were used as foundation stones, cannot have been erected before that time. Indeed, it may be that the pyramid temple in its final shape was built after the

death of the king, when Senwosret I ruled alone. In this context, the date on the building stone from the pyramid—"year 1"—clearly refers not to year 1 of Amenemhat but year 1 of his son Senwosret I, and this also seems to be indicated by the style of the writing.<sup>63</sup> If a coregency is accepted, year 1 of Senwosret I is identical with year 20 of Amenemhat I. Although the ink inscription therefore remains the earliest evidence available for any building activity at Lisht North,<sup>64</sup> for the founding of Itj-tawy we may now assume a date around year 20 of Amenemhat's reign at the earliest, because it seems reasonable to suppose that the initial work on the pyramid of the founder coincided with the founding of the town. This view is corroborated by the fact that the name of the town is first attested to in year 10 of Senwosret I (year 30 of Amenemhat I),<sup>65</sup> that is, ten years after its founding.

It can thus be stated that the available chronological evidence for the founding of Itj-tawy and the beginning of building activities at the pyramid of Lisht North do not contradict the possibility that in the early years of his reign Amenemhat I governed Egypt from Thebes in the south, and that a funerary monument was laid out for him in the Theban necropolis.

#### THE BURIAL PLACES OF THE LAST TWO KINGS OF THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY

If the unfinished royal tomb in the valley northwest of the Ramesseum was erected for Amenemhat I, where was Mentuhotep III Seankhkara buried? It should be noted that a failure to localize this king's funerary monument need not in any way affect the attribution of the unfinished tomb to Amenemhat I. Not to know where one king is buried does not per se invalidate the attribution of a monument to one of his successors. Furthermore, even with the attribution of the unfinished tomb to Seankhkara, history was still short one royal tomb from the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, for we also do not know where Mentuhotep IV Nebtawyra was buried.<sup>66</sup> Notwithstanding these considerations, where is the burial place of Seankhkara if the unfinished tomb does not belong to him?

Two localities may be considered. Seankhkara (and Nebtawyra) could have been buried either inside the funerary monument of Nebhepetra at Deir el-Bahri (Figure 1, no. 5) or back in the old burial ground of their family in the area now called El-Tarif (Figure 1, no. 11).<sup>67</sup> An object indicating that



Figure 19. Limestone relief block found reused in the foundations of the pyramid temple of Amenemhat I at Lisht. 37 × 88 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1909. 09.180.113

the second of these possibilities is the more likely recently has come to light.

William Flinders Petrie, in his *Historical Scarabs*,<sup>68</sup> published an alabaster plaque with the name of King Seankhkara (Figure 20). On this plaque, which is 9.3 by 5.2 centimeters in size, the king is called “beloved of Montu-Ra, lord of Thebes”—a formula exactly parallel to the one found on the smaller foundation-deposit tablets from the funeral monument of Mentuhotep II Nebhepra.<sup>69</sup> It is highly significant that there is a tradition giving Dira Abu ’n-Naga (Figure 1, no. 12) as the findspot of the Seankhkara alabaster foundation plaque.<sup>70</sup> The designation “from Dira Abu ’n-Naga” in dealers’ statements about the provenance of certain objects can well mean either the hill of Dira Abu ’n-Naga proper or the area of El-Tarif (Figure 1, no. 11).<sup>71</sup> No provenance is reported for a recently published cylinder seal with an almost identical inscription.<sup>72</sup> This seal is made of precious carnelian and may well come from the funerary temple of the king.

A monument connected with Mentuhotep III Seankhkara in the area of the northern part of the Theban necropolis is the brick chapel on top of the highest mountain peak west of El-Tarif and the entrance of the Valley of the Kings (Figure 1, no. 10).<sup>73</sup>

A large hall-like brick structure west of the chapel<sup>74</sup> has all the aspects of sleeping quarters for large groups of people. The sanctuary may therefore be understood to be a holy place at the beginning of a desert road where caravans rested over night before setting out for a long trek. Temples or sanctuaries at such locations are well known during the New Kingdom.<sup>75</sup>

A funerary function for the mountain chapel itself is improbable. But the building is a strong reminder of the fact that the plain of El-Tarif (Figure 1, no. 11) had been the burial place of the kings of the early Eleventh Dynasty. Burials of nonroyal persons were continued in this area during the late Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth dynasties.<sup>76</sup> It would be worthwhile to search for the remains of one—or two—more royal funerary monuments in this neighborhood.

#### HISTORICAL EVENTS EARLY IN THE REIGN OF AMENEMHAT I

Historically, the probability that a funerary monument was begun for Amenemhat I at Thebes results in a scenario somewhat different from the one generally envisioned for the early years of this king’s

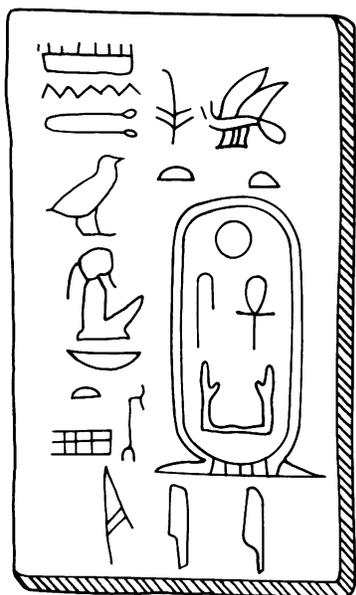


Figure 20. Incised inscription on alabaster plaque, showing the name of Mentuhotep III Seankhkara and a dedication to Montu. London, British Museum (Barry Girsh, after W. F. Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, no. 165)



Figure 21. View from platform of the unfinished monument toward the tomb of Meketra, showing the mouth of the royal tomb (right foreground), foundation pits, and tomb shafts 1005 and 1006. Coffins, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1926, 26.3.1–3, 1921 (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. MCC 91)

reign. In accordance with the practice of the Eleventh Dynasty, Amenemhat I must initially have tried to govern the country from the southern capital. The stage reached in the building of the unfinished funerary monument seems to indicate a period of three to five years for the Theban phase of his reign.

There are various indications that, during these early years, the king understood his rule to be a direct continuation of the Eleventh Dynasty, which may explain why some ancient historians listed Amenemhat I with the Eleventh not the Twelfth Dynasty kings.<sup>77</sup> Evidence for close links between Amenemhat I and the Eleventh Dynasty may be seen in the earlier form of Amenemhat's royal titulary, which according to the altar from Sebennyos (Figure 8; inscription not shown) was as follows: Horus Sehetepibtauy; the Two Ladies Sehetepibtauy; Gold Horus Sema; King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetepibra; Son of Ra Amenemhat.<sup>78</sup> In this titulary the Horus name *Sehetepibtauy* is close to the name of (Mentuhotep IV) *Nebtawyra*, while the Gold Horus name *Sema* resembles the Horus name "*Sematauy*" borne by Mentuhotep Nebhepetra.<sup>79</sup>

It is not known when Amenemhat I changed the early form of his titulary to the well-known later one (Horus Wehem-mesut; the Two Ladies Wehem-mesut; Gold Horus Wehem-mesut; King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetepibra; Son of Ra Amenemhat),<sup>80</sup> because no monument of the king has been found that bears a date before year 20 of his reign,<sup>81</sup> at which time the later form of the titulary seems to have been well established. Since the decision to move the royal residence away from Thebes must be considered the decisive event during the earlier part of the reign, it seems reasonable to suggest that the change of the titulary occurred in conjunction with that move. The significance of the main new element in the changed titulary (Figure 19, right)—Wehem-mesut, i.e., "Renewal of births" or, almost literally, "Renaissance"—has repeatedly been pointed out.<sup>82</sup> If the new titulary was adopted in conjunction with the move of the residence into the Memphite area, the term might indeed be meant to express the king's determination to renew the Old Kingdom state with its central seat of government at Memphis.

In spite of the lack of dated monuments from the early years of Amenemhat I, some references in later inscriptions shed light on historical events during this period. These sources attest to (a) a southern origin for Amenemhat I; (b) military activities inside Egypt, with Thebes as a center of power; and (c) serious difficulties in the Delta provinces and at

the Delta borders, which resulted in a number of military campaigns in these areas. Amenemhat's consolidation of power must have rested on victories achieved both internally and on a foreign front.

In a literary source, *The Prophecy of Neferty*, the origin of the king from the common people of Upper Egypt with a mother from the very south of Egypt is stated:<sup>83</sup> "A king will come from the south, Ameny, the vindicated, his name; he is the son of a woman of Ta-Sety, he is a child of Khen-nekhen."<sup>84</sup> The text speaks of the two southernmost nomes of Egypt or Lower Nubia (Ta-Sety, the place of origin of Amenemhat's mother) and Upper Egypt (Khen-nekhen, his general region of origin), but does not mention Thebes. If this can be taken as a historical statement, it seems that Amenemhat, although an Upper Egyptian, was not necessarily Theban by birth and therefore may not at first have been a member of the Theban court and administration of the Eleventh Dynasty. However, by year 2 of Mentuhotep IV *Nebtawyra*, Amenemhat was in possession of power only second to the king, as can be seen in his impressive array of titles and offices listed in the inscriptions in the Hammamat quarry.<sup>85</sup>

The main source of information about inner Egyptian struggles during the early years of the reign is the stela erected by Nesu-Montu at Abydos and presently in the Louvre.<sup>86</sup> It is generally agreed that the partly erased date on this stela is year 24 of Amenemhat I.<sup>87</sup> The inscription is headed not only by the name of Amenemhat I but also by that of Senwosret I, his son and, by this time, coregent. The text initially refers to both kings with the personal pronoun *sn*, "their." Farther on in the text only one king is referred to, in the singular. As Lawrence M. Berman has recently pointed out, this indicates that events described under the heading of the sole mention of one king must have occurred during the period of Amenemhat's single rule before the coregency. Berman concludes that thus "the narrative takes on particular significance as dealing with events early in the reign of Amenemhat I, perhaps earlier than the move to Itj-tawy."<sup>88</sup>

This then is what happened, according to the Nesu-Montu stela: "I [Nesu-Montu] trained the troops in ambush, and at daybreak the landing stage surrendered. When I grasped the tip of the bow, I led the battle for the two lands. I was victorious, my arms taking [so much spoil] that I had to leave [some] on the ground. I destroyed the foes, I overthrew the enemies of my lord, there being none other who will say the like."<sup>89</sup> Clearly, a river-based military action is being described here, because the

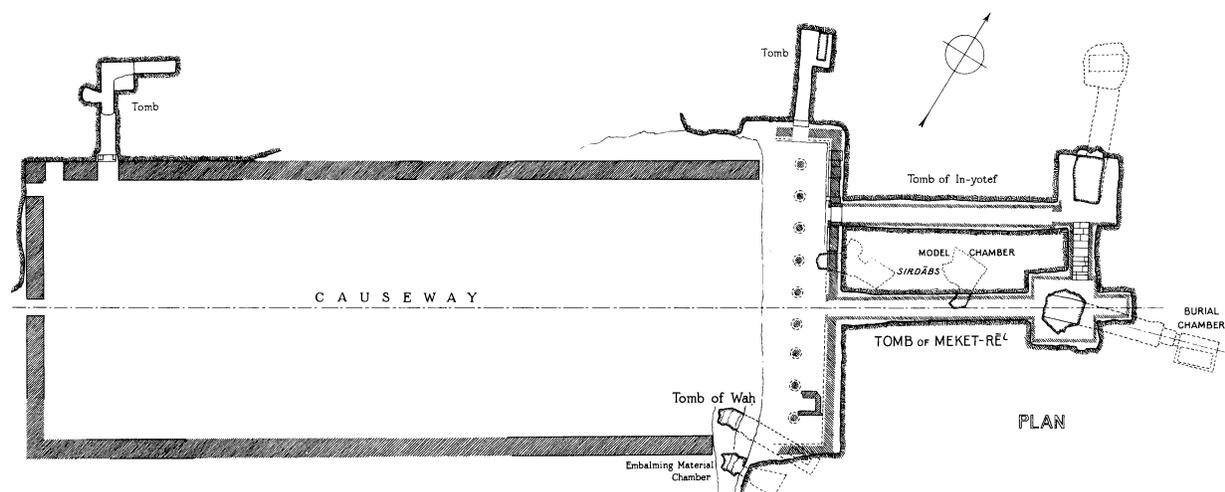


Figure 22. Plan of the tomb of Meketra (Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 18, fig. 2)

decisive victory was the storming of a “landing stage.”<sup>90</sup> The whole description is strikingly reminiscent of similar events that took place in the conflicts between the various Upper Egyptian chieftains before Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra took matters in hand.<sup>91</sup>

Furthermore, the stela text seems to indicate that Thebes was the base of power for the nautical victory. Three lines above the account of the river battle, the stela text recites one of the traditional self-laudatory passages usual in such texts. The self-praise appears in two paragraphs each beginning with “I am . . .”<sup>92</sup> The first paragraph refers to Nesu-Montu’s widespread popularity with his troops of “Theban conscripts,”<sup>93</sup> his colleagues in office, and the common population. The second paragraph, which immediately precedes the account of the river action, praises Nesu-Montu for fulfilling important ethical rules: its ending is quite remarkable. Nesu-Montu, according to the text, protected the aged, the young, and the orphans, and was “a warm shelter for the freezing in Thebes, that island of captains, the like of which does not exist in Upper Egypt, the mistress of the nine bows.” Why should Thebes be mentioned here as the place of Nesu-Montu’s good deeds? The only possible explanation is that the scribe thought this was a clever bridge to the account of the military action that he wanted to discuss next. The bridge is only clever, however, if Thebes was in some way connected with the river-based battle, either because the battle took place in

Theban territory or because Thebes was the base of the river troops that fought the battle. The stela text thus permits a small glimpse of the struggles that were fought in the process of consolidating the rule of Amenemhat I in Upper Egypt.<sup>94</sup>

There are a number of sources attesting to the difficulties Amenemhat faced in the region of the Nile delta. A literary source, again *The Prophecy of Neferty*, says in its description of the chaos before the coming of the new king: “Foes have risen in the East, Asiatics have come down to Egypt.”<sup>95</sup> Later, in describing the results of Amenemhat’s takeover, the text refers at length to his consolidation of the eastern and western Delta frontiers. The building of an eastern “Wall of the Ruler” is mentioned specifically. This east Delta fortification wall reappears in the “Story of Sinuhe” and must therefore have actually existed.<sup>96</sup> Archaeologically, a fortress built by Amenemhat I at the western frontier, in the Wadi Natrun,<sup>97</sup> has been located and thus corroborates the claim of newly established frontier fortifications, while substantial building activities in the eastern Delta, including the erection of a palace, show the importance that the king assigned to this area.<sup>98</sup> Finally, the above-quoted stela of Nesu-Montu and an important biographical text in the tomb of the nomarch Khnumhotep I at Beni Hasan describe actual military activities along the eastern border of the Delta.<sup>99</sup>

The following chain of events, then, is indicated by available sources for the early years of Amenem-

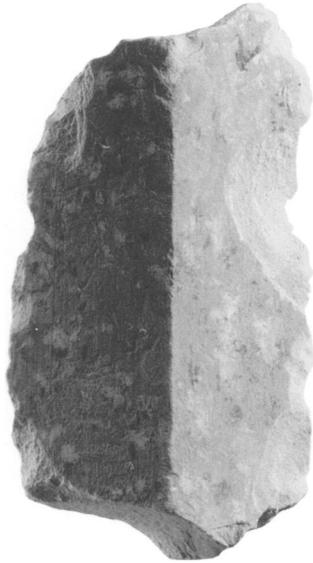


Figure 23. Fragment of limestone polygonal pillar from Meketra's portico. H. 8.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920, 20.3.162 group

hat I. Amenemhat, with the help of Nesu-Montu, among others, subdued resistance to his rule. A Theban troop of specially trained river archers played a decisive role in this effort. The victors did not disdain to take rich booty from their countrymen. Following this Amenemhat set up his rule at Thebes, where his policy was to follow the footsteps of the kings of the Mentuhotep line. We will see below that some officials of the Eleventh Dynasty court may actually have supported him all along.

While there eventually was peace in Upper Egypt, Lower Egypt continued to cause trouble, not only because there may have been some resistance to the new ruler among the chieftains of Lower Egypt but also because the Delta nomes were harassed by invading neighbors from the east and west. This situation necessitated prolonged operations in the area. The course of action that finally led to success was, apparently, a combination of punitive campaigns and the establishment of Egyptian border forts.

During the operations in Lower Egypt the Upper Egyptian Amenemhat learned to appreciate the importance of the northern part of the country. His first step in reorganizing the country after the Delta and its neighbors were subjugated was therefore the transfer of his residence from Thebes to the north.

It is difficult to say why the area between Dahshur and Meidum was chosen as the site for a new resi-

dence. One consideration may have been that Memphis, the capital during the Old Kingdom, was too far from the Fayum, which had already started to be a new economic center. (The Fayum oasis can be reached from Lisht by a relatively short desert route that avoids a climb of the heights farther north.)<sup>100</sup> At the same time, the new residence was still closer to the Old Kingdom capital at Memphis than the city of Herakleopolis, the base of the rulers who followed the downfall of the Old Kingdom. The area around Lisht had played a significant role in Predynastic to Early Dynastic history.<sup>101</sup>

The above reconstruction of events admittedly includes a certain chronological discrepancy. As shown above, the city of Itj-tawy was most probably founded about year 20 of Amenemhat's reign. The state of the unfinished funerary monument at Thebes, on the other hand, indicates a period of only five years of work at the site. Where, then, did Amenemhat I expect to be buried between year 5 and year 20? It is possible that, after removing the residence from Thebes, Amenemhat first planned to reestablish Memphis as the capital, in which case he would have begun a second funerary monument in the Memphite necropolis.<sup>102</sup> Only later, when the economic importance of the Fayum area prevailed, was the royal residence finally established near Lisht.

The Theban years early in the reign of Amenemhat I can be understood as a period when the king tried to consolidate his rule according to the traditions set up by the rulers of the Eleventh Dynasty. The attempt failed because of a major flaw in the politics of Eleventh Dynasty rulers. Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra (once the center of power of the Herakleopolitan kings in the north had been abolished) largely ignored Lower Egypt. Short raids against Asiatics and Libyans at the eastern and western frontiers of Lower Egypt may have been undertaken by the king or by his overseers of troops,<sup>103</sup> but such perfunctory activities had not much impact on the economy and organization of the Eleventh Dynasty government. There is, for instance, no building north of Abydos that commemorates the name of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra. Under Mentuhotep III Seankhkara, the Delta seems to have begun to reassert its importance. There may be evidence that a cult of that king was maintained during Dynasty 12 at Khatana in the eastern Delta.<sup>104</sup> But the numerous building activities of Mentuhotep III Seankhkara were still centered in Upper Egypt. It is only with Amenemhat I that affairs in the Delta

nomes and at the Delta borders receive the attention of the king. Amenemhat I evidently learned a lesson that led him to change fundamentally the way he ruled the country.

#### MEKETRA AND AMENEMHAT I

Evidence of nonroyal activities and persons active during the Theban years of Amenemhat I exists in the other well-known monument in the valley northwest of the Ramesseum, the tomb of Meketra (Figure 1, no. 3; Figures 5, 21, 22).<sup>105</sup> The tomb plays such a conspicuous role among the monuments in this particular cliff bay that its planning must be intimately linked with the plan for the unfinished monument, the valley's major feature. If the unfinished monument was intended for Amenemhat I rather than Seankhkara, the date of the tomb of Meketra and the finds there must also be advanced to the early years of Amenemhat I.

Meketra first appears in the Shatt er-Rigal rock inscriptions. He is listed there as "Overseer of the Six Great Tribunals," a judicial title of high rank.<sup>106</sup> The date of the inscription is most probably year 39 of Nebhepetra.<sup>107</sup> At that time Khety, the owner of Theban tomb 311, was chancellor.<sup>108</sup> In year 46 of Nebhepetra, a man named Meru held the office of chancellor, as is known from his stela, now in Turin.<sup>109</sup> Meketra finally appears with the title of chancellor in the limestone reliefs of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri.<sup>110</sup> He must have followed Meru in office after year 46. At the most that leaves years 47 to 51 for Meketra's term of office as chancellor under Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra.<sup>111</sup>

Assuming Meketra to have been about twenty-five years old at the time of the Shatt er-Rigal inscriptions, he was in his mid-thirties when he became chancellor and around forty when Nebhepetra died.<sup>112</sup> After Nebhepetra, Seankhkara reigned for twelve years. In the list of kings on the Turin papyrus the entry "seven years missing" follows after Seankhkara's name.<sup>113</sup> It is generally assumed that the reign of Mentuhotep IV Nebtawyra, of two definite and some unknown years, took place during this period of seven years.<sup>114</sup> At the ascension of Amenemhat I after these seven years, Meketra was therefore in his mid-fifties. He would have been around sixty if he died while the funerary monument in the valley northwest of the Ramesseum was still under construction. From a chronological point



Figure 24. Fragments of painted limestone relief from the tomb of Meketra. H. 13.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920, 20.3.162 group

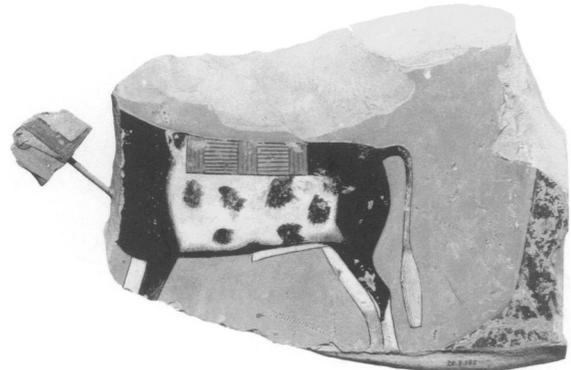


Figure 25. Fragments of painted limestone relief from the tomb of Meketra. H. 14 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920, 20.3.162

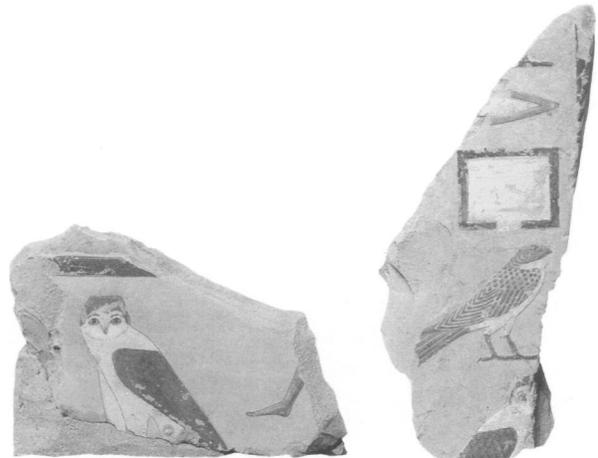


Figure 26. Fragments of painted limestone relief from the tomb of Meketra, 1920–21. Cairo, Egyptian Museum (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. MCC 2)

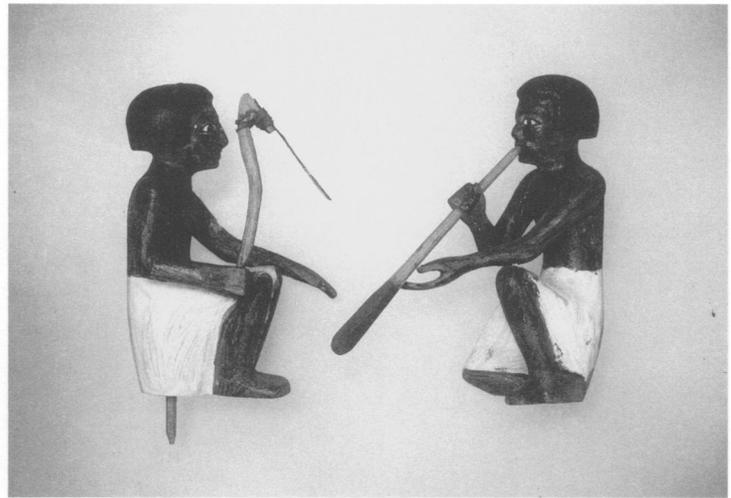


Figure 27. Three figures from models of Meketra. Man with corn measure: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920, 20.3.11; carpenter and man with blowpipe, Cairo, Egyptian Museum Journal d'Entrée 46722 (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. MCC 118, 125)

of view, there is, therefore, no objection to dating the tomb and the burial of Meketra into the early years of Amenemhat I.

To move the date of the tomb and funerary equipment of Meketra from the reign of Seankhara in Dynasty 11 into the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty does not result in a great change insofar as the number of years is concerned. But the change has considerable consequences for our understanding of the tomb and its objects in an art-historical context. Close scrutiny of the architecture of the tomb and the style of the objects leads to the conclusion that in relation to other objects and monuments an early Twelfth Dynasty date is more convincing than the hitherto perceived placement in the Eleventh Dynasty.

The most striking architectural feature of the Meketra tomb is the portico of nine polygonal supports of limestone painted in imitation of granite (Figure 23). From fragments found in the debris, the Metropolitan Museum Expedition reconstructed the supports as eight-sided pillars similar to those that supported the hypostyle hall and ambulatory of the temple of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra at Deir el-Bahri.<sup>115</sup> In a nonroyal tomb the portico of slender polygonal supports is a feature otherwise not attested in the Theban necropolis. Eleventh Dynasty tombs in El-Tarif (Figure 1, no. 11) and in the lower

ranges of the Deir el-Bahri valley have broad rectangular pillars that are cut out of the rock in the same way as the interior rooms of the tombs.<sup>116</sup> Tombs high up on the cliff of Deir el-Bahri (Figure 1, no. 14) have no porticos; their entrances are shaped as flat facades.<sup>117</sup> The tomb of Meketra, owing to its position high on the cliff above the valley of the unfinished monument, should logically have followed the Deir el-Bahri cliff tombs in being fitted with a flat facade. Such a facade would also have been easiest to achieve in the shale formation chosen for the Meketra tomb. Because the soft shale that forms the cliff in this particular place was ill suited for pillars, monolithic pillars of limestone from the Theban quarries were introduced. But why have a portico at all? One can only assume that the architect whom Meketra employed was not relying directly on the tradition developed during the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes, and that he introduced his own new concept. This concept of a portico of polygonal pillars was destined to have an impressive history in later years. The closest parallels to the Meketra portico, albeit with fluted columns, are preserved in tombs 2 and 3 at Beni Hasan;<sup>118</sup> both are tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty that were conceived under strong influence from the capital at Lisht.<sup>119</sup>

The wall decoration of Meketra's tomb is only preserved in small fragments, but there are enough



Figure 28. Wooden model figures of rowers and supervisors(?) from the tomb of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, arbitrarily arranged after excavation (photo: Dieter Arnold)



Figure 29. Wooden model figures of craftsmen from the tomb of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, arbitrarily arranged after excavation (photo: Dieter Arnold)

of them to show that the relief was the finest yet found in Middle Kingdom Thebes (Figures 24–26).<sup>120</sup> The reliefs are wafer-thin, and the details are enhanced by very delicate painting.<sup>121</sup> The color palette is rather light, and mixed colors often occur. A remarkable practice of the Meketra painting is the use of the same pigment in varying density to achieve three-dimensional effects. The wing of the eagle in Figure 24, for instance, is divided from the body of the bird, not by the usual dark contour line but by an area in a lighter shade of the same pigment that is used to color the main part of body and wing. The eyes of the owl in the same relief fragment are topped by black triangles, which are in turn topped by areas in a lighter shade of the surrounding yellow. Another method used by the painters of the Meketra reliefs makes use of fine, very thin black lines to create special surface effects, such as the texture of the rawhide saddle the bull in figure 25 is wearing. Such techniques are not found in any other Eleventh Dynasty painted relief at Thebes. Colors are usually applied uniformly to each particular area of relief. Only in Twelfth Dynasty painted reliefs does one find the delicate shading and nuances of the Meketra decoration.<sup>122</sup>

A fair number of relief fragments from the Meketra tomb come from large-scale inscriptions. Some of these provide additional evidence on the

titles of Meketra. A small group of fragments was found by Georges Daressy in 1895 during the initial clearing of the tomb (Figure 26).<sup>123</sup> The inscriptions on these fragments provide unmistakable proof that Meketra had, among his other duties, the function of “chief steward,” an office that, according to recent investigations, was initiated at the beginning of Dynasty 12.<sup>124</sup>

Fragments of a fine coffin were discovered by Winlock in Meketra’s burial chamber (see Figure 62).<sup>125</sup> The coffin had been decorated twice. Initially, hieroglyphs were simply traced into the wood; later, this first inscription was covered by plaster, which was gilded, and a second version of inscriptions and decoration was then traced into the gilded plaster. As pointed out by James Allen, the second inscription included palaeographic elements that strongly point to a date not before the reign of Amenemhat I (see Appendix II). One might ask why this coffin was decorated twice, and whether the second user could not have been a person other than Meketra. Meketra’s name is preserved only in the initial text fragments. Reuse of the coffin by someone other than Meketra is excluded, because no one but him could have used the chamber so soon after his own burial. To explain the duplication of the coffin decoration, one should consider the two previous kings under whom Meketra held office. The great official

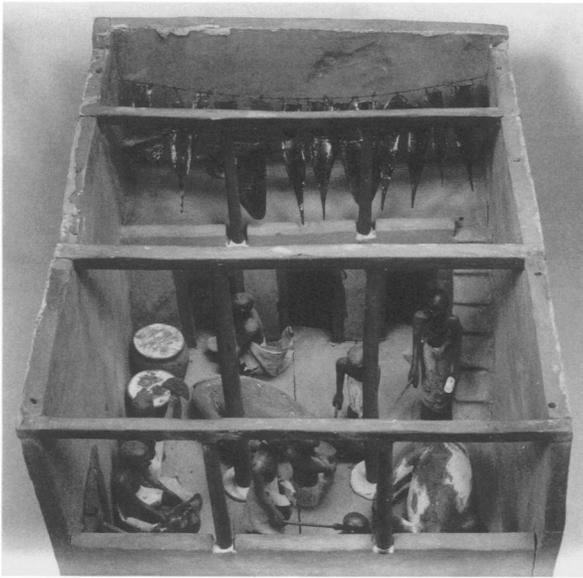


Figure 30. The slaughterhouse model of Meketra. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920, 20.3.10



Figure 31. The bakery and brewery model of Meketra. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920, 20.3.12

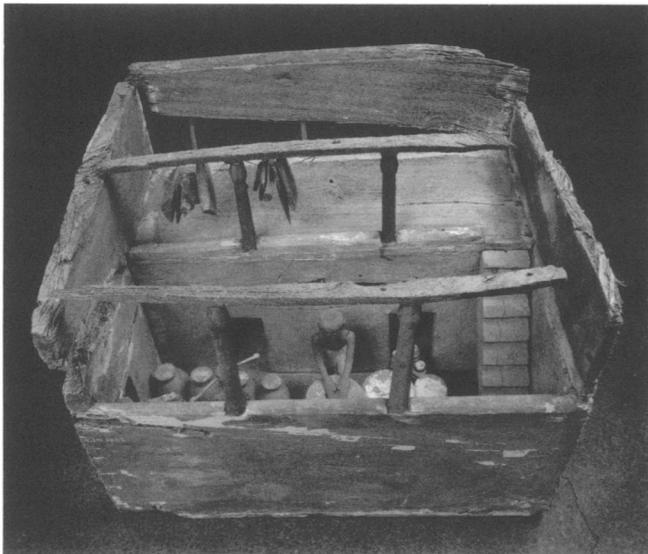


Figure 32. The slaughterhouse model of Gemeniemhat. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, inv. AE.I.N. 1632 (photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek)

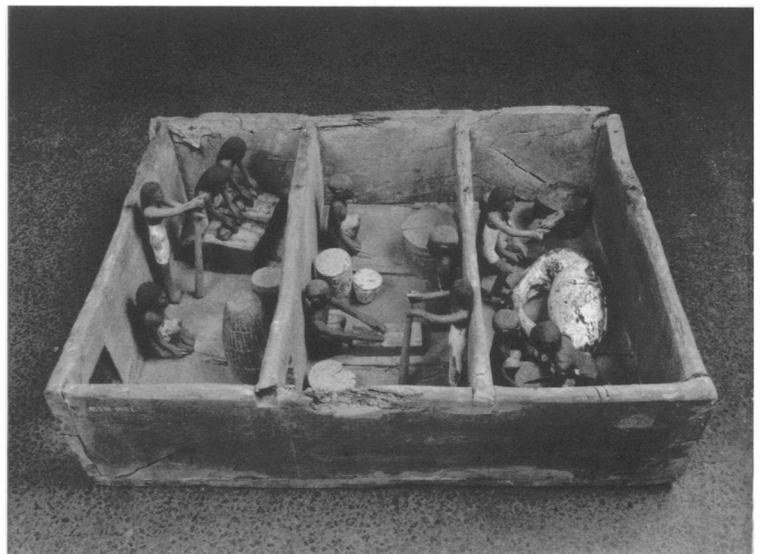


Figure 33. The combined slaughterhouse, bakery, and brewery models of Gemeniemhat. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, inv. AE.I.N. 1631 (photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek)

may well have chosen initially to be buried near the temple of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra at Deir el-Bahri.<sup>126</sup> The coffin he had made for that burial place may have been of fine enough wood to be deemed desirable for later reuse in the Ramesseum valley.

Finally, we come to the models—the most famous of the finds from the tomb of Meketra (Figures 27, 30, 31).<sup>127</sup> Judgment as to their date is made difficult by the extraordinary state of preservation and the high quality of the carving and painting. One could argue that such rare examples of true art in the genre of miniature figures were possible at any time, given the presence of sufficiently gifted artists. However, a comparison with the models from the burial of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra indicates unequivocally that at the time of his death the royal court at Thebes did not have wood carvers of such ability at its disposal.

The wooden models found in the underground passage and side chambers of the tomb of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra at Deir el-Bahri (Figures 30, 31)<sup>128</sup> are carefully carved and painted examples of the typical First Intermediate Period model genre. A few, among the hundreds of figures preserved, come somewhat closer to the Meketra models, but, compared with the overwhelming number of figures from Deir el-Bahri, the Meketra models look as if they were made in another age. Is it conceivable that there were only about ten years between the two groups?

A survey of all extant wooden models of the late First Intermediate Period to the early Twelfth Dynasty reveals that there are primarily two groups of models most closely related to the Meketra group in the elaborate architectural details, the intricacy and liveliness of the scenes, and the full-bodied roundness and natural character of the figures and their gestures. Both comparative groups have been found in the northern Memphite region, at Saqqara in the early Middle Kingdom cemetery next to the pyramid of Teti. The first group comes from the burial of Gemeniemhat.<sup>129</sup> This burial was found intact. In addition to the models (Figures 32, 33), jewelry, a cartonnage mask, and an inner and outer coffin were uncovered. A stela of high-quality workmanship originally stood aboveground over the tomb. The second group of models that closely resembles the ones made for Meketra was found with the coffins of two men named Wesermut and Inpuemhat. This double burial was also found intact.<sup>130</sup>

Gemeniemhat served as funerary priest for both the Sixth Dynasty King Teti and King Merikara of the Tenth Dynasty.<sup>131</sup> Since funerary services for deceased kings were continued, in most cases, for many generations, Gemeniemhat's office does not help in placing him chronologically. However, a date for both Saqqara burials is provided by the style of the pottery vessels found with them. As demonstrated elsewhere, these vessels date from the reign of Amenemhat I.<sup>132</sup>

In order to understand what the two Saqqara groups of models share with the models of Meketra, and what sets off all three groups from the models of King Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, it is necessary to recapitulate briefly the history of wooden models from the late Old Kingdom to the early Twelfth Dynasty. By wooden models we mean small-scale groups of wooden figures in the round, which represent household servants and craftsmen preparing provisions for the deceased. When these figures first appeared in the late Old Kingdom, they consisted of single figures or, at the most, groups of two figures that were fitted onto a small flat board, and no architectural elements were present.<sup>133</sup>

The latest examples of servant figure models date to the mid-Twelfth Dynasty. These late models often combine various trades in one model unit and are

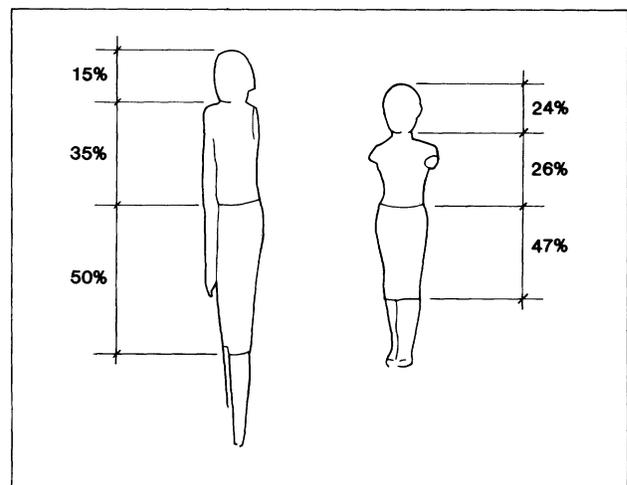


Figure 34. Proportions of model figures from the tomb of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra (left) and Meketra (right) (Barry Girsh)



Figure 35. The two statues of offering bearers from the tomb of Meketra, 1920. Painted wood. Left: H. 85.5 cm. Cairo, Egyptian Museum Journal d'Entrée 46725. Right: 86 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920, 20.3.7 (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. MC 86)

housed in elaborate and detailed representations of architecture. We see courtyards with adjacent rooms, staircases that lead up to second stories, and rooms that have roofs and supporting columns.<sup>134</sup>

First Intermediate Period models take an intermediary position between the simple models of the Old Kingdom and elaborate ones of the middle of Dynasty 12. First Intermediate Period figures are

usually enclosed in boxlike structures that represent the architecture of granaries or courtyards for craftsmen. But many groups of First Intermediate Period wooden figures still only have a flat board as a base.<sup>135</sup>

Not many of the containers of the models of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra were preserved. Most figures suggest fairly simple architectural arrangements, although a number of more elaborate details are present.<sup>136</sup> Both the Meketra models and the models from the two Saqqara tombs of Gemeni-mhat, Wesermut, and Inpuemhat are definitely closer to the latest Twelfth Dynasty versions of models, as they share very elaborate architectural details. In the Wesermut-Inpuemhat group is a carpentry shop that has walls, a door, and a roof over part of the room. The Gemeni-mhat carpenters work in a two-room house with potters throwing pots on a wheel in the front yard.<sup>137</sup> Gemeni-mhat's beer-making takes place in the court of a two-story building; the second story opens over the court. Meat is hung in the upper room to dry (Figure 32).<sup>138</sup> All these features are very similar to details of the Meketra models, such as the carpentry shop with the roof covering part of the room;<sup>139</sup> or the columned upper story where the meat is dried.<sup>140</sup> A combination of activities seen in a tripartite model in the Gemeni-mhat group (Figure 33), in which slaughtering goes on together with baking and brewing,<sup>141</sup> parallels another Meketra model (Figure 29).<sup>142</sup>

Another set of features common to the Saqqara and Meketra models is found in the proportions of the individual wooden figures. The majority of the figures in the models of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra (Figure 30), and practically all model figures dating from the First Intermediate Period,<sup>143</sup> have very slender bodies, small heads, and practically no waists (Figure 34, left). In contrast, most of the Meketra figures (Figure 34, right) and those of the Saqqara groups, although they share with the First Intermediate Period figures the high placement of the small of the back,<sup>144</sup> have waists definitely narrower than the shoulders and heads decidedly larger in proportion to the bodies (Figure 27). These proportions are seen in all models dating to Dynasty 12 (Figure 14).<sup>145</sup>

Finally, there is a striking difference between all dated First Intermediate Period models, including those from the burial of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra on one side and the Saqqara and Meketra models on the other, in the postures and gestures of the individual figures. The sticklike arms of the Mentuhotep figures are either not bent at all or bent only

at the elbow, and both arms usually perform identical gestures (Figures 30, 31). In the Meketra figures the arms are delicately bent at a variety of angles, the upper and lower arms and the hands often curve in a natural way (Figure 27). In many instances, each arm or leg of a Meketra figure makes a different gesture from the other. Often, when one arm or leg is angled, the other is only slightly curved, and so on. Again, models with such natural gestures are of Twelfth Dynasty date.<sup>146</sup>

Well suited to a stylistic appraisal are the two large female offering bearers from the tomb of Meketra (Figure 35).<sup>147</sup> These figures are not really models but large wooden sculptures, by virtue of their size and artistic quality. It would be interesting to discuss the question of why these two figures are so much larger than the other models and why more artistic care has been bestowed on them. For present purposes, it may be enough to recall that figures of richly clothed and adorned women, who carry baskets on their heads steadying them with their left hands while lowered right hands hold ducks or other offerings, evoked for ancient Egyptians the personification of a royal domain or large estate entrusted with maintaining the funerary cult of a royal or high-status person. In the royal funerary temples, relief representations of such domain personifications were standard wall decorations.<sup>148</sup> As in such reliefs, the two women with offerings from the tomb of Meketra represent and, according to ancient Egyptian belief, guarantee the economic basis for all funerary provisions in the tomb. No wonder the planner of the tomb equipment of Meketra envisaged the domain personifications as almost life-size statues of two very beautiful women in garments usually worn by deities.

Figures 36–47 place the heads of the two women in a series of works of the late Eleventh to the early Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>149</sup> The earliest piece in the series is the wooden statuette of Aashit, queen of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra (Figure 36). This statuette was found by the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum at the side of Aashit's mummy inside her coffin.<sup>150</sup> As with the two Meketra women, Aashit's face is circumscribed by a wig whose two straight-sided front pieces fall from behind the ears and almost reach the breasts. The metal-bordered eyes of alabaster with their shining black obsidian pupils are very large. The eyebrows, inlaid with ebony according to the description of the excavators, are straight and well distanced from the eyes. As in the Meketra women's faces, there is no cosmetic line at the corner of the eyes. Aashit's full-lipped mouth is

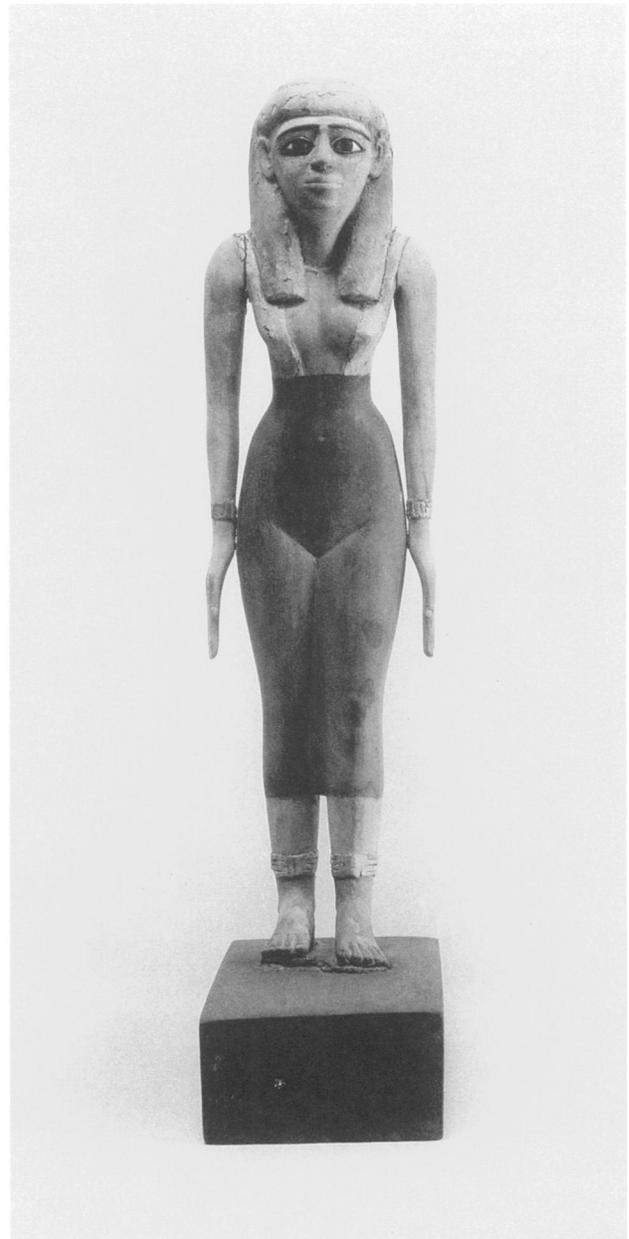


Figure 36. Statuette of Queen Aashit, 1920. Painted wood with inlaid alabaster and obsidian, H. 40 cm. Cairo, Egyptian Museum (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. MCC 117)

pushed forward. The impression of a woman of strong personality is forcefully conveyed by the pouting mouth and the tense indentations beside the nostrils.

The distance between eyebrows and eyes, the indentations beside the nostrils, and the full lips of Aashit are also familiar from many images of King Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra (Figure 37). The queen



Figure 37. Head of Osiride statue of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra. Sandstone, H. 40 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1926, 26.3.29

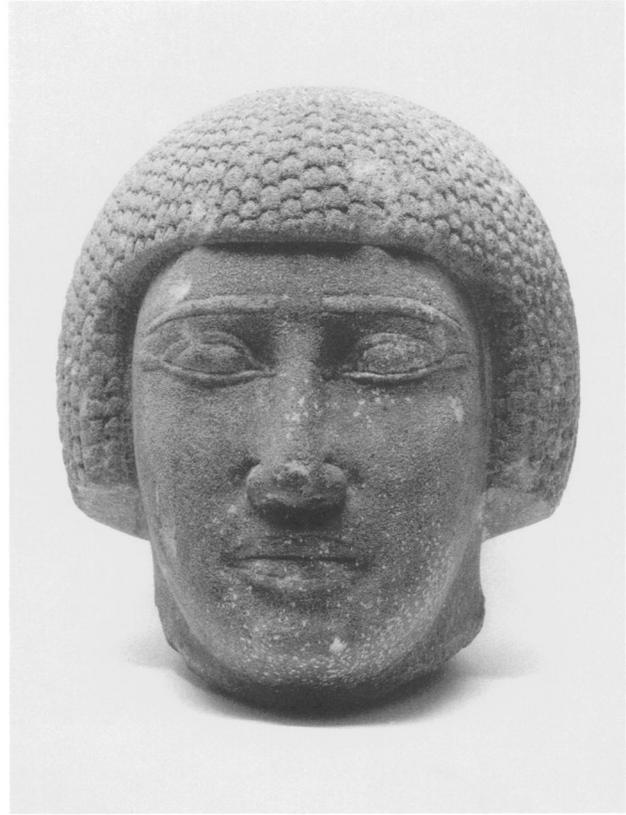


Figure 38. Head of seated statue of the overseer of troops Intef. Sandstone, H. 18 cm. Cairo, Egyptian Museum Journal d'Entrée 89858 (photo: Dieter Arnold)

must have been buried around the middle of his reign.<sup>151</sup> The seated sandstone statue of the overseer of troops Intef, from Theban tomb 386, is a work that dates perhaps ten to twenty years later.<sup>152</sup> Its head (Figure 38), of the highest quality, has many traits in common with the royal portraits in sandstone, noticeably the distance between the rather flat, inward-slanting eyes, the straight eyebrows, the indentations beside the nostrils, and the marked edge around the lips. The full flesh around the lower jaw and chin of the head of Aashit recurs in the head of Intef. The Intef head differs from Aashit and the sandstone king, however, in a softening of all features. The stark intensity of the features that gives the king and the Aashit faces a somewhat masklike character has been replaced by naturally round contours in the head of Intef. The surface of the overseer's face is rendered with special sensitivity. The bones, musculature, and skin appear as organically separate layers, each overlying the other according to their natural function.

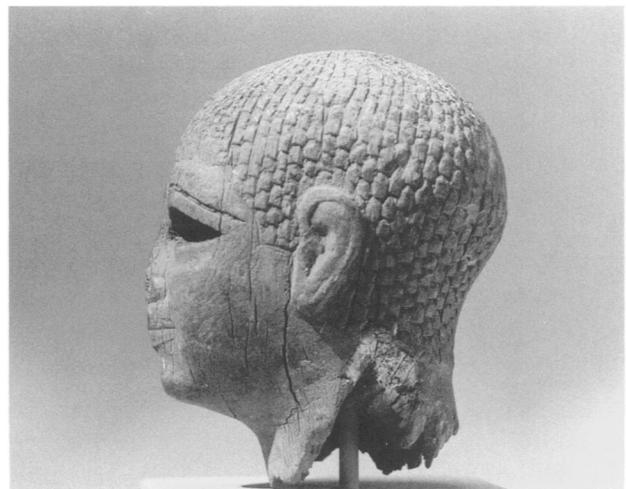
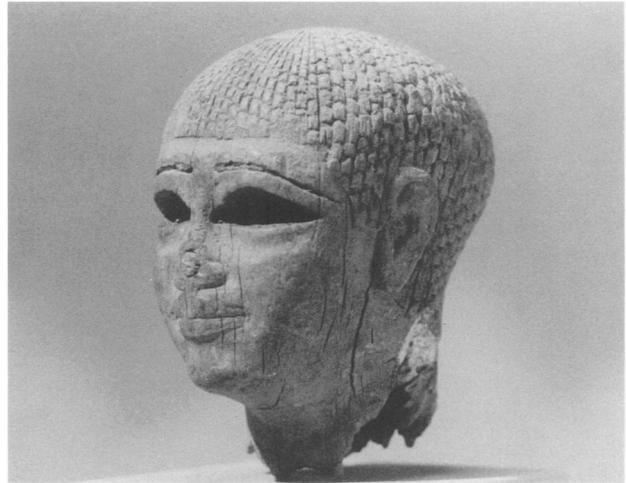
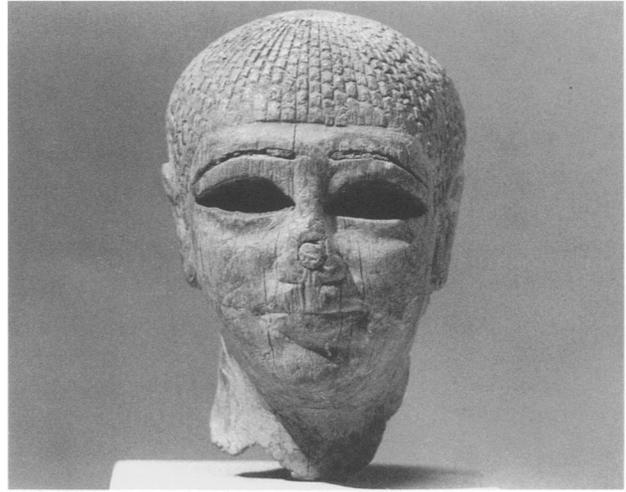
The slightly later female counterpart of the Intef head is represented in a small wooden head found in the tomb of the chancellor Khety (Figures 39–41).<sup>153</sup> Its excavators believed it belonged to a statuette representing the tomb owner. Statuettes of the period with similar close-fitting hair, however, suggest that the statuette to which the head belonged was female.<sup>154</sup> Female figures of this type are repeatedly found with male burials; they were believed, most probably, to guarantee rejuvenation in afterlife through their powers of fertility.<sup>155</sup> Khety was still alive in year 41 of King Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, and his burial must have taken place in the last decade of the king's reign.<sup>156</sup> Therefore, this is also the date of the statuette.

The wooden head is a small masterpiece, and not even the lack of the eye inlays diminishes its impact. The full cheeks and small, determined chin of Aashit and Intef recur, and the indentations beside the nostrils are again present. Although somewhat destroyed, the rather large mouth still shows traces

of the fine edge that encircled the lips. Certain differences from the Intef and Aashit heads can be observed in the shape of the eyes and eyebrows. The eyebrows of the Khety head start off with a slight curve above the nose and dip down toward the outer corners of the eyes, achieving a new coherence between eyes and eyebrows. As in most small-sized heads, especially when the eyes are inlaid, the eyes of the Khety head appear to be rather large. But so were Aashit's eyes, and so are the eyes of the Meketra offering bearers. What is remarkable in the Khety head is the way the eyes are rounded backward until they almost meet the temples. The shape of the eyes is thus instrumental in combining the front and side planes of the face in a new way.

The Meketra women (see Figures 43, 45, 49) share the Khety head's newly gained sculptural roundness; but there are important differences to be observed between the two women and the Khety head. These differences are as great as those that distinguished the Meketra models from the models of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra (Figures 30, 31). First, there is a difference of proportion. The mouths of the Meketra women are noticeably smaller in proportion to the other features than is the mouth of the Khety woman (Figures 39–41), and the cheeks take up more space between eyes and mouth. There is an austerity, even a certain coolness, in the Meketra women's faces, which contrasts markedly with the freshness and sensitivity in the faces of Aashit, Intef, and the Khety head. One reason for the more aloof expression of the Meketra women's faces is the absence of the indentations beside the nostrils. As a result, the cheeks of the Meketra women appear smooth and flat rather than tensely rounded. Rounded cheeks and indentations beside the nostrils contributed considerably to the forcefulness of the expressions in all faces of the Eleventh Dynasty from Thebes (Figures 36–42). Both Aashit and the Khety women are forceful personalities, and this is conveyed by the individually sculptured details of the faces. The artist who made the Meketra figures strove above all to create the picture of elegant and urbane women, and the placid expression in their faces is based on a carefully balanced harmony between the evenly outlined parts.

Unfortunately, there are not many heads in the round—and none at all of women—that can be securely dated to the reign of Mentuhotep III Seankhkara. John D. Cooney,<sup>157</sup> Maya Mueller,<sup>158</sup> and, tentatively, Cyril Aldred<sup>159</sup> have assigned to the



Figures 39–41. Head of female statuette from the tomb of Khety. Wood, H. 6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1926, 26.3.104a (photos: Bill Barrette)

period a head in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 42),<sup>160</sup> and another in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Basel.<sup>161</sup> Each of these heads possesses some details that are close to those in the Meketra women (Figure 43). The profile of the Metropolitan head, whose fine-grained limestone material strongly suggests a Theban, or at least Upper Egyptian, provenance, shows the same slight indentation below the chin as the wooden figures (cf. Figure 45). The Basel head shares with them the shape of the mouth. But both royal heads lack the evenness and harmony of the women's faces. The eyes of the two kings are positioned predominantly in the frontal

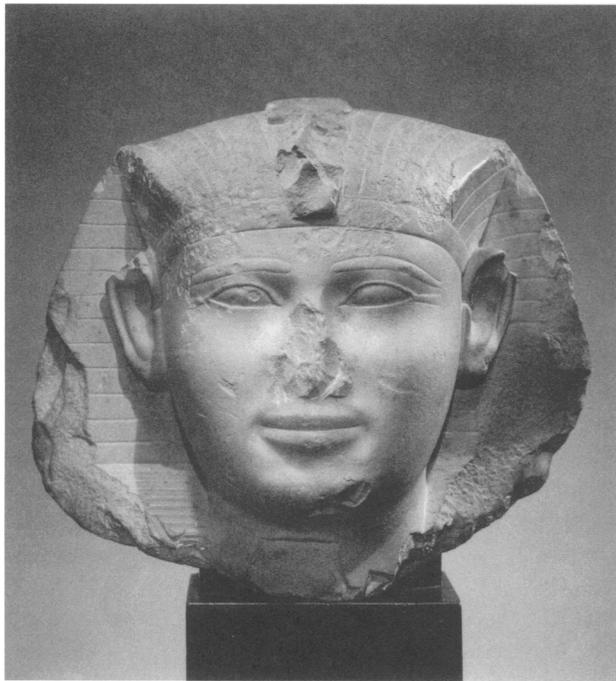


Figure 42. Head of late Eleventh Dynasty king, possibly Mentuhotep III Seankhkara. Limestone, H. 18 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund and The Guide Foundation, Inc. Gift, 1966, 66.99.3

plane, and both show the by-now traditional indentations at the nostrils.<sup>162</sup>

In searching for parallels to the even features and harmonious proportions of the faces of the Meketra women one has to go to heads of statues of Amenemhat I to find anything comparable. Of the two seated granite statues of Amenemhat, the one found at Tanis may originally have stood at Mem-

phis.<sup>163</sup> It is the more traditional image of the two, and its features still retain many Eleventh Dynasty traits. Chins and cheeks are rounded, the indentations at the nostrils are clearly marked, and the mouth is fairly large. One should also note how closely the various features are crowded together on the face. The other seated statue, found at Khatana (Figures 44, 46), mentions the Sed-festival of the king.<sup>164</sup> It is of high artistic quality and free of the idiosyncrasies of the previous period. The body is rendered with subtle feeling for the organic life of the muscles, and the face shows the mixture of harmony and active alertness that was to become characteristic for all early Twelfth Dynasty sculpture.<sup>165</sup> The similarities of the face to the two Meketra women is striking. In all three heads, eyes and mouth are well distanced from each other and the smooth cheeks occupy a fair amount of space between them.<sup>166</sup>

Among statues of nonroyal persons, the granite statue of Nakht found in his tomb at Lisht North, and now in Cairo (Figures 47, 48),<sup>167</sup> is surely one of the most important works of the time. The chief steward Nakht is known to have functioned under Senwosret I; Nakht must have died in about that king's fourteenth or fifteenth year.<sup>168</sup> But the style of the statue points to an origin in the reign of Amenemhat I because of its close relationship to the two statues of that king and it is consistent with the location of Nakht's tomb near the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht North.<sup>169</sup> Nakht's life may well have spanned part of the reigns of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I; the statue for his tomb was probably created when Nakht was still serving the older king.

Close facial similarities can again be observed between Nakht and the Meketra women (Figure 35, right and left). All three faces are rather square in outline; the mouths are small and the eyes well distanced from the mouth. The chins are angular, with the tip of the chin firmly set off from the flesh around the lower jaws. The Meketra women and Nakht further share a flatness of the cheeks at the sides, while in the frontal view Nakht's cheeks still show some of the tenseness that was characteristic for the Theban heads of the late Eleventh Dynasty.

A small detail concerning the shape of the eyebrows of the Meketra women is indicative of the artistic tendencies of the time. The painter of the Meketra figure in the Metropolitan Museum drew the left eyebrow in a more downward curve than had been prepared by the woodcarver. With this de-

viation, which can also be observed in the Theban reliefs from the tomb of Dagi,<sup>170</sup> the painter showed he was aware of contemporary style in aiming for a closer relationship between the eyes and eyebrows. In the heads of Amenemhat I and Nakht this closer relationship has been established by having the eyebrows run parallel with the upper edge of the eye and the cosmetic line (Figures 46, 48).

All statues of the reign of Amenemhat I were of Memphite or Lower Egyptian origin. In addition to corroborating the dating of the Meketra figures, these comparisons raise the question of the regional origin of the artist, or artists, who carved the figures. Was he, or were they, really Theban? The

wooden offering bearer in Boston (Figure 50), found in a subsidiary tomb in the temple of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra at Deir el-Bahri,<sup>171</sup> shows what a Theban female figure of this type, albeit of average quality, looked like in the early Twelfth Dynasty. The piece is markedly different from the Meketra women. We shall not discuss the differences of the faces because the Deir el-Bahri figures cannot be compared with the Meketra figures in sculptural quality. The body of the Theban figure, however, is well conceived and executed, and can be used as an example of a female figure of Theban style at the time. She does not stride forward as vigorously as the Meketra women, and her body lacks the remark-

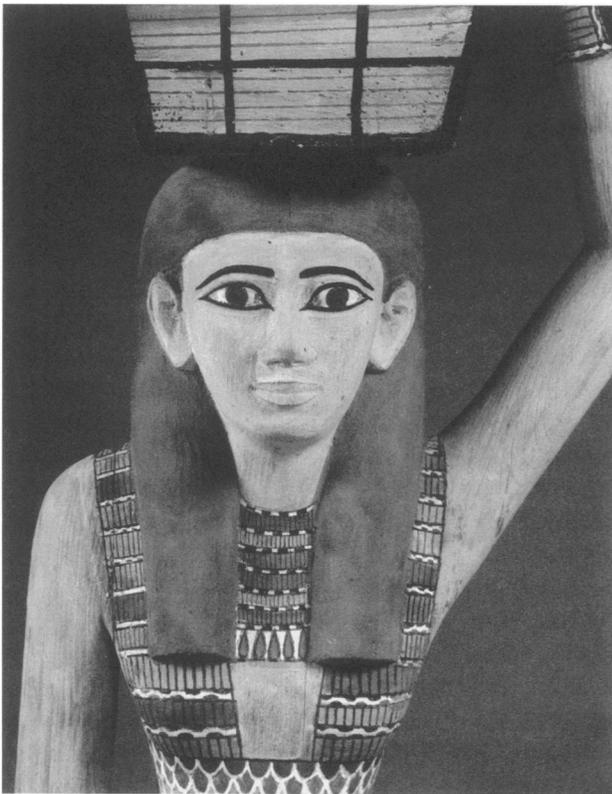


Figure 43. Head of offering bearer from the tomb of Meketra in Figure 35 (right)



Figure 45. Profile view of head in Figure 43

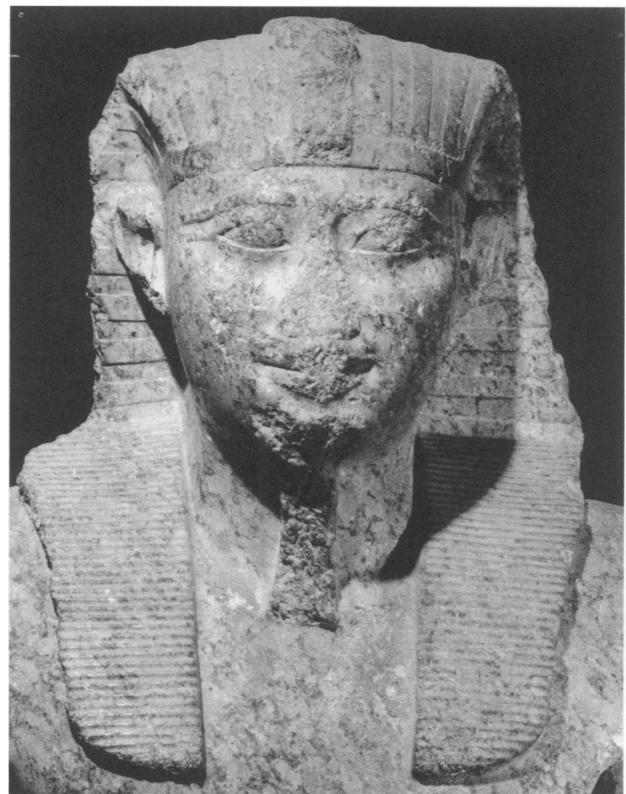


Figure 44. Head of statue of Amenemhat I. Granite, H. (of statue) 1.74 m. Cairo, Egyptian Museum 60520



Figure 46. Profile view of head in Figure 44

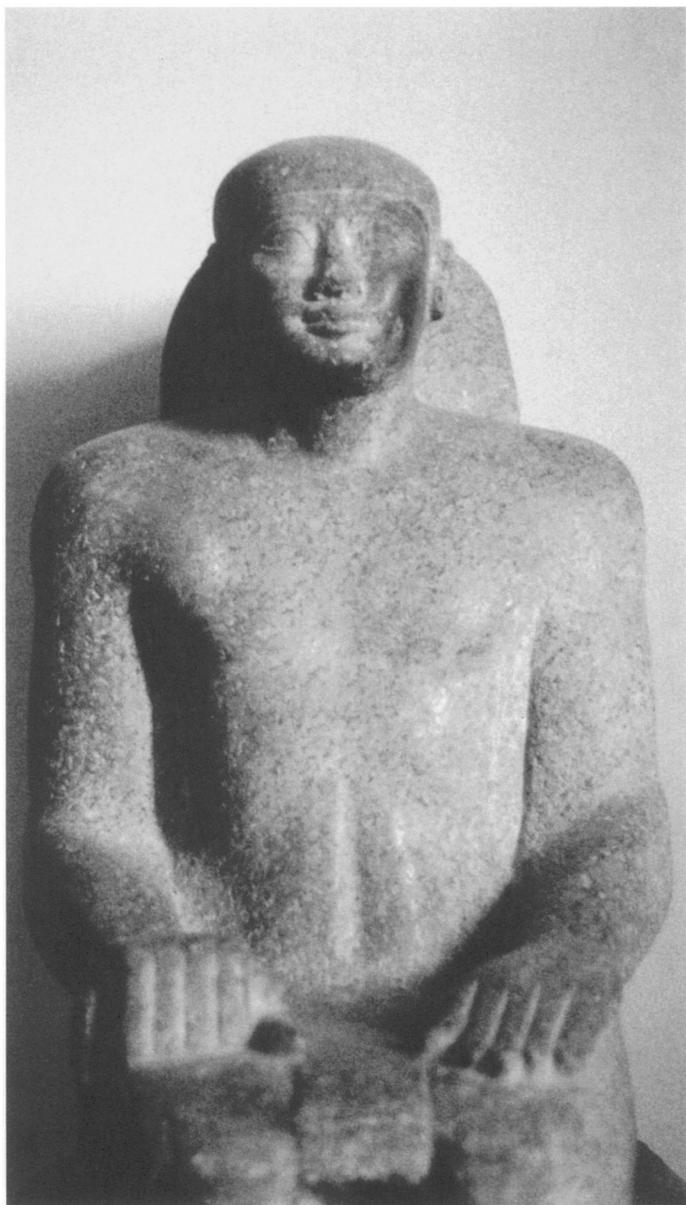


Figure 47. Upper part of statue of high steward Nakht from Lisht. Granite, H.(of statue) 1.45 m. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 409

able bone structure of the Meketra women's bodies. With a slight narrowing at the waist and with hips accentuated by a slight angle in the outline, she certainly reveals a more naturalistic approach to the female body than the Aashit statuette (Figure 36), which, although sensuously rounded at the hips, presents basically an abstract image of the body. But the Theban figure does not attain the organic mobility of the Meketra women.

To find a piece similar to the Meketra women in the way the bones of the hips are emphasized and the movement of the legs is regulated from this center of the body, one has to turn to wooden sculptures of the late Old Kingdom executed in the Memphite area. The male statue of Meryrahayshef in the British Museum (Figure 51)<sup>172</sup> was found with two other statues and other models in the shaft of the man's tomb at Sidmant near the Fayum entrance; this group was made during the Sixth Dynasty. The statue from Sidmant is therefore roughly 170 to 200 years earlier than the Meketra offering bearers. All the more astonishing is the similarity between the two statues (Figures 51, 52). One can only assume that the artist who carved the Meketra women had intensively studied extant pieces, like the statue from Sidmant. Influences from Memphite art and architecture are noticeable in Thebes from the time of unification under Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra,<sup>173</sup> but what is seen in the models and offering bearers from the Meketra tomb clearly goes beyond mere influence. The Meketra woodcarvers must have been natives of the Memphite region.

The following suggestion may be put forward about Meketra's role during the early years of Amenemhat I and the circumstances of his burial. Meketra, having been head of the treasury of the king ("chancellor") under Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra during that great king's last years, served through the reign of Mentuhotep's successor Mentuhotep III Seankhkara in the same capacity. During the seven years following Seankhkara's reign, Meketra recognized the singular abilities of the man who was to become Amenemhat I and helped to bring him to the throne. When the king planned his funerary monument in the valley behind the Ramesseum, he allotted a primary position on the cliff to the old dignitary who had been at his side for so long. While Amenemhat was beginning to move his center of government to the north, Meketra, now an old man, died. To honor a faithful follower, the king ordered craftsmen from his new court in the Memphite region to prepare the burial equipment for Meketra.

#### THEBES IN THE EARLY TWELFTH DYNASTY

"The history of Amenemhat I and of his successors of the Twelfth and of the Thirteenth dynasties . . . is not really part of the tale of Thebes," wrote Herbert Winlock in *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, and he proceeded to recount only

events that took place outside of Thebes in the chapter of the book that deals with the period between the end of Dynasty 11 and the Hyksos time.<sup>174</sup> It has repeatedly been observed, however, that the extensive building activities of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty in the temple of Karnak, and neighboring sanctuaries, indicate that the importance of Thebes and its holy places was undiminished throughout the Middle Kingdom.<sup>175</sup> It should also be remembered that the reliefs and sculptures created for these temples during the Twelfth Dynasty were of the highest artistic quality. Art clearly flourished in the south, even after the center of government had moved to the north.

On the west bank of Thebes more tombs and burials of Dynasties 12 and 13 have actually been uncovered than is commonly realized. The cemeteries of El-Tarif, Deir el-Bahri, and the Asasif were continuously used for burial during the whole

Middle Kingdom.<sup>176</sup> In addition, some large rock-cut tombs were cut out of the rock on the slope of the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna hill. Most notable is the tomb of Senet (the mother of the vizier of Senwosret I, Intefiker) with its beautiful paintings.<sup>177</sup> These Sheikh Abd el-Qurna tombs overlook what must have been the site of the proposed valley temple for the unfinished funerary monument of Amenemhat I, in the area where the Ramesseum was later erected (Figure 1, no. 9).<sup>178</sup> It is still an open question whether Intefiker, who certainly served Senwosret I as vizier through the first part of that king's reign, already held the office under Amenemhat I.<sup>179</sup> The close relationship of the tomb of his mother to the valley temple of Amenemhat I seems to point to a longstanding connection between Intefiker's family and that king, even if Senet's tomb was not decorated and she was not buried before Senwosret I came to the throne.



Figure 48. Side view of statue in Figure 47



Figure 49. Head of statue in Figure 47



Figure 50. Statuette of offering bearer from tomb 5, Deir el-Bahri. Wood, H. 84 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 05.231 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

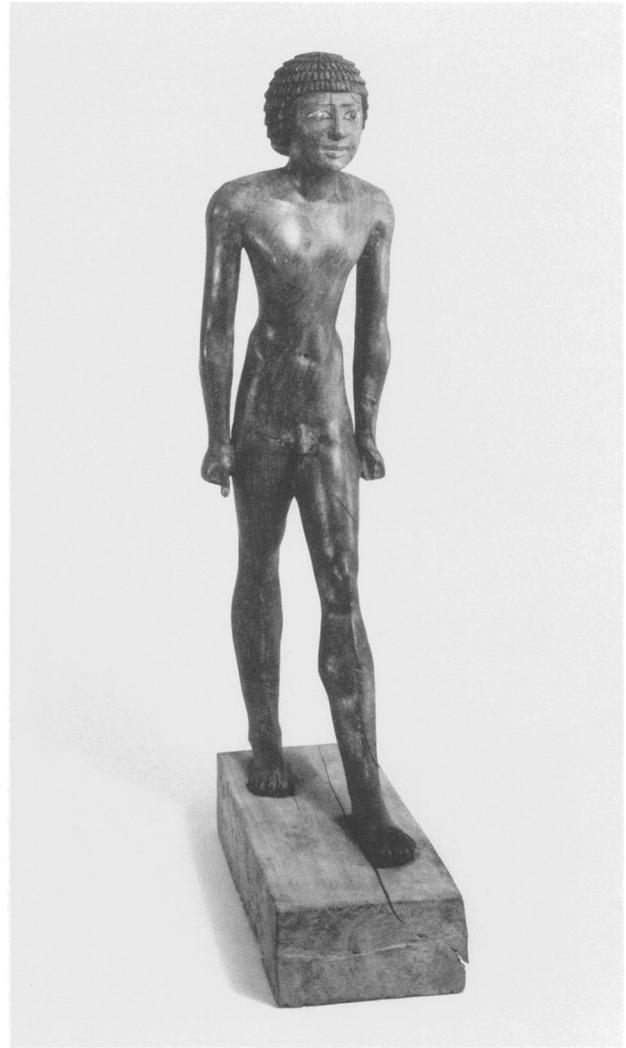


Figure 51. Statue of Meryrahayshetef from Sidmant. Wood, H. 51 cm. London, British Museum, 55722 (photo: Trustees of the British Museum)

In the valley behind the Ramesseum the burials of the chancellor Intef, who may have been the brother or son of Meketra,<sup>180</sup> and Meketra's "overseer of the storehouse," Wah, were laid down during the years following Meketra's death. The tomb architecture was altered for Intef and additional relief decorations may have been executed.<sup>181</sup> The Wah burial was found intact by the Metropolitan Museum Expedition in the 1919–20 season.<sup>182</sup> If we are right in dating Meketra's tomb during the reign of Amenemhat I, Intef and Wah must also have been buried early in Dynasty 12.

Judging from his mummy, Wah was in his thirties when he died.<sup>183</sup> The linen sheets used for the

mummy's wrapping were marked in ink with the dates "year 2," "year 5," and "year 6," each coupled with Wah's name. A "year 15" seems to be followed by another person's name.<sup>184</sup> If the "year 15" mark dates from the reign of Amenemhat I, and Wah was buried after year 15 of Amenemhat I, he was in his early twenties when Meketra died. The paleography of Wah's coffin, however, is fairly traditional (see Appendix II), and the statuette found with his mummy (Figure 53)<sup>185</sup> closely resembles in style the models in the Saqqara group of Gemeniemhat (Figures 32, 33, 54), which we have compared with Meketra's models above.<sup>186</sup> It thus seems more appropriate to ascribe the "year 15" date to Mentuhotep II Neb-

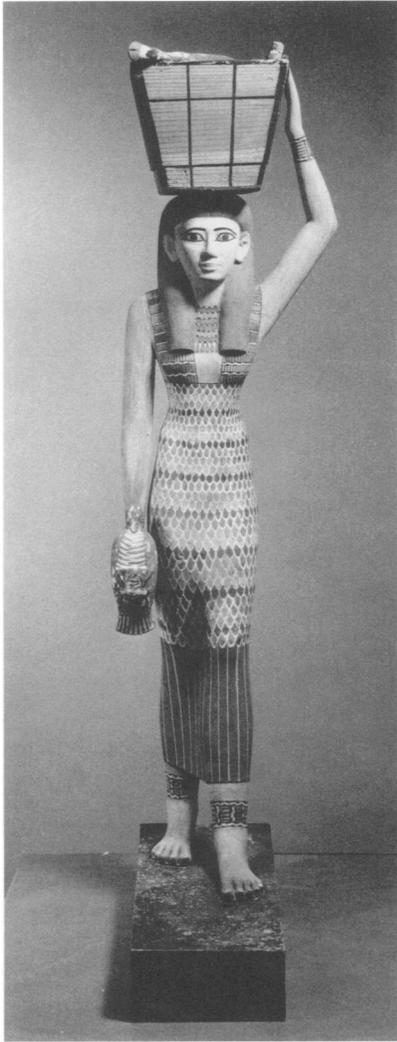


Figure 52. Offering bearer from tomb of Meketra from Figure 35 (right)



Figure 53. Statuette of Wah from his tomb at Thebes. Wood, H. 32 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920, 20.3.210

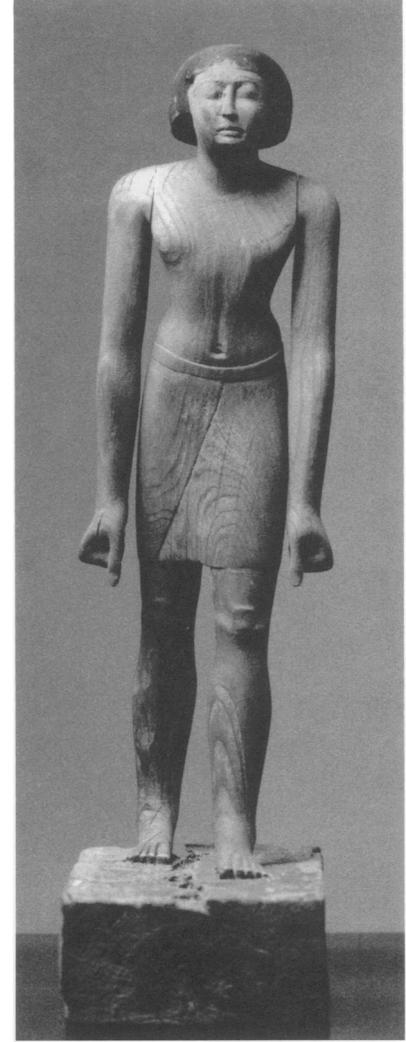


Figure 54. Statuette of Gemeniwhat from his tomb at Saqqara. Wood, H. 32 cm. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek inv. AE I.N. 1626 (photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek)

hepetra. The linen that carried the mark would then have belonged to old stock.<sup>187</sup> Wah's burial dates most convincingly to the early years of Amenemhat I. Wah must have died either shortly before or shortly after Meketra. The "year 5" and "year 6" marks combined with Wah's name on most of the linen shrouds fit well with our dating of Meketra's interment to the time just after the move of the king's seat of government to the north, around year 5 of Amenemhat I. The famous scarabs of Wah<sup>188</sup> can now firmly be dated to the early Twelfth Dynasty.

It has been rightly pointed out that the scroll patterns on the scarabs of Wah closely resemble the de-

sign found on a seal impression on one of the Hekanakht papyri (Figure 55). The date of this group of early Middle Kingdom letters and accounts written by a "funerary priest" named Hekanakht<sup>189</sup> has recently come under discussion again. These important documents have always been dated by inference based on their findspot. The papyri were found by Herbert Winlock in a side chamber in one of the large corridor tombs in the cliffs above the temple of Deir el-Bahri, that of the vizier Ipy.<sup>190</sup> They were discovered behind an intact blocking wall of brick on or among debris that formed a sliding ramp for the coffin of the owner, a man named Meseh.<sup>191</sup> Winlock, who assumed that Ipy was an official of



Figure 55. Letter from Hekanakht to the overseer of Lower Egypt Herunefer, folded, sealed, and addressed. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1922, 22.3.518 (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. M3C 234)



Figure 56. Coffin of Meseh in his chamber, as found in 1921–22 (photo: Egyptian Expedition neg. no. M3C 204)

Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, saw Meseh as a dependent of Ipy. In analogy with Khety, Meru, and the other known officials who had tombs on the cliffs above Deir el-Bahri, Winlock placed Ipy and Meseh into the later years of Nebhepetra. Since the dates mentioned in the Hekanakht papers are “year 5” and “year 8,” these years had to be ascribed to Nebhepetra’s successor, Mentuhotep III Seankhkara.<sup>192</sup>

Winlock’s chronological interpretation of the Hekanakht documents was not unanimously accepted by later scholars. Thomas G. H. James,<sup>193</sup> who wrote the definitive publication on the papyri, tentatively considered the possibility that they were written under Amenemhat I, only to dismiss the thought again because of Meseh’s near connection to Ipy, in whom James also saw a courtier of Nebhepetra. More recently, Hans Goedicke has again addressed the question of the date of the Hekanakht papyri.<sup>194</sup> Goedicke concluded that a date in

the reign of Amenemhat I seemed most probable.

The vizier Ipy is, contrary to common opinion, not fixed in time. Unlike Meketra, Ipy does not appear in the reliefs of the temple of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra.<sup>195</sup> Winlock’s assumption that he was a member of this king’s court is based solely on the topographic position of the tomb. Close scrutiny of the row of cliff-tombs above the Mentuhotep temple reveals that not all tombs are actually contemporary with Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra. A number of them were constructed under Mentuhotep III Seankhkara and others are of Twelfth or even Thirteenth dynasty date.<sup>196</sup>

The burial of Meseh can be dated to the reign of Senwosret I on the basis of the pottery vessels found with the burial (Figures 57, 58). Beside the coffin of Meseh, two globular jars were found (Figure 56). More jars of the same type and a number of small plates, at least five very thin walled drinking cups, a

small pointed beaker, a small globular jar, and two round-shouldered *hst*-vases came to light in the outer cult chamber of the tomb.<sup>197</sup> The jars (Figures 57, 58) are of a shape almost identical with a group of jars found in a burial at Lisht South: the burial of Ankhet (Figures 59, 60).<sup>198</sup> This burial is securely dated to the earlier years of Senwosret I because the wall enclosing secondary pyramid no. 5—one of the queens' or royal family members' tombs surrounding the king's pyramid—runs over the mouth of the shaft leading down to the chamber in which Ankhet was buried. One might argue that the jar type in question could have had a long life, that is, from the late Eleventh Dynasty through the time of Senwosret I. Against such an argument stands the knowledge we have about the type of jar in use during the time of Amenemhat I. A good example of a simple short-necked jar of that time is, for instance, the beer jar found with the burial of Wah (Figure 61).<sup>199</sup> In the Wah jar, the maximum diameter is situated below the middle of the body and the transition between shoulder and neck is angular. There can be no doubt that the Meseh pots have to be placed close to the Ankhet pots, and not to the Wah jar. A date for the burial of Meseh in the earlier years of Senwosret I can therefore be established.

If Meseh was buried during the early reign of Senwosret I, the date of the Hekanakht papyri cannot fall into the reign of Seankhkara, because it is not conceivable that these fragile papyri were lying around for more than thirty years before they found their way into the debris of Meseh's ramp in pristine condition. It is also not very probable that years 5 and 8 mentioned in the documents refer to the reign of Amenemhat I, because even a period of twenty years seems too long for the papyri to have been aboveground before they were finally deposited or discarded. The most likely assumption is that the letters and accounts were written in years 5 and 8 of Senwosret I and were discarded shortly after in the tomb of Meseh.

The Hekanakht papers therefore provide us with a glimpse into everyday life at Thebes during the early years of Senwosret I, when he was still coregent with his father—years 5 and 8 being years 25 and 28 of Amenemhat I—a time when the residence at Lisht had recently been founded. Every reader of the Hekanakht letters must be struck by the serenity and security of life in rural Upper Egypt that is pictured in the documents. People do not appear to be at all concerned about politics, who is in power, or the state of affairs with neighbors in

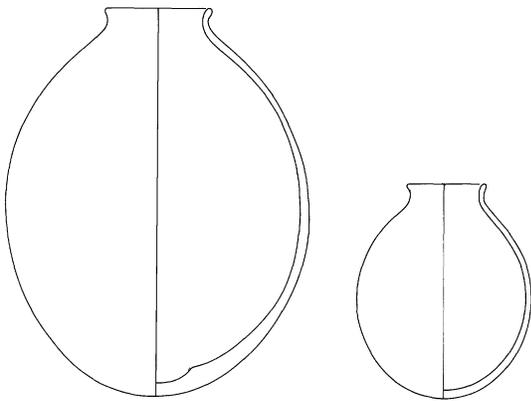


Figure 57. Type of large jars found in the upper chamber of the tomb of Meseh. H. 32 cm (William Schenck after tomb card Thebes 1820)

Figure 58. Type of medium-sized jar, two examples of which were found undisturbed beside the coffin of Meseh (now in the Chicago Oriental Institute). H. 18.5 cm (William Schenck after tomb card Thebes 1820)

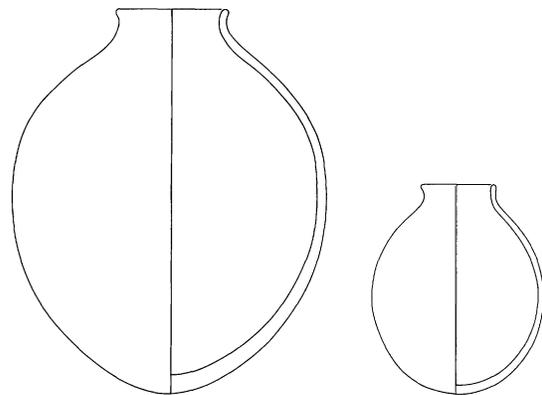


Figure 59. Large jar from the burial of Ankhet, Lisht. H. 33.5 cm. Chicago, Oriental Institute (William Schenck)

Figure 60. Medium-sized jar from the burial of Ankhet Lisht. H. 20.5 cm. Chicago, Oriental Institute (William Schenck)

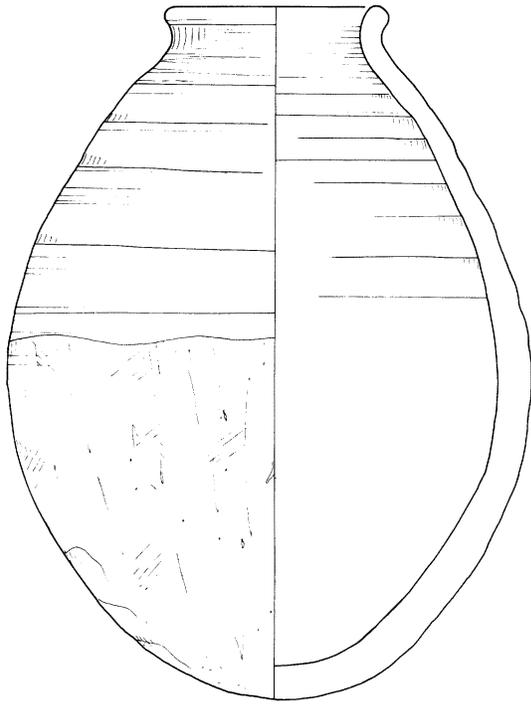


Figure 61. Beer jar of Wah from his burial at Thebes. H. 30 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920, 20.3.256

the east, west, and south. They go about their private business, and what they care most for is their family's welfare. Most interesting is that, economically, the Thebans appear to be considerably better off than people elsewhere in Egypt. Hekanakht expressly tells his family so. Letter II, line 27, reads: "See! One says 'hunger' about hunger. See! They are beginning to eat men here. See! There are no people to whom those rations are given anywhere [as you are getting]." <sup>200</sup> Even if one has to discount part of this as a few exaggerated phrases habitually used in exhortations to his family by this "quarrelsome, interfering head of household," <sup>201</sup> the implication of the passages, as well as the context in which they appear, is that Hekanakht's family in the Theban district was well provided for at a time when people in other places may have been hungry.

It is still an open question where Hekanakht wrote his letters from. One would like to believe <sup>202</sup> that he was in the newly founded capital near Lisht, but there is not enough evidence to support this assumption. <sup>203</sup> We have to be content with the knowledge that life in the Theban area was considerably more secure at the end of the reign of Amenemhat I than at its beginning. It is quite possible that the relative wealth and peace in the Theban area—certainly an achievement of the great rulers of the Eleventh Dynasty but also of the early years of Dynasty 12—formed the basis for the high quality of Theban art during the whole Middle Kingdom.

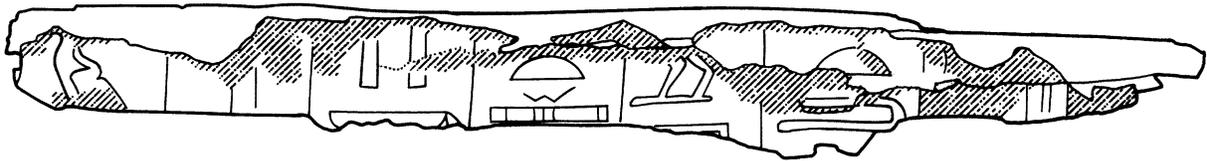


Figure 62. Remains of inscriptions on a fragment from the coffin of Meketra. Wood, plastered and gilded. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920, 20.3.122

## APPENDIX I: CHRONOLOGY

<i>Dynasty 11</i>	<i>Years B.C.</i>
Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, ruled 51 years	ca. 2061–2010 B.C.
Unification of Upper and Lower Egypt	ca. 2040 B.C.
Mentuhotep III Seankhkara, ruled 12 years	ca. 2010–1998 B.C.
Seven years' interval, including rule (of at least two years) of Mentuhotep IV Nebtawyra	ca. 1998–1991 B.C.
<i>Dynasty 12</i>	
Amenemhat I, ruled 29 years	ca. 1991–1962 B.C.
Senwosret I, ruled 45 years	ca. 1971–1926 B.C.

## APPENDIX II: THE COFFIN FRAGMENTS OF MEKETRA

James Allen  
*Associate Curator, Egyptian Art  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

The MMA Expedition recovered twenty-two fragments of the wooden coffin of Meketra showing interior decoration that consists of a false door and vertical columns of hieroglyphs (MMA 20.3.101–122). A number of these fragments indicate that the coffin's interior was inscribed in two phases.

Phase I consists of simple (but not cursive) hieroglyphs inked directly onto the bare wood, then lightly incised in outline. Columns average 1 cm wide; hieroglyphic groups, 1 cm tall. Each column was headed *dd-mdw*. Column lines were inked but not incised.

In Phase II, a thin (2 mm) coating of gesso was applied directly over Phase I and covered with a gold leaf. Formal hieroglyphs (with interior details) were incised into the gold leaf and underlying gesso of this phase. Columns average 1.6 cm wide; hieroglyphic groups, 1.5 cm tall. The false-door decoration, alternating paint and gold leaf, is visible only in this phase.

The name of Meketra is preserved only in Phase I, incompletely on seven fragments, as follows:

	20.3.102		20.3.111
	20.3.112		20.3.102
	20.3.114 (twice)		20.3.110
	20.3.114		20.3.110

The preserved texts of both phases consist of Pyramid Texts and (probably) Coffin Texts. The following have been identified:

PT 23	20.3.101 Phase I 1–4; Phase II 1–2
PT 25	20.3.101 Phase I 5–6
PT 93	20.3.117 Phase I 1–4
PT 94–96	20.3.117 Phase I 5–7
PT 108–112	20.3.117 Phase I 8–12
PT 135–145	20.3.120 Phase I 1–11.

These are sufficient to show that the coffin had the standard Old Kingdom Offering Ritual in both versions, on the interior front. The location is indicated both by the orientation of the signs and by the presence of the false-door decoration on fragment 20.3.101. On this fragment, PT 23, the first spell of the ritual begins in the first column to the right of the false-door decoration, in both phases. The same arrangement occurs also (and only) in the Beni Hasan coffins BH1C, BH3C, and X1Bas.<sup>a</sup>

Dating criteria are provided by paleography, contents, and epigraphic technique. All of these suggest a date late in Dynasty 11 or in the reign of Amenemhat I.

**Paleography.** The bookroll shows both ties (20.3.122 Phase II 4), a feature that seems to appear first in the reign of Amenemhat I.<sup>b</sup> This indicates that Phase II (gold leaf and gesso) is probably not earlier than the beginning of Dynasty 12, with Phase I somewhat earlier.

**Contents.** The arrangement of PT 23 immediately following the false door is paralleled only on the coffins BH1C, BH3C, and X1Bas, as noted above. These appear to belong to the period from the end of Dynasty 11 to the reign of Amenemhat I.<sup>c</sup> The use of full offering spells (PT 93–96, 108 ff.) in place of the shorter offering list is rare outside the Old Kingdom pyramids. The only other instances on coffins appear to be X1Bas, B2Bo, and M1NY. Of these, the first two are probably contemporary (end of Dynasty 11 to the reign of Amenemhat I), the third perhaps somewhat later (Amenemhat II or earlier).<sup>d</sup>

**Technique.** The nearest parallel to the epigraphic technique of Phase I (hieroglyphs inked directly on bare wood, then lightly incised in outline) occurs in B1Bo, the outer coffin to B2Bo and therefore contemporary with it (end of Dynasty 11 to the reign of Amenemhat I).<sup>e</sup>

In sum, the available evidence suggests that the interior of Meketra's coffin was initially decorated in a style very similar to that found on the coffins of

the Bersheh nomarch *Dḥwtj-nḥt* (B1–2Bo). This initial decoration, which appears to have been complete, was subsequently covered with gesso and gold leaf, into which the same or similar texts were incised more elaborately and at a slightly larger scale, presumably for Meketra as well. The final phase of decoration seems to have been carried out under Amenemhat I; the original phase either in the same reign or not much earlier.

a. BH1C (coffin of *Zkr-m-ḥ3t* called *T3wj*, CJ 37564a): P. Lacau, *ASAE* 5 (1904) pp. 230–233 and pls. 4/6. BH3C (outer coffin of *Nfrj*, CJ 37563b): P. Lacau, *ASAE* 5 (1904) pp. 237–245. X1Bas (coffin of *Hnnj* called *K3jj*): G. Lapp, “Särge des Mittleren Reiches aus der ehemaligen Sammlung Khashaba,” *ÄA* 43 (Wiesbaden, 1985) pp. 5–7, pls. 5–11, 35–37.

b. W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, Bonner Orientalische Studien, n.s. 13:(Bonn, 1962) p. 2d. The Theban coffin of *W3ḥ* (MMA 20.3.202), a contemporary of Meketra, shows a form without ties as determinative of the word *qrst* (burial), an unusual if not unique variant of the regular coffin determinative (Q6).

c. For the dating, see H. Willems, “Chests of Life,” *MVOL* 25 (1988) pp. 65, 68.

d. B2Bo (inner coffin of *Dḥwtj-nḥt*, MFA 21.962–63) and M1NY (coffin of *Wh-ḥtp*, MMA 12.182.132ab) are unpublished except for their Coffin Texts. For the dating, see Willems, “Chests of Life,” pp. 70–72, 98–99; and (for B2Bo) E. Brovarski, in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham*, W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davis, eds. (Boston, 1981) pp. 23–30.

e. E. M. Terrace, *Egyptian Paintings of the Middle Kingdom* (London, 1968). For the dating, see Willems, “Chests of Life,” pp. 70–72; and Brovarski, in “Studies in Ancient Egypt,” pp. 23–30.

## ABBREVIATIONS

ÄA—*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen*

AJSL—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*

Arnold, *Mentuhotep*, I: *Architektur und Deutung*—Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el Bahari*, I: *Architektur und Deutung*, *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 8 (Mainz, 1974)

Arnold, *Mentuhotep*, III: *Die königlichen Beigaben*—Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep*, III: *Die königlichen Beigaben*, *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 23 (Mainz, 1981)

Arnold, *Senwosret I Pyramid*—Dieter Arnold, with contributions by Dorothea Arnold and an appendix by Peter F. Dorman, *The South Cemeteries of Lisht*, I: *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, Publications of The Met-

ropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, XXII (New York, 1988)

Arnold and Winlock, *Temple of Mentuhotep*—Dieter Arnold from the notes of Herbert E. Winlock, *The Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari*, Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, XXI (New York, 1979)

ASAE—*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*

BES—*Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar*

BIFAO—*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*

CAH—I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, and N. G. L. Hammond, eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History*,<sup>3</sup> I, Part 2: *Early History of the Middle East* (Cambridge, 1971)

CG—*Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*

GM—*Göttinger Miscellen*

Hayes, *Scepter 1*—William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Part I: *From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1953; 5th repr. 1990)

JARCE—*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*

JEA—*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*

JNES—*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

LÄ—Wolfgang Helck, Eberhard Otto, and Wolfhart Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1975) 6 vols.

MDAIK—*Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*

MDOG—*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*

MIFAO—*Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*

MVOL—*Mededeelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-egyptische Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"*

Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple*—Edouard Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, Part I, Twenty-eighth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund (London, 1907); Part 2, Thirtieth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund (London, 1910); Part 3, Thirty-second Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund (London, 1913)

PM<sup>3</sup>—Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, I: *The Theban Necropolis*, Part 1: *Private Tombs* (Oxford, 1960); Part 2, *Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries* (Oxford, 1964); II: *Theban Temples* (Oxford, 1972)

Tomb cards—File cards on which the MMA excavators drew plans and objects, described find-spots, and noted observations made during the excavations. The cards were numbered separately in the “Lisht” and “Thebes” series in 1980 and 1985–86. They are kept in the Department of Egyptian Art.

Winlock, *Excavations*—Herbert E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el-Bahri 1911–1931* (New York, 1942)

Winlock, *Rise and Fall*—Herbert E. Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes* (New York, 1947)

ZÄS—*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## NOTES

1. There is no generally accepted name for this valley. Its eastern end between Sheikh Abd el-Qurna and the Qurnet Marai hills was at some time called “Southern Asasif.” Cf. Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, I: *The Theban Necropolis* (Oxford, 1927) p. 157, no. 223. The second edition of this work, PM<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 324, no longer uses this term. The bay at the back end, where the unfinished monument lies, is described in Porter-Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, II: *Theban Temples* (Oxford, 1929) p. 135, as “Valley Behind Elwet Sheikh Abd el-Qurneh.”
2. Herbert E. Winlock, “The Theban Necropolis in the Middle Kingdom,” *AJSL* 32, 1 (Oct. 1915) p. 30, figs. 6, 7, and p. 33, fig. 9; idem, “The Eleventh Egyptian Dynasty,” *JNES* 2 (Oct. 1943) pl. 32.
3. Idem, “Theban Necropolis,” pp. 29–35; idem, “Eleventh Egyptian Dynasty,” pp. 280–281; idem, *Rise and Fall*, pp. 51–53. The quoted passage is from *ibid.*, p. v (preface).

4. H. E. Winlock, “Excavations at Thebes,” *MMAB* 16 (Nov. 1921) pp. 29–34; idem, *Excavations*, pp. 31–34.
5. Robert Mond, “Report of Work in the Necropolis of Thebes during the Winter of 1903–1904,” *ASAE* 6 (1905) pp. 78–80.
6. Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple*, pts. 1–3; Arnold, *Mentuhotep*, I: *Architektur und Deutung*; Arnold and Winlock, *Temple of Mentuhotep*.
7. Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, p. 53; idem, “The Court of King Neb-Hepet-Re Mentu-Hotpe at the Shatt er Rigal,” *AJSL* 57 (Apr. 1940) p. 149, fig. 10; idem, *Excavations*, p. 118. For the date of the Shatt er-Rigal inscriptions, cf. Winlock, “Court of King Neb-Hepet-Re Mentu-Hotpe,” p. 153.
8. Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple*, pt. 2, pl. 9D. In addition, Meketra’s name and title appear on two relief fragments in the British Museum and on three more fragments still at the temple site. All these fragments will be published by Brigitte Jarosch-Deckert as vol. IV to Arnold, *Mentuhotep*.
9. Winlock, “Theban Necropolis,” pp. 27–28; idem, *Excavations*, pp. 54–55, 68–72. It was Dieter Arnold’s idea that the large, unfinished tomb 310 (PM<sup>2</sup>, I, pt. 1, p. 386, pl. 3), just above the court of the Mentuhotep temple, was perhaps originally meant to be Meketra’s tomb (personal communication). The block mentioned by Winlock, as found in this tomb, belongs to Nespeka-shuty tomb reliefs (*ibid.*, pp. 387–388).
10. PM<sup>2</sup>, pt. II, p. 669, pls. 5, 10.
11. Herbert E. Winlock, “Graffiti of the Priesthood of the Eleventh Dynasty Temples at Thebes,” *AJSL* 58 (Apr. 1941) pp. 146–162, pls. 1–6; idem, *Rise and Fall*, pp. 77–90, figs. 40–45.
12. Winlock, “Graffiti of the Priesthood,” pp. 154–155, pl. 1, no. 1; idem, *Rise and Fall*, fig. 40, no. 1.
13. For serpentine walls as enclosures of dumping areas, cf. Arnold, *Senwosret I Pyramid*, p. 31, pls. 74–75. For serpentine walls as tomb enclosures during ongoing building activities, see Dieter Arnold, *The South Cemeteries of Lisht*, III: *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, Publications of the MMA Egyptian Expedition, XXV, forthcoming.
14. For Amarna, see Christian Tietze, “Amarna: Analyse der Wohnhäuser und soziale Struktur der Stadtbewohner,” *ZÄS* 112 (1985) p. 64, fig. 5a: Type 1a; Felix Arnold, “A Study of Egyptian Domestic Buildings,” *Varia Aegyptiaca* 5 (1989) p. 80 with fig. 5 on p. 89. For Lisht, see Arthur C. Mace, “Excavations at Lisht,” *MMAB* 16 (1921) p. 5, fig. 2.
15. Mond, “Report of Work,” p. 65, fig. 1, p. 80.
16. Ahmed Bey Kamal, *Tables d’offrandes, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, nos. 23001–23256 (Cairo, 1909) pp. 44–50, nos. 23049–56; Joseph E. Gautier and Gustave Jéquier, *Les Fouilles de Licht*, *MIFAO* 6 (Cairo, 1902) pp. 50–59, figs. 51–63.
17. Cf. Henry G. Fischer, “Some Early Monuments from Busris, in the Egyptian Delta,” *MMJ* 11 (1976) pp. 13–14, figs 5–7.
18. Jürgen von Beckerath, “Zur Begründung der 12. Dynastie durch Ammenemes I.,” *ZÄS* 92 (1966) pp. 4–10, pl. 3. Charles Kuentz, “Bassins et table d’offrandes,” *Supplément BIFAO* 81, “Bulletin du Centenaire” (1981) p. 225, fig. 13.
19. For Eleventh Dynasty Theban examples of quite different types, see Arnold, *Mentuhotep*, I: *Architektur und Deutung*, pl. 25 b,d.

20. Pots found on the platform, Tomb cards Thebes 3231–40; 3469–72. Parallels from Lisht, Arnold, *Senwosret I Pyramid*, pp. 106–108, figs. 52–54. Pottery from foundation deposits found under the pyramid temple of Amenemhat I at Lisht await publication.

21. Tomb cards Thebes 3231; 3234–38. For parallels from temples, see Dieter Arnold, *Gräber des Alten und Mittleren Reiches El-Tarif*, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 17 (Mainz, 1976) pl. 40f; Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple*, pt. 1, pl. 10 bottom right. For the findspot of this sherd below the temple threshold, cf. *ibid.*, p. 27.

22. *Hs.t* vases, MMA acc. nos. 22.3.16–17; cups, formerly MMA acc. nos. [22.3.18,19] are now in the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

23. Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I and of his Wife, Senet (No. 60)*, The Theban Tomb Series Second Memoir (London, 1920) pl. 39. Senet is now known to have been Intefiker's mother.

24. Guy Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, II, British School of Archaeology in Egypt, Twenty-ninth Year, 1923 (London, 1928) pl. 92, nos. 95 K, L, Q, R, which are of First Intermediate Period date, while *ibid.*, nos. 95 B, C, F, H, are of Dynasty 12; cf. the presence of the Twelfth Dynasty globular jars in *ibid.*, pl. 90, nos. 51 G, H in tombs 301, 321.

25. Dorothea Arnold, in Arnold, *Senwosret I Pyramid*, pp. 140–141.

26. Mond, "Report of Work," p. 77; Tomb cards Thebes 3227–28.

27. MMA neg. no. MCC 174; see Figure 14.

28. See p. 26.

29. Tomb cards Thebes 3229–30. For the name, see Hermann Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I: *Verzeichnis der Namen* (Glückstadt, 1935) p. 95, nos. 14, 21.

30. Female persons are, for instance, in Ranke, *Ägyptischen Personennamen* p. 95, nos. 14, 21, CG 20208, and Ernesto Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze: Antichità Egizia*, pt. I (Rome, 1887) pp. 268–272, no. 1552.

31. Mond, "Report of Work," pp. 78–80; Arnold, *Mentuhotep*, I: *Architektur und Deutung*, pl. 43.

32. Arnold, *Mentuhotep*, I: *Architektur und Deutung*, pp. 44–49, pls. 34–40. If the pit in the floor of the chamber (cf. Mond, "Report of Works," p. 79, fig. 15) is original, and not a robbers' trial shaft, there should also have been remains of a stone canopic chest for the person buried in the chamber.

33. Mond, "Report of Works," p. 78. Mond also reports he found a beam "notched at both ends for attaching a rope." Was it for lowering the blocking stones?

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*, p. 78, describes finds he made in the chancellor Meketra's courtyard tombs: ". . . I got . . . numerous pots and cups of a votive character; in the courtyard itself, a large number of these, several hundreds, were lying." Photographs in the MMA Egyptian Art department archives (MC 73, 74) show heaps of such pots in 1920 still lying beside the entrance of the tomb of Wah (see Figure 22). They are unmistakably of the foundation

deposit type. In the same paragraph, Mond mentions the find of "a sandstone fragment with painted head of a king in bas-relief." There is a photograph in the Egyptian department archives that Mond sent to Winlock in 1932. Beside it Winlock noted, "This looks to me 18th Dynasty." Indeed, the profile is clearly that of an early 18th Dynasty king (Amenhotep I?). The relief must have been transported to the Meketra tomb from Deir el-Bahri.

36. Unpublished plans of these tombs are in the archives of the Egyptian Art department. In most tombs planned, the work had stopped either in the passage before a chamber was reached or with the cutting of such a chamber.

37. William Flinders Petrie, Guy Brunton, and Margaret A. Murray, *Lahun*, II, British School of Archaeology in Egypt, Twenty-sixth Year, 1920 (London, 1923) pp. 26–34, pls. 3, 27, 36a. For the length of the reign of Senwosret II, cf. William K. Simpson, "Sesostris II," in *LÄ V* (1984) pp. 899–903.

38. Besides the burials of Intef and Wah, there were three tombs of dependents at the sides of the brick-walled courtyard of Meketra, cf. plan in Figure 22.

39. Shafts 1001–1020 excavated by the MMA Egyptian Expedition and as yet unpublished. In shaft 1008 the burial of the "charioteer" of the Third Intermediate Period was found here after previous burials had been robbed; Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 34.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 55–56, pl. 18.

41. Tomb cards Thebes 3229–30.

42. MMA acc. nos. 22.3.358–361. For the title, cf. William Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982) p. 143, no. 1233.

43. Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple*, pt. 2, pls. 11–20. Winlock, *Excavations*, pp. 35–46; Arnold, *Mentuhotep*, I: *Architektur und Deutung*, map at the back.

44. The burial of Ankhet (cf. note 198 below) will be fully published in Dieter Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*.

45. A preference for isolated burial sites becomes noticeable at the beginning of the New Kingdom. Cf. William Flinders Petrie, *Qurneh*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt, Fifteenth Year, 1909 (London, 1909) pls. 22–29.

46. William C. Hayes, "The Middle Kingdom in Egypt," *CAH* 2, p. 496, even suggests a founding of Itj-tawy shortly before Amenemhat's accession. In *Scepter* 1, p. 172, Hayes writes of a move to the north "early in his reign."

47. Stela in Cairo CG 20516: Hans O. Lange and Heinrich Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, nos. 20001–20780II (Berlin, 1908) pp. 108–111; *ibid.*, IV (Berlin, 1902) pl. 35. On Itj-tawy, William K. Simpson, "Studies in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty: I–II, I. The Residence of Itj-towy," *JARCE* 2 (1963) pp. 53–59. A ten-year coregency of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I at the end of Amenemhat's rule has recently again been strongly defended by Lawrence M. Berman in "Amenemhat I" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1985) pp. 173–213. Previous discussion on the subject is found in William J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 40 (Chicago, 1977) pp. 242–246; *idem*, "In Defense of the Middle Kingdom Double Dates," *BES* 3 (1981) pp. 73–82; Robert Delia, "A New Look at

Some Old Dates: A Reexamination of Twelfth Dynasty Double Dated Inscriptions," *BES* 1 (1979) pp. 15–28; idem, review of Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, in *Serapis* 5 (1980) pp. 51–54; idem, "Doubts about Double Dates and Coregencies," *BES* 4 (1982) pp. 55–69; Wolfgang Helck, "Mitregentschaft," *LÄ* IV (1982) pp. 155–161; idem, "Schwachstellen der Chronologie-Diskussion," *GM* 67 (1983) pp. 43–49; Erhart Graefe, paper read at Ständige Ägyptologen Konferenz, Basel, 1982; Elke Blumenthal, "Die erste Koregenz der 12. Dynastie," *ZÄS* 110 (1983) pp. 104–121. Delia, Helck, and Graefe were against a coregency, while Blumenthal, Berman, and also W. K. Simpson, "Sesostris I" (*LÄ* V [1984] p. 890) advocated a coregency. Most recently, Detlef Franke, "Zur Chronologie des Mittleren Reiches (12.–18. Dynastie) pt. 1: Die 12. Dynastie," *Orientalia* 57 (1988) pp. 115–116, advocated a coregency of Amenemhat I–Senwosret I, citing as additional evidence the three apparently contemporaneous inscriptions at Wady el-Girgawi, two of which give a date of year 29, while the third is dated to year 9. More evidence is provided in Felix Arnold, et al., *The South Cemeteries of Lisht, II: The Control Notes and Team Marks*, Publications of the MMA Egyptian Expedition, XXIII, pp. 30–31.

48. MMA acc. no. 09.180.543. H. E. Winlock, "Neb-Hepet-Re Mentu-hotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty," *JEA* 26 (1940) pp. 116–119, pl. 21.

49. Ahmed Fakhry, *The Egyptian Deserts: The Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries at Wadi El Hudi* (Cairo, 1952) pp. 19–23; Karl-Joachim Seyfried, *Beiträge zu den Expeditionen des Mittleren Reiches in die Ost-wüste, Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge* 15 (1981) pp. 7–10; Jean Couyat and Pierre Montet, *Les Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques et Hiératiques du Ouadi Hammamat*, *MIFAO* 34 (1912) pp. 77–78, no. 110; pp. 79–81, no. 113; pp. 97–98, no. 191; pp. 98–100, no. 192.

50. Couyat and Montet, *Les Inscriptions*, p. 103, no. 205.

51. Winlock, "Neb-Hepet-Re Mentu-hotpe," p. 117. The reconstruction (see Figure 17) represents a type of stone vessel that is rare in the Middle Kingdom repertoire, although many examples are, of course, known from Early Dynastic times: William Flinders Petrie, *Stone and Metal Vases*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt (London, 1937) pl. 22, no. 353. A Middle Kingdom parallel of alabaster (William Flinders Petrie, *Diospolis Parva, The Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu 1898–99*, Special Extra Publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund with chaps. by Arthur C. Mace [London, 1901] pl. 29, grave Y 51) has a pronounced foot. This could well be true for the Lisht bowl. In the early New Kingdom, the type is more frequently attested, although usually less deep (Petrie, *Qurneh*, pl. 22 nos. 9, 17, pl. 25). A reconstruction as a more shallow bowl is impossible for MMA acc. no. 09.180.543 because only a shape as drawn fits the curve of the fragment.

52. Henry G. Fischer, "The Mark of a Second Hand on Ancient Egyptian Antiquities," *MMJ* 9 (1974) pp. 5–34; Wolfgang Helck, "Usurpierung," in *LÄ* VI (1986) pp. 905–906.

53. El-Khouly, "An Offering-Table of Sesostris I from El-Lisht," *JEA* 64 (1978) p. 44, pl. 9. This altar as well as a second one (both now in the Inspectorate at Saqqara) were found—according to local information—in the Lebeny canal, east of the northern pyramid of Lisht. The original site of the altars must have been a sanctuary in the town, since the spot is too far away from the pyramid to have had any connection with the funerary precinct.

54. Arnold, *Control Notes*, p. 61, no. A 2.1.

55. Gautier and Jéquier, *Les Fouilles de Licht*, pp. 94–97, figs. 108–114.

56. Albert Lythgoe, "The Egyptian Expedition II," *MMAB* 2 (July 1907) pp. 115–116 and fig. 6; Arthur C. Mace, "The Egyptian Expedition III," *MMAB* 3 (Oct. 1908) p. 187 and fig. 1; Hayes, in *Scepter* 1, 172–173, fig. 103.

57. Hayes, *Scepter* 1, pp. 173–174, reconstructed two subsequent pyramid temples, blocks from the earlier being reused in the later. Berman, "Amenemhat I," pp. 69, 71–72, argued for the usurpation of the pyramid by a later ruler. For this later, unnamed person the building in which the reused blocks were found would have been erected. While it is futile to try to solve the problem before the architectural remains have been thoroughly studied, a point may be made that speaks strongly against a usurpation of the pyramid and temple by a later ruler: it is unheard of that a king taking over an older building would not add his name wherever possible.

58. Simpson, "The Residence of Itj-towy," pp. 60–61, pl. 8. However, for cautions concerning the chronological value of allusions to the Sed-festival, see Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin, "Studien zum Sedfest," *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 1 (1974) pp. 27, 78.

59. MMA acc. no. 09.180.113. Other blocks with both kings' names and/or figures are Cairo, Egyptian Museum Journal d'Entrée no. 31878; MMA acc. no. 08.200.9; Gautier and Jéquier, *Les Fouilles de Licht*, p. 96, figs. 111–113.

60. Marianne Eaton-Krauss, "Zur Koregenz Amenemhets I und Sesostris I," *MDOG* 112 (1980) p. 44; William K. Simpson, "The Single-Dated Monuments of Sesostris I: An Aspect of the Institution of Coregency in the Twelfth Dynasty," *JNES* 15 (1956) pp. 214–219; Berman, "Amenemhat I," pp. 182–190; William K. Simpson, "The Pyramid of Lisht North," (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1954) p. 68, mentions as a parallel to the phrase: Gustave Jéquier, *Le Monument Funéraire de Pepi II* (Cairo, 1938) II, pl. 108; III (1940) pl. 20.

61. See note 47 above.

62. Another sign that the Sed-festival of Amenemhat I was being prepared just before his death, although he may in fact not have lived to observe it, is the statue from Khatana: see H. Gautier, "Une nouvelle statue d'Amenemhet I," *Mélanges Maspero*, pt. 1: *Orient Ancien*, *MIFAO* 66 (1935–38) pp. 43–53, pls. 1–2; also Simpson, "The Residence of Itj-towy," pp. 60–61.

63. Arnold, *Control Notes*, p. 61.

64. The pyramid complex of Senwosret I took about fifteen years from the start of the work on the underground chambers before year 10 to the erection of the causeway after year 24: Arnold, *Control Notes*, p. 31. The erection of the pyramid and its complex for Amenemhat I would have taken ten years, if this complex was finished before Senwosret I started work on his own pyramid. This relatively short building time would explain the extensive reuse of earlier stones.

65. Stela Cairo CG 20515; Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum, Cairo* (Mainz, 1987) no. 91. On another stela in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 20516, cf. note 47), the name of Itj-tawy belongs to the title of a person whose name and title have been secondarily inserted on the frame. Does

this indicate that the person was appointed to an office in the new capital just after the stela was finished? The date of the stela is year 10 of Senwosret I. If the new capital had just been founded at this time, new appointments to its offices must have been frequent.

66. According to the Hammamat inscriptions (cf. note 49 above) the tomb of Nebtawyra should have a large hard-stone sarcophagus.

67. Arnold, *Gräber des Alten und Mittleren Reiches in El-Tarif*.

68. William Flinders Petrie, *Historical Scarabs* (London, 1889) no. 165. The piece is in the British Museum.

69. Arnold and Winlock, *Temple of Mentuhotep*, p. 55, fig. 12 and pl. 31.

70. Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, p. 51.

71. For instance, the stela MMA acc. no. 13.182.3 (Hayes, *Scepter 1*, p. 152, fig. 90), which certainly comes from Tarif, was reported to be from Dira Abu 'n-Naga.

72. Hans Goedicke, "A Royal Seal of S'ankh-kare'," *Varia Aegyptiaca* 5 (1989) pp. 119–120.

73. Petrie, *Qurneh*, pp. 4–6, pls. 4–8; *PM<sup>2</sup>*, II, p. 340.

74. Petrie, *Qurneh*, pl. 8.

75. A well-known example is the temple of Sety I at Kanais. See Rolf Gundlach, "Kanais," *LÄ* III (1980) p. 310.

76. Petrie, *Qurneh*, pl. 13, is of late Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasty date. The excavations of the Deutsche Archäologischen Institut unearthed a number of burials of the late Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Seventeenth dynasty. Cf. D. Arnold, "Bericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo im Mntw-htp-Tempel und in El-Tarif unternommenen Arbeiten," *MDAIK* 28 (1972) pp. 13–31, pls. 1–16; idem, "Bericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo im Winter 1971/72 in El-Tarif durchgeführten Arbeiten," *MDAIK* 29 (1973) pp. 135–162, pls. 62–70; idem, "Bericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo im Winter 1972/73 in El-Tarif durchgeführten Arbeiten," *MDAIK* 30 (1974) pp. 155–164, pls. 35–43.

77. William G. Waddell, *Manetho* (London, 1940) pp. 63–73; Beckerath, "Zur Begründung der 12. Dynastie," pp. 9–10; Wolfgang Helck, *Manetho, Untersuchungen zu Manetho und den ägyptischen Königslisten, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens* 18 (Leipzig/Berlin, 1956) pp. 63–69; Franke, "Zur Chronologie," p. 128.

78. Beckerath, "Zur Begründung der 12. Dynastie," pp. 8–10, pl. 3.

79. For the names of Nebhepetra, see Labib Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods," *MDAIK* 19 (1963) pp. 16–52; D. Arnold, "Zur frühen Namensform des Königs Mntw-htp Nb-htp-R'," *MDAIK* 24 (1969) pp. 38–42.

80. Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien* 20 (Munich/Berlin, 1984) p. 197.

81. Dated monuments of Amenemhat I are: Stela from Esbet Rushdi (year 20), Labib Habachi, "Khata'na-Qantir: Importance," *ASAE* 52 (1954) pp. 453–454; William K. Simpson, "The

Stela of Amun-wosre, Governor of Upper Egypt in the reign of Ammenemes I or II," *JEA* 51 (1965) p. 63 n. 2. Rock inscription at Aswan (year 23), Jacques de Morgan et al., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique, I: Haute Égypte: De la frontière de Nubie à Kom Ombos* (Vienna, 1894) p. 34, no. 81. Nesu-Montu Stela, Louvre (year 24), see note 86 below. Rock inscriptions of El Girgawi (year 29), Zbynek Zaba, *The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia* (Prague, 1974) pp. 31–35, figs. 7–12. Stela from Abydos (year 30), CG 20516, Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* II, pp. 108–111; *ibid.*, IV, pl. 35. For the most recent discussion of these inscriptions, see Berman, "Amenemhat I," pp. 99–147.

82. Rolf Gundlach, "Wiederholung der Geburt," *LÄ* VI (1986) pp. 1261–1264.

83. Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings, I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley / Los Angeles, 1973) pp. 139–145; Hans Goedicke, *The Protocol of Neferyt (The Prophecy of Neferti)* (Baltimore / London, 1982); Elke Blumenthal, "Die Prophezeiung des Neferti," *ZÄS* 109 (1982) pp. 1–27.

84. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache* III (Leipzig, 1929) pp. 372, 488.

85. Cf. note 49 above.

86. William K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* (New Haven / Philadelphia, 1974) p. 17, no. 6.2, pl. 14. Trans. and interpreted in detail by Berman in "Amenemhat I," pp. 107–127.

87. Berman, "Amenemhat I," pp. 102–107.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

89. Trans. according to *ibid.*, p. 108.

90. The trans. of *dmy* as "landing stage" was suggested by William K. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner II: Accounts of the Dockyard Workshop at This in the Reign of Sesostris I* (Boston, 1965) p. 20 (h).

91. Hayes, "The Middle Kingdom," pp. 466–479. A river boat with archers is depicted in Theban tomb 386 from the time of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, see Brigitte Jarosch-Deckert, *Grabung im Asasif 1963–1970, V: Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f, Die Wandmalereien der XI. Dynastie. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 12 (Mainz, 1984) p. 29, Faltkarte 2; Jürgen Settgast, "Zu ungewöhnlichen Darstellungen von Bogenschützen," *MDAIK* 25 (1969) pp. 136–138.

92. The structure of the text is extensively discussed in Berman, "Amenemhat I," p. 116.

93. *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 119.

94. Another, unfortunately very fragmentary, text may also refer to the early struggles of Amenemhat I; see Robert Mond and Oliver H. Myers, *Temples of Armant, A Preliminary Survey* (London, 1940) pt. 1, p. 171; pt. 2, pl. 99.

95. See note 83 above.

96. Georges Posener, *Littérature et Politique dans l'Égypte de la XIIe Dynastie* (Paris, 1956) pp. 55–57. For Sinuhe, see Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, p. 223 (sources), p. 224 ("wall of the ruler").

97. Ahmed Fakhry, "Wadi-el-Natron: VII. The Fortress and the XIIth dynasty temple," *ASAE* 40 (1941) pp. 845–848, pls. 114–116.

98. Habachi, "Khata'na-Qantir: Importance," pp. 448–458. In

fact, a huge doorway is preserved and bears the inscription that states that it belonged to a *ddw*. This term designates a "hall," see Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache* V (Leipzig, 1931) pp. 527, 532; M. Bietak, "Avaris and Piramesse: Archaeological Exploration in the Eastern Nile Delta," *Proceedings of the British Academy, London* 65 (1979) p. 228.

99. William Ward, "The Nomarch Khnumhotep at Pelusium," *JEA* 55 (1969) pp. 215–216.

100. For the Fayum at the time of Amenemhat I, see the fragment of a statue found at Medinet el-Fayum. See also Richard Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Aethiopien* (Berlin, 1849–59) VI, pt. 2, pl. 118e; Kurt Sethe (Édouard Naville and Ludwig Borchardt, eds.), *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Aethiopien II: Mittelägypten mit dem Faium* (Leipzig, 1904) p. 30. For the late First Intermediate Period to early Twelfth Dynasty graves at Qasr Sagha, see Gertrude Caton-Thompson and Elinor W. Gardner, *The Desert Fayum* (London, 1934) pp. 138–140. The desert formation north and west of Lisht is seen, for instance, on the TPC H–5a Pilot map published by the Aeronautical Chart and Information Center, U.S. Air Force, St. Louis, Mo. There are heights between 1,000 and 800 m above sea level west of Dahshur, and 250 m west of Tahma (ca. 10 km north of Lisht). South of Tahma, the desert ground slopes down and reaches the level of the cultivated land just southwest of Lisht. Today, the shortest route to the Fayum through the desert leaves the cultivation at Riqqa-Gerza and reaches the oasis after roughly 19 km.

101. Gerza, Tarkhan, and Kafr Ammar are important Predynastic cemetery sites, all close to Lisht on the west side of the Nile. El-Saff is located on the opposite eastern side of the river.

102. The only evidence that can be advanced for a funerary monument for Amenemhat I in the Memphite necropolis (Saqqara) is provided by the reused blocks found built into the Lisht North pyramid; see Hans Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht*, Publications of the MMA Egyptian Expedition, XX (New York, 1971). But since the reasons for using these blocks are still largely unknown, the evidence they provide remains very feeble.

103. Louise Gester mann, *Kontinuität und Wandel in Politik und Verwaltung des Frühen Mittleren Reiches in Ägypten*, Göttinger Orientalforschungen, Row B, no. 18 (Wiesbaden, 1987) pp. 114–118. For the Asiatic wars of Nebhepetra, see Georges Posener, "A Propos des Graffiti d'Abisko," *Archiv Orientalni* 20 (1952) pp. 163–166. For the struggles of the Herakleopolitan kings against the Asiatic neighbors, see Wolfgang Helck, "Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.," *ÄA* 5 (1962) pp. 43–44.

104. The inscription on a statue of a man and his wife mentions Seankhkara as revered in the offering formula: William Flinders Petrie, *Tanis II*, 1886, Fifth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund (London, 1888) p. 45, pl. 42. The *dj.f* in the offering formula strongly suggests a Twelfth Dynasty date. Cf. Jean Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne II, Les Grandes Époques, L'Architecture Religieuse et Civile* (Paris, 1955) p. 597.

105. Winlock, *Excavations*, pp. 17–30; Herbert E. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt from the Tomb of Meket-Re' at Thebes*, Publications of the MMA Egyptian Expedition, XVIII (Cambridge, Mass., 1955).

106. Winlock, "The Court of King Neb-Hepet-Re Mentuhotpe," pp. 149–150. For the title in the Old Kingdom during which it was borne by the vizier, see Wolfgang Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamten titel des Ägyptischen Alten Reiches, Ägyptologische Forschungen* 18 (Glückstadt, 1954) p. 73; in the Middle Kingdom, see William Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982) p. 34, no. 248.

107. Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, p. 62, pl. 37. The date is written on a separate rock from the one with the large representation showing (among others) Khety in front of the king (*ibid.*, pls. 12, 36). It is therefore not absolutely certain whether the date applies to the large relief.

108. The inscription at Aswan of year 41, William Flinders Petrie, *A Season in Egypt 1887* (London, 1888) pl. 8, no. 213, is by another man named Khety.

109. Turin 1447. Anna Maria Donadoni Roveri, ed., *Egyptian Museum of Turin, Egyptian Civilization: Religious Beliefs* (Turin, 1988) pp. 104–105 with figs. Wolfgang Schenkel, trans. "Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben," *ÄA* 12 (1965) pp. 240–241, no. 387. For the title of "chancellor," see Ward, *Index of Titles*, p. 47, no. 364. For a different transliteration, as *jmj r' htm* instead of the previous *jmj r' sd3wt*, see Detlef Franke, "Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.–16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) Dossiers 1–796," *ÄA* 41 (1984) p. 18. For the office, see Wolfgang Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs, Probleme der Ägyptologie*, Hermann Kees, ed. (Leiden/Cologne, 1958) III, pp. 77–79. The office was newly introduced by the Eleventh Dynasty Theban kings.

110. Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple*, pt. 2, pl. 9D, pieces second row right. We have to assume that the name and title of Meketra were carved into the completed limestone relief, because the temple reliefs are supposed to have been completed long before year 46 of the king; Arnold, *Mentuhotep, I: Architektur und Deutung*, p. 66, and Arnold and Winlock, *Temple of Mentuhotep*, pp. 42–45. On the fragment, see Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple*, pt. 2, pl. 9D, left of the above-cited piece, the inscription with the name of Khety clearly appears to have been inserted, because the background around the hieroglyphs is lower than the areas farther around it. Can one assume that the original relief decoration provided figures of dignitaries that were only given names later?

111. Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra reigned 51 years according to the Turin papyrus: Alan H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin* (Oxford, 1959) pl. 2, col. V, line 16.

112. A newly discovered text from the Wadi Hammamat (A. Gasse, "Amény, un porte-parole sous le règne de Sésostri 1er," *BIFAO* 88 [1988] pp. 83–93) gives interesting insight into the time of life and office under early Middle Kingdom kings. The father of Ameny, who dedicated the inscription, lived to the age of 84 years. He served the first two kings of Dynasty 12 for 54 years. He therefore must have started to hold royal offices when he was 30. His son Ameny was appointed to an office at the age of 18. But this is seen to have been a special favor.

113. Gardiner, *Royal Canon of Turin*, with p. 16 n. to column V, line 18.

114. Winlock, "Neb-Hepet-Re Mentu-hotpe," pp. 116–119.

115. The reconstruction of the portico is based on (a) limestone fragments of polygonal pillars found in the debris; cf. Fig.

ure 23; (b) the fact that there was evidently a relief decoration on the facade of the tomb that definitely requires the presence of a roof. Cf. unpublished notes (presumably by Winlock) in the MMA Egyptian Department archives under the heading "Copy of Notes of 1920." The reconstruction of the intercolumnia was based on the assumption that two pillars would have flanked the doorways. No proof for the placement of the pillars was found.

116. Dieter Arnold, *Grabungen im Asasif 1963–1970 I: Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f*, *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 4 (Mainz, 1971) pls. 3, 18, 19.

117. Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 69, fig. 7, pl. 15.

118. Percy E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, pt. 1, *Archaeological Survey of Egypt*, F. L. Griffith, ed. (London, 1893) pls. 2, 4, 20, 39. For the dates of the tombs, see *ibid.*, pp. 2–3.

119. Arnold, *Senwosret I Pyramid*, p. 54, pl. 25a.

120. Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 19. Fragments in Cairo, Egyptian Museum, see Claude Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten*, *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte XV* (Berlin, 1975) color pls. 26 a–d. Fragments are in MMA acc. nos. 31.3.2–3 and 31.3.170–185, and unaccessioned pieces. Most of these fragments are no larger than the palm of one's hand.

121. The special color scheme of the Meketra reliefs has been pointed out by Brigitte Jarosch-Deckert, *Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f*, p. 132; R. Freed ("A Private Stela from Naga ed-Der and Relief Style of the Reign of Amenemhat I," *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan in honor of Dows Dunham* [Boston, 1981] pp. 68–72) has shown that the tendency to indicate details not in relief but in the overlaying painting is typical for the time of Amenemhat I.

122. Good examples for late Eleventh Dynasty painted relief are found in the tomb of Dagi at Thebes; see Norman de Garis Davies, *Five Theban Tombs, Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Twenty-first Memoir* (London, 1913) pl. 30, nos. 1–2, 9–11; MMA acc. nos. 12.180.243; 12.180.265. Twelfth Dynasty painted relief with delicate shading is found in the tomb of Djehutyhotep at El-Bersha; see Percy E. Newberry, *El Bersheh*, pt. 1: *Archaeological Survey of Egypt*, no number (London, n.d.) frontispiece. In painting on wood, fine shading effects have been introduced earlier. The most important example is, of course, the coffin of Djehutynekht from El-Bersha, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Edward L. B. Terrace, *Egyptian Paintings of the Middle Kingdom, the Tomb of Djehuty-Nekht* (New York, 1967) pp. 42–52; esp. pls. 6, 7.

123. Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten*, color pls. 26a–b.

124. O. D. Berlev, "The date of the 'Eloquent Peasant,'" in J. Osing and G. Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass, Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des Alten Ägypten, Ägypten und Altes Testament* (Wiesbaden, 1987) pp. 78–83.

125. MMA acc. nos. 20.3.101–122. A date "late in the early Middle Kingdom" for this coffin has been proposed by Christine Lilyquist, *Ancient Egyptian Mirrors from the Earliest Times through the Middle Kingdom, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien* 27 (Munich, 1979) p. 27 nn. 309, 310.

126. Cf. note 9 above.

127. Winlock, *Models*.

128. Arnold, *Mentuhotep, III: Die königlichen Beigaben*, pp. 11–51, pls. 3–75.

129. Cecil M. Firth and Battiscombe Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* (Cairo, 1926) I, pp. 52–54; II, pls. 22, 27–31; Maria Mogensen, *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg: La Collection Égyptienne* (Copenhagen, 1930) pls. 66–67.

130. John Quibell and Andrew G. K. Hayter, *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid, North Side* (Cairo, 1927) pp. 11–15, pls. 21–26.

131. Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pp. 187–188.

132. Dorothea Arnold, "Pottery at the Time of Amenemhat I," forthcoming.

133. Good examples are in William Flinders Petrie and Guy Brunton, *Sedment I*, *British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account Twenty-seventh Year, 1921* (London, 1924) pl. 1, nos. 22, 23; pl. 11, nos. 4–6.

134. A well-dated example of the mid-Twelfth Dynasty is the model found in the tomb of Djehuty (Mastaba B, South Area) at Lisht South (Albert Lythgoe, *MMAB Supplement* 28 [Apr. 1933] pp. 18, 20, 21, figs. 16, 17; James H. Breasted, Jr., *Egyptian Servant Statues*, *The Bollingen Series* 13 [New York, 1948] pp. 38, 54, pl. 38a). The model, formerly in the MMA (acc. no. 32.1.125) is now at Indiana University. According to Christian Hoelzl, whose publication of this tomb is forthcoming, the circumstances of the findspot show clearly a mid-Twelfth Dynasty date for the model.

135. Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment*, pl. 17, no. 4; pl. 26, no. 13. John Garstang, *The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt As Illustrated by Tombs of the Middle Kingdom Being a Report of Excavations made in the Necropolis of Beni Hasan during 1902–3–4* (London, 1907) p. 64, figs. 50, 51; p. 75, fig. 62; p. 94, fig. 84; p. 127, fig. 124.

136. Arnold, *Mentuhotep, III: Die königlichen Beigaben*, pls. 62b, 63a–b; while the parts of a slaughtering scene and a pottery workshop seem to suggest the presence of more detailed architecture; *ibid.*, pls. 34, 36–37.

137. For Wesermut and Inpuemhat carpentry, see Quibell and Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side*, pl. 24. For Gemeniemhat carpentry and potters' workshop, see Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, II, pl. 29.

138. Firth and Gunn, *ibid.*, pls. 28A,B.

139. Winlock, *Models*, pls. 28–29. A remarkable architectural feature of the two Saqqara groups is the vaulted roof over the weaving scenes in Quibell and Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side*, p. 42; Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, II, pl. 31C. This has no parallel in the Meketra group of models, which, on the other hand, includes the elaborate garden models (Winlock, *Models*, pls. 9–12) and the pavilion of the cattle-counting scene (*ibid.*, pls. 13–15).

140. Winlock, *Models*, pl. 18.

141. Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, II, pl. 31A,B.

142. Winlock, *Models*, pls. 22–23.

143. Arnold, *Mentuhotep, III: Die königlichen Beigaben*, pls. 11–21. Only the figures, pls. 36e, 38a–f, 40 are closer to the Meketra figures in their proportions. The models from Sidmant show very clearly the difference between First Intermediate Period proportions (Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment*, pl. 17, nos. 4, 6) and early Twelfth Dynasty ones (*ibid.*, pl. 20, nos. 1, 3, 5).

144. For the proportions of the human figure in reliefs of the First Intermediate Period and Eleventh Dynasty, see Gay Robins, "The Reign of Nebhepetre Montuhotep II and the Pre-unification Theban Style of Relief," in Gay Robins, ed., *Beyond the Pyramids: Egyptian Regional Art from the Museo Egizio, Turin*, exh. cat., Emory University Museum of Art (Atlanta, 1990) p. 42. In relief and sculpture in the round, the change from First Intermediate Period slender proportions to the squarer proportions with larger heads took place during the later years of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, as seen in the reliefs of the Deir el-Bahri Sanctuary and in statues like the one of Intef (see note 152 below).
145. Seen, for instance, in the later Sidmant models (Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment*, pl. 20, nos. 1, 3, 5) or the model from Lisht (see note 134 above).
146. Breasted, *Egyptian Servant Statues*, pls. 2b, 35, 48a.
147. Winlock, *Models*, pl. 30. For recent discussions on the style, see Cyril Aldred, *Egyptian Art in the Days of the Pharaohs 3100–320 B.C.* (London, 1980) p. 115; Dietrich Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhet, Ägypten im Mittleren Reich* (Munich, 1984) p. 116. The previous interpretation of the statues as "servant girls" was first reversed by John Baines and Jaromír Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1980; 2nd repr. 1984) p. 204. Baine's and Málek's identification as domain personifications has also been adopted by Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum, Cairo* (Mainz, 1987) no. 74.
148. Helen Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'ancien empire égyptien*, Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale, Bibliothèque d'étude 34 (Cairo, 1962).
149. Any attempt to follow the development of early Middle Kingdom heads must be indebted to Cyril Aldred, "Some Royal Portraits of the Middle Kingdom in Ancient Egypt," *MMJ* 3 (1970) pp. 27–41.
150. Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 39, pl. 10.
151. Arnold, *Mentuhotep, I: Architektur und Deutung*, p. 64; Arnold and Winlock, *Temple of Mentuhotep*, p. 45.
152. Dieter Arnold and Jürgen Settgast, "Erster Vorbericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Kairo im Asasif unternommenen Arbeiten," *MDAIK* 20 (1965) p. 60, pls. 18, 19a; idem, "Vierter Vorbericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Kairo im Asasif unternommenen Arbeiten (5. und 6. Kampagne)," *MDAIK* 23 (1968) p. 19, pl. 1a (body); Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum, Cairo*, no. 70.
153. MMA acc. no. 26.3.104A. Winlock, *Excavations*, pl. 36; Hayes, *Scepter* 1, pp. 164, 210.
154. A good parallel is Émile Chassinat and Charles Palanque, *Une Campagne de Fouilles dans la Nécropole d'Assiout*, *MIFAO* 24 (Cairo, 1911) pl. 32. A late Old Kingdom parallel in the MMA is acc. no. 58.125.3; Peter F. Dorman, Prudence O. Harper, and Holly Pittman, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egypt and the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1987) p. 23, fig. 12.
155. Janine Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom*, exh. cat. (Cambridge, 1988) p. 125.
156. See note 108 above.
157. John Cooney, "Egyptian Art in the Collection of Albert Gallatin," *JNES* 12 (1953) pp. 3–4, no. 7.
158. *So lebten die alten Ägypter*, exh. cat., Schweizerisches Museum für Völkskunde (Basel, 1976) pp. 21–24, with figs. Dietrich Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhet*, p. 194, fig. 169.
159. Aldred, "Some Royal Portraits," pp. 33–34, figs. 9–12.
160. MMA acc. no. 66.99.3.
161. See note 158 above.
162. One might add here a comparison with the Osiride statue heads from Armant. See Mond and Myers, *Temples of Armant*, pt. 1, pp. 49–50; pt. 2, pls. 16–17; James Romano, *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art* (Cairo, 1979) pp. 19–22, no. 19, figs. 12–13. The Armant heads (some of them reworked in Ramesside times) share most traits with the earlier royal sandstone heads of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, and the Khety head; most notable are the thick lips and straight eyebrows. A limestone head from Thebes that has been dated to the late Eleventh Dynasty is the one of Iker, MMA acc. no. 26.7.1393 (Howard Carter and Earl of Carnarvon, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes: A Record of Work done 1907–1911* [Oxford, 1912] p. 23, pl. 18, 1 and 2). This sculpture belongs to the Theban tradition of private limestone statues; earlier examples are in the British Museum (Cyril Aldred, *Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt 2300–1590 B.C.* [London, 1956] pl. 4). The date of the Iker statue is open to debate. The piece, therefore, cannot help us to place the Meketra women.
163. Cairo, Egyptian Museum Journal d'Entrée 37470. Hans G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein, Denkmäler, Geschichte und Bedeutung der Ägyptischen Plastik während des Mittleren Reichs* (Munich, 1929) pls. 15–17. Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, III: *Les Grandes Époques: La Statuaire* (Paris, 1958) p. 171, pl. 58, 1.
164. Cairo, Egyptian Museum Journal d'Entrée 60520. Habachi, "Khata'na-Qantir," pp. 452–453; Aldred, "Some Royal Portraits," p. 35, fig. 13. For Sed-festival, see note 58.
165. The expression of active alertness is found in both heads of Amenemhat I (see notes 163, 164 above), and it continues to be a characteristic trait of the representations of Senwosret I (Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, pls. 27–44). The "brooding" expression that Dietrich Wildung (*Sesostris und Amenemhet*, p. 194) detected in the dolomite marble head in the MMA (acc. no. 66.99.4, Aldred, "Some Royal Portraits," pp. 36–37, figs. 14–16) is mainly due to the dark color of the stone material and to the fact that the head belonged to a sphinx.
166. In reliefs, the tense indentations at the nostrils do not disappear with Amenemhat I. They are still prominent in the kings' and deities' faces on the Lisht reliefs: Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 172, fig. 103.
167. CG 409. Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*, no. 1–1294, II: text and tables for nos. 381–653 (Berlin, 1925) pp. 20–21, pl. 67. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, pl. 22. The findspot at Lisht North: Gautier and Jéquier, *Les Fouilles de Licht*, p. 100, fig. 122.
168. Felix Arnold, "The High Stewards of the Early Middle Kingdom," *GM*, forthcoming.
169. No. 493: A. C. Mace, "Excavations at the North Pyramid of Lisht," *MMAB* 9 (Oct. 1914) pp. 212–213, fig. 4, left and right. Location in pyramid complex, idem, "Excavations at Lisht," *MMAB* 17 (Dec. 1922) p. 5, fig. 1 (wrongly numbered 463).
170. MMA acc. nos. 12.180.243, 265. Garis Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. 30, nos. 1 and 10. Only visible on the originals.

171. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 05.231. Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple*, pt. 1, pl. 9 center left; Breasted, *Egyptian Servant Statues*, p. 63, pl. 56a. For the date of shaft 5 from which the figure comes, see Arnold, *Mentuhotep*, I: *Architektur und Deutung*, p. 19 with fig. 10. Shaft 5 is one of a row of shafts that were cut when the temple was finished. Therefore, the burial of shaft 5 can be of any date after the completion of the temple.

172. Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment*, pp. 2–4, pl. 8.

173. William Stevenson Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1946) pp. 236–237; Henry G. Fischer, “Flachbildkunst des Mittleren Reiches,” in Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten*, pp. 293–294.

174. Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, p. 91.

175. Rainer Stadelmann, “Theben,” *LÄ VI* (1986) pp. 466–467.

176. See note 76 above.

177. Norman de Garis Davies, Alan Gardiner, and Nina de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostri I, and of his Wife, Senet*, 60, The Theban Tomb Series, Norman de Garis Davies and Alan Gardiner, eds. Second Memoir (London, 1920). The owner of the Theban tomb is now thought to be Intefiker’s mother; see Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich*, pp. 119–120 with further references to the vizier.

178. It should be remembered that in the area where later the Ramesseum was erected a number of later Middle Kingdom tombs were found by Quibell; see James E. Quibell et al., *The Ramesseum and The Tomb of Ptah-Hetep*, *Egyptian Research Account 1896* (London, 1898) pp. 3–5, pl. 3.

179. See note 177.

180. Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 20. Main evidence for Intef is a fragment of a base (for a statue?) of limestone, the inscription on which is “offerings to the honored before the great god, the chancellor Intef, justified.” MMA unaccessioned, neg. no. MC 203.

181. According to the captions on prints of neg. nos. MC 235–237, Winlock considered the largest relief fragments preserved from the tomb (MMA acc. nos. 31.3.2,3 and others) as coming from the western cult chamber of the tomb that is supposed to be Intef’s. The painting of these relief fragments is less fine than in the fragments certainly belonging to Meketra. The attribution will have to be thoroughly studied before final publication.

182. Winlock, *Excavations*, pp. 29–30, 222–228, pls. 30–32; Hayes, *Scepter* 1, pp. 303–305, figs. 196, 198.

183. Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 228.

184. Final judgment on the linen marks of Wah can only be given after further study. “Year 2, Wah” is written on MMA acc. nos. 40.3.23,24. “Year 5, overseer of the storehouse Wah” is on 40.3.26–28. “Year 6, overseer of the storehouse Wah” is on 40.3.29. “Year 15” (40.3.25) is coupled with another name. The “year 31” that Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 227, mentions is presumably a “year 11” and has another name, not Wah’s (40.3.22).

185. MMA acc. no. 20.3.210. Winlock, *Excavations*, pl. 30.

186. Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, II, pl. 29B. See also Quibell and Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side*, pl. 26.

187. To have linen of one or two generations in a deposit is not unique. See Arnold, *Mentuhotep*, III: *Die königlichen Beigaben*, p. 59, no. 25.

188. MMA acc. nos. 40.3.12 and .13. Winlock, *Excavations*, pp. 224–225, pl. 30. These famous pieces have been much discussed, most recently by Geoffrey T. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals* (Oxford, 1971) no. 390; William Ward, *Studies on Scarab Seals* (Beirut, 1978) I, nos. 272, 273. For the mutilation of the heads of both scarabs, see Henry G. Fischer, *L’Écriture et l’Art de l’Égypte Ancienne, Collège de France, Essais et Conférences* (Paris, 1986) p. 131.

189. Thomas G. H. James, *The Hekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents*, Publications of the MMA Egyptian Expedition, XIX (New York, 1962).

190. Theban Tomb no. 315; MMA Egyptian Expedition no. 516. PM<sup>2</sup>, I, pt. 1, p. 389–390; Winlock, *Excavations*, pp. 54–55, fig. 6.

191. Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 55. The description of the exact conditions of the finds of the Hekanakht papers is not completely clear in the records. On a pencil section of the tomb of Meseh (AM 784), the word “papyri” is written inside the mass of the ramp leading down to the burial chamber. On an inked version of the same section (AM 783) the word “papyri” is written above the surface of the ramp. There is also a photograph of the ramp seen from the entrance (neg. no. M3C 203) the caption of which (in Winlock’s hand) reads: “Passage to burial chamber. Papyri were under rubbish just beyond bricks.” This clearly implies that (a) the papyri were inside the blocking wall, and (b) that they were part of the ramp fill.

192. Winlock, *Excavations*, p. 60.

193. James, *The Hekanakhte Papers*, pp. 2–6.

194. Hans Goedicke, *Studies in the Hekanakhte Papers* (Baltimore, 1984) pp. 8–9.

195. Brigitte Jarosch-Deckert, who is currently working on the fragments from the temple relief, confirms that no Ipy appears. Cf. also note 110 above.

196. For Khety, see Winlock, “Court of King Neb-Hepet-Re Mentu-Hotpe,” pp. 142–143. For Henenu, see William C. Hayes, “Career of the Great Steward Henenu under Nebhepetre Mentuhotpe,” *JEA* 35 (1949) pp. 43–49. For Meru, see Winlock, “Court,” p. 150. The tomb of Neferhotep, on the other hand (Winlock, *Excavations*, pp. 71–72) was certainly of Dynasty 13, if the statuettes (*ibid.*, pl. 35) belonged to it.

197. Winlock, *Excavations*, pl. 14 bottom. The drawings published here are taken from Tomb card Thebes 1820. One of the smaller pots is in Cairo, Egyptian Museum, Journal d’Entrée no. 49912. Two others of small size were in the MMA (26.3.284,285) together with five more pots from the tomb (26.3.286–290) among which is a *hs.t* vase with round shoulders. All these latter pots are now in the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

198. This burial will be published by Dieter Arnold in *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*.

199. MMA acc. no. 20.3.256. Winlock, *Excavations*, pp. 29–30.

200. James, *The Hekanakhte Papers*, p. 32.

201. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

202. Goedicke, *Studies in the Hekanakhte Papers*, pp. 11–12, 119.

203. James’s arguments for a southern location are still strong (James, *The Hekanakhte Papers*, pp. 8–9).

# The Literate Potter: A Tradition of Incised Signatures on Attic Vases

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DEDICATED TO DIETRICH VON BOTHMER

**I**NCISION—cutting or engraving with a sharp tool—is commonly associated with metalwork, but it played a major role in pottery decoration as far back as the Stone Age.<sup>1</sup> Incision may have reached its finest hour in Greece during the sixth century B.C. as the drawing line of the black-figure technique, which was invented in Corinth, refined in Athens, and brought to sublime heights by the great Attic master Exekias. Indeed, incision was also a convenient way to write on Greek pots, even though most intentional vase inscriptions of the historical period were painted in glaze rather than incised.

The present study is devoted to a remarkable phenomenon on Attic vases: incised rather than painted signatures that employ the verb *epoiesen* (made), indicating that they must have been those of Athenian potters. Fewer than seventy-five preserved examples are known to me, yet this unusual mode of signing happens to be very well represented on vases in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. These signatures constitute the primary tradition for intentional incised inscriptions on Attic pottery of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Most of the individual examples are well known, but to date they have never been examined together. The following survey reveals how this uncommon practice mirrored both the aesthetic and the technological integrity of vase production.

The original meaning of *epoiesen* in signatures on Attic vases has been debated since the nineteenth century. According to Sir John D. Beazley:

Two forms of signatures are found on vases: the name is followed either by ἐποίησεν “made,” or by ἐγράψεν “painted.” Two explanations have been offered of the *epoiese*-signature. One, that it gives the name of the potter, the man who fashioned the vase; the other, that it gives no more than the owner of the establishment from which the vase came. At one time I held it more prudent to adopt the second explanation, but now I believe that, *in general*, the first explanation is the right one: Εὐφρόνιος ἐποίησεν means that Euphronios fashioned the vase with his own hands.

That is what the statement *means*: it does not follow that the statement is always *true*.<sup>2</sup>

Scholars since Beazley have taken gratuitous pleasure in rejecting his position. Now *epoiesen* is often taken to connote workshop ownership rather than vase making.<sup>3</sup> The actual execution of the signatures has been relegated either to a foreman checking batches for shipment or “to the whim of the individual painter.”<sup>4</sup> Finally, artisans’ names given on Attic vases have been said to refer not to workers in the lowly pottery industry, but to craftsmen of more expensive and highly regarded metalwork.<sup>5</sup> Relating the *epoiese*-signature to an individual potter’s sense of pride in his craft is definitely out of fashion at present.<sup>6</sup>

My interest is focused on the reasons for, and the aesthetics of, writing on pottery with incision, but the aim here is not simply to support or refute any of the above points of view. In telling the history of incised Attic *epoiese*-signatures I hope to explain clearly for the first time why these special signatures must have been created by potters rather than painters (the former certainly were the workshop art directors if not their owners) and when, if ever, “so-and-so *epoiesen*” means that “so-and-so” not only

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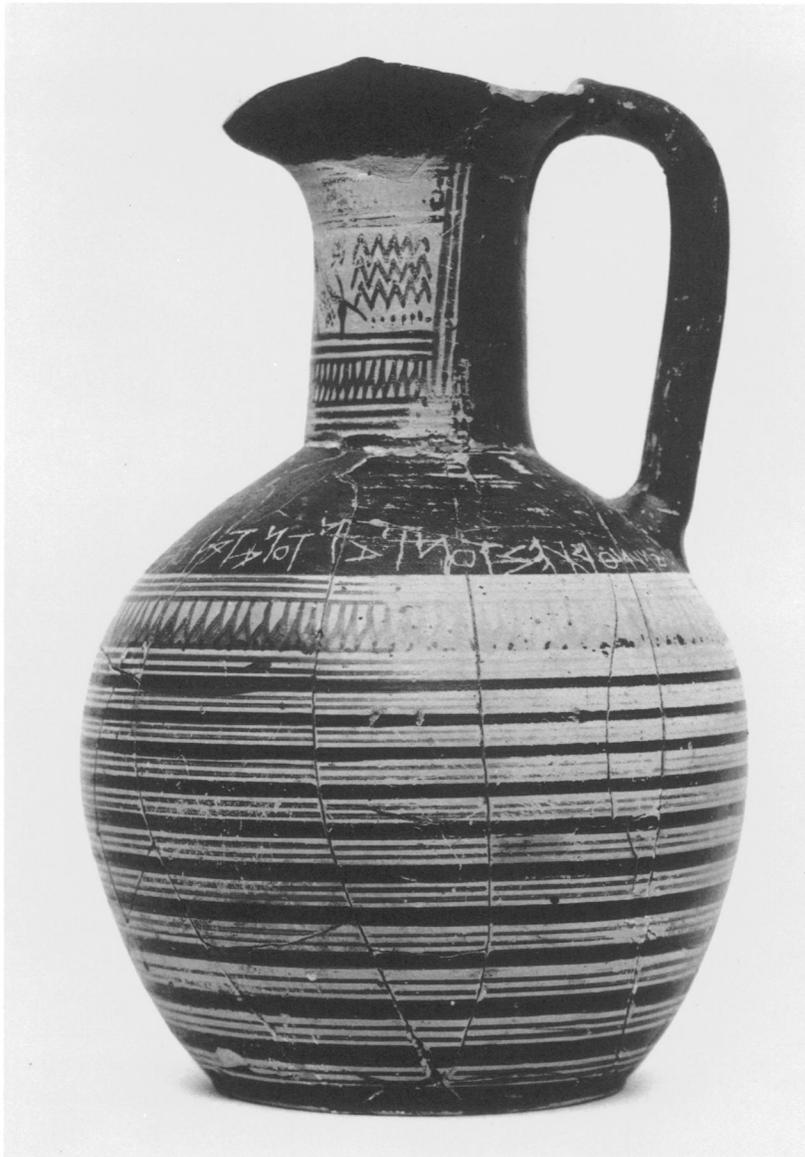


Figure 1. Attic Late Geometric oinochoe, ca. 740 B.C. H. 23 cm. Athens, National Museum 192 (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens)

made the vase but also actually signed his own name with his own hand.

First, we should examine why and how incision was used for writing on Greek vases. Painted inscriptions had to be applied before a pot was fired. Incised inscriptions could be applied before firing, like the incised drawing line of black-figure,<sup>7</sup> but sometimes they were added later. It is important, therefore, to distinguish between intentional incised inscriptions on Attic pottery and the more common secondary graffiti, as in the following examples.

Incised writing had already been employed in Athens for the earliest extant datable inscription of the first millennium B.C. on the famous Dipylon oinochoe (Figure 1).<sup>8</sup> This pitcher, with a water bird and deer on its high neck, in addition to a measured patterning of glaze, lines, and triangular ornament covering its rounded body, was found in an Attic grave of about 740 B.C. It is a typical product of a local Late Geometric pottery workshop,<sup>9</sup> but the hexameter Greek verse incised around its black-glazed shoulder makes this common jug extraordinary. This inscription alludes to the pot's enhanced

function as a prize awarded to “whomever of all the dancers dances most gracefully.” The direction of the incised inscription is retrograde (from right to left), and the handwriting is inconsistent, growing larger and sloppier toward the end. These scrawled words are at odds aesthetically with the vessel’s controlled shape and painted decoration. Possible correspondences to letters of the Phoenician alphabet have even prompted the suggestion that the author(s) may not have been Athenian.<sup>10</sup>

This inscription is undoubtedly a secondary graffito scratched onto the Dipylon oinochoe after firing, probably after its sale and clearly not by the local artisan(s) who made this Geometric vessel. That the inscription is also a virtually unique occurrence on eighth-century Attic vases suggests that Athenian potters and painters were not yet literate.<sup>11</sup> When local craftsmen began to write—on Orientalizing pottery of the following century—they painted inscriptions in glaze before the firing process.<sup>12</sup>

The best-known later group of incised pottery inscriptions from Athens should also be characterized as secondary graffiti, applied with total disregard for vase design and even original function. Names of Athenian citizens were written, usually with incision and generally by Athenian citizens, on sherds of broken Attic pots. Vase fragments inscribed thus are known as *ostraca*, because they were used as ballots for ostracizing men from the fifth-century polis.<sup>13</sup> The only preserved incised ostrakon naming Perikles (Figure 2) has been dated to 443 B.C., and thus is contemporary with the latest Attic vases in this study. Its inscription was written in two lines in the distinct hand of a writer who preferred old-fashioned Attic letter forms to then-popular Ionic intrusions.<sup>14</sup> As in the case of the Dipylon oinochoe’s inscription, this graffito takes advantage of a completely black-glazed surface, so that the resulting contrast of light letters (scratched through to the clay) against a dark ground ensures optimum legibility. Concern for legibility often meant placing an incised inscription on the glazed interior of a vase fragment, rather than on an exterior surface that was left in the color of the clay (reserved). The relatively coarse implement employed here for writing on the previously fired, glazed clay has left thickly scratched lines with ragged edges.<sup>15</sup>

The finely incised signatures that are the subject of this study also take special advantage of the aesthetic affinity of incision for black glaze and its inherent legibility. Unlike the above examples, these

Attic inscriptions were carefully planned by the vessels’ makers and applied during manufacture. Moreover, they play a particular role in the design of the vases on which they appear.



Figure 2. Ostrakon of Perikles, 443 B.C. Maximum preserved dimension 7 cm. Athens, Agora P 16755 (photo: Agora Excavations, American School of Classical Studies at Athens)

#### BLACK-FIGURE: INTRODUCTION

Most intentional Corinthian vase inscriptions of the Archaic Period were name labels; these, as well as the rare *Meistersignaturen*, were usually written in glaze on the reserved background and placed within the picture field.<sup>16</sup> Dedications, which formed the primary genre of Corinthian inscriptions, were commonly incised on areas of black glaze outside the picture field.

In Corinth the signing of vases never became a strong tradition. The surviving signatures, of only three craftsmen, employ the verb *egraphse* (painted); all but one identify themselves as painters rather than as makers (potters).<sup>17</sup> Only Timonidas, the artist of a famous Middle Corinthian Troilos flask, signed at least one other work in comparable Corinthian letters—interestingly, on a painted clay pinax (plaque) rather than a vase.<sup>18</sup> Both of this painter’s signed works appear to date to about 570 B.C. and thus immediately precede the first examples of incised Attic signatures. On the obverse of Timonidas’ pinax, painted and incised writing are juxtaposed. The painter-signature, with big Corinthian letters arranged in two rows, was brushed in black

glaze onto the reserved ground beside the polychrome image of a warrior and his dog; and a dedication, in this case to the god Poseidon, was scratched into the black-glazed border along the left side of the plaque.<sup>19</sup> According to Darrell Amyx, “most of the pinakes were dedicated by members of the pottery industry,” and “it is easy to assume that in nearly all cases the dedicant is the maker (and the painter) of the pinax. . . .”<sup>20</sup> Not only is the incised dedication of Timonidas’ plaque epigraphically consistent with the painted artist’s signature, but a pottery kiln is represented on the reverse. On Corinthian wares in general, inscriptions commemorating the act of making were differentiated technologically from those celebrating the act of dedication, which were presumably added later. Evidently, even when maker and dedicator were the same individual, this potent symbolic distinction between glaze and incision was maintained.

It was standard on very early Attic black-figured pottery of about 615–575 B.C. to paint inscriptions in big letters (usually black, but occasionally red) on reserved picture backgrounds before the vessel was fired. The labels for the hero “Herakles” and the Centaur “Net[t]os” (in Attic dialect) on the name-piece of the so-called Nettos Painter offer a well-known example.<sup>21</sup> This form of writing was adopted from Corinth along with the technique, and even the style, of vase painting.<sup>22</sup>



Figure 3. Attic black-figured stand, with signatures of Kleitias as painter and Ergotimos as potter, ca. 570 B.C. H. 5.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1931, 31.11.4

According to Fritz Lorber, most Attic signatures first occur when vase painting in Corinth began to decline.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, during the great flowering of Attic black-figure, about 575–525 B.C., the names of many craftsmen in the local industry appear in pottery inscriptions. *Sophilos* is the first we know. Three signatures on his extant vases employing the verb *egraphsen* (painted) are preserved. One (and perhaps as many as three) of his other fragmentary signatures can be restored to read: “Sophilos made me.”<sup>24</sup> His inscriptions—signatures, name labels, even a title—are always written freely in red glaze on the reserved picture backgrounds of his vase paintings. They exude the joy of writing.<sup>25</sup> Since *Sophilos* appears to have been both potter and painter, all of his signatures unquestionably are autograph.

Even early in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., inscriptions reveal the increasing complexity in Attic workshops, for a vase’s painter was not always its potter. The first famous collaboration brought together the potter Ergotimos and the painter Kleitias. On their great black-figured volutekrater in Florence, known as the François vase, of about 570 B.C., double signatures ΕΡΓΟΤΙΜΟΣ ΜΕΓΟΙΕΣΕΝ, ΚΛΕΙΤΙΑΣ ΜΕΛΑΡΑΦΕΣΕΝ (“Ergotimos made me, Kleitias painted me”) can be restored in two zones.<sup>26</sup> These are written in black glaze, both by the same hand, alongside the careful labels of figures and objects in the vase paintings. Here Kleitias signed not only his own name as painter but inscribed the signature of the potter as well, a practice that has been believed by scholars to be the norm throughout the course of Attic pottery production.<sup>27</sup> As we shall see, incised potter-signatures bring such a conclusion into question.

Two other significant features in the work of Kleitias and Ergotimos are of fundamental importance to the present study. First, two of the 129 inscriptions on the François vase are incised. In the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, ΒΟ [ΜΟ] is inscribed on the black altar before which the bridegroom stands, and, in the Achilles and Ajax frieze, ΘΑΚΟΣ identifies Priam’s black-glazed seat.<sup>28</sup> Were these labels incised directly on black objects because such placement was suitable for inanimate architectonic forms? Were they incised for sake of clarity (given a lack of reserved ground around each object), or were they omitted in the painting and added afterward? For Kleitias, evidently, incision was not a normal black-figure way to write but could be pressed into service when needed.

The second feature is that signatures of Ergotimos and Kleitias are sometimes intentionally iso-

lated, even removed entirely from the picture field. Their signatures are written in black glaze, with an especially neat hand, on a reserved band around the stem of the Metropolitan Museum's little stand with the Gorgoneion (Figure 3), and other examples of their signatures appear on the reserved exteriors of Gordion cups. A potter's signature isolated as a design element became standard on the so-called little-master cups (lip-cups and band-cups) of the mid-sixth century (see Figure 11), and this genre is believed to have ensured the subsequent importance of potter-signatures on Attic vases.<sup>29</sup>

#### ATTIC INCISED SIGNATURES: CATEGORY A

The earliest preserved incised Attic *epoiese*-signature, about 560 B.C., is on a round-bodied aryballos of Corinthian type by Nearchos in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 4, 5).<sup>30</sup> This vessel, evidently intended for private use, is covered with exquisite decoration. Multicolored crescents envelop its body and shoulder, tongues encircle the top of its mouth, Pygmies and Cranes battle along its lip, and other miniatures adorn its handle: Tritons on top, Hermes and Perseus at the sides, and, at the back, a trio of masturbating satyrs. All the little figures are enhanced by playful inscriptions painted on the reserved ground in the usual black-figure manner. Surprisingly, much of the writing, although finely lettered, is nonsense rather than real words.<sup>31</sup> NEAPXOΣ ΕΡΟΙΕΣΕΝΜΕ ("Nearchos made me"), with name and verb on two lines, is incised across an arc of black glaze on the back segment of the aryballos' shoulder.

According to Gisela Richter, "since the letters were traced after firing, as indicated by the extensive chipping, the possibility presents itself that they were added later, to enhance the value of the vase."<sup>32</sup> Whenever this signature may have been written, however, it was definitely not an afterthought. On the section of the shoulder exposed by the unusual upward-curving handle root, Nearchos must have intentionally substituted solid black glaze for painted crescents, setting aside this area as a place for special writing, perhaps inspired by inscriptions (including graffiti) found in similar locations on Corinthian pottery. An example of what he might have seen happens to be preserved in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 6), a Middle Corinthian round-bodied pyxis. Women's heads in relief decorate its handles, and beneath each head a different woman's (hetaira's?) name has been incised in black glaze on the pyxis' shoulder.<sup>33</sup> Whereas a dif-



Figure 4. Back view of Attic black-figure aryballos, with the potter-signature of Nearchos, ca. 570 – 550 B.C. H. 7.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Cesnola Collection, by exchange, 1926, 26.49

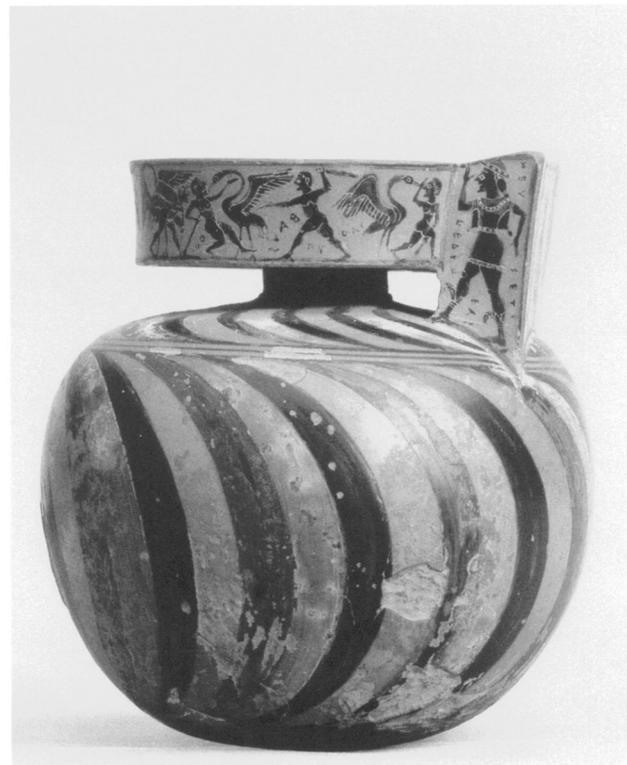


Figure 5. Profile view of aryballos in Figure 4



Figure 6. Middle Corinthian round-bodied pyxis with handles in the form of female heads, ca. 575–550 B.C. H. 14.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cesnola Collection, Purchased by subscription, 1874–76, 74.51.364

ferent Attic aryballos of Corinthian shape in Athens was footed and signed by its painter in black glaze on the reserved foot profile,<sup>34</sup> Nearchos artfully retained the purely Corinthian frame of reference of his own model with its incised inscription.

Nearchos' incised signature—squeezed onto the tiny black arc—is eye-catching and yet subordinate to the rest of the decoration. Archaic potters of Boeotia may have signed with incision even before their Attic counterparts, and a nearly contemporary product from this Corinthianizing provincial fabric

provides an interesting contrast. The Boeotian aryballos of Corinthian shape in the British Museum (Figure 7) is likewise laden with surface ornament. The signature of its potter, Gamedes, was incised with Boeotian letters in the wide central band before firing, surrounded by a chevron pattern that was evidently incised after firing.<sup>35</sup> Here the signature is the focal point. Significantly, on the aryballois by both the Athenian Nearchos and the Boeotian Gamedes the meaning of *epoiese(n)* appears to have extended beyond potting to decorating, and conse-

quently their proudly displayed incised signatures must be true autographs.

Nearchos is also known as an early maker of lip-cups, and his sons evidently entered the family business. He must have attained considerable wealth, since in his later years he was able to dedicate a marble kore on the Athenian Acropolis.<sup>36</sup> His humble beginnings recall Corinthian tradition, however, and are particularly relevant here: Nearchos apparently dedicated wares from his own pottery in the city goddess's main sanctuary, because a fragmentary plaque and two kantharoi, all bearing remains of his painted signatures, were found on the Acropolis. The best preserved of these inscriptions, on the famous Achilles kantharos, can be restored with two verbs that fully identify Nearchos as both painter and potter: ΝΕΑΡΧΟΣ ΜΕ ΛΡΑΦΣΕΝ ΚΑ- [ΓΟΙΕΣΕΝ], as would be suitable for a dedication.<sup>37</sup>

In 1932 Gisela Richter cited “neat, carefully drawn letters, and similar forms of letters” as grounds for attributing the black-figure decoration of the tiny aryballos in New York, signed only with the verb *epoiesen*, to the same Nearchos who both potted and painted the monumental kantharos found on the Athenian Acropolis.<sup>38</sup> A technical feature augments her assessment of Nearchos' handwriting: lightly incised guidelines for letters of the magnificent painted signature can still be made out on the reserved ground of the Achilles kantharos.<sup>39</sup> This indicates not only the potter-painter's supreme care, but also the extraordinary importance he placed on both writing and signing. On the New York aryballos Nearchos initiated the Attic tradition with which we are concerned here, not merely by isolating a potter-signature in a special location, but also by distinguishing it technically from ordinary glaze inscriptions associated with vase painting.

The next incised Attic signature, dating to the mid-sixth century, is on the fragmentary dinos with a Gigantomachy by Lydos found on the Athenian Acropolis.<sup>40</sup> The partially preserved inscription was incised on the red-glazed side of the dinos' mouth, clearly removed from the picture field. Lydos' distinctive signature as “the Lydian” is preserved between parts of the verbs *epoiesen* and *egrapsen*, and the order of the words clearly indicates he was the painter. According to Beazley, “The *maker* may have been Lydos himself, or may have been someone else.”<sup>41</sup>

Inscriptions in glaze on other vases painted by Lydos document the fact that he worked for two different potters.<sup>42</sup> Scholars have argued, how-

ever, that the signature on this dinos should be reconstructed with Lydos named as both potter and painter.<sup>43</sup> The most likely restoration is ΗΟΙΛΥΔΟΣ ἰ ΕΓΡΟΙΕῖ ΣΕΝ ἰ ΗΟΙΛΥΔΟΣ ἰ ΕΓ[Α]ΡΑΦΣΕΝ.<sup>44</sup> Mary Moore's reconstruction of the incised signature's careful placement on the rim suggests that it appeared over the heads of the deities “intended to be seen first” (e.g., Athena and Zeus), and that it would “take up, at the very most, only about one half of the circumference of the rim.”<sup>45</sup> It is likely that an incised dedication filled the other half.<sup>46</sup> As Moore says, “We cannot prove that Lydos himself, and not another, dedicated this impressive vase to Athena but such a suggestion is well worth consideration.”<sup>47</sup>

The incised inscription that survives was written by a single hand in neat letters tall enough to fill the rim. While the signature is distinguished by both scale and technique from the smaller painted labels for figures in the Gigantomachy, letter forms are consistent throughout the inscriptions on the vase. Interestingly, a label for one of the Giants was omitted, and the vase painter later added an incised name, writing the letters directly on the figure's black-glazed knee and thigh.<sup>48</sup> Although incised as



Figure 7. Boeotian aryballos, with the potter-signature of Gamedes, ca. 600 – 550 B.C. H. 9 cm. London, British Museum A 189 (photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)



Figure 8. Attic black-figured eye-cup, with the potter-signature of Exekias, ca. 530 B.C. H. 12.8 cm. Munich, Antikensammlungen 8729 (2044) (photo: Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München)

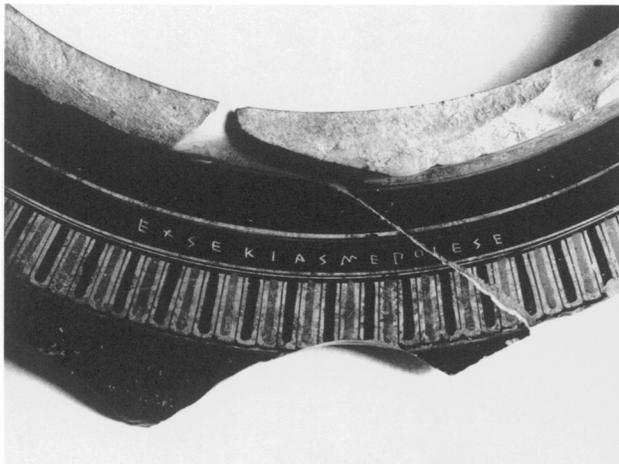


Figure 9. Detail from shoulder of Attic black-figured dinos showing the potter-signature of Exekias, ca. 530 B.C. estimated H., restored, 28 cm; estimated Diam., 40.5 cm. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia 50599 (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)

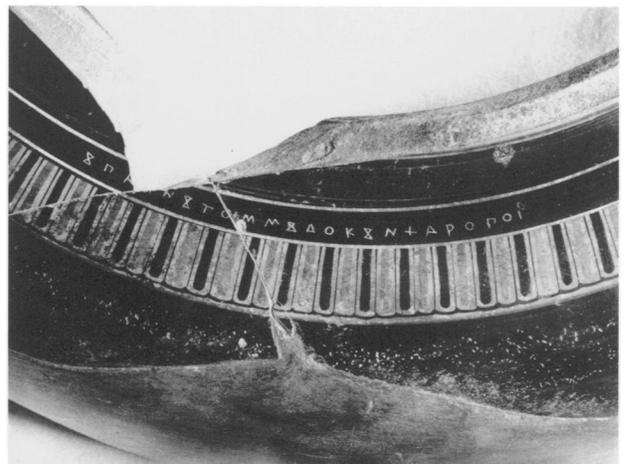


Figure 10. Detail of dinos in Figure 9 showing the inscription in Sicyonian alphabet (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)

well, the big signature is, of course, neither the rectification of an omission nor a mere graffito written as a spontaneous afterthought. The very use of incision for a signature isolated from the vase painting should provide graphic evidence that Lydos was not only the painter of this great dinos but also its potter. It would have been appropriate for a master-work dedicated by an artist to have been entirely a product of his own hand, right down to the writing of the inscription. While this practice recalls Corinthian clay votive plaques with incised dedications by their makers, the fact that here an incised rather than a painted inscription should give the signature of the artisan and not only a (lost) dedication is typically Attic.<sup>49</sup>

During the generation after Nearchos and Lydos, Exekias was the great exponent of the monumental tradition of Attic pottery, and he refined earlier local conventions for signing. Painted signatures of Exekias both as painter and potter, ΕΞΕΚΙΑΣΕΛΡΑΦΣΕΚΑΠΟΕΣΕΜΕ and solely as potter are preserved. Some of his potter-signatures appear on vases attributed to other painters.<sup>50</sup> On vases entirely by Exekias' own hand, one painted signature of each variety—painter-potter or potter only—is preserved on the ground of his black-figure paintings, finely lettered in a horizontal or vertical line,<sup>51</sup> and both varieties are also preserved in isolated locations: on the reserved ground at the top of an amphora's mouth or on the vertical surface of an eye-cup's footplate (Figure 8).<sup>52</sup>

Exekias also continued the use of incision for writing. His fragmentary dinos from Cervetri in the Villa Giulia bears decoration pristinely limited to the sort of ornament that normally was applied by a potter rather than a painter.<sup>53</sup> Black-figure ships set sail inside the mouth, but the exterior must have been glazed entirely black, except for ivy outside the mouth and alternately black and purplish-red tongues on the shoulder. On the band of black glaze above the tongues, an incised inscription appears on each side of the vessel (Figures 9, 10). According to Beazley, "both inscriptions were added by Exekias after the vase was complete, doubtless at the request of the purchaser."<sup>54</sup> The first (Figure 9) gives the potter-signature, "here Exekias potted me," written with calligraphy as exquisite and spacing as measured as his painted potter-signature on the foot of the Munich eye-cup (Figure 8).<sup>55</sup> The second inscription incised on the dinos (Figure 10), although evidently also in Exekias' own superb calligraphy, is extraordinary because it is in the Sicyonian alpha-

bet. It gives the names of the buyer (Epainetos) and the person for whom the dinos was purchased (Charopos). Exekias must have copied a pattern for the second inscription, written either by Epainetos or by his agent, but he certainly transformed the script with his own fine hand.<sup>56</sup> Since incision was appropriate for an Attic vessel covered almost entirely with black glaze, Exekias may well have planned from the outset to execute both inscriptions with this technique. By elevating a utilitarian graffito to become an integral part of the decoration, this Athenian craftsman has enhanced the vase's dedication as a special gift.

Incision made it possible to write inscriptions on solidly glazed areas on Attic black-figure pottery. Most incised inscriptions either were potter-signatures or included them, having apparently been executed by potters who were also painters. These leading artisans both shaped and decorated the inscribed vessels with their own hands. They may also have been workshop owners, but, in any event, the name given in the *epoiese*-signature surely belonged to the craftsman himself. Master potter-painters from the enchanted realm of Attic black-figure just as surely wrote their special incised signatures with their own hands.

#### ATTIC RED-FIGURE: INTRODUCTION

The last quarter of the sixth century B.C. saw the overwhelming success of a new technique for painting vases—red-figure—accompanied by growth in the size and number of workshops. Henceforth, not only the meaning of all types of potters' signatures but also their erstwhile nature as autographs become more complex. Nevertheless, from the Late Archaic into the Classical period, incised signatures continue to be a relatively rare phenomenon rather than the norm.

The potter Hischylos exemplifies how the transition from black-figure to early red-figure affected signing practices. The products of his workshop, sixteen preserved signed cups, changed markedly over the decades to conform to dominant fashions in pottery decoration. Hischylos is known to have worked with several painters, and his oeuvre provides a good introduction to the range of questions and complexities that we will encounter.

Hischylos' earliest signature-type appears on two purely black-figure band-cups of the mid-sixth-century, one in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure

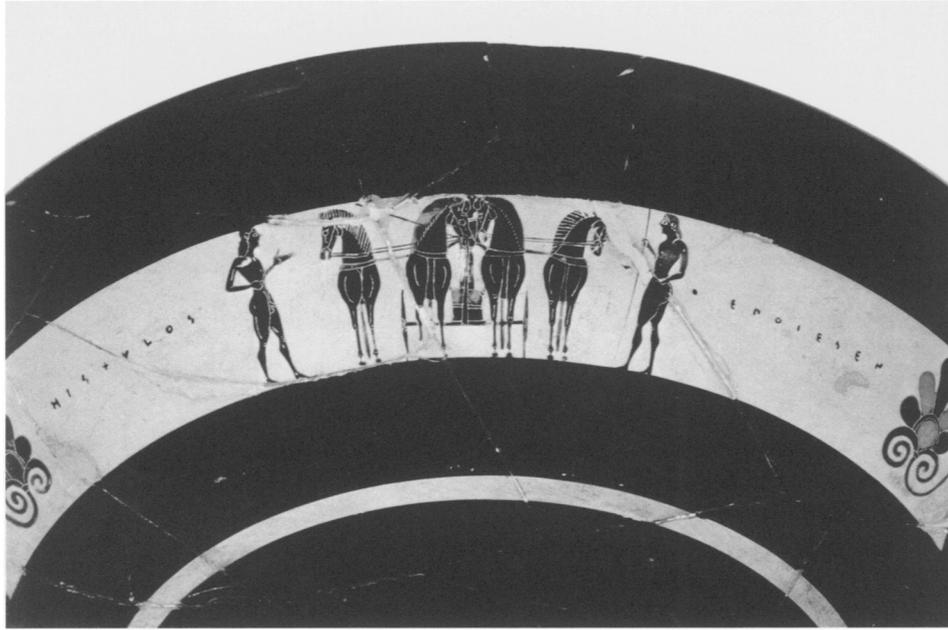


Figure 11. Attic black-figured band-cup, with the potter-signature of Hischylos, ca. 540–530 B.C. H., as restored, 12.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1929, 29.131.6

11) and one in Civitavecchia.<sup>57</sup> Carefully spaced, small black-painted letters give potter's name and *epoiesen* across the reserved zone to either side of a central black-figure miniature,<sup>58</sup> a convention repeated on both sides of both cups. The decoration of both is attributable to the same otherwise unidentified hand. Since an *egraphse*-signature commonly is suppressed in the decorative miniaturist format of black-figured little-master cups, one can only guess whether a separate painter or a master black-figure potter-painter applied both the images and the potter-signatures on the band-cups.

During the decade following 530 B.C., Hischylos turned to production of the new black-figured eye-cup. An extremely elaborate model at the Fitzwilliam Museum (Figures 12, 13) provides evidence of collaboration. The signatures of Hischylos as potter and Sakonides as painter were written in black glaze on either side of the reserved foot profile, following Exekias' prototypical eye-cup formula (see Figure 8).<sup>59</sup> In the painter's signature two interpoints divide name and verb, while in the potter's signature the two words run together, and the iota has been omitted from *epoiesen*. Yet both were written by the same hand, perhaps that of Sakonides.

A second eye-cup by the potter Hischylos at the Fitzwilliam Museum is a bilingual model, red-figured outside, black-figured within (Figures 14, 15). The bilingual decorative format was popular

during the transitional period after the introduction of the red-figure technique. In this example the potter-signature is incised on black glaze, just above the cup's reserved groundline and directly under one handle. Comparable incised handle-zone signatures are preserved on a similar eye-cup formerly on the Swiss market and on a cup fragment in the Vatican.<sup>60</sup> This unusual signature type is encountered only in the oeuvre of Hischylos. The decorator of the bilingual cups, who did not sign his name, has been called "the Painter of the Cambridge Hischylos."<sup>61</sup>

Why were Hischylos' potter-signatures incised? The usual answer is that incised inscriptions appear on the black-glazed ground of the earliest red-figured and bilingual vases because the use of red glaze, which greatly facilitated writing and eventually became the norm, had not yet been adopted.<sup>62</sup> But this is only a partial explanation. On the Cambridge bilingual eye-cup, for example, Hischylos' potter-signature easily could have been painted in traditional black glaze either on the reserved foot profile or inside, on the reserved ground of the black-figure tondo. Both solutions occur elsewhere in Hischylos' oeuvre, on the Cambridge black-figured eye-cup, as we have seen, and, somewhat later, on mature bilingual eye-cups, on which he collaborated with the painters Epiktetos and Pheidippos. Both painters wrote potter-signatures of His-

chylos in black glaze on their black-figure tondi (and Epiktetos wrote his own *egraphse*-signature in the by-then standard red glaze on the red-figured exteriors).<sup>63</sup> Perhaps there was a practical reason for the use of incision. For example, the Painter of the Cambridge Hischylos might have forgotten to paint the signature onto some reserved area, and it had to be added after firing. The survival of several similar examples, however, makes the simple rectification of an omission an unlikely explanation.

Translation of the black-figured eye-cup scheme into a bilingual format must have prompted Hischylos himself to consider how the new type should be signed. The Execian footplate signature was not simply reapplied. Black-figured cups traditionally bear the potter's signature on their exteriors (see Figures 8, 11–13), and some are signed in the handle-zone.<sup>64</sup> The placement of Hischylos' incised potter-signatures beneath a handle on red-figured cup exteriors, while new, evokes earlier conventions.

It is not known whether the Painter of the Cambridge Hischylos was Hischylos, and I cannot determine whether this potter incised these signatures with his own hand. In any event, Hischylos must have been aware of the special association of incised signatures with potters, both in Attic black-figure and in the early red-figure period, to which we shall now turn.

#### ATTIC INCISED SIGNATURES: CATEGORY B

Incised potter-signatures assume a new significance on red-figured and bilingual vases. The story begins appropriately enough with the potter Andokides, a pupil of Exekias,<sup>65</sup> in whose workshop the red-figure technique appears to have been invented. The earliest work attributed to a painter with whom Andokides collaborated, the so-called Andokides Painter, is preserved on four amphorae of the shape



Figure 12. Attic black-figured eye-cup, with the signatures of Sakonides as painter and Hischylos as potter, ca. 530–525 B.C. H. 13.2 cm. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, GR.38-1864 (60) (photo: Fitzwilliam Museum)

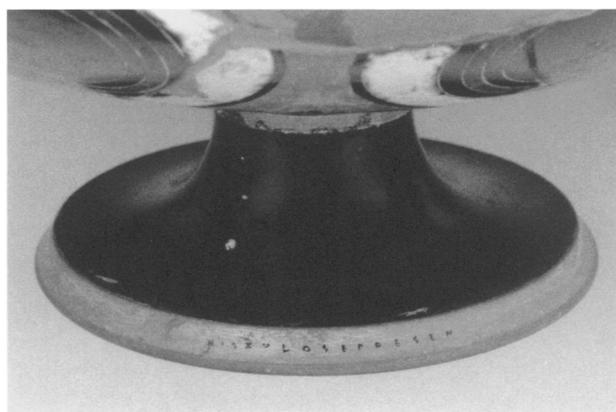


Figure 13. Detail of foot of eye-cup in Figure 12 showing potter-signature of Hischylos (photo: Fitzwilliam Museum)



Figure 14. Attic bilingual eye-cup, with the potter-signature of Hischylos, attributed to the Painter of the Cambridge Hischylos, ca. 525–520 B.C. H. 13 cm. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.14-1937 (37.14) (photo: Fitzwilliam Museum)

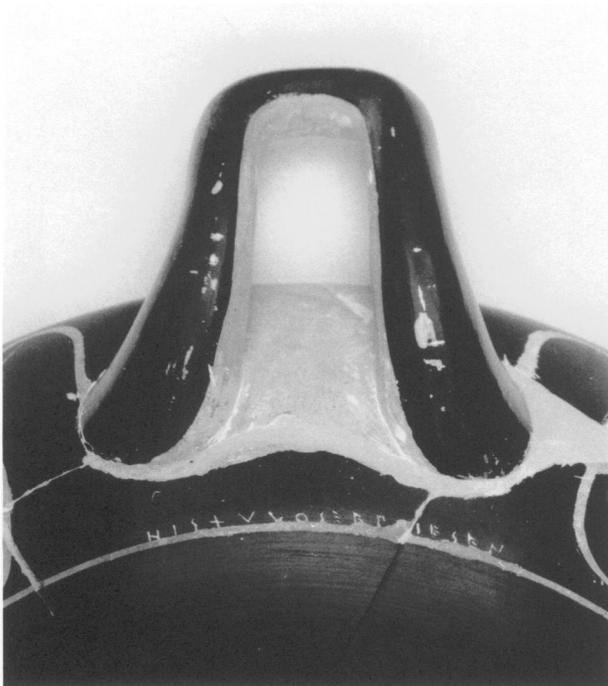


Figure 15. Detail of eye-cup in Figure 14 showing potter-signature of Hischylos (photo: Fitzwilliam Museum)

known as type A, of 525–520 B.C. On the foot of each there is an incised signature of the potter Andokides, who I believe was a different person than the Andokides Painter. There are no inscriptions whatsoever in the latter's red-figure vase paintings, and it is likely that this painter did not know how to write.<sup>66</sup> Three of the amphorae are red-figured: one in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 16, 17), one in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin (Figures 18, 19), and one in the Louvre (G1). The fourth, also in the Louvre (Figure 20), is decorated in an experimental white-ground technique.<sup>67</sup>

The signature of the potter Andokides was incised on the lower degree of each amphora's foot, placed beneath the panel on the obverse and extending from the central vertical axis toward the right. On the Metropolitan's amphora (Figure 17), which must be the earliest, the incised letters are smaller and scratched through the black glaze with a thicker point than on the others illustrated here (Figures 19, 20), which are more stylish, if not more careful. In all four signatures the words run together without the interpoints or strokes that were popular earlier in black-figure. The New York signature gives the verb in the imperfect:  $\text{AN}\Delta\text{OKI}\Delta\text{E}\text{-}\text{SE}\Gamma\text{OE}$ , and the other three give the verb in the aorist:  $\text{AN}\Delta\text{OKI}\Delta\text{E}\text{SE}\Gamma\text{OE}\text{SEN}$ .<sup>68</sup> All of these incised signatures, unusually, omit the iota in *epoiese(n)*.<sup>69</sup>

Psiax, a bilingual vase painter who sometimes worked for Andokides, provides the comparanda pertinent for understanding this potter's incised signatures. Psiax always has been rightly called an experimenter, not only because he worked in red-figure and black-figure but also because he employed white ground, coral-red glaze, and polychromy on black glaze, which is now called Six's technique.<sup>70</sup> On his alabastron in Six's technique, in the British Museum, the inscribed love names are incised.<sup>71</sup> In his very early red-figure vase paintings he also employed incision for inscriptions within the picture fields. His name is known, in fact, from signatures incised on two red-figured alabastra in Karlsruhe and Odessa.<sup>72</sup> Both signatures are delicately incised into the black ground, on the reverse sides, running vertically and directly alongside the little red figures. The obverse sides of both alabastra bear signatures of the potter Hilinos incised in a comparable manner and location. The verbs of the Karlsruhe signatures are given in the aorist, those of the Odessa signatures in the imperfect. All of these signatures include the iota in *epoiesen* and employ four-stroke sigmas. Both of these double signatures, like those on the François vase, must have been written by the vase painter.

A red-figure oddity, which appears to have been influenced by Psiax' work, bears mention here. It involves a plate in the Louvre, with a white-ground rim, depicting a male figure leading a horse (Figure 21). A potter's signature, written in small, neat, widely spaced letters, is incised in a straight horizontal line above the heads of the red figures: *Sokleeseipoiesen*.<sup>73</sup> The horse's reins were added in red, and shadows of added color remain for the animal's teeth, tail, and mane. Interestingly, individual strands of hair were indicated with fine, feathery incision. While the incised signature has been doubted, this is just the sort of object where the technically unusual should be expected.<sup>74</sup>

The incised signatures of Psiax' own alabastra are comparable to inscriptions on his famous red-figured amphora in the University Museum, Philadelphia (Figures 22, 23). In the panel on the obverse, for example, the names Leto, Apollo, and Artemis were written with fine, incised letters that run vertically alongside these red-figure deities. The Philadelphia amphora also bears a potter-signature, which is incised on the lower portion of its foot: *Menonepoiesen* (Figure 23). This is the sole surviving signature of Menon, after whom Psiax (the Menon Painter) was once named.<sup>75</sup> The isolated

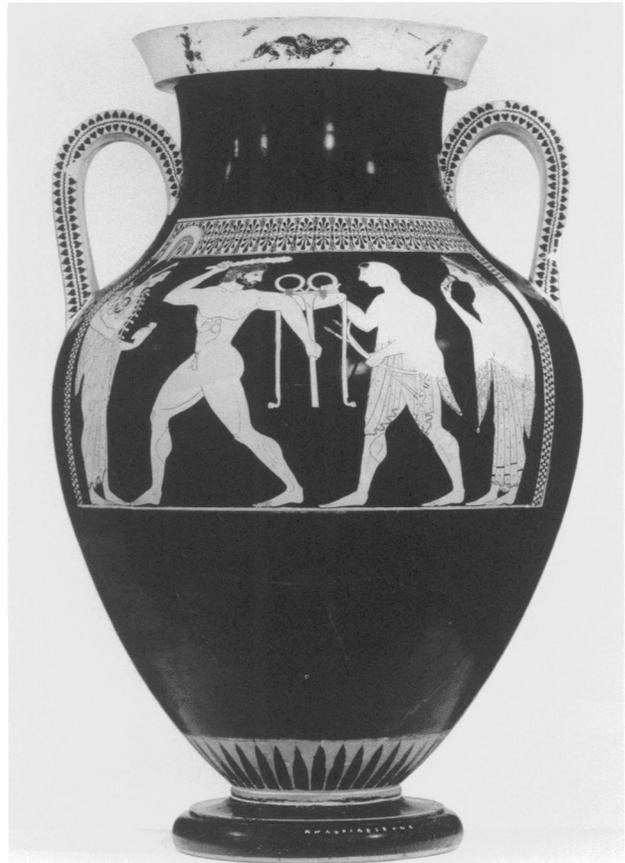


Figure 16. Attic red-figured amphora of type A, with the potter-signature of Andokides, attributed to the Andokides Painter, ca. 525 B.C. H. 57.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1963, 63.11.6



Figure 17. Detail of amphora in Figure 16 showing potter-signature of Andokides on the foot

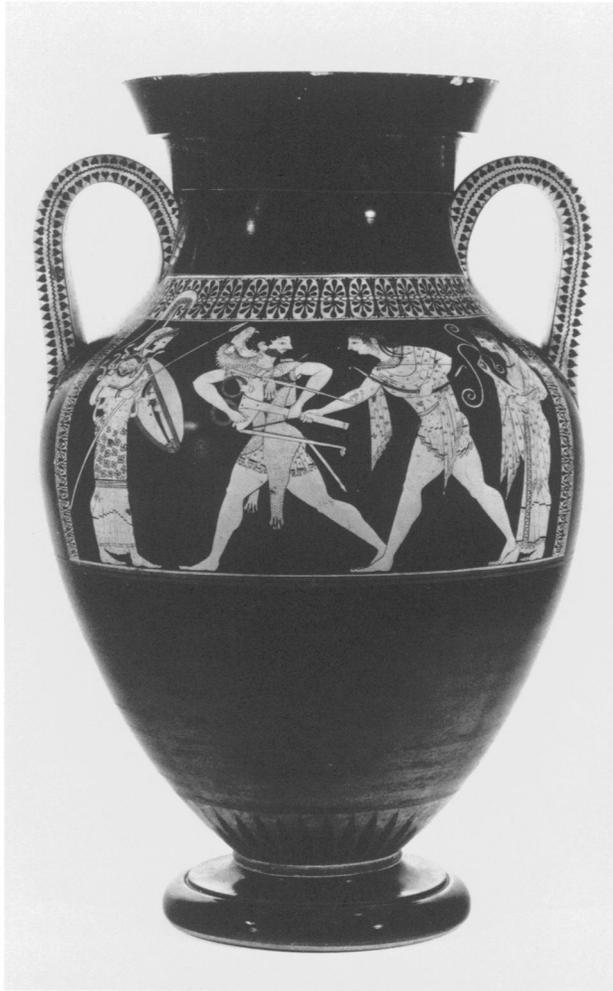


Figure 18. Attic red-figured amphora, with the potter-signature of Andokides, attributed to the Andokides Painter, ca. 525 B.C. H. 58.2 cm. Berlin, Antikenmuseum F 2159 (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)



Figure 19. Detail of amphora in Figure 18 showing potter-signature of Andokides on the foot (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)



Figure 20. Detail showing foot with potter-signature of Andokides on Attic white-ground amphora of type A, attributed to the Andokides Painter, ca. 525–520 B.C. H. (of vase) 40.6 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre F 203 (photo: Musée du Louvre)

placement of Menon's signature on the foot reflects the signed amphorae of Andokides, but the Menon inscription was executed differently. Although also located beneath the main panel, it begins at the far left rather than at the central axis, and large letters are widely spaced around the front of the amphora's foot. The letters in the name labels appear to be written with a slightly greater slant than those in the signature, but all are similar, standard Archaic forms. The signature scrawled across the foot, however, appears to display a different sensibility than the names, which are incised in controlled, delicate letters. It is unlikely that either the use of a coarser implement or the timing of the incision, before or after firing, can explain the dissimilarity in

the flavor of the writing.<sup>76</sup> If Psiax did not write this potter-signature, Menon must have signed his own name with his own hand.

Psiax painted a more elaborate composition of Apollo with Artemis, Leto, and Ares on the red-figure obverse of his bilingual amphora in Madrid, the only preserved bilingual amphora with a potter-signature of Andokides. *Andokidesepoesen* is incised on the foot beneath Psiax' red-figure panel,<sup>77</sup> but it does not at all resemble the potter-signature on the foot of Psiax' amphora in Philadelphia. Both of these signatures could not have been written by the same individual, i.e., the painter Psiax. He appears not to have written the Philadelphia potter-signature, and there is even more compelling evi-

dence that he did not write the Madrid one. The placement of the Madrid inscription to the right of center and the omission of the iota in the verb correspond with signatures of Andokides incised on the feet of red-figured amphorae attributed to the Andokides Painter (see Figures 17, 19, 20). The Madrid signature appears to have been written rapidly with a medium point. It recalls especially the epigraphy of the New York Andokides signature, but it also forms a link between the letter forms in the other incised signatures of Andokides.<sup>78</sup> All must have been written by the same hand. The simplest explanation is that it was Andokides, who not only devised a specific typology for his signature but actually incised his name on the amphorae feet himself.<sup>79</sup>

The introduction of red-figure, which revolutionized Attic vase painting, is normally associated with Andokides' workshop, but a more subtle change also should be attributed to the same establishment. Departing from black-figure tradition of the Archaic period, Andokides redefined the incised signature, which he must have learned from his teacher, Exekias. Originally it was the autograph of the master potter-painter (category A), who did all of the work from shaping to decorating with his own hands. Now it is employed as the mark of the potter-entrepreneur or potter-collaborator (category B). "So-and-so *epo(i)ese(n)*," when removed from the picture field and incised on an extremity of a red-figured or bilingual vessel, indicates: "I have fashioned this vase with my own hands (in my own workshop) and have signed it myself; I did not paint the vase-paintings (but be assured that the decoration is the most up to date available)." After Andokides, category B predominates and can be traced in an unbroken line through subsequent generations of Attic red-figure workshops. Category A also continues, as we shall see later, but its currency was limited to the exotic realm of plastic vases fashioned in human and/or animal form. Nevertheless, both categories are branches of a single tradition, because each implies that the signature incised is the potter's autograph.

The Andokides Painter and Psiax were members of the first generation of red-figure artists. At the vanguard of the second generation were the members of the so-called Pioneer Group. Two Pioneers, both of whom evidently turned from painting to potting later in their careers, adopted incised *epoiesen*-inscriptions (B) like those of the Andocidean type. The first was Euthymides. An incised potter-signature on the foot of a red-figured oinochoe in

the Metropolitan Museum tells us: ΕΥΘΥΜΙΔΕΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ (Figures 24, 25).<sup>80</sup> Whereas the amphorae signed by Andokides are large storage jars and this oinochoe is a small wine pitcher, all are ovoid vessels that rest on mostly black-glazed, disklike feet. This similarity between the form of an amphora and an oinochoe assures that a potter-signature incised on the foot would be clearly visible and appropriate on either shape.<sup>81</sup> Euthymides' signature, however, does not simply mimic the Andocidean format; its placement corresponds with the orientation of the oinochoe's body. A red-figure Judgment of Paris extends around the vase, and a break in the line of figures before Paris, indicating that he heads the procession, marks the position of the now-missing handle at the back of the jug. The potter-signature is inscribed around the front half of the foot, and the space between name and verb is located beneath the center of the figural composition and probably beneath this vessel's lost pouring spout as well.

This fine red-figure Judgment of Paris cannot be attributed to the hand of Euthymides as a vase painter, and the elaborate and mannered late Pioneer style of painting points to a younger artist.<sup>82</sup> Hair borders of the red-figure coiffures are reserved, and either reserve or dilute glaze or relief line is employed for all other details of the drawing.



Figure 21. Attic red-figured plate with white-ground rim, with the potter-signature of Soklees, ca. 525–520 B.C. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 2182 (photo: Musée du Louvre)

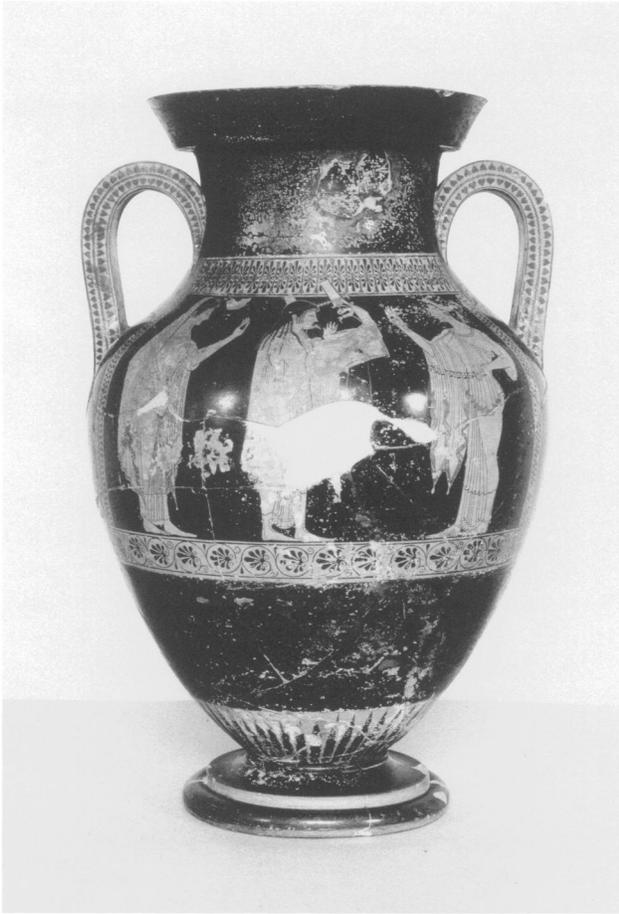


Figure 22. Attic red-figured amphora of type A, with the potter-signature of Menon, attributed to Psiax, ca. 525–520 B.C. H. 61.6 cm. Philadelphia, University Museum MS 5399 (photo: University Museum)



Figure 23. Detail of amphora in Figure 22 showing signature of Menon on foot (photo: the author)

Name labels for the mythological characters are painted in small, carefully aligned red letters; the best preserved, for Paris (Alexandros) and Aphrodite, are both retrograde. The only incision on the oinochoe occurs in the carefully lettered inscription on the foot. While our young vase painter might conceivably have written the potter's name, he could hardly have designed the incised signature.

The letters of *Euthymides epoiesen* are well spaced, and an even wider space is left between name and verb, a practice consistent with the many painted inscriptions found in Euthymides' own vase paintings.<sup>83</sup> We know that his hand was steady and practiced in incision, for he generally incised the hair borders of red figures in an old-fashioned manner.<sup>84</sup> Like his fellow Pioneer Euphronios, Euthymides frequently signed as vase painter,<sup>85</sup> and surely he seized the opportunity to make his mark as potter—signing his own name with his own hand—when the task of painting belonged to a young apprentice: “*Hos oudepote Euphronios.*”<sup>86</sup>

As a painter Euphronios decorated several vase shapes, both large and small, including calyx-kraters, a volute-krater, stamnoi, neck amphorae, pelikai, a hydria, psykters, cups, and a plate.<sup>87</sup> He is known to have worked for the potters Euxitheos and Kachrylion.<sup>88</sup> He signed with the verb *egraphsen* at least nine times, usually in red glaze on the picture field, but twice in black on the reserved vertical surface of the footplates on cups.<sup>89</sup>

Significantly, Euphronios also signed as potter at least a dozen times and always on cups. According to Beazley, “the ἐποίησεν vases are later than the ἔγραψεν and not by the same hand as they.”<sup>90</sup> Although Beazley was wary whether “the Euphronios is the same,” Takashi Seki has observed that the cups potted by Euphronios “prove that they can be made only by the person who mastered the cup-painting technique as perfectly as he” (i.e., Euphronios the painter).<sup>91</sup> Most of the preserved signed cups are decorated either by Onesimos or not far from his hand.<sup>92</sup> In fact, at the turn of the fifth century this potter and painter must have been the preeminent cup-producing team.

Onesimos, in marked contrast to members of the Pioneer Group, is known to have signed only once, and the name is now only partially preserved.<sup>93</sup> Yet he frequently wrote other things, such as labels for mythological characters (see Figure 26) and the distinctive *Panaitios kalos* inscriptions.<sup>94</sup> Roughly half of the preserved potter-signatures of Euphronios, furthermore, were written in red glaze on the black

ground of Onesimos' red-figured cup tondi. A few more *Euphronios epoiesen* inscriptions, also written in glaze, appear in other locations, often outside the picture field, as in the exergue of the tondo, the zone outside the picture on the interior, or on the exterior (on side B, under a handle, or on the foot).<sup>95</sup> There are also three incised signatures, which we shall consider shortly. In the case of the painter-turned-potter Euphronios, were his potter-signatures always applied by the vase painter?<sup>96</sup>

Distinguishing between Euphronios and Onesimos simply on the basis of handwriting must be left to experts on those artists. The two men, who must have been teacher and pupil, employ a similarly varied repertory of archaic letter forms.<sup>97</sup> Selected examples of painted inscriptions, however, serve as a good introduction to our primary concern, Euphronios' incised signatures. The tondo of Onesimos' early cup in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 26) shows Herakles in full regalia of lion skin, quiver, bow and arrow, and club, accompanied by a small boy (mostly missing) carrying his baggage on a stick.<sup>98</sup> At the left, the label *HERAKLES* is painted in small red letters, retrograde, on the black ground between the hero's nose and his extended right hand. Around the right side of the tondo, behind the two male figures, a second, partially preserved inscription is written in bolder, larger, more widely spaced red letters: *ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΣ ΕΓΩΙΕΙΣΕΝ*. These two inscriptions appear to differ in spirit, causing one to wonder whether Euphronios instructed Onesimos not only to paint this potter-signature, but also to make sure that it was big, forcefully written, and prominently displayed, or whether Euphronios simply dipped a brush into the pot of glaze and wrote it himself.<sup>99</sup>

The interior of Onesimos' famous Theseus cup at the Louvre is very elaborate (Figure 27).<sup>100</sup> A band of red-figure circumscribed palmettes encircles the bowl just within the rim, and a maeander surrounds the tondo, which depicts Theseus, accompanied by Athena, visiting Amphitrite at the bottom of the sea. The names of all the figures, including the little Triton supporting the hero, were painted in small, precise red letters. Around the left side of the tondo behind Theseus, avoiding a school of swimming dolphins, a potter-signature was written in bolder, larger, more widely spaced letters incised into the black glaze: *ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΣ ΕΓΩΙΕΙΣΕΝ*.

How strange to find an incised potter-signature on Onesimos' red-figure tondo. All details of Onesimos' early style of painting are rendered in re-



Figure 24. Attic red-figured oinochoe, with the potter-signature of Euthymides, ca. 510–500 B.C. Preserved H. 16.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Leon Levy Gift and Classical Purchase Fund, 1981, 1981.11.9

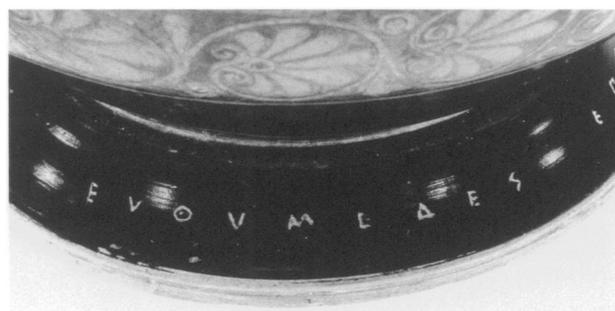


Figure 25. Detail of oinochoe in Figure 24 showing the name *Euthymides* in the potter-signature on the foot



Figure 26. Tondo on interior of Attic red-figured cup, with the potter-signature of Euphronios, attributed to Onesimos, ca. 500–490 B.C. Diam. of bowl, as restored, 32.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1912, 12.231.2



Figure 27. Interior of Attic red-figured cup, with the potter-signature of Euphronios, attributed to Onesimos, ca. 500 B.C. Diam. of bowl 28 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre G 104 (photo: Musée du Louvre)

serve, relief line, dilute glaze, and added red. Unlike earlier masters of the new technique, he does not employ incision in red-figure, and writing inscriptions in red glaze apparently was second nature to him. Three possible explanations of the signature are: (1) the incised potter-signature is a forgery; (2) Onesimos forgot to paint the inscription before the cup was fired and decided (or was instructed) to add it later by the best means still possible—incision; or (3) the potter Euphronios added the incised signature himself. It is difficult to choose among the three. The incised inscription's authentic-looking Late Archaic alphabet and the scale and forcefulness of the writing, along with the evidence of other extant incised Euphronios signatures (see below), lead me to favor the third explanation. Nonetheless, the placement of an incised inscription on this entirely painted, post-Pioneer red-figure tondo is undeniably peculiar, both technically and aesthetically.<sup>101</sup>

On another of Onesimos' great early cups, London E 44, the potter-signature of Euphronios was executed differently (Figures 28–30), also incised into the black glaze, but placed on the underside of one handle (the B/A handle at the juncture of this vessel's reverse and obverse sides).<sup>102</sup> Name and verb were written with one word on each stem beginning near the root: ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΣ on B (Figure 29) ΕΓΩΙΕΣΕΝ and on A (Figure 30). The incised inscription removed to a vessel's extremity clearly belongs to the realm of the potter rather than that of the mature red-figure painter. Its placement and technique underscore the fact that the two were different individuals and directly suggest that the signature is an autograph applied by the potter's own hand. *Euphronios epoiēsen*, furthermore, is the first potter-signature to appear on a cup handle.<sup>103</sup>

Several factors suggest that the potter both invented the incised signature and actually wrote the inscription on the handle. Euphronios experimented with technique at the beginning of his own career as a painter, which was not long after the invention of red-figure. On one of his earliest known works, a cup once in the Hunt collection, name labels for the Sarpedon scene were painstakingly reserved in the black ground. This vase painting's unusual inscriptions, and such details as red spears and palmettes on the cup's tondo, reveal a special kinship with the bilingual Psiax, who may have been Euphronios' teacher.<sup>104</sup> As we have seen, Psiax worked for Andokides, but he also brought his personal preference for incised inscriptions to the potteries of Hilinos and Menon. In his own vase paint-



Figure 28. Exterior of Attic red-figured cup, with the potter-signature of Euphronios, attributed to Onesimos, ca. 500–490 B.C. H. 12.4 cm. London, British Museum E 44 (photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)



Figure 29. Detail of handle from cup in Figure 28 showing the name *Euphronios* in the potter-signature (photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

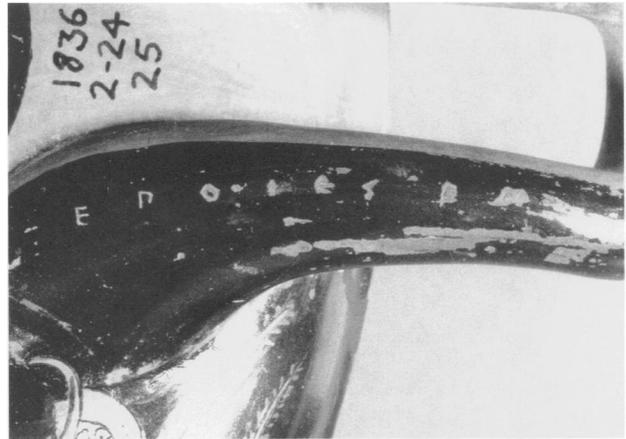


Figure 30. Detail of handle from cup in Figure 28 showing the verb *epoiesen* in the potter-signature (photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

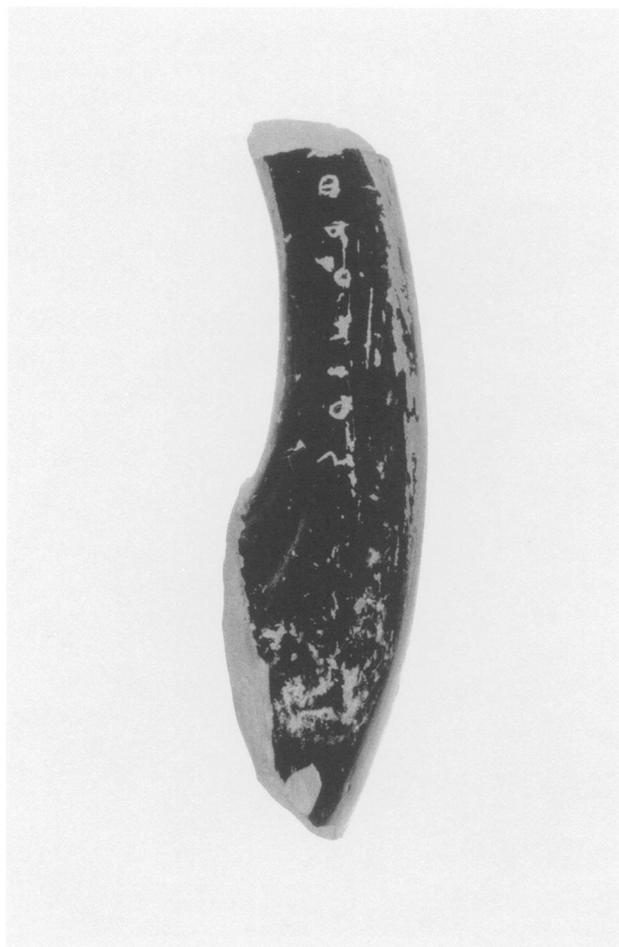


Figure 31. Fragment of handle from Attic red-figured cup, attributed to Onesimos, with the name *Euphronios* from the potter-signature, ca. 500 B.C. Maximum preserved L. 12 cm. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.19 (photo: J. Paul Getty Museum)

ing Euphronios often employed the technique of incision in hair borders of red figures (especially on the reverses). Furthermore, as Joan Mertens has shown, he actually mastered black-figure in order to work on white ground, and Euphronios also may have painted black-figured Panathenaic prize amphorae.<sup>105</sup>

In addition to Andocidean/Psiacian influences, Euphronios' documented presence in the workshops of Kachrylion and Euxitheos also must have played a part in the formulation of the incised handle signature. In Kachrylion's shop he learned the Execian tradition of isolating potter and painter signatures on the cup's foot (see Figure 8).<sup>106</sup> Interestingly, on the early Sarpedon cup, which has special reserved inscriptions in the picture field, Euphronios wrote his painter-signature—unaccompanied by a potter-signature—in traditional black

glaze on the reserved vertical profile of the foot-plate.<sup>107</sup> Euxitheos' amphora (painted by Oltos) in London probably suggested to Euphronios the possibility of isolating the signature on handles, with name and verb divided, albeit written in glaze on reserve.<sup>108</sup>

A second incised potter-signature of Euphronios belonging to a fragmentary cup attributed to Onesimos, in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Figures 31, 32) came to light relatively recently. This inscription is somewhat battered, and the name and verb are preserved on separate handle fragments.<sup>109</sup> Each word is incised in the black-glazed outer side of a handle-stem fragment, and each begins near what would have been the curve of the handle's outer end and then runs toward the root.<sup>110</sup> The larger fragment (Figure 32), which preserves part of the curved end, gives the verb *epoiesen* (glaze very abraded or chipped off around the first three letters and the last). The smaller fragment (Figure 31), which should be oriented by the upper part of a diagonal stroke from an upsilon preserved at the break, gives the name, incised retrograde.<sup>111</sup> The direction of *Euphronios* evidently was reversed so that both words could run down the sides of a single handle, from its upper, outer arched end down toward its roots. In order to read both halves of the inscription one must look at the vessel from either side. Significantly, the incised handle-signature of Euphronios on London E 44 differs from that of the fragmentary Getty example (see Figures 29, 30). On the more mature London cup, where both words are begun at the roots, retrograde writing has been avoided, and since the position of the inscription has been shifted toward the underside of the handle, the entire signature can be read all at once.

Euphronios the potter must have formulated the incised handle-signature expressly for the kylix by drawing on traditions of the great early red-figure workshops from which he had emerged as a painter. Yet Euphronios did not merely repeat any one pre-existing convention. His distinctive signature could be seen to best advantage from the underside, when a cup was hung on a hook in storage, and Seki has championed the new importance of the latter aspect for kylikes around the turn of the fifth century B.C.<sup>112</sup> Clearly Euphronios the potter experimented with incised signatures to find a formula suitable for emblazoning the most impressive red-figured kylikes of type B. For some reason no longer documentable, whether grounded in commerce, social class, or aesthetics, these vessels were generally signed with the potter's signature rather than the

painter's, a convention that brings to mind traditional black-figured little-master cups of an earlier generation (see Figure 11).<sup>113</sup> It may also be appropriate to recall that in the nineteenth century Euphronios/Onesimos cups were believed to have been both potted and painted by Euphronios on the basis of their signatures.<sup>114</sup>

The special significance of incised *epoiesen*-inscriptions becomes even more apparent in the early fifth century B.C. In mature Archaic red-figure, which employs reserve, added colors, relief line, and dilute and black glaze, incision has been abandoned virtually entirely for details of drawing.<sup>115</sup> Red glaze for writing within the picture field has become a firmly established norm. Now incision is retained primarily as a potter's conceit reserved solely for application of the *epoiese*-signature when the red-figure vase painting has been carried out by a separate individual.

Scholars of the last century, misled by the signatures, attributed Late Archaic cups of another famous production team, Hieron and Makron, entirely to the potter. Adolf Furtwängler was the first to make the proper attribution to a distinct potter and painter, as in the case of cups inscribed only *Euphronios epoiesen*.<sup>116</sup> The statistics of Hieron's signatures, related to the context of Makron's oeuvre, were tabulated by Dietrich von Bothmer in 1982, and all of the details need not be repeated here.<sup>117</sup> A clear overall pattern emerges, which should retain its validity in the light of new finds.

Around fifty potter-signatures of Hieron have been preserved, and all appear on drinking vessels, mostly cups. With few exceptions, his distinctive *epoiesen*-inscriptions were written on handles; they are painted in red or black glaze (on the reserved inner surface) or incised (on the black-glazed outer part of the underside). The incised examples, which number more than thirty and constitute more than three-fifths of all the Hieron signatures known to me, almost equal the total of extant incised signatures by all other Attic potters combined.<sup>118</sup> Most of Hieron's potter-signatures belong to vessels decorated by Makron, and they appear to have been emblazoned on the finest products of this long and undoubtedly lucrative collaboration.<sup>119</sup>

By contrast, with more than four hundred extant vases and fragments attributed to the hand of Makron, only one complete *egraphse*-signature and possibly part of a second have come down to us. The former is on a skyphos in Boston depicting the recovery of Helen (Figure 33) and the latter on a pyxis

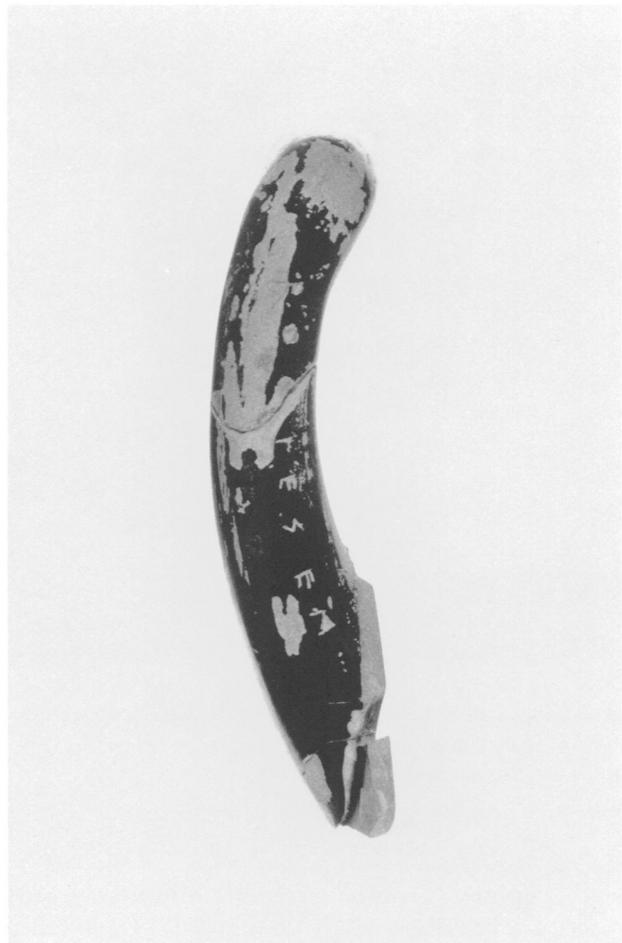


Figure 32. Fragment of handle from cup in Figure 31, with the verb *epoiesen* from the potter-signature. Maximum preserved L. 15.5 cm. (photo: J. Paul Getty Museum)

in Athens.<sup>120</sup> Bothmer remarks, "We are puzzled by the almost fortuitous survival of his signature(s) which stands in no rational proportion to his stupendous industry."<sup>121</sup> The fact that this cup painter's name is known only from shapes other than the kylix may have a special significance. Both of the above signatures are written in red glaze on the black ground of Makron's fully mature red-figure pictures. Makron's complete Boston signature is painted vertically, at the far right on side A of the skyphos, beneath the left root of the unsigned A/B handle. A wide space and two interpoints divide name from verb, ΜΑΚΡΟΝ : ΕΛΡΑΦΣΕΝ (Figure 33).

The potter-signature on the Boston skyphos is incised into the black glaze on the underside of the right half of the B/A handle, ΗΙΕΡΟΝΕΓΡΟΙΕΣΕΝ (Figure 34). This example is characteristic of Hieron's signatures on Makron's vases: as usual, name and

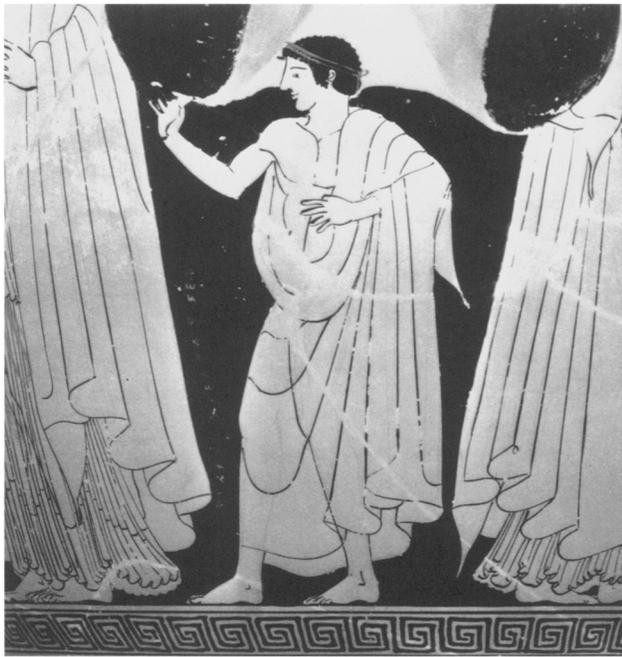


Figure 33. Side of Attic red-figured skyphos showing the painter-signature of Makron, ca. 490–480 B.C. H. 21.5 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Francis Bartlett Fund 13.186 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

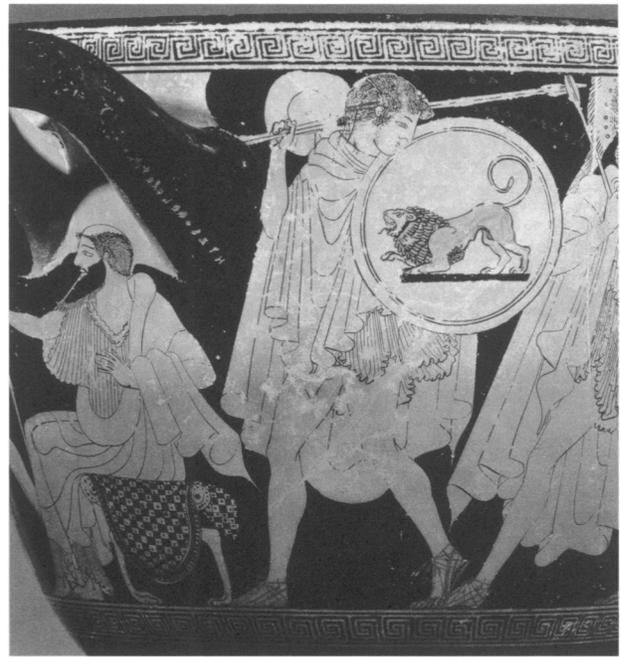


Figure 34. Detail of skyphos in Figure 33 showing the potter-signature of Hieron on the handle (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

verb, running together without an intermediate space, are inscribed neatly on one half of a handle. Here the incised letters are small and written close together; they begin near the right root and extend halfway up the handle. On the Achilles and Briseis skyphos in the Louvre the letters of the potter-signature are larger and more widely spaced, and they extend all the way up the left side of the B/A handle.<sup>122</sup> Both skyphoi have long, upturned handles, “cup-like,” as Bothmer says.<sup>123</sup> The different dispositions of letters, partial-length and full-length, larger and smaller scale, in these incised signatures, as well as their right-side (more common) or left-side locations are analogous to the variations found on the inscribed handles of cups potted by Hieron.

The signatures of these two skyphoi, as well as the one incised around the short horizontal handle of the Triptolemos skyphos in the British Museum (Figure 35), have four-stroke sigmas rather than the three-stroke form most common in the cup signatures (see Figures 43–45).<sup>124</sup> The London skyphos also contains a tailed rho, which occurs but a few times on the cups.<sup>125</sup> Some spelling errors appear on the cup handles, such as the insertion of a heta between name and verb or the substitution of a pi for

the rho in Hieron (Figure 37).<sup>126</sup> A notable idiosyncrasy is the occasional omission of an iota in *epoiesen* as on the famous symposion cup in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 38, 39) and the Maenad cup in Berlin (Figure 36).<sup>127</sup> An incised mistake, of course, is indelible; it cannot be wiped away like wet glaze.

Hieron’s production also includes signatures written in red or black glaze on the reserved inner sides of cup handles (Figure 40).<sup>128</sup> Painted handle-signatures are familiar from the rival Late Archaic workshop of the potter Brygos (Figure 41). Bothmer has postulated a chronological distinction between incised and painted signature-types. “I am inclined to think that he began by *incising* HIERON ΕΓΩΙΕΣΕΝ following the example set by Euphronios, and that Brygos improved on the scheme by *painting* the signature on the reserved inside of the handle, an innovation that was promptly taken up by Hieron.”<sup>129</sup> Perhaps temporal differences also underlie significant variations in Hieron’s incised signatures, such as changes in scale and partial-handle as opposed to full-handle disposition of the letters (see Figures 34, 36, 37, 39, 43, 44). If so, arranging Hieron’s potter-signatures would depend upon establishing a precise chronology for Makron’s red-figure



Figure 35. Side of Attic red-figured skyphos attributed to Makron, showing the potter-signature of Hieron on the handle, ca. 490–480 B.C. London, British Museum E 140 (photo: courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

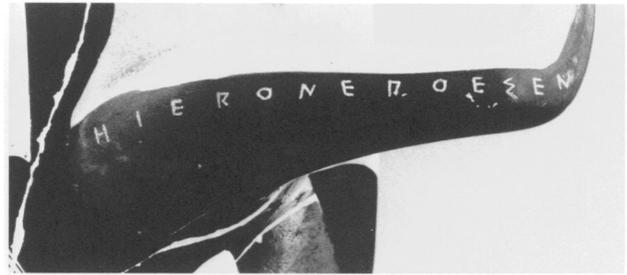


Figure 36. Handle of Attic red-figured cup attributed to Makron, with the potter-signature of Hieron, ca. 490–480 B.C. Diam. of bowl, 33 cm. Berlin, Antikenmuseum F 2290 (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)



Figure 37. Handle of Attic red-figured cup attributed to Makron, with the potter-signature of Hieron, ca. 490–480 B.C. H. of cup 12.6 cm. London, British Museum E 61 (photo: courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

vase paintings. The following are observations that can be made solely on the basis of inscriptions.

Without doubt Hieron's incised potter-signatures belong to red-figure category B, the Archaic Attic tradition that extends from Andokides to Euphrosios: they employ the technology and placement appropriate for a potter's signature when the painter is a different individual. In the earlier cases, as we have seen, the typology of incised signatures was generally formulated by potters, who actually wrote these inscriptions with their own hands. Given the above-mentioned variations in Hieron's signatures, are the implications of incision still the same? Are Hieron's signatures still autograph?

Something can be learned from the one vase on which both potter- and painter-signatures are preserved, the Helen skyphos in Boston (Figures 33, 34). Beyond its different technique, Makron's painted signature differs from Hieron's type in two details. A three-stroke sigma appears in Makron's painted *egraphsen*, while a four-stroke example is found in Hieron's incised *epoiesen*. Other painted inscriptions in Makron's red-figure work known to me employ the three-stroke sigma.<sup>130</sup> This distinction is not conclusive for craftsmen are known to have been inconsistent in their letter forms, and Hieron's

signatures on cup handles also normally employ the three- rather than the four-stroke sigma (Figures 37, 39, 44). The four-stroke sigma, in fact, appears to have been reserved for Hieron's signatures on the imposing skyphoi and on the greatest of the cups (Figures 34–36).

The second difference, on the other hand, may be of crucial importance. As we have seen, Makron separated name from verb with two interpoints in his painted Boston signature (Figure 33). The only other two-word inscriptions in his vase paintings involve love names. When describing a youth or maiden as fair (*kalos* or *kale*), Makron more often than not divided name from verb with a space, and several times he also inserted two interpoints.<sup>131</sup> A special example is the  $\text{HI}\Gamma\Gamma\text{O}\Delta\text{M}\Lambda\text{S} : \text{K}\Lambda\text{L}\text{O}\varsigma$  written in relief lines—undoubtedly by the painter—on the reserved mouth top of Makron's round aryballos in Oxford (Figure 42).<sup>132</sup> Makron's use of interpoints was not restricted to clarifying a circular inscription. By contrast, in Hieron's incised Boston signature (Figure 34), both words run together, a format that was retained throughout this potter's long collaboration on cups with the painter Makron. I would guess that these modes (division of words with a space or interpoints versus running words together)

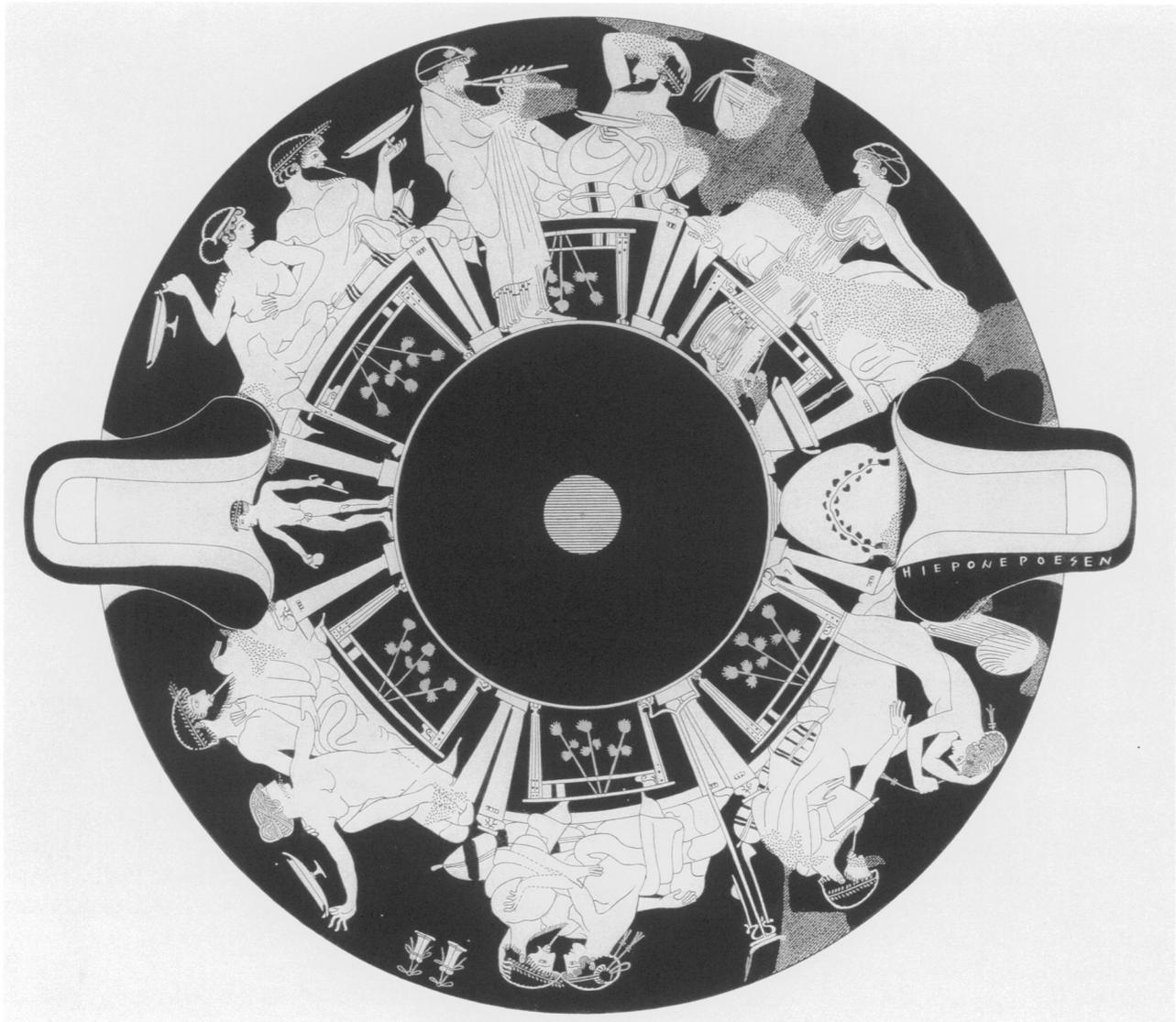


Figure 38. Drawing by L. Hall showing exterior of Attic red-figured cup with the potter-signature of Hieron, attributed to Makron, ca. 490–480 B.C. H., as restored, 12.9 cm.; Diam. 33.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 20.246

must represent instinctive preferences of the two men. Hence the potter Hieron, and surely not Makron, formulated the typology of the incised *Hieronepoiesen*.

Scholars who have studied shape rather than decoration point to the similarity of Hieron's cups and those potted by Euphronios.<sup>133</sup> More than simply "following the example set by Euphronios," Hieron's adoption of the incised handle signature may indicate that he began as an apprentice in the workshop

of the older master. Not only Hieron's shorter name, but also his personal preference for running words together, may have led him to place both name and verb on half of a handle rather than to duplicate the Euphronian division.<sup>134</sup> In a certain sense, Hieron's variation is an improvement, for now the entire signature, easily taken in at a single glance, becomes a special trademark. The compact partial-handle signature written in tight, small letters, which must be the original type, may be appreciated best on Ma-

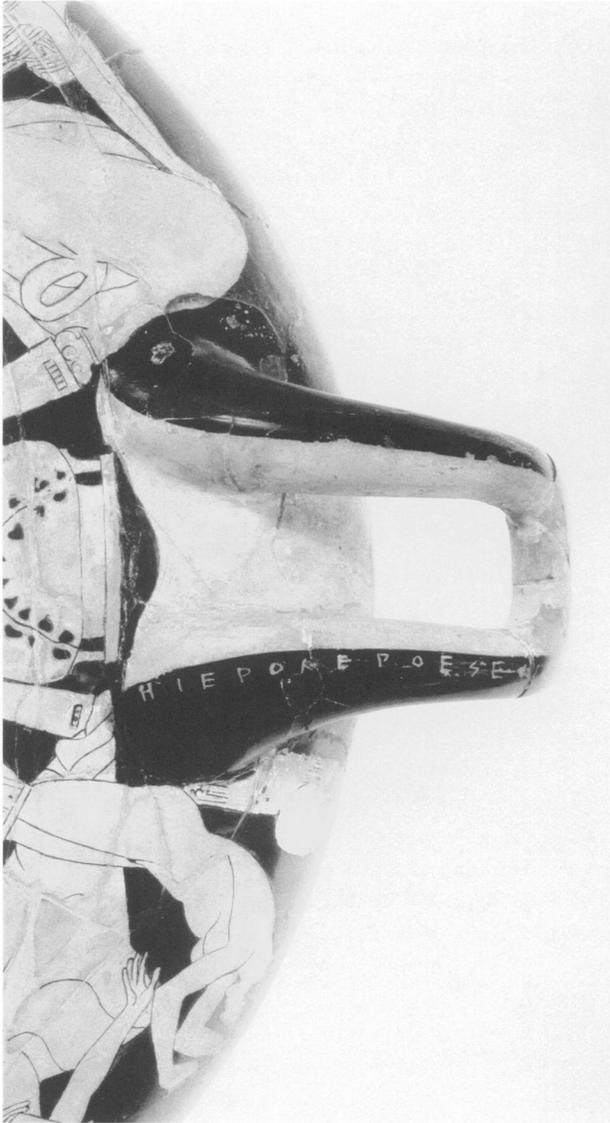


Figure 39. Detail of cup in Figure 38 showing handle with the potter-signature of Hieron

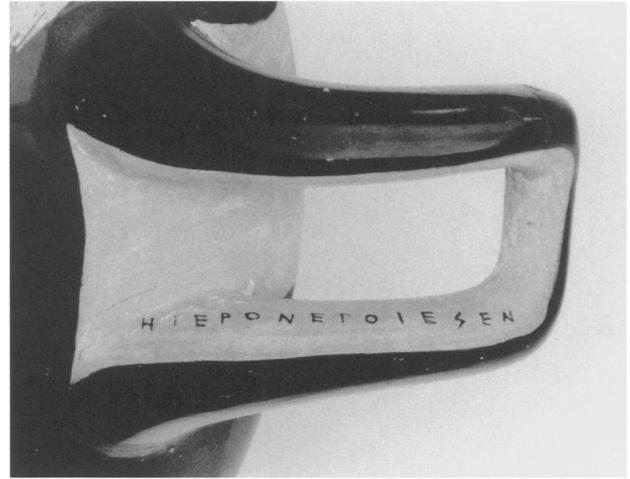


Figure 40. Detail of Attic red-figured cup attributed to Makron showing the handle with the painted potter-signature of Hieron, ca. 490–480 B.C. H. of cup 13.8 cm. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.12-1927 (photo: Fitzwilliam Museum)



Figure 41. Detail of Attic red-figured cup attributed to the Painter of the Oxford Brygos showing the handle with the painted potter-signature of Brygos, ca. 480–470 B.C. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1911.615 (photo: Ashmolean Museum)

kron's enchanting Judgment of Paris cup in Berlin (Figures 43, 44); it also occurs, in a less well-preserved example, on a cup in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 45).

The final question remaining is whether or not Hieron actually wrote his own incised *epoiese*-signatures. Answering this question is not as simple as it was for Nearchos, Exekias, or even Euphronios. Hieron was active in an increasingly complex age, the early fifth century B.C., which was marked by

greater specialization and more productivity in the Athenian Kerameikos.

The contemporaneous workshop of the potter Brygos commonly employed several painters.<sup>135</sup> Bothmer has observed that cups bearing the painted signature of Brygos on the left rather than the right half of their handles were generally decorated by artists other than the Brygos Painter, the primary hand in that shop.<sup>136</sup> Thus, at least a few of the variant Brygos-signatures must have been ap-



Figure 42. Attic red-figured aryballos attributed to Makron, ca. 490–480 B.C. H. 6.1 cm. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1929.175 (photo: Ashmolean Museum)



Figure 43. Detail of Attic red-figured cup attributed to Makron, showing the handle with the potter-signature of Hieron, ca. 490–480 B.C. Diam. of bowl 33.5 cm. Berlin, Antikenmuseum F 2291 (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)

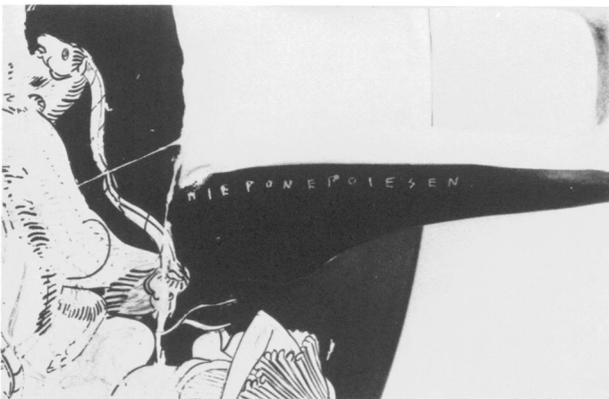


Figure 44. Detail of handle in Figure 43 showing the potter-signature of Hieron (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)

plied by different vase painters, all attempting to follow the potter's normal formula for this inscription. Given the mass production of a very large shop, whether the wares are of high or low quality, some relegation of the actual writing of painted signatures to vase painters is not without precedent.<sup>137</sup> The left-side handle signature on the sole preserved cup attributed to the Painter of the Oxford Brygos reads: ΒΡΥΛΟΣΕΠΕΣΕΝ (Figure 41). This painter, apparently unaccustomed to signing a potter's signature, managed to get the *Brygos* right, but had trouble with the *epoiesen*.<sup>138</sup>

Bothmer reasons that Hieron must have switched from incised to painted signatures following the precedent of the potter Brygos.<sup>139</sup> Did Hieron also relegate the actual writing to his painter(s) once he had established his signature's typology? Scant preserved evidence suggests that he ultimately did. Two cups with Hieron's incised signature in Boston, later than Makron's work and clearly not by him, were attributed to the Telephos Painter by Beazley (Figures 46, 47).<sup>140</sup> These Boston signatures, as Henry Immerwahr has observed, are markedly different from the normal types on the rest of Hieron's vases and must have been written by the Telephos Painter. The hand is more florid, and on the Telephos Painter's namepiece, Boston 98.931, the letter forms are inscribed with sloppy, disconnected strokes.<sup>141</sup> One gets the impression that the writer was not only unpracticed in incision, but also impatient with the technique.

The remaining evidence consists of two abnormal signatures of Hieron preserved on stray cup handles in the National Museum, Athens, and the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. The former is incised and the latter painted. In both signatures the name *Hieron* and the verb *epoiesen* are separated by two interpoints,<sup>142</sup> and both are in accord with Makron's preferred mode for writing two-word inscriptions (cf. Figures 33, 42). Was the potter influenced here by his long-term collaborator, or did the painter actually do the writing, inadvertently asserting his own preference over his potter's established formula? The abnormal painted signature in Paris, like other painted Hieron-signatures known to me, extends the entire length of the handle's reserved inner side. The Athens signature, though preserved only through the sigma in *epoiesen*, appears to have extended along most of its handle. These odd handles, while sadly not joined to attributed cups, might provide evidence that large, full-length Hieron signatures, whether painted or incised, ought to be associated with the hand of Makron.

In conclusion, a shift to painting handle-signatures might be considered innovative,<sup>143</sup> but it surely hastened the demise of the venerable incised potter-signature. By the second decade of the fifth century B.C. the primacy of Attic black-figure must already have seemed a phenomenon of the distant past. Incision for the most part no longer played a vital part in the decoration of mature red-figured vases produced in avant-garde pottery shops.<sup>144</sup> To be sure, vase shape, glazes, and ornament were still the potter's concern, but with time, the technique of incision must have lost both its currency and its original associations, and thus its role as guarantor of a potter's genuine autograph. Hieron surely began by incising his own name, gloriously refining the still historically potent convention he learned from Euphronios (cf. Figures 28–32). Occasionally Hieron must have relinquished writing personally to meet a demanding production schedule, and finally also in order to modernize with an entirely painted label for his products. Variations of the signatures in this potter's oeuvre betoken the waning of a special Archaic tradition.

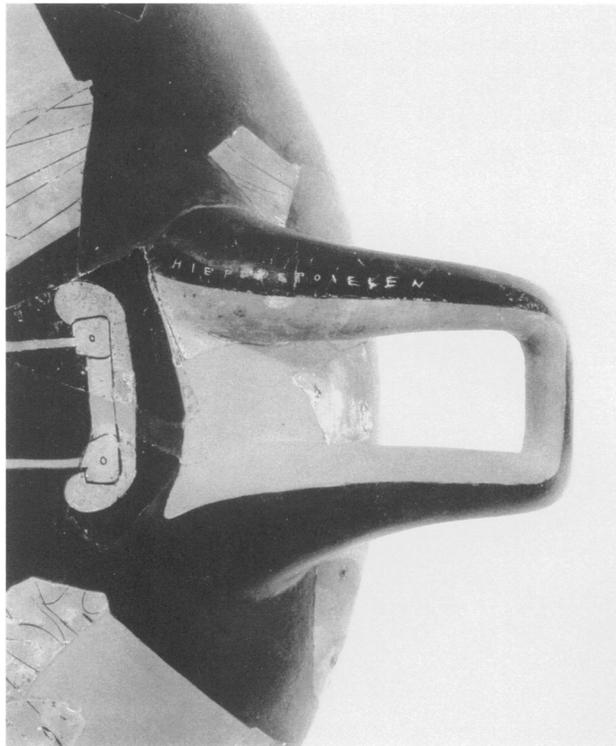


Figure 45. Detail of Attic red-figured cup attributed to Makron, showing the handle with the potter-signature of Hieron, ca. 490–480 B.C. H. of cup 13.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1908, 08.258.57

#### PLASTIC VASES WITH INCISED INSCRIPTIONS: CATEGORY A

Plastic vases pose an obvious challenge, for here the concern in the placement of signatures often was to avoid interference of the inscription with the modeled form. Special attention to this problem is evident on a perfume vase from Boeotia (Figures 48, 49), the Corinthianizing Greek fabric, which already employed incision for potter-signatures by the mid-sixth century B.C. This plastic aryballos in the form of a foot wears a strapped sandal as its painted

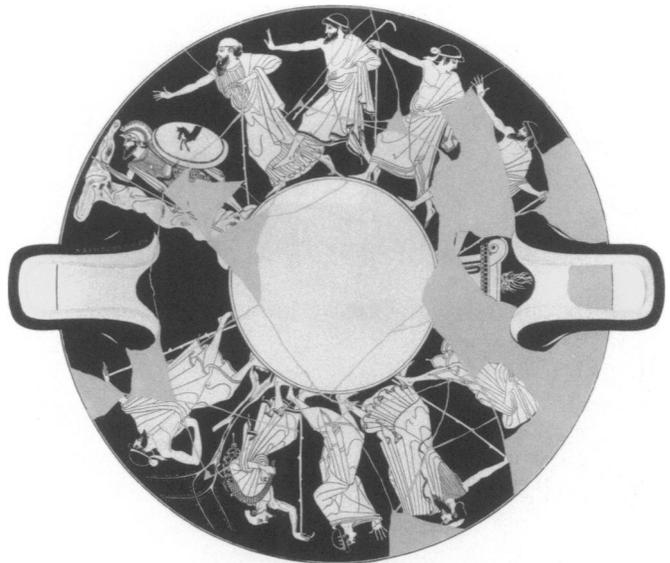


Figure 46. Drawing by S. Chapman showing exterior of Attic red-figured cup with the potter-signature of Hieron, attributed to the Telephos Painter, ca. 470–460 B.C. Diam. of bowl 32.69 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Perkins Collection, 95.28 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)



Figure 47. Detail of Attic red-figured cup attributed to the Telephos Painter, showing the potter-signature of Hieron on the handle, ca. 470–460 B.C. H. 11.5 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, H. L. Pierce Fund, 98.931 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

decoration. Here the potter Gryton signed with incision, cleverly scratching the inscription on the stand-surface (the sole) so as not to mar the vessel's image as a painted miniature sculpture.<sup>145</sup> This provincial craftsman's incised *epoiese*-signature, undoubtedly an autograph, clearly encompasses both potting and decorating in its meaning.

In Athens, the master potter-painter, who did everything from shaping to decorating himself, was prominent in the development of Archaic black-figure pottery. After the advent of red-figure this practice appears to have become rare, and only occasionally do signatures document that a vessel was both potted and painted by the same individual.<sup>146</sup> Early head vases, from the final decades of the sixth century B.C., may constitute a notable exception. Some bear incised *epoiesen*-inscriptions removed to black-glazed areas. These partly mold-made, partly wheel-made ceramic forms, gaily decorated with colored slips and glazes, might be regarded as essentially the work of a potter-coroplast.<sup>147</sup> Their incised signatures must be autographs and belong to category A. Interestingly, plastic vases rarely were signed, but when they were, it usually was with an incised *epoiesen*-inscription.<sup>148</sup>

The earliest Attic example of relevance to the present study, an aryballos, with snake-handles, in

the form of a woman's head (Figures 50, 51), is notable for having been described by Beazley as "this ill-designed, styleless object, with its coarse neck and muddy features," or simply as "miserable."<sup>149</sup> This crude head-vase is of great interest here because its otherwise unknown potter coarsely incised his signature into a band of black glaze at the base: *Prokleeseipoiese*. The incised inscription, which is placed less precisely than other Attic examples, begins below the left ear and extends all the way across the front and around the right side of the head.

This plastic aryballos signed by Proklees is related to both late black-figure and early red-figure. Slight black-figure work, a youth with panther cub, even appears on a tondo underneath its foot. The incised pupils and bright, white-colored areas of the large female eyes recall black-figured eye-cups (cf. Figure 12) and give the head a very archaic look.<sup>150</sup> Significantly, the ivy wreath encircling the black hair has an incised stem and berries and added-white leaves.

Snakes, panther cub, and ivy wreath bring to mind the wild environment of maenads, indicating that this perfume vase may be related to those exotic creatures.<sup>151</sup> A very early red-figure maenad, on the reverse of the Metropolitan Museum's amphora signed by the potter Andokides, wears an ivy wreath also rendered with incision and added color; pan-



Figure 48. Boeotian aryballos in the form of a foot, with the potter-signature of Gryton, ca. 600–550 B.C. H. 7.4 cm.; L. 9.2 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, H. L. Pierce Fund, 98.897 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)



Figure 49. Underside of aryballos in Figure 48 showing the potter-signature of Gryton (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)



Figure 50. Attic aryballos in the form of a woman's head, with the potter-signature of Proklees, ca. 520–510 B.C. H. 11.5 cm. Berlin, Antikenmuseum F 2202 (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)



Figure 51. Profile view of Figure 50 (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)

ther heads decorate the shoulder flaps of her tunic.<sup>152</sup> The similarity may not be merely coincidental, since Andokides' amphorae set the precedent for a potter-signature incised on a vase foot, and Proklees surely adopted features seen on better works. Incising his own potter-signature into black glaze around the "foot" enabled Proklees to separate written words from the plastic form.

"Charinos," the title of Beazley's article on head-vases, stands as a tribute to this Archaic potter whose signature, incised with exquisite delicacy, graced some of the most refined Greek plastic ware to have come down to us.<sup>153</sup> The core of Charinos' signed oeuvre consists of seven plastic mugs (one-handled kantharoi) and oinochoai: one of the former is the head of a black man and at least five of the other vases are women's heads wearing elaborate hairnets (Figures 52, 53).<sup>154</sup> Several are very fragmentary, and for at least one stray handle the

precise form of its lost vase no longer can be determined (see Figures 54, 55).<sup>155</sup> Charinos' one-handled kantharoi, with wheel-made bowls covered in black checkerboard on white ground, apparently begin the famous series of about 510–500 B.C.<sup>156</sup> On the Tarquinia model, the woman's black hair has wavy incised strands, animals in black silhouette decorate her *sakkos*; and her eyes have pupils with incised borders as well as whites colored with added white.<sup>157</sup> Beazley compared Charinos' smiling heads of women to Archaic marble korai from the Athenian Acropolis, but the alluring ceramic creatures may be associated with Aphrodite rather than Athena.<sup>158</sup> The head-vases are preceded and succeeded chronologically by surprising works, signed in black glaze, to which we shall return later.

Most of Charinos' incised potter-signatures are placed on his vessels' black-glazed handles. His main activity coincides with Euphronios' beginnings as a



Figure 52. Attic oinochoe in the form of a woman's head, with the potter-signature of Charinos, ca. 500 B.C. H. 27 cm. Berlin, Antikenmuseum F 2190 (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)

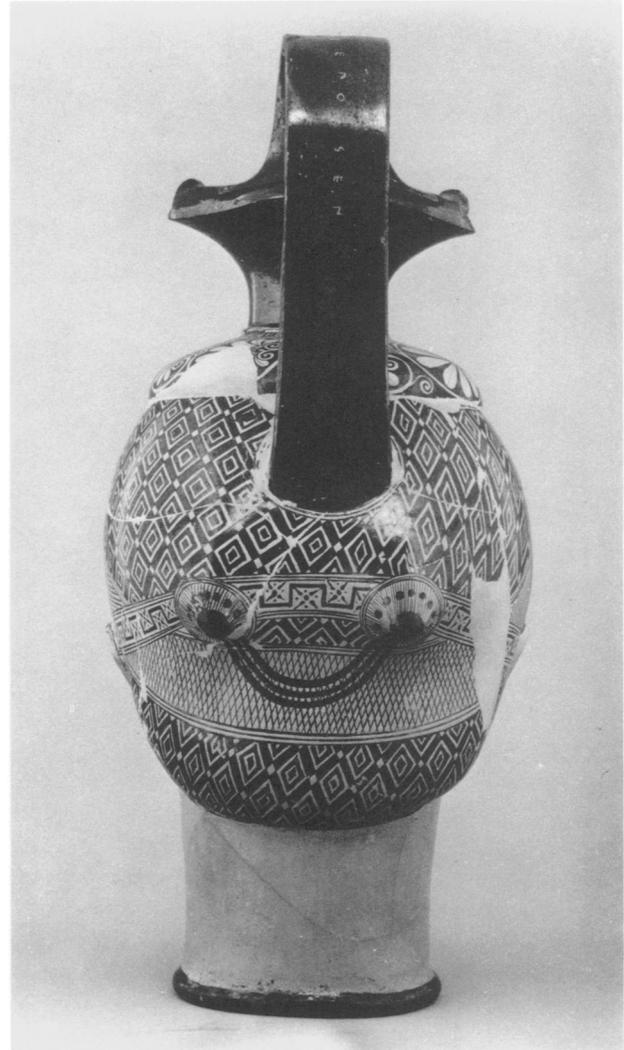


Figure 53. Back view of oinochoe in Figure 52 (photo: Antikenmuseum Berlin)

potter, and it is not known which one actually scratched in his name on a handle first (see Figures 28–32, 52–55). Preserved finds give the edge to Charinos. Whereas both Euthymides (Figures 24, 25) and Proklees (Figures 50, 51) adapted the Andocidean amphora-foot signature to different shapes, Charinos tailored his incised signatures to suit the distinctive vessels he potted. His plastic mugs and oinochoai are both one-handed, with the latter being straplike appendages that extend downward from bowl or lip to back of head (Figure 53).<sup>159</sup> Relegating the inscription to a handle, so that it

hardly could be seen from the frontal or the profile view, assured separation of written word from modeled image (cf. Figure 52). In fact, the potter's incised signature could be read best by someone picking up the vessel in order to drink or pour the wine. Name and verb always extend from the upper end of the handle toward the lower, with their letters oriented so as to be right-side up for the right-handed user.

There is some variation in the format of Charinos' incised signatures but none in his handwriting. Name and verb, always written neatly with evenly spaced letters, take on the syncopated rhythm of this potter's angled Archaic alphabet (Figures 53–

55).<sup>160</sup> Note especially the rho with angular rather than rounded top. Charinos' finely incised calligraphy is surpassed only by that of Exekias, and equaled possibly only by that of the Classical potter Sotades, whom we shall consider shortly. On Charinos' earliest works—the mugs in Tarquinia and the Villa Giulia, Rome—the handle inscriptions are written in two parallel lines.<sup>161</sup> In the signature on the Tarquinia kantharos, name and verb are divided thus, displaying an affinity with Euphronios' incised signatures, in which each of the two words is placed on the opposite half of a cup handle (Figures 29–32). The two lines of incised writing on the handle of the fragmentary black-man's-head mug in the Villa Giulia are formed by potter-signature and *kalos*-inscription. On the oinochoe in Leningrad the potter-signature itself is again divided into two lines. On the other preserved handles, the fragments in Oxford (Figures 54, 55) and that of the plastic oinochoe in Berlin (Figure 53), the two words written without an intermediate space—*Charinosepoiesen*—run in a single line down the center.<sup>162</sup>

An exceptional placement of the incised signature is found on the fragments of a woman's-head oinochoe in the collection of Herbert A. Cahn, Basel (Figures 56, 57). Here +ΑΡΙΝΟΣ ΕΓΓΟΙΕΣ[ΕΝ], originally carefully centered above the face, was scratched into the black glaze covering the vessel's wheel-made shoulder.<sup>163</sup> This shoulder element, which eases the transition between the plastic head and the oinochoe's potted neck and trefoil mouth, has been compared to the cushion used by women carrying vases atop their heads.<sup>164</sup> The two woman's-head oinochoai, from a single tomb at Vulci, now in Berlin (Figures 52, 53) and Leningrad, have shoulders decorated with red-figure palmettes and, as we have seen above, incised signatures of Charinos relegated to their handles. On all three the potter has separated the writing from the plastic form, but for the Vulci pair his solution is more subtle. Unusual placement of the signature, on a plain black shoulder, may indicate that Cahn's fragments belong to the earliest known woman's-head oinochoe by Charinos.

The very first signed work of Charinos must be an oinochoe with trefoil mouth in London.<sup>165</sup> This vessel, while not plastic in form, is unusual in several respects. The upper portion of its body is covered in white ground and decorated with an ornamental grapevine painted in black silhouette. Beneath the fruit-laden branches painted inscriptions in black glaze were carefully applied, enhancing the design.<sup>166</sup> Love names, now only partially preserved,

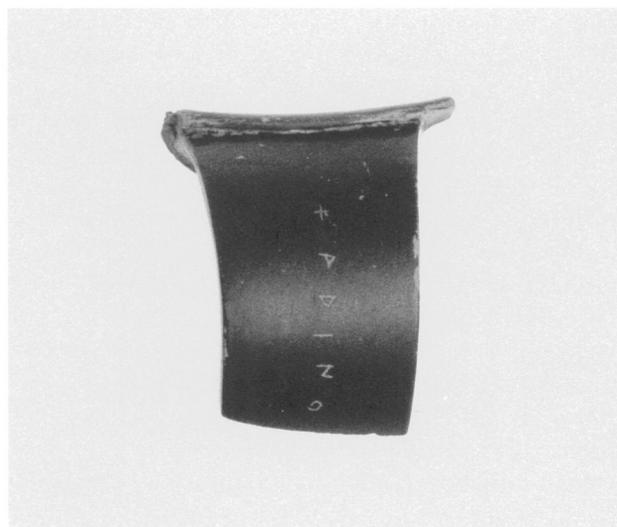


Figure 54. Fragment of handle with remains of the potter-signature of Charinos, ca. 510–500 B.C. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1966.981 (photo: Ashmolean Museum)

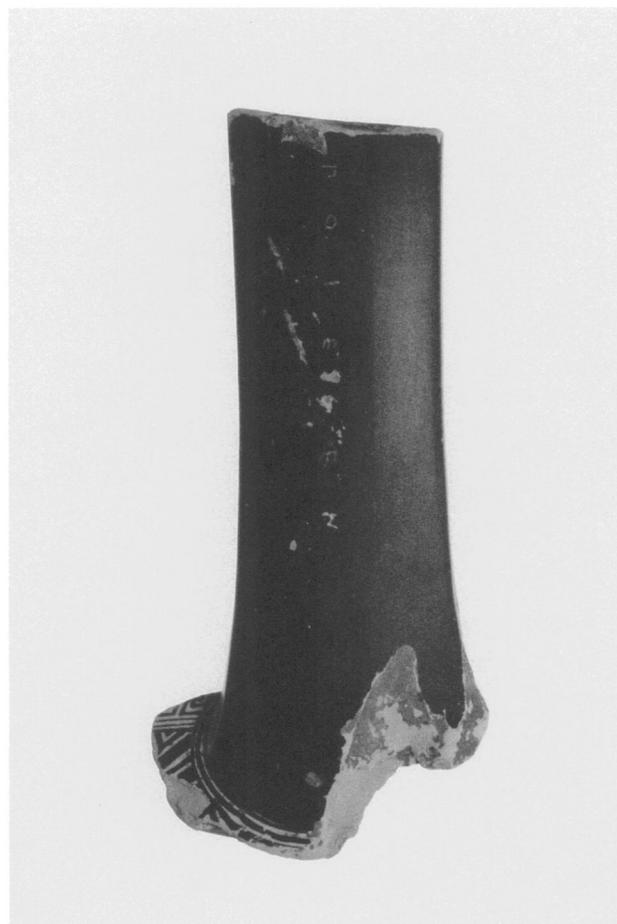


Figure 55. Fragment of handle with remains of potter-signature (of Charinos), ca. 510–500 B.C. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1966.982 (photo: Ashmolean Museum)

curve around to the right, echoed by the potter-signature, which curves in the opposite direction. Curiously, instead of being written retrograde, this signature was turned upside-down for the sake of the design. Most significantly, the handwriting here matches all the incised Charinos inscriptions, down to the angular shape of the rho.<sup>167</sup> His early woman's-head mug with a fancy hairnet in Tarquinia, furthermore, "shares with London B 631 a noteworthy appreciation of pure vegetation or patternwork as decoration; moreover, both works were painted in silhouette."<sup>168</sup> The conclusion is clear: from his early potted oinochoe through the latest plastic ones, Charinos must have done everything from shaping and molding to applying glazes and patternwork by himself, without the intervention of



Figure 56. Fragments of Attic oinochoe in the form of a woman's head, with the potter-signature of Charinos, ca. 510–500 B.C. Basel, Collection of H. A. Cahn, 732 (photo: H. A. Cahn)

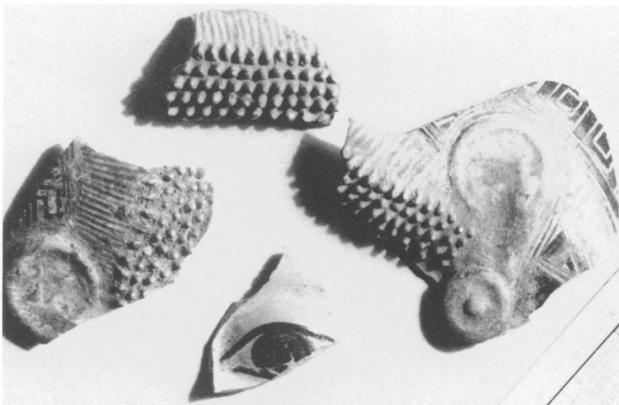


Figure 57. Other fragments of oinochoe in Figure 56 (photo: H. A. Cahn)

a vase painter. His standard autograph is an incised signature, the most appropriate mark for a master potter-decorator.

A surprising signed work of Charinos came to light relatively recently. This plastic vase, a ram's-head rhyton in Richmond, Virginia (Figure 58), of about 480 B.C., dates decades later than the other preserved examples.<sup>169</sup> Its potted lip bears an actual red-figure vase painting, a symposion attributed to a separate artist known as the Triptolemos Painter.<sup>170</sup> The potter's signature, however, is the most striking feature of all.  $\chi$ ΑΡΙΝΟΣΜΕΕΓΓΟΙΕΣΕΝ is painted in black glaze down the center of the ram's head, extending from forehead to muzzle.

According to Robert Guy, "it was applied no doubt by Charinos himself (or by the painter, at his request)."<sup>171</sup> Can we choose between these alternatives? Given the gap of decades, different-looking handwriting is not conclusive evidence. Worthy of note, however, might be the tailed rho, which appears here and in one of the name labels of the Triptolemos Painter's picture, but never in earlier signatures of Charinos.<sup>172</sup>

The fundamental distinction lies rather in a change of aesthetics. Charinos' earlier works evidence a sensitivity to the separation of written words from plastic image. Would this potter ever have placed his own signature between the ram's eyes when the rhyton has an invitingly black-glazed handle at the back? This plastic vase, however, was not both shaped and decorated entirely by the same individual, and, perhaps for that reason, it did not merit this Archaic potter's incised autograph. In the most likely scenario, Charinos said to the Triptolemos Painter, "Hey, sign this rhyton for me, but don't put my name in your vase painting!" Charinos' late rhyton, a typical product of an Attic workshop of the early fifth century B.C., recalls the contemporary shift from incision to glaze in cup signatures of the potter Hieron, which, as we have seen, betokened the waning of a special Archaic tradition.

Finally, the incised signature was revived by a remarkable craftsman of the Classical Period. Sotades was "a potter who specialized in novel shapes that were widely exported and who used coral red almost as often as white ground; indeed, in some respects he seems a fifth-century counterpart to Nikosthenes."<sup>173</sup> While many of Sotades' fanciest products were exported, they must have been inspired in turn by exotic eastern imports.<sup>174</sup>

His signed oeuvre is divided roughly between delicate drinking or libation vessels—luxuries destined



Figure 58. Attic red-figured rhyton in the form of a ram's head, with the painted potter-signature of Charinos, attributed to the Triptolemos Painter, ca. 480 B.C. H. 22.5 cm. Richmond, Virginia Museum, The Williams Fund, 1979, 79.100 (photo: Virginia Museum)

specially for Athenian tombs—and elaborate plastic rhyta, popular both at home and abroad. While several of the latter also certainly came to rest with the dead, one of the best has been called “a work of art perfect as a centerpiece at the banquet table.”<sup>175</sup> Sotades’ name written in glaze occurs on several vases with pictures attributed to the so-called Sotades Painter: a kantharos and two white-ground cups of the most exquisite technique.<sup>176</sup> According to Martin Robertson, “the potter, here and elsewhere, shows himself an ingenious and sure-handed exper-

imenter. The painter is of the same kind and caliber, and was most likely the same person.”<sup>177</sup> We cannot be sure of that, for Sotades signs once without a verb, yet never specifically as painter. Four times the verb is given as *epoie*, three as *epoiesen*, and in two examples not enough remains to choose between the imperfect and aorist forms.

Seven of Sotades’ preserved potter-signatures are incised: two on phialai, Boston 98.886 and London D 8, and the rest on plastic rhyta, to which we shall return shortly. The fluted phialai (Figures 59, 60)

are related in shape to metal prototypes,<sup>178</sup> and the life-sized cicada perched on the omphalos of Boston 98.886, now clay-colored, originally must have been gilded.<sup>179</sup> These phialai bear no figural decoration otherwise; they are decorated simply, but beautifully, with glazes that are the particular concern of the potter: shiny black, matte white, and lustrous coral red.<sup>180</sup> Each one was signed with incision on the exterior of its black-glazed lip; on London D 8 the inscription is fully preserved: ΣΟΤΑΔΕΣ ΕΠΟΙΕ. On the one hand, this practice recalls the signed vessels of the previous century, which were executed entirely by the potter and hence autographed with incision on an area glazed solidly black. On the other hand, the signature, for once, may be intended to evoke inscriptions on metal vessels.<sup>181</sup>

Sotades' incised signature in London, as well as every other preserved example, is marked by a special formality not seen heretofore. Name and verb always are written one above the other, separated in two horizontal straight lines of different lengths. The letters in the two words are carefully spaced but not always perfectly aligned; although not written in a strict, measured stoichedon, Sotades' signature evokes that style.<sup>182</sup> The script is imbued with hints of monumentality. On the phiale London D 8 (Figure 60) and the base of a plastic rhyton in the Louvre (Figure 61) the omicron in the name is somewhat squared. On the Villa Giulia fragmentary sphinx an Ionic omega is substituted for the omicron; two sigmas have four strokes rather than three; and an eta is substituted for two of the epsilons (Figures 62, 63).<sup>183</sup> It is the Classical Period, and Sotades writes like a man of his time (cf. Figure 2).<sup>184</sup>

Further associations are suggested by Sotades' impressive signed polychrome rhyta: the Amazon rider, Boston 21.2286 (Figures 62, 63); the two very fragmentary examples in the Louvre: a horse or horseman and a Persian leading a camel (Figure 61); and the remains of two sphinxes, in the Villa Giulia and the Brauron Museum (unpublished).<sup>185</sup> Each one was a molded terracotta sculpture or sculptural group, into which a wheel-made, rhyton-shaped vase had been incorporated to serve as the mouth. Each stood on a low rectangular base, and was signed only on its base. The side bearing the incised signature apparently always corresponded to the little sculpture's primary view. On the one hand, relegation of the inscription to the base, which was glazed black, recalls the conscious separation of words from plastic image already practiced by Archaic potters (cf. Figures 48–53). On the other

hand, setting a full-figure vase on an inscribed architectonic base engraved with a two-line inscription in stoichedon style evokes the realm of monumental Classical sculpture.<sup>186</sup> The magnificent Amazon rider of about 440 B.C. in Boston (Figure 62) has been compared to the sculpture of the Parthenon more than once.<sup>187</sup>

Sotades was active in a different age than the Archaic potters in this study. External sources for his work beyond the realm of the Athenian Kerameikos—from overseas, from other media, and from great monumental artists—are more apparent than before and perhaps more significant now. Above all, Sotades may well be the consummate example of potter-cum-decorator-painter. To quote Robertson, "I find it very hard indeed not to think that a Greek who saw the vase supported by the figure of a mounted Amazon, with the inscription Σοταδης εποισεν, would have supposed Sotades to be the craftsman who created it; nor can I think that he would have been wrong."<sup>188</sup> And Sotades was the last Attic potter who chose to sign in incision with his own hand.

Finally, let us review the names preserved in incised signatures employing the verb *epoiesen*. We do not know very much about Soklees and Proklees, except that they, like Hischylos, Hilinos, and Menon, were active at the time of transition from black-figure to red-figure, during the very years Psiax worked in one shop and then another experimenting with technique. As we have seen here, however, both the history and significance of incised *epoiese*-signatures extend beyond a solution to the problem of writing on early red-figured vases. Could the duration of this incised signature-type for a century be considered an indication of master-pupil relationships between potters and, thereby, of links between workshops across generations?

We recall the major artisans: Nearchos, Lydos, Exekias, Andokides, Euthymides, Charinos, Euphronios, Hieron, and Sotades. From Nearchos to Lydos to Exekias the incised *epoiese*-signature surely must have been passed on from one master potter-painter to another. The potter Andokides applied the special signature he learned from his teacher, Exekias, to the vases with avant-garde red-figure pictures by painters in his employ. The Pioneer painters Euthymides and Euphronios looked to the red-figure precedent of Andokides when they became potters themselves. And the pioneering coroplast-potter(-painter) Charinos also appreciated the inherent suitability of an Andocidean incised sig-

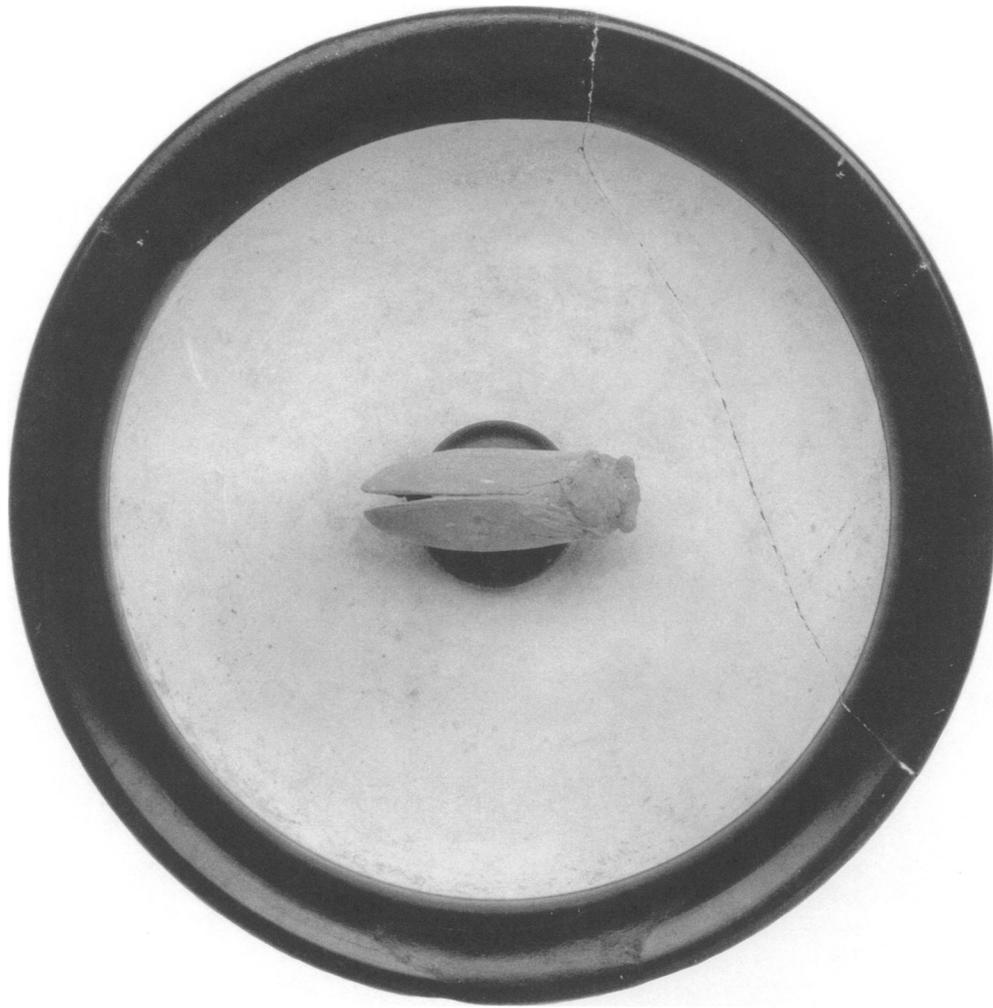


Figure 59. Interior of phiale with terracotta cicada on omphalos, and remains of potter-signature of Sotades on exterior, ca. 460–450 B.C. Diam., as restored, 16.35 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, H. L. Pierce Fund, 98.886 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

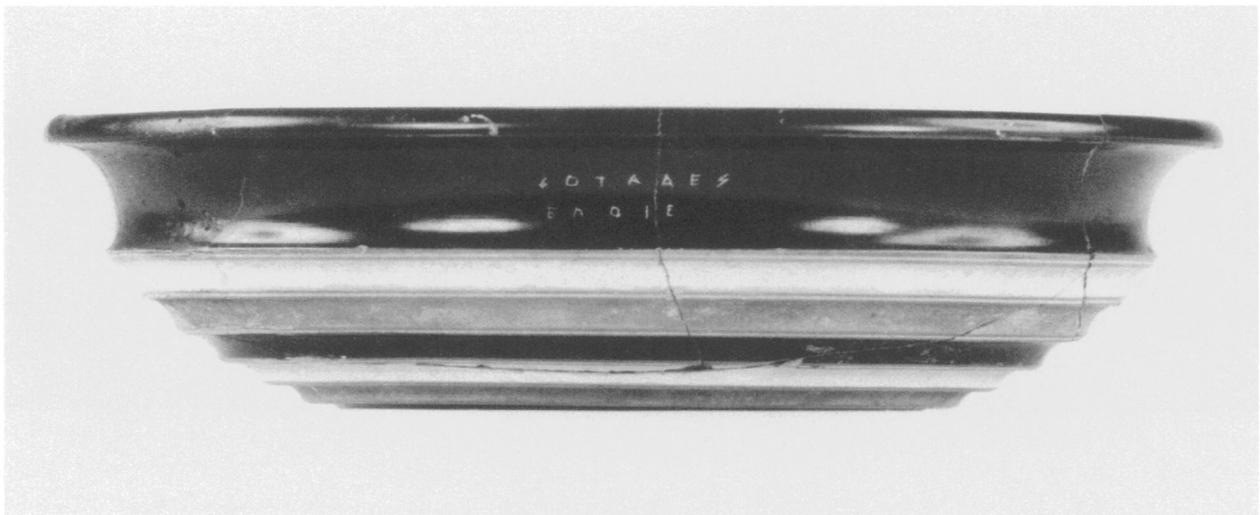


Figure 60. Profile view of phiale, decorated with black glaze, white ground, and coral red, showing the potter-signature Sotades, ca. 460–450 B.C. London, British Museum D 8 (photo: courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

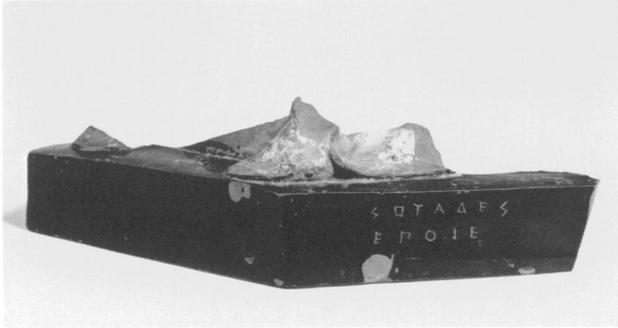


Figure 61. Base of fragmentary rhyton in the form of a Persian leading a camel, with the potter-signature of Sotades, ca. 460–450 B.C. Preserved H. 3.1 cm., preserved L. 13.3 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 3825 (photo: Musée du Louvre)

nature for his refined plastic wares. These men, who were evidently involved in the several major aspects of the pottery industry, understood best the tools and materials of the trade, and, thereby, the particular appropriateness of an incised signature for a potter. This Attic tradition came to an end in the fifth century B.C. with the incised signatures of one potter, Hieron, and one coroplast-potter (-painter), Sotades.

One might have expected intentional incised inscriptions to have been common on Attic pottery, but that never was the case. The incised *epoiese*-signature was a special mode. We have seen that usually it was an authentic signature and, furthermore, that this signature became ever more isolated from



Figure 62. Attic red-figured rhyton in the form of a mounted Amazon, with the potter-signature of Sotades, ca. 450–440 B.C. H. 34 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts Expedition, 21.2286 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

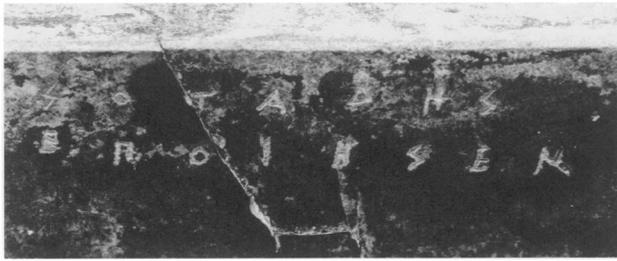


Figure 63. Detail of base of rhyton in Figure 62 showing the potter-signature of Sotades (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

the techniques and pictures of the Attic vase painter.

Coinciding with the decline of Attic pottery toward the end of the fifth century B.C., intentional incised inscriptions were continued in South Italy. Here certain indigenous clays fired especially pale, so that letters scratched through the glaze contrasted well with the black ground of locally produced red-figured pots. Light, incised letters also may have been intended to recall the white inscriptions popular in later Attic red-figure. For whatever reason, incision was a preferred technique for writing the infrequent inscriptions on South Italian wares well into the fourth century B.C.: from names labeling individual figures (the most common) to the rare painter-signature, such as that of the Paestan Python.<sup>189</sup> These inscriptions were not random graffiti but an intentionally executed feature of the design, which certainly enhanced the iconography of the representations in accord with classic Greek tradition and perhaps also the local market value of the vessels. Incised on an amusing Apulian red-

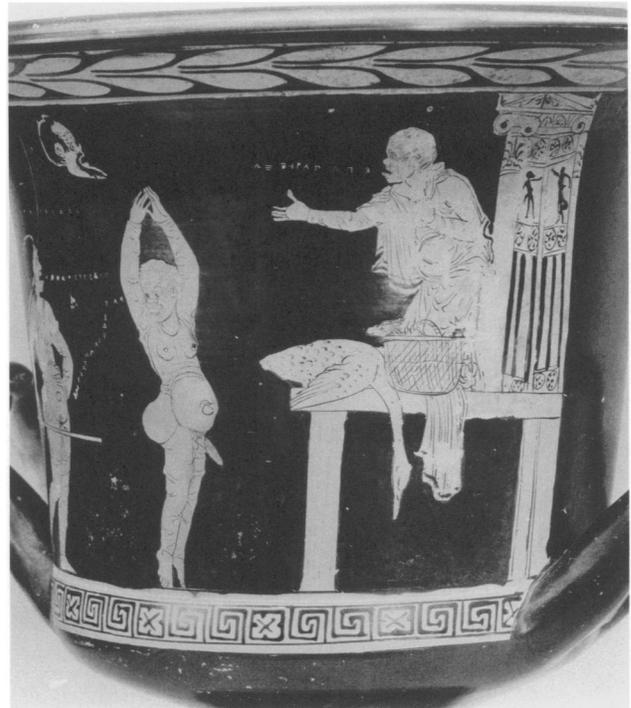


Figure 64. Apulian red-figured calyx-krater, attributed to the Tarporley Painter, ca. 400 B.C. H. 30.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1924, 24.97.104

figured calyx-krater by the Tarporly Painter in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 64) is a dialogue, juxtaposing sense and nonsense, of comic actors in a phlyax play. Perhaps these unusual incised inscriptions reflect the wishes of a commissioning patron who had produced such plays.<sup>190</sup> In any event, surely Nearchos (cf. Figures 4, 5) would have approved wholeheartedly of the result.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article investigates a theory first presented in a talk at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in 1981 (Abstract, *AJA* 86 [1982] p. 26). I would like to thank H. R. Immerwahr for his comments after my lecture, which have helped to broaden my approach; however, I have not had the benefit of his *Attic Script, A Survey*, which was in press during the preparation of this article. Several museums generously allowed me to examine Greek vases or provided new photographic details. My particular thanks go to Cornelius C. Vermeule, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Michael Padgett, formerly of Boston and now at the Tampa

Museum; Alain Pasquier, Martine Denoyelle, and Brigitte Talliez, Musée du Louvre, Paris; Dietrich von Bothmer and Joan R. Mertens, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Keith De Vries, University Museum, Philadelphia; Dyfri Williams, British Museum, London; David W. J. Gill, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Michael Vickers, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and Karol Wight, J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu. I am also grateful to Darice Birge for her expert advice on ancient Greek and to Alfred Willis and John Burleigh for their help. Finally, I would like to thank Joan R. Mertens for reading the manuscript and for her long-standing support of this study.

## NOTES

1. G. A. Christopoulos, J. C. Bastias, eds., *Prehistory and Proto-history* (Athens, 1974) pp. 66, 74, 82; D. R. Theocharis, *Neolithic Greece* (Athens, 1973) pl. 61; J. V. Noble, "An Overview of the Technology of Greek and Related Pottery," in H. Brijder, ed., *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (Amsterdam, 1984) p. 34.

2. "Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens" (1944) reprinted in D. C. Kurtz, *Greek Vases, Lectures by J. D. Beazley* (Oxford, 1989) p. 50. The infrequency of signatures and the reasons some vases are signed but not others are questions for another study, cf. p. 54.

3. R. M. Cook, "'Epoiesen' on Greek Vases," *JHS* 91 (1971) pp. 137–138; Immerwahr, pp. 341, 343, 345, 347.

4. M. M. Eisman, "A Further Note on ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ Signatures," *JHS* 94 (1974) p. 172, and Immerwahr, p. 345, for painters applying signatures in the Nikosthenes-Pamphaios workshop. In general, see H. R. Immerwahr, "A Projected Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions," in *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Cambridge, 1967* (Oxford, 1971) p. 54.

5. E.g., M. Vickers, "Artful Crafts: The Influence of Metalwork on Athenian Painted Pottery," *JHS* 105 (1985) pp. 108–128, and cf. M. Vickers, O. Impey, and J. Allan, *From Silver to Ceramic: The Potter's Debt to Metalwork in the Graeco-Roman, Oriental and Islamic Worlds* (Oxford, 1986). Interestingly, K. Reichold believed that the name given in the *epoiese*-signature belonged to the person who drew the design for the vase painting, and that the lowly worker who actually executed the final painting on the vase signed with *egrapsen*; see *Skizzenbuch griechischer Meister, ein Einblick in das griechische Kunststudium auf Grund der Vasenbilder* (Munich, 1919) p. 12.

6. For support of this view, see R. Rosati, "La nozione di (approprietà dell'officina) e l'*epoiesen* nei vasi attici," *Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze dell'Istituto di Bologna, Classe di Scienze Morali, Rendiconti* 65,2 (1976–77) pp. 45–73; cf. Guarducci, III, p. 474, and M. Robertson, "'Epoiesen' on Greek Vases: Other Considerations," *JHS* 92 (1972) pp. 180–183. Webster, esp. chap. 1, pp. 1–41, believes the signatures belong to the potters themselves who may have worked together in large workshops. See the general discussion in I. Scheibler, *Griechische Töpferkunst, Herstellung, Handel und Gebrauch der Antiken Tongefässe* (Munich, 1983) chap. 4, "Werkstätten und Meister," pp. 107–120.

7. G. M. A. Richter, *The Craft of Athenian Pottery, An Investigation of the Technique of Black-figured and Red-figured Athenian Vases* (New Haven, 1923) p. 39: "Furthermore, an examination of the incised lines on the black-figured vases—which clearly go over the black glaze—shows also that these lines must have been made while the clay was still leather hard. The ragged edge of the glaze along the incisions has sometimes been thought to indicate that they were made after firing. But just this effect is produced by cutting through dry glaze on unfired clay . . ." See also Noble, p. 65. But opinions differ; cf. R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 2nd ed. (London, 1972) pp. 251–252, 257.

8. Jeffery, pp. 68, 431.

9. J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London, 1968) pp. 32–33; 330–331: Late Geometric 1B.

10. J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London, 1977) pp. 298–299; cf. Jeffery, p. 68. On the translation and interpretation now,

see Guarducci (1987) p. 42, and B. B. Powell, "The Dipylon Oinochoe and the Spread of Literacy in Eighth-Century Athens," *Kadmos* 27 (1988) pp. 65–86, esp. pp. 75–82.

11. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, pp. 298–299; W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, 1989) esp. pp. vii–vii, 46–47.

12. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, pp. 301–302 n. 20, partial signature of Early Protoattic Analatos Painter; cf. S. P. Morris, *The Black and White Style, Athens and Aigina in the Orientalizing Period* (New Haven, 1984), who attributes Middle Protoattic pottery to Aeginetan workshops, e.g., inscribed Menelas stand, pl. 16, 30, 42–43, 122 n. 9, and pl. 7. For an important group of seventh-century Attic dedicatory graffiti, see M. K. Langdon, "A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos," *Hesperia*, suppl. 16 (Princeton, 1976) pp. 9–50; see pp. 9–10 on the Dipylon oinochoe and pp. 47, 49 on the alphabet and the spread of literacy. But cf. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, pp. 46–48 and passim, who argues against widespread literacy throughout the population of early Greece.

13. Forthcoming publication of ostraca from Athenian Agora by M. L. Lang; see Lang, "Writing and Spelling on Ostraka," *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topology presented to Eugene Vanderpool, Hesperia*, suppl. 19 (Princeton, 1982) pp. 75–87, and E. Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens," *Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple*, 2nd ser., 4 (Cincinnati, 1970).

14. Agora P 16755: T. L. Shear, "The Campaign of 1940," *Hesperia* 10 (1941) pp. 2, 3, fig. 2. On the writing, cf. Lang, "Writing and Spelling," pp. 77–79. But cf. Harris's stand against associating ostraca with the literacy of the average citizen, *Ancient Literacy*, p. 54. For the other known ostrakon of Perikles, which is painted, see H. A. Thompson, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1951," *Hesperia* 21 (1952) p. 113, pl. 31f.

15. For other genres of incised inscriptions on Attic pottery, see M. L. Lang, *Graffiti and Dipinti*, Agora 21 (Princeton, 1976); A. W. Johnston, *Trademarks on Greek Vases* (Warminster, 1979). See also B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C., Agora* 12 (Princeton, 1970) II, index IV on graffiti and other inscriptions and figs. 22–23 for inscriptions on vases.

16. F. Lorber, *Inschriften auf korinthischen Vasen, Archäologisch-Epigraphische Untersuchungen zur korinthischen Vasenmalerei im 7. und 6. Jh. V. Chr.* (Berlin, 1979) passim, esp. pp. 109–110. For a fresh assessment of the inscriptions and earlier scholarship on Corinthian pottery, see Amyx, II, passim, esp. pp. 547–615. Still fundamental is H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931) esp. pp. 158–169.

17. Amyx, II, pp. 548, 552, 563 no. 27, and p. 564 no. 28 (Timonidas), 569–570 no. 57 (Chares); cf. p. 591 no. 120 (Milonidas). On signatures of Corinthian painters, see also Mertens, "Thoughts," pp. 418–419, 429.

18. Pinax from Penteskouphia, Berlin "East" F 846; flask, Athens, National Museum 277. See reference to Timonidas in note 17 above, and Amyx, III, pl. 84.1–2; I, p. 201; I agree that "on both stylistic and epigraphical grounds" the flask and plaque are by the same artist. Cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 163, 314, no. 1072 (ca. 580 B.C.).

19. The signature reads *Timonida[s] egraphse Bia* (Timonidas [son of] Bia painted this); see Lorber, *Inschriften*, p. 38, and Hop-

pin, *Bf*, pp. 14–15. Cf. Guarducci, III, p. 438, and Guarducci (1987) pp. 54–55. For the Corinthian alphabet and inscriptions, Jeffery, pp. 114–119, 131.

20. Amyx, II, pp. 603–604.

21. Amphora, Athens, National Museum 1002: *ABV*, p. 4, no. 1; *Para*, p. 2, no. 6; *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 1–2; *Dev*<sup>2</sup>, p. 13, pl. 10.3, and *ABFV*, pp. 15–16. On this early Attic script see Jeffery, pp. 66–67, 70–71. The best single source for gaining a visual understanding of the development of Attic inscriptions is J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum, ein Bilderatlas epigraphischer Denkmäler Attikas*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1948).

22. But cf. note 12 above

23. Lorber, *Inschriften*, p. 109.

24. For Sophilos' signatures, see *ABV* p. 39, no. 15, Athens, National Museum, Acropolis 587 (painted); p. 39, no. 16, Athens, National Museum 15499 (painted, potted?); p. 42, no. 36, Athens, National Museum 2035.1 (new no. 15918; potted); *Para*, p. 19, no. 16bis, London, British Museum 1971.11–1.1 (painted). Also *ABV*, p. 40, no. 21, Athens, 2035.2 (new no. 15442; potted); D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, *Les "Louteria" Attiques* (Athens, 1965) p. 54. For an overview of Sophilos' signatures, see M. B. Moore and M. Z. P. Philippides, *Attic Black-figured Pottery, Agora 23* (Princeton, 1986) p. 79 n. 53, and cf. Mertens, "Thoughts," pp. 426, 434 nn. 53–54. Cf. G. Bakir, *Sophilos, ein Beitrag zu seinem Stil* (Mainz, 1981), pp. 5–7, pls. 1, 3, 6, 8.

25. The title is on the famous dinos fragment from Pharsalos of ca. 570 B.C., Athens, National Museum 15499, see note 24 above. For the nature and role of Sophilos' inscriptions, see A. B. Brownlee, "Sophilos and Early Attic Black-figured Dinoi," J. Christiansen and T. Melander, eds., *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Copenhagen August 31–September 4, 1987* (Copenhagen, 1988) pp. 84–85; *Dev*<sup>2</sup>, p. 17; F. Lissarrague, "Paroles d'images: Remarques sur le fonctionnement de l'écriture dans l'imagerie attique," A. M. Christin, ed., *Ecritures II* (Paris, 1985) pp. 74–76, 88; J. Hurwitt, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece, 1100–480 B.C.* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1985) pp. 223–224. On the script, see Jeffery, p. 71.

26. Florence 4209: *ABV*, p. 76, no. 1; M. Cristofani et al., *Materiali per servire alla storia del Vaso François, Bollettino d'Arte*, ser. spec. 1 (Rome, 1981) p. 177, nos. 28, 78, 86; also figs. 160, 201, 208, and figs. 62, 81, 83, 131, 133. On the signatures and for the use of *me* in a signature—the "formula of the talking object," see also Guarducci (1987) pp. 43–44, 433.

27. Cf. Immerwahr, pp. 341, 345, and Guarducci (1987) p. 433.

28. Cristofani, *Vaso François*, figs. 133, 136, 209 (inscr. no. 87), 232 (inscr. no. 112). See also A. Minto, *Il Vaso François* (Florence, 1960) pp. 88, 112. J. Mertens, "Thoughts," pp. 422–424, calls attention to an Attic black-figure practice of drawing with incision on black-glazed areas.

29. MMA 31.11.4: *ABV*, p. 78, no. 12; Gordion cups: *ABV*, p. 78, nos. 13–15. See *Dev*<sup>2</sup>, pls. 30.3–4, 44.1–3, and pp. 48–49. See J. D. Beazley, "Little-Master Cups," *JHS* 52 (1932) esp. pp. 168, 194–195, and M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975) I, p. 128.

30. MMA 26.49 (said to have been found in Attica): *ABV*, p. 83, no. 4; *Para*, p. 30; *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 23. Carefully described by

G. M. A. Richter, "An Aryballos by Nearchos," *AJA* (1932) pp. 272–275; see also Mertens, "Thoughts," pp. 428–429. The MMA aryballos illustrates the shape in Richter and M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York, 1935) p. 16 and fig. 103, and in Noble, pp. 25 and 156, fig. 153. Bothmer, "Makron," p. 46, places Nearchos first in his list of Attic incised signatures.

31. On the inscriptions, see R. Hampe, "Korfugiebel und frühe Perseusbilder," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 60–61 (1935–36) pp. 295–296. For the profusion of inscriptions and use of nonsense inscriptions on sixth-century Attic vases, see Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, p. 52.

32. Richter, "An Aryballos by Nearchos," p. 274; see p. 275 on the incrustation which ensures the authenticity of the signature. I believe most chipping of glaze in that area was caused by the joining of the handle plate rather than the incision itself. See Noble, pp. 11 and 65, where he points out that, even before firing, "If the vase was too dry, the incising flaked off the dry glaze matter along the edge."

33. MMA 74.51.364, ca. 550 B.C.; the lid (MMA 74.51.433) is also preserved. For the names, see R. Arena, "Le iscrizioni corinzie su vasi," *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie*, ser. VIII, vol. 13, fasc. 2 (Rome, 1967) p. 117, no. 80, pl. 28. Lorber, pp. 92–93, no. 153; but cf. Amyx, p. 598, no. Gr. 15. On the pyxides of this type, see Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 322. The Corinthian round aryballos of *Aineta* in London, British Museum 1865.12–13.1, has painted inscriptions on the handle plate and beneath the handle, Amyx, p. 561, no. 18; Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 162 n. 5 and p. 287, no. 480. Cf. Guarducci, III, p. 462, fig. 181.

34. National Museum 1055: *ABV*, pp. 346–347; D. von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and his World* (Malibu, 1985) p. 195, fig. 103.

35. I. K. Raubitschek, "Early Boeotian Potters," *Hesperia* 35 (1966) p. 155; the glaze has seeped into the incised letters of the signature; on shape and date, see pp. 161–162. Cf. p. 156, pl. 46.a–b, Louvre CA 128, Boeotian aryballos signed by Menaidas. See also Hoppin, *Bf*, pp. 17, 22, and Beazley, "Aryballos," *BSA* 29 (1927–28) pp. 194–195, 201 n. 2. On the shape, see also M. G. Kanowski, *Containers of Classical Greece, A Handbook of Shapes* (St. Lucia, 1984) pp. 26–29. For classification of Boeotian, see P. N. Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsonia in Boeotia* (Cambridge, 1934), and for dating, esp. "Ring Aryballoi," *Hesperia* 15 (1946) pp. 48–50: "... among the mourners at Boeotian funerals the use of writing (in the form of incised words or abbreviations of words scratched on the vases they put in the graves) comes in only about the middle of the century, and this fact is an argument for not putting the Boeotian potters' signatures much earlier." On the script, see Jeffery, pp. 89, 92.

36. For lip cups signed by Nearchos as potter but not painted by him, see *ABV*, *Para*, p. 83, p. 31: e.g., MMA 61.11.2. The potters of little-master cups Ergoteles and Tleson sign as his sons, *ABV*, p. 162, 178–183, 688; *Para*, 74–76. E.g., MMA 55.11.13 and 56.171.34 signed by Tleson, son of Nearchos, as potter. See D. von Bothmer, "Five Attic Black-figured Lip-cups," *AJA* 66 (1962) pp. 255–258, pls. 65.2–3, 66.6–7. For the kore by Antenor and Nearchos' dedication, see A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949) pp. 232–233, no. 197, and pp. 481–482; and Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum*, p.

10, no. 10, pl. 5. On reconstructing Nearchos' history, see Webster, pp. 5, 7, 9–10, 26. Cf. F. Lorber, "Epigraphik und Archäologie—Vasenschriften," in G. Pfohl, *Das Studium der Griechischen Epigraphik, eine Einführung* (Darmstadt, 1977) p. 104 and n. 34; he, incidentally, is unaware of early incised signatures and assigns the first to Andokides, p. 103 and n. 23.

37. *ABV*, p. 82, no. 1; *Para*, p. 30, *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 23. Graef-Langlotz, I, pp. 71–72, pl. 36.

38. Richter, "An Aryballos by Nearchos," p. 275. Cf. Bothmer, *Amasis*, p. 40. Guarducci, III p. 474, ". . . il verbo ποτείν, usato da solo, poteva assumere anche nell'Attica quel valore sintetico di (plasmare e dipingere). . . ."

39. Graef-Langlotz, I, pp. 71–72. The sketch lines are visible in Bothmer, *Amasis* p. 39, fig. 22. On the Achilles kantharos Nearchos also experimented by being the first to use white ground; *Dev*<sup>2</sup>, p. 37, and esp. Mertens, *AWG*, pp. 27–28.

40. Acropolis 607. *ABV* 107, no. 1, p. 684; *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 29; Graef-Langlotz, I, pp. 69–70, pls. 33–35. Lydos' dinos has been reconstructed by Moore, pp. 79–99; for the inscription, see ill. 1 and pl. 11, fig. 1. The fragments are reproduced by M. Tiverios, 'Ο Λυδός καὶ τὸ Ἔργον του (Athens, 1976), for the inscription pp. 15–16, pl. 1a.

41. *Dev*<sup>2</sup>, p. 38, pl. 34.1. On Lydos' name and way of signing as an indication that he "was immigrant from Croesus' Empire," *ABFV*, p. 52.

42. E.g., Berlin 1732, potted by Kolchos: *ABV*, p. 110, no. 37; *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 30; and Oxford 1966.768, potted by Nikosthenes, *ABV*, p. 113, no. 80; *Para*, p. 45; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, *Select Exhibition of Sir John and Lady Beazley's Gifts to the Ashmolean Museum 1912–1966*, exh. cat. (London, 1967) pl. 11.

43. Cf. Tiverios (Athens, 1976) pp. 15–16; Moore, p. 99 n. 166; cf. Guarducci, III, p. 475, no. 2. On the likelihood that Lydos was a potter, see also Moore and Philippides, *Attic Black-figured Pottery*, p. 83 n. 92.

44. Moore, p. 99 n. 166.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 99 and ill. 1.

46. Tiverios (Athens, 1976) p. 16.

47. Moore, p. 99.

48. Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 70, pl. 33c. Cf. fragment of Corinthian alabastron, Berlin inv. 3182., Suicide of Ajax—name of the hero incised on his body; Lorber, p. 50, no. 62, fig. 38, and Arena, "Le iscrizioni corinzie," p. 75, no. 12, pl. 4.

49. Several of Beazley's "signed strays" are objects evidently dedicated (and found) in sanctuaries and, therefore, bear incised inscriptions, including odd signatures, e.g., *ABV*, p. 350, compared to phiale from Eleusis signed by Sosimos, cup in Six's technique Athens, Acropolis ii, 1078; Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 84; *ABV*, p. 351, "anonymous" signature; Athens, Acropolis ii, 1348; Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 93, and Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum*, p. 12, no. 16, pl. 7. On "first fruits" dedications of potters, see Webster, pp. 4–5. See also the incised painter's signature (Sophon) and dedication on the lid of a black-figured pyxis, Athens, National Museum 19271; *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 402; S. R. Roberts, *The Attic Pyxis* (Chicago, 1978) p. 33, pls. 16.2, 17.2. Cf. note 146 below.

50. See notes 51–54 below. On the signatures, see Guarducci, III, pp. 474, 480; for idiosyncratic accounts, see Webster, pp. 12,

26; K. P. Stahler, "Exekias bemalte und töpferete mich," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 49 (1968–71) pp. 79–113. Many of the signatures on vases not painted by him are on cups; in general, see *ABV*, p. 136, no. 49, pp. 146–147, nos. 1–5; *Para*, p. 61. See also Toledo 80.1022: *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 400; *CVA Toledo 2* [USA 20] pls. 81.1, 82.1 [964.1, 965.1].

51. E.g., Vatican 344: *ABV*, p. 145, no. 13; London B 210, *ABV*, p. 144, no. 7; for both, see Arias and Hirmer, pls. 62–65 and xvii–xviii.

52. Berlin 1720: *ABV*, p. 143, no. 13; Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum*, no. 8, pl. 4. Munich 2044: *ABV*, p. 146, no. 21. For the shape, see H. Bloesch, *Formen attischer Schalen* (Bern, 1940) p. 2, pl. 1.1, and Seki, pp. 19, 26, 28.

53. Villa Giulia 50599: *ABV*, p. 146, no. 20; Hoppin, *Bf*, pp. 104–105; P. Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani* (Rome, 1930) pp. 212–213, with review of earlier bibliography. For the ships within the rim, see *ABFV*, p. 57 and fig. 102. Cf. the well-preserved black-bodied dinos, W. G. Moon, ed., *Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections* (Chicago, 1979) pp. 110–111, no. 63.

54. *ABV*, p. 146, no. 20. But cf. Athens, National Museum 2239, black-glazed kantharos with incised potter-signature as sole decoration: *Teisias epoiesen*. The potter Teisias of Athens typically produced such signed black-glaze ware. He may have been active in Boeotia, *ABV*, p. 177, and e.g., P. N. Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsonia in Boiotia* (1913) p. 9; Hoppin, *Bf*, pp. 347–349; J. D. Beazley, "Some Inscriptions on Vases. III," *AJA* 39 (1935) p. 475, and J. F. Crome, "Ein Kantharos des Teisias," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1938) cols. 76–77.

55. In both signatures (Figures 8, 9) the words run together; in both the verb is in the imperfect. The Munich signature (Figure 8) omits the iota in the verb and does not use the *me*; see note 26 above.

56. Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani*, pp. 212–213; Scheibler, *Griechische Töpferkunst*, p. 47. Cf. Robertson, *History of Greek Art*, pp. 133–134. For the Sicyonian alphabet and Exekias, see Jeffery, pp. 138–139, 141, 143. Similar information is normally conveyed by crudely executed graffiti, added after firing, often on the underside of the vase's foot. See Johnston, *Trademarks on Greek Vases* (note 15 above). Because these inscriptions also are reminiscent of Archaic dedications, one might wonder whether Charopos was simply a friend of the purchaser; e.g., according to J. Escher, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1899) III, col. 2184, no. 4, it was an epithet of Herakles. For incised inscriptions added after firing on funerary plaques painted by Exekias (*ABV*, p. 146, nos. 22–23) which appear to relate the plaques to a specific burial and not be written by his hand, see J. Boardman, "Painted Funerary Plaques and Some Remarks on Prothesis," *BSA* 50 (1955) pp. 51–66. For a red-figured vase with incised inscriptions that may have been added at the request of the purchaser, c.f. the squat lekythos by Douris, Athens, National Museum 15375: *ARV*, p. 447, no. 274; *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 241. My thanks go to Diana Buitron and Robert Guy for collaborating on the nature of these inscriptions by Douris.

57. MMA 29.131.6 and Civitavecchia 1524: *ABV*, pp. 166–167, nos. 1–2.

58. *CVA*, New York 2 [USA 11] pl. 14, 22.a–c; on p. 9 Richter

observes, "Before the first E in epoiesen is a dot; perhaps the painter had started the inscription closer to the figure and then changed his mind." See note 29 above.

59. *ABV*, p. 172; *CVA*, pl. 18, no. 1; Hoppin, *Bf*, p. 321. For the shape, see Bloesch, *FAS*, p. 31, no. 1, and p. 32; see also Seki, p. 19, no. 3, and, on the signatures, p. 113. For the painter Sakonides, see *ABV*, pp. 170–172, 688; *Para*, p. 71. See also H. A. G. Brijder, "Some Fragments of Attic Black-figure Cups in Amsterdam," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 49 (1974) p. 108. See *Para*, p. 72, and *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 49, for the incised name Sakonides on a band-cup fragment in Bucarest, not by this painter.

60. Vatican, Astarita 297. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 161 (bottom)–162, no. 2; J. D. Beazley, "Some Inscriptions on Vases: VII," *AJA* 1957, p. 6, no. x; see also Cohen, *Bilingual*, p. 354, no. C 30; pl. 76.3. The Vatican signature is scratched on more neatly and raised slightly above the groundline, enhancing the contrast of light letters and surrounding black glaze. Three interstrokes divide name from verb in the Cambridge signature (Figure 14), while in the Vatican one the two words run together. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1621, no. 4obis, and p. 1630, no. 1bis, for the Swiss market eye-cup. I have not seen its incised potter-signature.

61. Namepiece, Cambridge GR.14–1937 (37.14): *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 41, no. 40; p. 161 (bottom), no. 1; for the painter see under the Swiss market cup no. 1bis on p. 1630. Hoppin, *Rf*, II, p. 112, no. 1, and 113. *CVA*, Cambridge 2 [Great Britain 11] p. 55, pl. 5[514].1a–b. Cohen, *Bilingual*, p. 354, nos. B 55–56, and pp. 355–356, pl. 76.1–2. On the shape, see Bloesch, *FAS*, p. 31, pl. 8, no. 2.; Seki, p. 21, no 20, pl. 5.1–3, and p. 139, table 5.1.

62. E.g., D. von Bothmer, "Der Euphronioskrater in New York," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1976) p. 51; Cohen, *Bilingual*, p. 355; Immerwahr, p. 343. The only other incised signature of a potter on a bilingual eye-cup has been doubted, that of Pamphaios on side B of Oltos' cup, Paris, Louvre F 127 *ter*. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 41, no. 29, and p. 54, no. 9, and *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 163. *CVA*, Louvre 19 [France 28] pl. 23[1228].1–3. I argued for its authenticity conceptually in Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 325–326, but now have suspicions on technical grounds (thickness and depth of incision). I have not examined the cup foot with an incised signature of Pamphaios, Orvieto, Faina 114; see *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 130 n. 36. *CVA*, Orvieto 1 [Italy 41], inv. no. 3422, p. 11, pl. 28[1852].1, 3. On these Pamphaios signatures, see Immerwahr, p. 345, no. 29; p. 348, no. 10; p. 352, no. 59.

63. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, Epiktetos: p. 70, no. 1 (Orvieto, Faina, 97), no. 3 (London E 3), no. 9 (Villa Giulia and Heidelberg 18), p. 71, no. 4 (Leningrad 645), no. 7 (Berlin 2100), p. 78 (Rome, Torlonia, 158); Pheidippos: p. 165, no. 2 (Würzburg 467), no. 7 (Villa Giulia and Heidelberg 8); Cohen, *Bilingual*, Epiktetos: pp. 412–413, nos. B 87–89; p. 419, nos. B 90–92; pp. 424–426, no. B 93; Pheidippos: p. 439, pp. 454–455, no. B 102, pp. 460–461, no. B 104. For Epiktetos, see pls. 93.3; 94.3; 95.3; 96.1; 97.3; 98.2–3; for Pheidippos, see pls. 105.2; 106.3.

64. See band-cups signed by Archikles and Glaukytes as potters, e.g., Munich 2243, *ABV*, p. 160 (bottom), no. 2; *CVA*, Munich 11 [Germany 57] pl. 2[2771].7–8. See *Para*, p. 68, fragment of band-cup with signature of Glaukytes under the handle, Oxford, Ashmolean, 1966.1103; *Select*, pl. 12, 112. *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 47.

65. See e.g., D. von Bothmer, "Andokides the Potter and the Andokides Painter," *MMAB* 24 (1965–66) p. 204. See also

Bloesch, *FAS*, p. 14, and "Stout and Slender in the Late Archaic Period," *JHS* 71 (1951) pp. 30, 35. Cf. Webster, pp. 7, 12.

66. I have argued in Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 3–8, that the omission of inscriptions in the Andokides Painter's vase paintings suggests that this red-figure painter may not have known how to write, and that, in any event, he was neither the same man as his later black-figure collaborator, known as the Lysippides Painter, nor Andokides himself. All of this is controversial. Cf. *ABV*, p. 105, and *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 15–18. The focus elsewhere tends to be on the painter(s) rather than the potter, e.g., Hurwitt, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece*, pp. 285–286, 286 n. 11 cf. D. Williams, *Greek Vases* (London, 1985) p. 37.

67. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 3, no. 1 (Berlin 2159), no. 2 (Louvre G 1), pp. 4–5, no. 13 (Louvre F 203), p. 1617, no. 2bis; *Para*, p. 320 (New York 63.11.6). For Berlin 2159, see E. R. Knauer, *Die Berliner Andokides-Vase* (Stuttgart, 1965); for Louvre G 1, see F. Hauser in A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich, 1909) II, pp. 267–271, pl. 111; for MMA 63.11.6, see Bothmer, "Andokides," pp. 201–212. For the white-ground lip of the MMA amphora and Louvre F 203, see Mertens *AWG*, pp. 33–35. Louvre F 203 is reproduced well in color: J. Charbonneaux, R. Martin, F. Villard, *Archaic Greek Art (620–480)* (New York, 1971) fig. 343. For all the amphorae, see Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 106–110, 119–150, 153–157, pls. 21–27, 29.

68. On placement of these signatures, see Bothmer, "Andokides," p. 202; cf. Bothmer, "Euphronioskrater," p. 510, and Knauer, *Andokides Vase*, p. 6. For the verb given in the imperfect, cf. Exekias, Munich 2044 (Figure 8) and notes 52, 54 above. A calyx-krater in the Villa Giulia: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 77, no. 90, has an incised painter-signature of Epiktetos on its body. On the foot attached to this vase are the remains of the latter part of an incised signature of Andokides, which recalls MMA 63.11.6. In reexamining my notes, I notice no preserved join between this calyx-krater's body and the foot, and I am now inclined to believe that the foot does not belong. The foot's profile suggests it may have come from a lost amphora—a sibling of the Metropolitan's amphora. Cf. Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 4, 400–403.

69. For the omission of the iota in the verb, cf. Exekias (Figure 8) and note 68 above. See Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 3–4, pls. 1, 46, for discussion of painted signatures of Andokides, all of which include the iota in the verb: on a black-figured amphora (Bastis Collection), see *ABV*, p. 253, i; on black-figure half of bilingual cup, Palermo V 650, see *ABV*, p. 255, no. 7; p. 256, no. 21; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 5, no. 14; p. 37, no. 1: and on top of mouth of black-figured neck-amphora, British Museum 1980.10–29.1 (ex Castle Ashby), see *ABV*, p. 293, no. 7; *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 76; for Psiax, see *CVA*, Castle Ashby [Great Britain 15] pl. 6 [661].1–2. For other inscriptions with the name Andokides, see Bothmer, "Andokides," p. 202.

70. E.g., G. M. A. Richter, *Attic Red-figured Vases, A Survey* (New Haven, 1958) pp. 47–48; Arias and Hirmer, p. 304; *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica* (Rome, 1965) VI, s.v. "Psiax," pp. 533–534 (E. Paribeni); Mertens, *AWG*, pp. 36–40; D. C. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi, Patterns and Painters* (Oxford, 1975) p. 10. In general, see Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 196–239, 277–287.

71. British Museum 1900.6–11.1: *ABV*, p. 294, no. 25; see P. E. Corbett, "Preliminary Sketch in Greek Vase-painting," *JHS* 85 (1965) p. 24, pl. 14; Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi*, pl. 1.3a–c.

72. Karlsruhe 242: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 7, no. 4; Odessa, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 7, no. 5. See Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 207–208, pl. 39. The name Psiax without a verb also is preserved written in red on two bilingual eye-cups not by his hand. MMA 14.146.2: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 9, no. 1, p. 41, no. 38; Munich 2603: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 9, no. 2, p. 41, no. 39; Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 349–350, 352–353, pls. 74.1–2, 75.1–2.

73. CA 2182: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 164 (near Paseas): “. . . may or may not be the same as the Sokles whose signature appears on four black-figure cups (see *ABV*, pp. 172–173).” Add to the black-figure cups *Para*, p. 73, nos. 2–3.

74. Cf. Hoppin, *Rf*, II, p. 420. An early red-figured stemmed dish in the Louvre, CA 3662, which recalls Psiax, has reserved inscriptions. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 12, no. 11; J. Mertens, “Some New Vases by Psiax,” *Antike Kunst* 22 (1977) pp. 23–24, pl. 13.3. An incised painter-signature of Pasiades appears on the black-glazed shoulder of a white-ground lekythos in Athens, Agora NS AP 422: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 102, no. 1; Mertens, *AWG*, p. 205, pl. 29.1. The name is known otherwise only as belonging to the potter of white-ground alabstra: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 98–99, nos. 1–3; Mertens, *AWG*, pp. 128–129, 131–132, pl. 18.3–4; Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi*, p. 101 n. 5.

75. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 7, no. 3; on the history of recognizing Psiax’ name, see Mertens, “Psiax,” p. 22. Cf., e.g., H. R. W. Smith, *New Aspects of the Menon Painter* (Berkeley, 1929) versus G. M. A. Richter, “The Menon Painter = Psiax” *AJA* 38 (1934) pp. 547–554. For the signature and other inscriptions on the Philadelphia amphora, see Hoppin, *Rf*, II, pp. 202–203.

76. The surface of the Philadelphia amphora is poorly preserved. According to the conservation department of the University Museum, the vase appears to have been waxed in modern times. Darkened wax must have penetrated the letters of the inscription on the foot, making them difficult to see and photograph. The vase has not yet been examined under a microscope. Cf. Immerwahr’s comments on these inscriptions, “Projected Corpus,” p. 55.

77. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 7, no. 2; on the black-figure half see *ABV*, p. 294, no. 24; Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 229, 233–239, pl. 43; see also R. Olmos Romera, *Guías del Museo Arqueológico Nacional. 1. Cerámica Griega* (Madrid, 1973) pp. 48–51, figs. 16–19.

78. Cf. slant of the alpha and the nu, and especially deltas that do not quite close at the bottom right.

79. The careful placement and aesthetic consistency of Andokides’ signatures speak for their having been planned and executed by a craftsman rather than the workshop foreman proposed by Eisman (see note 4 above). For the signatures of Andokides painted on vases, see note 69 above. For placement of signatures on vase feet, cf. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, 76.AE.48, *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 401. This black-figured lekythos, attributed to the Taleides Painter, bears the potter-signature of Amasis on the underside of its foot. See B. Legakis, “A Lekythos Signed by Amasis,” *Antike Kunst* 26 (1983) pp. 73–74, pls. 19–20, and Bothmer, *Amasis*, p. 299. This signature of Amasis clearly is written by the same hand as the potter-signatures in the picture fields of vases painted by the Amasis painter; cf., e.g., Bothmer, *Amasis*, nos. 23, 24, 31. I believe the Malibu example provides proof that Amasis the potter and the Amasis Painter were the same man. Placement of the *epoiese*-signature underneath the Malibu vessel’s foot (rather than in the picture field) should mean, “this time

Amasis made (potted) me, but he did not paint me.” Cf., in favor of a separate Amasis Painter, Bothmer, *Amasis*, pp. 38–39.

80. MMA 1981.11.9; *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 405; see D. von Bothmer, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, Notable Acquisitions 1980–1981* (New York, 1981) pp. 13–14. The signature also is mentioned by Bothmer, “Makron,” p. 46, and by Mertens, “Thoughts,” pp. 425, 434 n. 52, in her discussion of the importance of Pioneer potter-painters, pp. 425–426. Traces of what may be light incision (rather than accidental scratching) may indicate that the writer mistakenly began to turn the iota in Euthymides into an epsilon.

81. For the shapes, see Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names*, pp. 3–4, 18–20; Kanowski, *Containers*, pp. 18–21, 108–111, and see Noble, pp. 12–13, 20.

82. H. A. Cahn and D. von Bothmer have compared the style with the Sosias Painter and early Makron; see *Kunstwerke der Antike*, sale cat. (Basel, 1972) no. 101, and D. von Bothmer, *Notable Acquisitions*, pp. 13–14. On the subject, see A. Shapiro, “The Origins of Allegory in Greek Art,” *Boreas* 9 (1986) p. 10 n. 36. For Euthymides the vase painter, see *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 26–29, 1620, and *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 404; for cup fragment, MMA 1982.386, see *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 156, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 29, no. 19. And see, e.g., *ARFV*, pp. 30–31; M. Wegner, *Euthymides and Euphronios* (Münster Westfalen, 1979) pp. 1–14, 29–35.

83. See especially the three amphorae of type A in Munich, 2307, 2308, and 2309: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 26–27, nos. 1, 2, 4. Many photographic details that include inscriptions have been published; cf., e.g., Arias and Hirmer, pls. 116–117; R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, *Griechische Vasen der reifarchaischen Zeit* (Munich, 1953) pls. 19, 21, 23, 25–28, 30–31.

84. See *ibid.*, pls. 18–21, 27–31, for the amphorae cited in note 83 above.

85. On Munich 2307 and 2308, see note 83; Turin 4123: see *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 28, no. 11; Bonn 70: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 28, no. 12; Adria Bc 64.10: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 28, no. 18. See *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 156; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 29, no. 19, for the cups: Florence 7 B 2, Boston 10.203, London 1952.12–2.7, Vatican, Astarita 121.

86. The challenge of Euthymides to Euphronios (“As never Euphronios”) written on Munich 2307, see note 83. It is often discussed, e.g., *ARFV*, p. 30; Wegner, *Euthymides*, pp. 33–34.

87. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 13–18, 1619; *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 404. Catalogues of Euphronios exhibition in Arezzo, Paris, and Berlin.

88. E.g., calyx-kraters with potter-signature of Euxitheos: Louvre G 33: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 14, no. 4; MMA 1972.11.10: *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 404; cup with potter-signature of Kachrylion, Munich 2620: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 16, no. 17; cf. Louvre C 11981: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 17, 21.

89. On signatures of Euphronios, see *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 13. Painter-signatures in picture field: e.g., Louvre G 103, G 110, C 11071: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 14, nos. 2–3, p. 15, no. 10; Leningrad 644: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 16, no. 15; Athens, Acropolis 176: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 17, no. 18; MMA 1972.11.10; New York, collection of L. Levy and S. White (ex Hunt): *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 404 (Munich 8953 also listed there as a signed work). Painter-signatures removed to cup feet, Munich 2620: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 16, no. 17, and ex Hunt: *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 404; on the cup-signatures, see text of this article.

90. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 13.

91. *Ibid.* and T. Seki, “Euphronios and Python, Analytical

Studies on the Structure of Their Cups,” in Brijder, *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, p. 155; for Euphronios as potter, cf. Bloesch, *FAS*, pp. 70–80.

92. See *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 313, e.g., definite signatures: Louvre G 105: p. 324, no. 60; Louvre G 104: p. 318, no. 1 (Figure 27); London E 44: p. 318, no. 2 (Figure 28, 29), Cabinet des Médailles 526 plus: p. 319, no. 5; MMA 12.231.2: p. 319, no. 6; Amsterdam: p. 322, no. 27; Boston 95.27: p. 325, no. 79; and Perugia: p. 320, no. 8. *Para*, p. 360, no. 93ter: New York, Bothmer. *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 404, Malibu, Getty 84.AE.8 and Malibu, Getty, 79.AE.19 (Figures 31, 32); Oxford, private joins Louvre C 11342: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 327, no. 97. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 19, no. 1: Berlin 2281 and Vatican, added by D. Williams, “The Ilioupersis Cup in Berlin and the Vatican,” *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 18 (1976) pp. 9–23. Manner of Onesimos, Athens Acropolis 434: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 330, no. 4. The other examples with the potter-signature of Euphronios are white-ground cups attributed to the Pistozenos Painter: Berlin 2282, Athens, Acropolis 439, and Taranto: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 858–859, nos. 1–3.

93. Louvre G 105, in red glaze on side B, *ARV*, p. 324, no. 60 “The first four letters of Ὀνήσιμος are now missing”; on the 19th-century history of the signature, p. 1645 (Bothmer). See Beazley, “Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens” in Kurtz, *Lectures*, pp. 54–55, on frequency of signing.

94. *Panaitios kalos* inscriptions, e.g., London E 44: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 318, no. 2; Baltimore: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 320, no. 10; Florence 3917: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 320, 12; Berlin 3139: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 321, no. 23; Boston 95.27: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 325, no. 76.

95. See note 89 for signatures in the picture field and on cup feet. Berlin 2281 and Vatican (note 92), in the exergue; Athens, Acropolis 434 (note 89), in the zone; Cabinet des Médailles 526 (note 92), under a handle. Cf. the incised signatures of Hischylos under a cup handle (Figure 15).

96. Cf. Immerwahr, pp. 341, 345.

97. Onesimos was apparently Euphronios’ pupil; cf., e.g., Robertson, *History of Greek Art*, I, p. 228; the investigation of early Onesimos by D. Williams (see note 92); B. A. Sparkes, “Aspects of Onesimos,” in C. G. Boulter, ed., *Greek Art: Archaic into Classical* (Leiden, 1985) pp. 19, 20. This may play a role in their similar choice of letter forms. Both men, for example, alternate between the tailed and untailed rho.

98. MMA 12.231.2: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 319, no. 6.

99. Cf. the very different painted potter-signature of Euphronios on Onesimos’ tondo of Boston 95.27: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 325, no. 76; L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Oxford, 1954) II, pls. 41–42. Robert Guy has independently arrived at a similar conclusion about MMA 12.231.2 (Figure 30); he is certain the signature of Euphronios was applied by Euphronios. I extend my thanks to him for a lively discussion of signatures.

100. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 318, no. 1, Louvre G104 and Florence PD 321.

101. Cf. Louvre Soklees plate (Figure 22), where an incised inscription better suits the style of painting (see text above). The fragment of a bilingual cup in the manner of Onesimos, Heidelberg 52: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 330, no. 1, with a black-figure and coral-red exterior, I take to be representative of the pottery shop of Euphronios rather than of the style of Onesimos; W. Kraiker, *Die*

*rotfigurigen attischen Vasen, Katalog der Sammlung antiker Kleinkunst des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg* (Berlin, 1931; reprint Mainz, 1978) I, p. 18, no. 52 and pl. 9 (only the red-figured part). Cf. B. Cohen, “Observations on Coral-red,” *Marsyas* 15 (1970–71) p. 8.

102. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 318–319, no. 2.

103. See note 95. For Euphronios’ cup-handle signatures, see Bothmer, “Makron,” pp. 46–47.

104. For the ex-Hunt Sarpedon cup, its unusual technical details and relationship to Psiax, see M. Robertson, “Euphronios at the Getty,” *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 9 (1981) pp. 23–26, figs. 1, 3–4 (for palmettes in the tondo, see also Getty 77.AE.20, pp. 25–27); J. M. Cody in J. F. Tompkins, ed., *Wealth of the Ancient World, The Nelson Bunker Hunt and William Herbert Hunt Collections* (Fort Worth, 1983) pp. 55, 57; *Sotheby’s Catalogue, June 19, 1990* (New York, 1990) no. 6. For reserved inscriptions, see note 74 and Bothmer, “Euphronioskrater,” p. 510. For Psiax, see Mertens, “Psiax,” pp. 31–34, pls. 11–13; D. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi Patterns and Painters* (Oxford, 1975) pp. 9–10; Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 207–209, 277–287, pls. 38.3, 56, 57.1–2. I prefer to see Oltos as a contemporary shopmate of Euphronios rather than as a source-teacher. In this context see London E 41: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 58, 51, now attributed to Euphronios as an early work; Robertson, “Euphronios at the Getty,” p. 26 and n. 2; cf. Cohen, *Bilingual*, pp. 379–382.

105. For incision in hair borders, e.g., the calyx-kraters, see *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 404: ex Hunt, see *Sotheby’s*, no. 5; MMA 72.11.10, see Bothmer, “Euphronioskrater,” pp. 485–512, figs. 12–13, 22–23, 26. J. Mertens, “A White-ground Cup by Euphronios,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 76 (1972) pp. 271–281. For fragment of Panathenaic amphora, Athens, Acr. 931, see *ABV*, p. 403; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 18, and K. Peters, *Studien zu den panathenäischen Preisamphoren* (Berlin, 1942) p. 56. Cf. the incised painter-signature of Sikelos on a contemporary Panathenaic amphora, Naples 112848: *ABV*, p. 403 (bottom), no. 1; Hoppin, *Bf*, p. 325; Peters, pp. 47–48. See Bothmer, “Makron,” p. 46.

106. Euphronios’ presence in Kachrylion’s shop documented by Munich 2620, see note 89; see also Louvre C 11981: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 17, no. 21; London E 41 (see note 104) is signed by Kachrylion, and the Sarpedon cup (note 104) must also have been made by this potter.

107. Tompkins, *Wealth*, p. 57; *Sotheby’s*, no. 6.

108. British Museum E 437: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 54, no. 4; see Bothmer, “Makron,” pp. 46–47. For reserved handles, cf. Psiax’s cup, MMA 14.146.1: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 8, no. 9, see Mertens, “Psiax,” pl. 12.1.

109. This handle signature was published somewhat incorrectly by M. Ohly-Dumm, “Medeas Widderzauber auf einer Schale aus der Werkstatt des Euphronios,” *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 9 (1981) p. 14, figs. 9–10, p. 17. (See note 111 below.)

110. Cf. Bothmer, “Makron,” p. 46.

111. Only the epsilon in Euphronios is not preserved. Ohly-Dumm believes only the letters ΦΠΟΝΙΟ to be preserved, somehow missing both the final sigma and the upsilon. In her fig. 9, moreover, the inscription has been illustrated upside down, obscuring the fact that the name is written retrograde.

112. Seki, “Euphronios and Python,” pp. 154–155; cf. Bothmer, “Makron,” p. 46.

113. Seki, "Euphronios and Python," p. 112; for little-master cups, see note 29.

114. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 314, e.g., W. Klein, *Euphronios, Eine Studie zur Geschichte der griechischen Malerei* (Vienna, 1886) esp. p. 183, and cf. P. Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blütezeit des strengen rotfigurigen Stiles* (Berlin, 1893) pp. 95–153, 447–448, 485, 487–488, 531.

115. An exception is the Kleophrades Painter, who sometimes employs incision for hair borders, e.g., Tarquinia RC 4196: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 185, no. 35; Arias and Hirmer, pls. 119–121; see note 124 below.

116. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 459; e.g., Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen*, pp. 270–306; Furtwängler, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, II, pp. 129–131; cf. note 114 above.

117. Bothmer, "Makron," pp. 29–52. For Hieron and Makron, see also *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 458–482, 1654–1655, 1706; *Para*, pp. 378–379; *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 405.

118. Incised examples listed in *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 458, nos. 1, 2 (Boston 13.186, Louvre G 146); p. 459, nos. 3, 4 (London E 140, Berlin 2291); p. 460, nos. 11, 20 (Leningrad 649, Athens, Acropolis 325); p. 462, nos. 47, 48 (Munich 2654, Berlin 2290 and Villa Giulia); p. 463, no. 50 (Louvre G 145); p. 465, no. 84 (Louvre G 141); p. 467, no. 118 (MMA 20.246); p. 468, nos. 144–146 (Cambridge 12.27, London E 61, MMA 12.231.1); p. 469, nos. 148, 152 (Louvre G 143, Oxford 1966.498); p. 471, nos. 185, 195, 197, 198 (Lausanne private, Berlin 2292, Villa Giulia 916, Louvre G 142); p. 472, nos. 199, 207, 209 (Frankfurt, Univ., MMA 08.258.57, Louvre S 1318); p. 482, nos. 37, 38, 39 (Athens, Acropolis 326, Villa Giulia, Munich, part of 2648); p. 816 (bottom), no. 1 (Boston 95.28); p. 817, no. 2 (Boston 98.931); p. 1654, no. 206bis (now Bochum, Funcke, S 507); p. 1655, no. 37bis (Philadelphia market). There are two additions in Bothmer, "Makron," p. 33, no. 19A and pp. 37–38, no. 185A, and two unpublished examples in the Metropolitan Museum. R. Guy, in N. Leipen, *Glimpses of Excellence* (Toronto, 1984) p. 14, notes that a handle with an incised signature augments *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 469, no. 164 (Villa Giulia), and *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 473, no. 220 (ex Florence 20B73), which belong together. One incised signature has been doubted—*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 462, no. 42 (Mississippi)—see *CVA*, Baltimore, Robinson, 3 [USA 7] pls. 4.1c [298.1c], 5.1 [299.1].

119. The exceptions are the incised signatures on two cups in Boston attributed to the Telephos Painter (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 482, nos. 32–33, pp. 816–817, and notes 1, 2) and one in glaze on the foot of a kantharos attributed to the Amphitrite Painter (p. 482, no. 34; p. 832, no. 36 [Boston 98.932]). Some odd signed cup handles and a cup foot (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 482, nos. 37–40, and *infra*) have not been joined to attributed vases. Fewer than half of Makron's cups and nine of his vases of other shapes are well enough preserved to determine whether they could have borne Hieron's handle-signature. Nevertheless, not even one-fifth of Makron's production appears to have been signed by the potter. Cf. Guy, *Glimpses*, who estimates that one-tenth of Makron's vases were signed by Hieron.

120. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.186: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 458, no. 1; Athens, National Museum, Acr. 560: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 479, no. 336.

121. Bothmer, "Makron," p. 52.

122. G 146: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 458–459, no. 2. Here the glaze has chipped, and letters are difficult to see.

123. Bothmer, "Makron," p. 47.

124. British Museum E 140: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 459, no. 3. Cf. Berlin 2290: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 462, no. 48, for a four-stroke sigma on a cup (Figure 36). Cf. the signatures on cups by the Telephos Painter (Figures 46, 47). On London E 140 there is a special use of incision for the grain in Makron's vase painting of Triptolemos; see C. H. Smith, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum* (London, 1896) III, pp. 137–138.

125. E.g., Athens, Acropolis 325: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 460, no. 20; see S. Karouzou, "Zur Makron-Schale von der Akropolis," *AM* 98 (1983) pl. 22.3; Berlin 2290 (Figure 36): *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 462, no. 48; Louvre G 143: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 469, no. 148; Louvre G 142: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 471, no. 198, and *Para*, p. 378.

126. On Louvre S 1318 and London E 61: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 472, no. 209, and p. 468, no. 145; the mistakes were not listed by Beazley.

127. MMA 20.246; see G. M. A. Richter and L. F. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven, 1936) no. 53, p. 76; Berlin 2290, see Seki, pl. 22.1–3, and note 118 above. There is an error in the L. Hall drawing (Figure 44 here) of MMA 20.246; a rho has been substituted for the pi in *epoiesen*. Cf., for omission of the iota, incised signatures of Andokides (Figures 17, 19, 20).

128. See Bothmer, "Makron," p. 45. Cambridge GR.12–1927 (Figure 46): *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 468, no. 144.

129. Bothmer, "Makron," p. 27. For Brygos, the Brygos Painter and his followers, see *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 368–424, 1649–1652; *Para*, p. 367.

130. E.g., on Berlin 2291, MMA 20.246, and MMA 12.231, see note 118 above.

131. E.g., Munich 2655, see *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 471, no. 196; Munich 2656: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 471, no. 186; Athens, Acropolis 560, see note 120. On punctuation, see Jeffery, p. 67; in the sixth century two dots are rarer than three. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1971) p. 9: "Such a division is still found occasionally in inscriptions of v and iv b.c. But by this time the letters are more often written in continuous blocks (*scriptio continua*), and it has become the reader's business to divide them correctly into words."

132. Ashmolean Museum 1929.175: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 480, no. 337. See Beazley, "Aryballos," p. 192.

133. Seki, "Euphronios and Python," p. 155; cf. Bloesch, *FAS*, pp. 91, 93, 95.

134. Cf. Bothmer, "Makron," p. 46.

135. See note 129. None of the names of the cup painters is preserved. See also *ARFV*, pp. 135–137.

136. Bothmer, "Makron," p. 47.

137. Cf. Immerwahr, pp. 341, 345, and *passim*. For a recent attempt to estimate the size of Attic workshops, see I. Scheibler, "Zur mutmasslichen Grösse attischer Töpfereien des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," in Brijder, *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, pp. 130–34.

138. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1911.615; see *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 399 (bottom), and *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 230.

139. Bothmer, "Makron," p. 47.

140. MMA 95.28, 98.931; see note 119. See Beazley, "Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens," in Kurtz, *Lectures*, p. 56. On the

Telephos Painter, see also L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1963) pt. 3, p. 54; *ARFV*, pp. 179–180, 195–196, figs. 378–381; C. Schettino Nobile, “Il Pittore di Telefo,” *Studi Miscellanei, Seminario di Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte Greca e Romana dell’Università di Roma* 14 (1968–69) pp. 1–80.

141. I would like to thank Henry R. Immerwahr for calling the difference in handwriting to my attention. See also Immerwahr, p. 343 n. 14. Both of these inscriptions have tailed rhos and four-stroke sigmas.

142. In the case of Acropolis 326, the interpoints are not shown in Graef-Langlotz, II, p. 29, but are recorded by Beazley, *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 482, no. 37; for Cabinet des Médailles 558, see no. 36 and Hoppin, *Rf*, II, p. 70. In addition to the above two examples of punctuation, a single interpoint in the Hieron handle-signature on Louvre G 153, which is written in red glaze, divides name and verb; see *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 460, no. 14.

143. Cf. Bothmer, “Makron,” p. 147.

144. Black-figure continued even beyond the fifth century B.C. as the traditional technique of Panathenaic amphorae, which were commissioned from specific workshops, see *Dev<sup>2</sup>*, pp. 86–92. See also K. Peters, *Studien zu den panathenäischen Preisamphoren* (Berlin, 1942), and *ABFV*, p. 170.

145. A. Fairbanks, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928) I, pp. 146, 184; the inscription is encrusted. Hoppin, *Bf*, p. 20. Cf. M. I. Maximova, trans. M. Carsow, *Les Vases Plastiques dans l’Antiquité* (Paris, 1927) I, pp. 93, 198; II, pl. 26, no. 99. See note 35. Raubitschek, “Early Boeotian Potters,” pp. 155–156, 162 (“Pride in his skill as a potter must have been one of the reasons for the makers of vases to add their signatures”). On other Boeotian vases signatures were not placed so cautiously; cf. pls. 44, 45, 51. On early Greek sculpture inscriptions were often written directly on the figure, e.g., the bronze statuette dedicated by Mantiklos and marble korai dedicated by Nikandre and Cherymyes; see J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture, The Archaic Period* (London, 1978) nos. 10, 71, 87, and cf. Guarducci, III, p. 399, and Guarducci (1987) pp. 46–47, 49–51.

146. See Mertens, “Thoughts,” p. 430. Significantly, the red-figured vases signed by Epiktetos and Myson as both potter and painter were dedications on the Athenian Acropolis: Athens, Acropolis 6 and 806; *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 78, no. 102, p. 240, no. 42; Graef-Langlotz, pls. 2, 72.

147. In *ARV<sup>2</sup>* Beazley classed head-vases, p. 1529, “according to the plastic part.” For application of slips and minimal decoration on early examples, cf. Mertens, *AWG*, pp. 147–150. For the technique of manufacture, see Noble, pp. 28–30, and “Pottery Manufacture,” in C. Roebuck, ed., *The Muses at Work, Arts, Crafts, and Professions in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969) p. 131.

148. Cf. Sotades (Figures 60–63), and see text below. For a signature in glaze, Figure 58; for other potter-signatures in glaze, e.g., *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 1535, no. 25, Rhodes 12913 (on the handle, in white) and p. 1539, no. 6 (on the neck of the head, in red).

149. Hoppin, *Bf*, pp. 318–319; J. D. Beazley, “Charinos,” *JHS* 49 (1929), p. 4; *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 1533; *ABV*, p. 350; *Addenda<sup>2</sup>*, p. 95; see also U. Gehrig, A. Greifenhagen, N. Kunish, *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung* (Berlin, 1968) p. 122, pl. 88.

150. Cf. white-whites of the large eyes on some black-figured eye-cups, e.g., Moon, *Greek Vase Painting*, p. 102, no. 59. J. Jordan, “Attic Black-figured Eye-cups” (PhD. diss., New York University, 1988) pp. 164–220, pls. 62–87.

151. In *ABV*, p. 350, it is called “woman’s-maenad’s-head,” but cf. *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 1533.

152. See note 67; Bothmer, “Andokides,” p. 209, fig. 1.

153. Beazley, “Charinos,” p. 38.

154. *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, pp. 1531–1532; *Para*, p. 502; *Addenda<sup>2</sup>*, pp. 402–403. See I. Jenkins and D. Williams, “Sprang Hair Nets: Their Manufacture and Use in Ancient Greece,” *AJA* 89 (1985) pp. 411–418, pls. 44–46; they favor an association with hetairai.

155. Oxford 1966.981: see note 154; J. D. Beazley, “Some Inscriptions on Vases: VII,” *AJA* 61 (1957) p. 5, vi. No signature is recorded for the unpublished Palermo fragment; see *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 1531, no. 5.

156. Mertens, *AWG*, p. 148. Webster, p. 19, associates Charinos with two craftsmen of central interest here, Psiax and Euthymides, on the basis of their use of a black checker pattern.

157. 6845: *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 1531, no. 2; Hoppin, *Bf*, pp. 66–67; E. Reisch, “Vasen in Corneto,” *RM* 4 (1890) pp. 314–315; Arias and Hirmer, p. 335, pl. 32; Mertens, p. 66. Cf. Proklees, Figures 57, 58.

158. Beazley, “Charinos,” p. 44, Acropolis Korai 682, 674. Boardman, *Archaic*, nos. 151, 158. For representation of Aphrodite as a head or bust, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae LIMC* (Zurich / Munich, 1984) II, p. 108, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias). And see note 154.

159. Noble, pp. 14, 137, figs. 102–103 (illustrated on an amphora).

160. R. Guy, “A Ram’s Head Rhyton Signed by Charinos,” *Arts in Virginia* 21 (1981) p. 2. For the archaic Attic alphabet, see Jeffery, pp. 66–67; chart of chronological changes in E. S. Roberts, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy* (Cambridge, 1887) pp. 106–107.

161. See Hoppin, *Bf*, p. 73; *CVA*, Tarquinia 2 [Italy 26], pl. 42 [1191].3 and p. 12, fig. 2; and L. Campus, *Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia II, Ceramica Attica a Figure Nere, piccoli vasi e vasi plastici* (Rome, 1981) p. 102, pl. 88; the handle was broken and repaired in antiquity, the repair partly obscuring some of the letters.

162. Berlin 686: *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 1531, no. 4; Gehrig, *Führer*, p. 123; A. Greifenhagen, *Antike Kunstwerke* (Berlin, 1966) p. 22.

163. *Addenda<sup>2</sup>*, pp. 403; technique and Archaic letter forms of the inscription not given. Guy, “Ram’s Head,” p. 2, fig. 1. The handle is not preserved. I would like to thank Herbert A. Cahn for allowing me to publish additional fragments of his head-vase.

164. Gehrig, *Führer*, p. 123; Greifenhagen, *Antike Kunstwerke*, p. 22.

165. British Museum B 631; oinochoe of shape I: *ABV*, p. 423; *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 1532. My thanks go to Andrew Clark for allowing me to use his notes and photographs of this vase and his tracing of the inscriptions; see his forthcoming Ph.D. diss. New York University, “Attic Black-figured Oinochoai.” Hoppin, *Bf*, pp. 68–69; the signature is not, as Hoppin says, “incised.”

166. Mertens, *AWG*, pp. 65–66.

167. The only difference here is the use of punctuation—two interpoints between name and verb—which was more old-fashioned and perhaps better suited the “black-figure” context. See note 131.

168. Mertens, *AWG*, p. 66.

169. See Guy, “Ram’s Head,” pp. 2–15; H. Hoffmann, “Rhyta and Kantharoi in Greek Ritual,” *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 4 (Malibu, 1989) p. 148, figs. 17a–b. See also H. Hoffmann, *Attic Red-figured Rhyta* (Mainz, 1962) pp. 7–10, 16, 19–20, 31, 33, 36, 41, 45–46, pls. I.1–2, II.1–2, V.3–4, and VI–VIII; K. Tuchelt, *Tiergefäße in Kopf- und Protomengestalt* (Berlin, 1962) pp. 136–143. On different types of plastic vases, see Kanowski, *Containers*, pp. 130–134.

170. Guy, “Ram’s Head,” p. 12 n. 9; for attribution, see M. Ohly-Dumm, “Medeas Widderzauber,” pp. 2, 9–12. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 360–367, 1648; *Para*, pp. 364–365; *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 222–223; *ARFV*, pp. 139–140, figs. 302–307.

171. Guy, “Ram’s Head,” p. 13 n. 16.

172. For the Triptolemos Painter’s “Kekrops,” see Guy, “Ram’s Head,” p. 9; cf. also the tailed rhos in his Douris painter-signature on Berlin 2286 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 365, no. 59). Lang, “Writing and Spelling,” p. 79, on the idiosyncratic use of the tailed rho. *Me* inserted between *Charinos* and *epoiesen* did not appear in the earlier signatures but seems appropriate for this; *Tiergefäß*; cf. note 26 above.

173. Mertens, *AWG*, p. 145. On Sotades’ use of coral-red glaze, see Cohen, “Coral-red,” p. 11; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 772–773; *Para*, p. 416. No extant link connects Sotades’ incised signatures with the Archaic phenomenon. Webster, p. 20, places him as a latecomer to Brygos’ shop.

174. In general, J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases, the Classical Period* (London, 1989) pp. 39–40. See also F. Brommer, “Themenwahl aus örtlichen Gründen,” in Brijder, *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, p. 180, and M. Pfrommer, *Studien zu alexandrinischer und grossgriechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1987) p. 44 n. 54. For other vases attributed to the Sotades workshop, but not signed, see *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 763–773; *Para*, p. 415.

175. C. C. Vermeule, *The Art of the Greek World: Prehistoric through Perikles* (Boston, 1982) pp. 183–184.

176. Kantharos: once Goluchow, Czartoryski, 76; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 764, no. 7, p. 772, γ; white-ground cups, London D 6, D 5; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 762, nos. 1–2, p. 772, α, β.

177. M. Robertson, *Greek Painting* (Geneva, 1959) p. 133; cf. Williams, *BMV*, p. 48.

178. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 772, δ, ε; on Boston 98.886 only the letters ΣΟ and Ε of the signature are preserved. On the shape, Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names*, pp. 29–30. H. Luschey, *Die Phiale* (Bleicherode am Harz, 1939) pp. 108–109, 147–148, 153–154. G. Lippold, “Der Plaste Sotades,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3 (1952) pp. 92–93. Cf. silver and parcel gilt Greek bowls and phialai, sixth to third century B.C., in the MMA, D. von Bothmer, *A Greek and Roman Treasury* (New York, 1984), pp. 21, 26–28, 47–48, 50, 54. Also H. Hoffman, “The cicada on the *omphalos*: an iconological excursion,” *Antiquity* 62 (1988) pp. 744–745, earlier bibliography p. 749.

179. Hoffman, *ibid.*, pp. 746–748, on the meaning and wear-

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180. Cohen, “Coral-red,” p. 12; Mertens, *AWG*, pp. 145–146.

181. Cf. D. W. J. Gill, “Classical Greek Fictile Imitations of Precious Metal Vases,” in M. Vickers, ed., *Pots and Pans, A Colloquium on Precious Metals and Ceramics in the Muslim, Chinese and Graeco-Roman Worlds* (Oxford, 1985) pp. 12, 17, figs. 11–12, and cf. the placement of an owner’s monogram on the lip of the phiale, MMA 69.11.11: Bothmer, *Treasury*, p. 28, no. 30. Cf. also Vickers (see note 5 above).

182. Summary discussion by A. G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions* (Cambridge, Eng., 1981) pp. 29–33, 89, as well as R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions* (London, 1938). The Sotades signature on the white-ground cup, British Museum D 6 (see note 176), is written in the zone below the tondo in two horizontal lines; see Hoppin, *Rf*, p. 430.

183. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 772, ζ. An eta is also substituted for the epsilon in Sotades on Boston 21.2286 (Figures 62, 63; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 772–773, ζ). On the omega, see Robertson, “‘Epoiesen’ on Greek Vases,” p. 182 n. 15; for encroachment of Ionic forms in fifth-century Athens, see Lang, “Writing and Spelling,” pp. 76–78; Woodhead, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 21–23. For insertion of an eta into an artist’s signature, a round statue base from the Athenian Acropolis: Raubitschek, *Dedications*, pp. 186–187, no. 166.

184. For writing in two lines, cf. ostrakon of Perikles (Figure 2, notes 13, 14). Cf. signatures of the Classical gem engraver Dexamenos, J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (London, 1970) pp. 287–288, figs. 466, 468; Guarducci, III, pp. 519–520 and Guarducci (1987), p. 438; Dexamenos’ letters conform to the Ionic alphabet of Chios. See also stoichedon-style inscriptions on Attic white-ground lekythoi, e.g., by the Achilles Painter, or the mimicking of inscriptions on stone monuments on vases by the Inscription Painter, Boardman, *ARFV Classical*, figs. 262–263, 257, p. 130.

185. Brauron 709 (inscription), other fragments include 707–708; forthcoming publication by Lily Kahil. For the other plastic vases, see notes 173, 178, 183; for Louvre CA 1526, see *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 772, and CA 3825, see *Para*, p. 416, and L. Kahil, “Un Nouveau Vase Plastique du Potier Sotadès au Musée du Louvre,” *Revue Archéologique* (1972) pp. 271–284.

186. Cf. the kneeling boy vase of ca. 540–530 B.C. from the Athenian Agora, which has no base and is nonmonumental in aspect, *The Agora of Athens, Agora* 14 (Princeton, 1972) pl. 93. Cf. also low bases of monumental Classical sculpture, Raubitschek, *Dedications*, chap. 2, esp. pp. 61, 153–154, no. 137.

187. J. Charbonneaux, *Les Terres-cuites Grecques* (Paris, 1936) p. 13; D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (Oxford, 1957) p. 222; Vermeule, *Art of the Greek World*, p. 183. The red-figure painting on Boston 21.2286 is not by the Sotades Painter (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 773).

188. Robertson, “‘Epoiesen’ on Greek Vases,” p. 182 (as in note 6 above).

189. On the bell krater, London, British Museum F 149; for the signature, see Hoppin, *Bf*, pp. 452–453. The technique of

inscriptions is not discussed by Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily* (London, 1989). For white inscriptions on fifth-century Attic vases, see Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, p. 252. Incision also was employed occasionally on South Italian pottery, along with white for drawing on the black glazed ground; e.g., on the reverse of an Apulian Gnathia calyx-krater, depicting a satyr and probably a maenad, in the MMA, 10.210.17b-d. See M. Mayo, ed., *The Art of South Italy, Vases from Magna Graecia* (Richmond, 1982) pp. 252, 261, no. 119, and J. R. Green, "Some Gnathia Pottery in the J. Paul Getty Museum," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 3 (Malibu, 1986) pp. 115-116, fig. 2.

190. MMA 24.97.104. Mayo, *The Art of South Italy*, pp. 82-83, no. 13; on inscriptions, see pp. 20-21.

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# A Fourth-Century B.C. Royal Kurgan in the Crimea

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**I**N 1930 The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired a gold plate, or revetment, for a scabbard, previously in the Bachstitz Gallery in Berlin (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> The closest parallel to it, and the only one known at that time, was a plate in the Hermitage Collection (Figure 2) found by I. E. Zabelin in 1863 during the excavation of the Chertomlyk kurgan on the Lower Dnieper.<sup>2</sup> In 1959 a third plate (Figure 3) was discovered by V. P. Shilov in the central burial of kurgan 8 in the Five Brothers group on the necropolis of the Elizavetovskoe settlement in the Don delta.<sup>3</sup>

Evidently all three scabbard plates originally belonged to sets of ceremonial weapons from the so-called Chertomlyk series, which consisted of two pieces: a sheathed sword and a gorytos, or bow case. Not only were the sheaths manufactured at the same time and place but they were also made from the same matrix. Moreover, in the Chertomlyk kurgan and in kurgan 8 of the Five Brothers group (hereafter the 8th Five Brothers kurgan), each sword in its gold sheath was found together with a gold gorytos, as a set.

By contrast, the origin of the scabbard plate in the Metropolitan Museum has not yet been precisely identified. Most scholars, beginning with G. M. A. Richter, suggest that it was most probably found in southern Russia, possibly near the town of Nikopol, where the Chertomlyk kurgan was located.<sup>4</sup> However, A. P. Mantsevich subsequently proposed that the plate could have been found in one of the kur-

gans in Macedonia or Thrace.<sup>5</sup> After the discovery, in the Great Kurgan at Vergina, of a gold gorytos<sup>6</sup> identical to the fragments of a silver gorytos from the Karagodeuashkh kurgan in the Lower Kuban region,<sup>7</sup> Mantsevich's hypothesis gained indirect corroboration and support.<sup>8</sup>

In 1988, while looking at working papers dealing with excavations in the Tauric Chersonese in 1914,<sup>9</sup> we read several documents that were of interest. They recorded the now-forgotten fact that a consignment of toreutic works had been exported from Russia, among them the gold scabbard plate that was subsequently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum. This served as a point of departure for our research, and our interest was stimulated still further by the fact that the subject under investigation was closely related to our area of expertise.

In this article we propose: (1) to reconstruct the history of the collection to which the Metropolitan's plate belonged; (2) to publish the complete set of gold objects that made up this collection and to identify its origins more precisely; and (3) to advance our own interpretation of the set's relationship to the burial sets of the "Chertomlyk" series that contained ceremonial weapons, as well as to describe the situation that existed in the Greek and non-Greek world of the northern Black Sea region in the second half of the fourth century B.C.

The discovery of a group of gold objects was first mentioned in a letter written in 1914 by the director of the excavations in the Chersonese, R. Kh. Lepere, to the Imperial Archaeological Commission in Saint Petersburg after a trip he had made to the town of Eupatoria.<sup>10</sup> At the end of his account of the

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Metropolitan Museum Journal 26

The notes for this article begin on page 119.

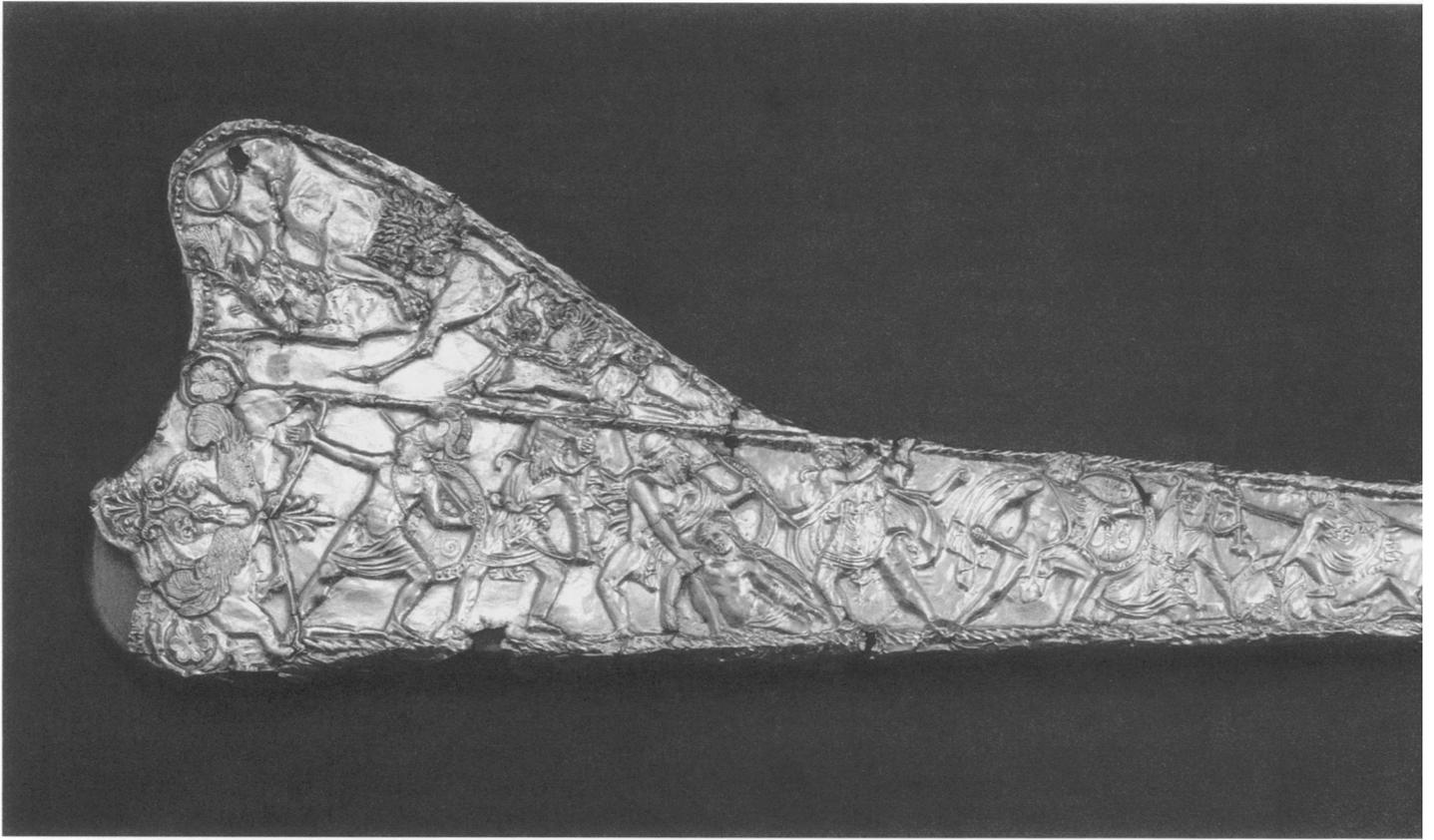


Figure 1. Gold plate for a scabbard. Scythian, mid-4th century B.C. Length, 54.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1930, 30.11.12

journey Lepere mentioned some news that he had heard from two independent oral sources: one of them a man called Liudzer, a Sevastopol antique dealer and a native of Eupatoria; the other an anonymous Eupatorian builder and contractor who specialized in buying up antiquities found by construction workers. From the contractor's more detailed information Lepere learned the rumor that a local peasant, who lived about 50 to 70 versts (ca. 53–75 km) from Eupatoria, was selling, for 1,500 rubles, four gold objects he had found on his land. They were: a bowl depicting a seated female figure, a torque, a "gold belt" with lion heads at each end, and, as far as he could judge from the description, a "gorytos of pale gold."<sup>11</sup> Although Lepere's informant had not seen the pieces himself, the second-hand description would prove to be quite accurate.

Realizing the exceptional value of this find, Lepere asked the Archaeological Commission to let him know as soon as possible if it would authorize him to locate the peasant who had found the pieces and offer him a substantial sum for them. Despite

the urgency of his request, he waited two months for an answer. Finally, Count A. A. Bobrinsky, the president of the Commission, wrote a letter asking Lepere to supply further details about the discovery and, if possible, to send the objects to Saint Petersburg for an expert appraisal.<sup>12</sup>

By then, it was too late to take steps. The day after he sent his response to Lepere in Sevastopol, Bobrinsky received a first, and the next day a second, letter from F. I. Uspensky, the director of what was then the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople. The first letter informed Bobrinsky that the Institute had been offered the same objects Lepere had mentioned in his letter. The owner was asking 15,000 rubles for them, ten times the initial price, and stipulated that, if the transaction were not concluded by the end of two weeks, he would take them to Paris and sell them there.<sup>13</sup> Obviously, the seller was not the peasant who had found the pieces, but a dealer who had taken them to Istanbul.

In his second letter Uspensky described the pieces in detail, giving their measurements and their



weight.<sup>14</sup> Naturally, his description was more accurate than that of Lepere, who had only heard a rumor. Thus, for example, Uspensky described the “gold belt” as a “hoop,” and the “gorytos” as a plate from a scabbard, comparing it with the Chertomlyk plate and noting the difference in the images on the flange, which did not show a griffin but a scene of a lion tearing a deer to pieces. He also noted the stylistic similarity between the ornamental motifs on the bowl and on a silver amphora that had been found in the Chertomlyk kurgan.

With his letter Uspensky enclosed five photographs of the gold objects. Two of these photographs—those of the scabbard plate and the bowl (see Figures 4, 6)—are now in the archive of the Leningrad Division of the Archaeological Institute of the SSSR Academy of Science (LOIA).<sup>15</sup> This time Bobrinsky’s response was immediate. Judging by the fact that his correspondence with Lepere and Uspensky is kept in the same folder as the documents dealing with the excavations in the Tauric Chersonese, one can assume that Bobrinsky must

have wasted no time in connecting the information he had received from Istanbul with the reports of the discovery of antiquities in the Crimea. Bobrinsky sent two telegrams to Istanbul, the first informing Uspensky that the question of buying the pieces could only be resolved after they had been sent to the Archaeological Commission in Saint Petersburg,<sup>16</sup> and the second expressing concern that the pieces might be fakes.<sup>17</sup>

The correspondence then came to an end. Obviously, the purchase never took place, nor was the collection of four objects moved to Paris, as its owner had threatened. Instead, it returned to the northern shores of the North Sea, this time to Odessa. One can only suppose that the reason was the outbreak of World War I. Because of the worsening military and political situation, the main archives of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople were evacuated to Odessa at this time. Quite possibly, the owner of the objects also returned to Russia then for the same reasons. In Odessa the collection passed to a new owner, Sch. Hochmann, a well-known antique dealer, forger, and trader in both genuine and fake antiquities. From a note that the distinguished German scholar Robert Zahn wrote in March 1931, we know that Theodor Wiegand, director of the antiquities collection in Berlin, saw all the objects at Hochmann’s establishment in Odessa during his trip to the south of Russia with the Greek dealer P. Mavrogordato in 1918.

In addition to Zahn’s note, the Department of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum also has copies of letters from other individuals that contain important information about the origins of the collection and its provenance prior to its arrival in Istanbul.<sup>18</sup> The principal facts are contained in a letter of June 14, 1924, written by L. Peshchansky, a former Eupatorian Marshal of the Nobility, to an unidentified addressee probably in Germany. In his letter Peshchansky stated that he was acquainted with a man (Abdulla-Islam-Ali-Oglu, a Crimean Tartar, judging by his name) whose father had bought all four objects about forty years earlier (i.e., in the 1880s) from another Tartar from the village of Chaian. According to Abdulla, his father had known the exact place and time of the discovery, but he himself could not remember and supposed that it might be in the vicinity of Melitopol or Kerch (i.e., in quite different areas). The objects remained in the family until 1914, when financial difficulties forced Abdulla’s father to sell them. Much of this

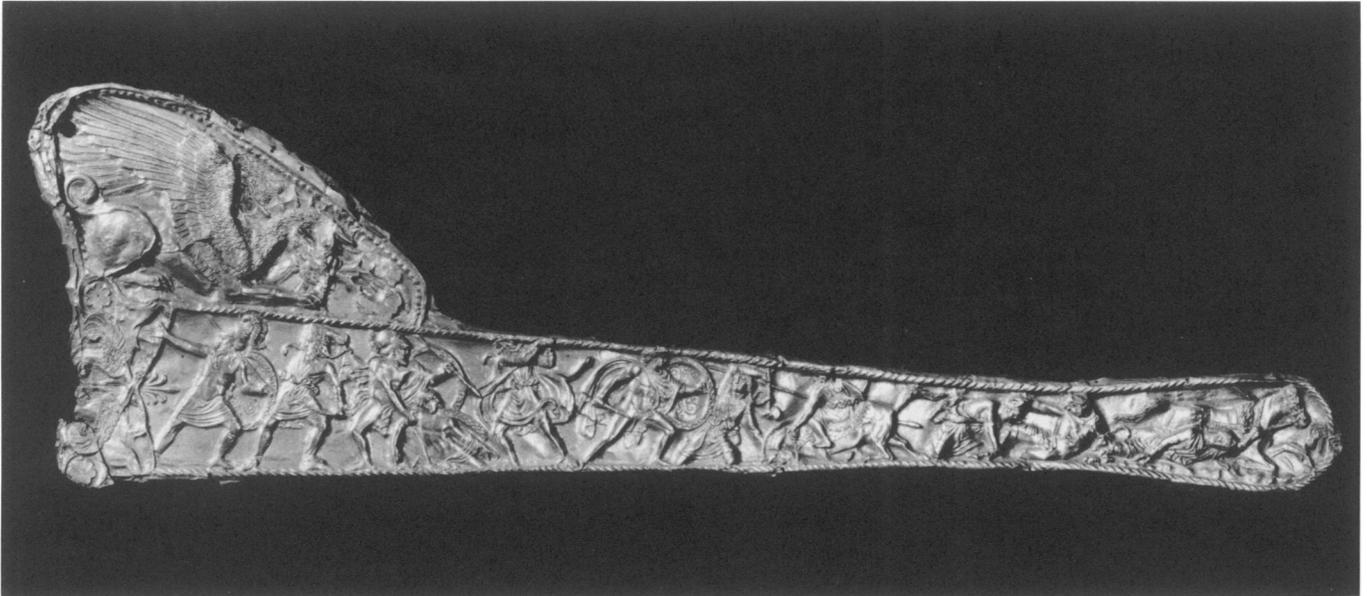


Figure 2. Gold plate for a scabbard, excavated from the Chertomlyk kurgan in 1863. Scythian, second half of the 4th century B.C. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum, Dn. 1863, 1/447 (photo: Hermitage Museum)



Figure 3. Sword in a gold scabbard, excavated from 8th Five Brothers kurgan in 1959. Rostov, Regional Museum of Local Art and History (photo: LOIA)

information (the date is repeated in another letter) is consistent with the facts about the sale of the four objects contained in Lepere's letter to the Archaeological Commission.

In another (undated) letter Peshchansky is quoted as saying that the noted Russian scholar (and, incidentally, an authority on forgeries) A. L. Bertier de Lagarde was interested in buying the pieces, but that they had been bought by a man called Kelissida, who offered slightly more for them. One must conclude that Kelissida (a known Eupatorian trader) was the dealer mentioned by Uspensky who took the pieces to Istanbul; he must have resold them later in Odessa to Hochmann, who showed them to Wiegand there. After the Russian Revolution Hochmann immigrated to Berlin and it was probably there that three of the four objects (the scabbard plate, the "hoop," and the torque) entered the Bachstitz collection.

In 1927 the three objects (still minus the bowl) returned briefly to their "homeland," this time to the Hermitage in Leningrad. In the photograph collection of the Hermitage's Department of the Archaeology of Eastern Europe and Siberia there are twenty-one negatives of the pieces and details of them, taken by a photographer named Ukhov (see Figures 5, 10, 16–21, 26).<sup>19</sup> The inscriptions on the envelopes show that they were at the Hermitage for nine months (Jan. 20–Oct. 20, 1927), having been sent there to be examined by experts and to be considered for purchase. At the time, however, the Hermitage had no money available for acquisitions, and the objects were returned to Berlin.

In 1929 a catalogue of the Bachstitz collection appeared in The Hague. In it G. Borovka published the scabbard plate and the "diadem" (see Figure 16), which had earlier been described as a "gold belt" (Lepere) and "hoop" (Uspensky).<sup>20</sup> Borovka proved the authenticity of these objects and dated them to the fourth century B.C., quite correctly comparing the diadem with twisted lamellate bracelets from the Kul Oba kurgan, which had been excavated near Kerch in 1830 and are now in the Hermitage, and the scabbard plate with the one from Chertomlyk. Borovka was the first to point out that seven fragments of gold plates from "a sword hilt of a form common among Scythian swords" and one fragment of "a square stamped plaque" were found along with the scabbard. All these fragments were recorded in Ukhov's photographs at the Hermitage. The pendant (see Figure 9) is not mentioned in Borovka's catalogue, as it evidently had already left the

Bachstitz collection. We have been unable to ascertain whether it has survived and, if so, where it is now.

The diadem (belt, hoop) remained in Germany and subsequently came to light in the possession of the Munich antique dealers H. Herzer and Company. H. Hoffmann and P. F. Davidson published it once more in a 1966 exhibition catalogue as an object from Kerch.<sup>21</sup>

We have no information about the fate of the gold bowl, except that in the 1930s and 1940s it was still in Hochmann's possession, probably because specialists had serious doubts about its authenticity. This is clear from Zahn's letter to Hochmann (June 23, 1936), in which he says that the bowl seemed extremely suspicious. He felt that it was a fairly exact copy of a genuine piece and that the style of the original was compromised by the handling of the details. "Das macht das Stück höchst verdächtig," Zahn concluded. The Museum's files record that the object was offered for sale at least twice more, in the 1940s and the 1950s.

Judging from the correspondence cited above, one must conclude that Hochmann had no information about the provenance of the four objects and thought of all four of them as a collection, not as a set. He was informed orally of their origins by Wiegand, after the latter's return from Leningrad and his visit to Peshchansky in the summer of 1927. Wiegand later repeated this in a letter to Hochmann (Nov. 16, 1931), citing Peshchansky's claim that the pieces came from the same burial near Kerch. It appears that Wiegand, in trying to clarify the conditions under which the collection appeared, was not convinced that the bowl was a clever fake. Clearly he was interested in getting at the truth, but we have been unable to find out whether there was any direct connection between his visit to Leningrad and then to Peshchansky, and the delivery of the three objects to the Hermitage for examination. Such a connection seems highly probable.

Let us now examine the objects that formed part of the original collection offered to the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople.

1. A gold plate for a scabbard (Figure 4) and gold plaques from a hilt typical of Scythian swords (Figure 5). Since a detailed description and analysis of the plate have been made by Richter and other scholars, we will merely touch upon the question of its date of execution.

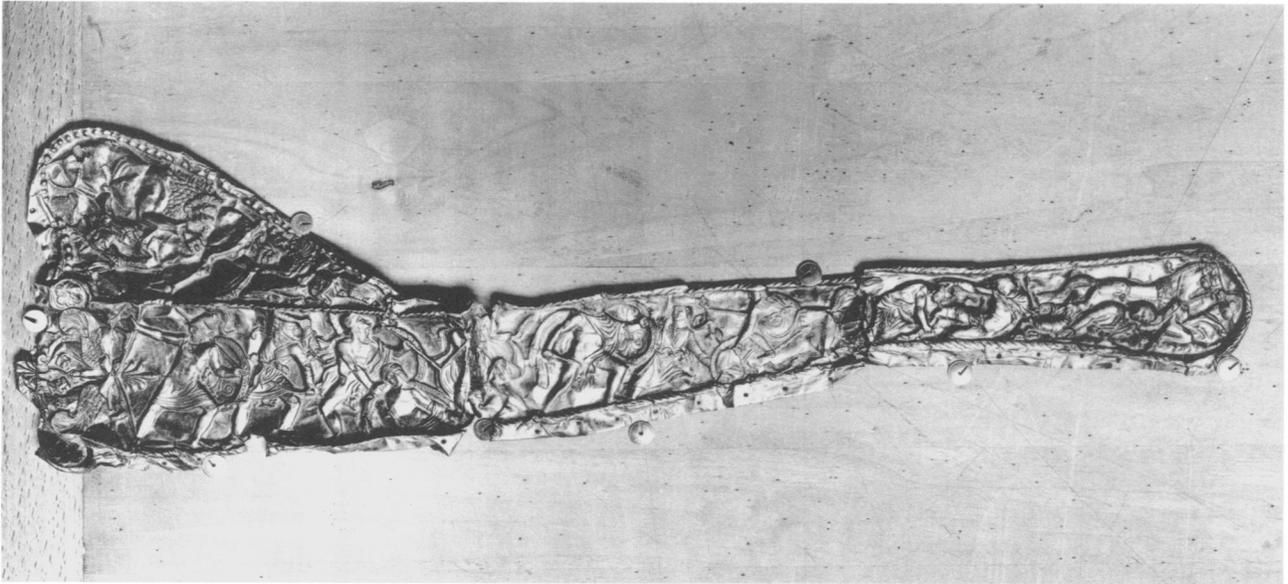


Figure 4. Gold plate in Figure 1, as offered to the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople in 1914. Now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, see Figure 1 (photo, 1914: Hermitage Museum Photo Collection, Oriental Department Q.255.84)

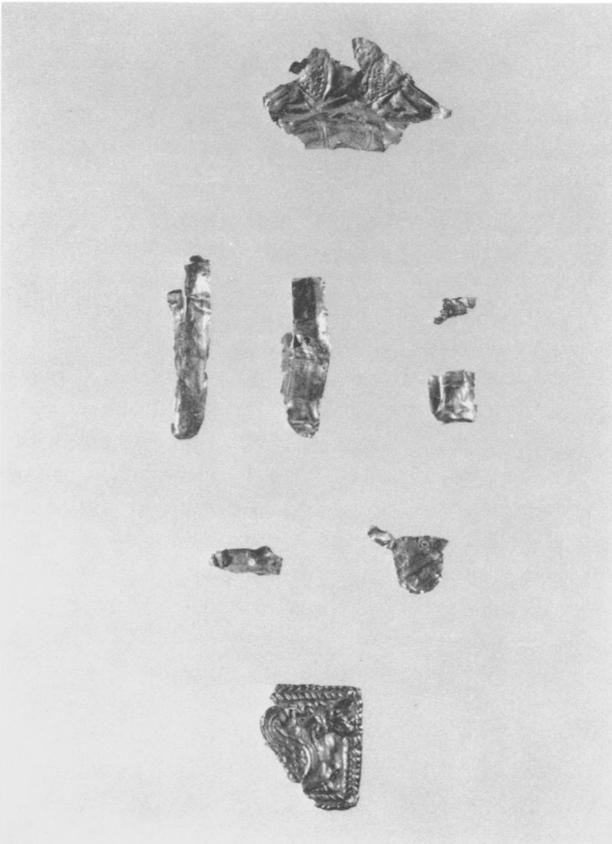


Figure 5. Gold fragments said to have been found with gold plate in Figure 1. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1930, 30.11.12a-h

Despite certain differences between the Museum's plate and those from the Chertomlyk and 8th Five Brothers kurgans—namely, the presence of a design on the side of the flange—there can be little doubt that all three scabbard plates and the four gorytoi (from the Chertomlyk, Ilyintsy,<sup>22</sup> Melitopol,<sup>23</sup> and 8th Five Brothers kurgans) belong to the same series, produced if not at the same time, then with only a short interval between them. Clearly, another series of ceremonial gorytoi represented by examples from Vergina and Karagodeuashkh is directly connected in time to the Chertomlyk series.<sup>24</sup>

On the basis of these sets as well as other evidence, the date at which the burials containing gorytoi took place can be fixed to within two or three decades, but not earlier than 350 B.C. Tomb II at Vergina is dated to 350–325 B.C.,<sup>25</sup> Karagodeuashkh to about 350/340–275,<sup>26</sup> Ilyintsy to 350–320,<sup>27</sup> and Melitopol to about 330–310<sup>28</sup> or 340–320.<sup>29</sup> With the introduction of I. B. Brashinsky's method of dating the kurgans of Scythian nobility from the stamped ceramic amphorae that were the very last objects added to the funerary inventory (and which were in use for a relatively brief period),<sup>30</sup> the construction of the Chertomlyk kurgan has been dated to the late fourth century or the turn of the fourth–third centuries B.C.<sup>31</sup> Initially, Brashinsky dated the 8th Five Brothers kurgan to 325–300 B.C. on the basis of the stamped amphorae from

Heraclea Pontica and Sinope, which were in the dromos of the central tomb,<sup>32</sup> but after establishing the chronology of the Heracleian stamps more precisely, he later changed this date to 350–325.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, he correctly pointed out that the dating for this entire set of amphorae was fixed by a Sinopean amphora bearing the stamp of the *astynomos*, or civil magistrate, Khabrios (χαβριος), who was one of the very last of the Sinopean *astynomoi* from B. N. Grakov's first chronological group.<sup>34</sup> It is reasonably certain that the production of amphorae bearing the marks of the first group began in the late 360s B.C.<sup>35</sup> Among the twenty Sinopean *astynomoi* of the first group that are now known, Khabrios was probably in office in the 4th century B.C., between the 340s and the 330s. It is to this period that we must date the burials in the 8th Five Brothers kurgan that included the ceremonial sword and gorytos from the Chertomlyk series.

A comparison of the sets of objects from the aforementioned kurgans allowed A. Iu. Alekseev to place the scabbards and gorytoi from the Chertomlyk and Karagodeuashkh series of 340–320 B.C. in chronological order.<sup>36</sup> However, taking into consideration the more precise date of burial in the 8th Five Brothers kurgan given above, one must conclude that both series of ceremonial weapons were produced before 340 B.C. It is significant that this date also agrees with the time of burial in the tomb of the Great Kurgan near Vergina, if we accept Andronikos's hypothesis that Philip II (r. 359–336 B.C.) was buried there.<sup>37</sup>

All of these facts suggest that both series of ceremonial weapons, which were most probably created specifically for nomadic "barbarian" chiefs, appeared sometime around 350 B.C. and that from 340 on they began to be included in the burials of the upper nobility. The latest of these burials is that at Chertomlyk. In this connection, it should be recalled that M. I. Rostovtsev, who objected to G. M. A. Richter's earlier chronology, dated the construction of the "royal" Scythian kurgans to immediately before the reign of Alexander (r. 336–323 B.C.),<sup>38</sup> while M. I. Artamanov, basing his argument on the style of the scabbard and gorytos from Chertomlyk, dated them (together with the actual burial in the kurgan) close to the middle of the fourth century B.C.<sup>39</sup>

2. The gold bowl (Figure 6), present whereabouts unknown. According to Uspensky's measurements, its diameter is 15 centimeters, depth 4.5 centime-

ters, thickness about 0.1 centimeter, weight 146.5 grams. Around the edge there is a band of alternating lotuses and palmette tendrils. In the center is the figure of a seated goddess turned to her right, wearing a long chiton and pointing with her right hand, while with her left she clutches her chiton to her waist. The goddess is framed by spiraling palmette tendrils, which grow out of two palmettes at top and bottom, with pomegranate buds and blossoms. On each side of the central figure two long-beaked water birds stand in heraldic poses on the tendrils, drinking nectar from the "cups" of the flowers.

This composition on the bottom of the bowl duplicates a scene that is repeated four times on two cylindrical gold plaques from a *bashlyk*, or headdress (Figures 7, 8), found in a painted wooden sarcophagus in the Kul Oba kurgan.<sup>40</sup> But there are also major differences in the handling of details: in the folds of the clothing and the coiffure of the seated figure, which give her a more archaic quality; in the form of the palmettes, flowers, buds, and birds; and in the absence of acanthus leaves.

It is very likely that these differences in detail, so uncommon among the toreutic pieces from the kurgans of Scythia and the Bosphorus that were known at the beginning of this century, disturbed Zahn as well as other specialists and led them to doubt the bowl's authenticity. Of course, without access to the original we cannot draw any definitive conclusions or insist on our own interpretation. Nevertheless, it seems to us that it is precisely those "mistakes" in the rendering of the details that add support to the bowl's authenticity rather than prove it was made by modern forgers in one of the famous South Russian schools that faked antiquities.

Experienced forgers, including the brothers K. and Sch. Hochmann and the jewelers who worked for them creating bona fide works of art, tried to copy exactly not only the style of a piece but above all the details. A fake can therefore be identified by detecting the mistakes made in reproducing authentic objects, as well as the details that could not have been known, or that became known from later discoveries.<sup>41</sup> For example, at one time Rostovtzev expressed doubts about the authenticity of a gold plaque from a headdress found in one of the kurgans near the village of Sakhnovka in 1901,<sup>42</sup> and it took more than sixty years for S. S. Bessonova and D. S. Raevsky to produce evidence that provides its undoubted authenticity.<sup>43</sup>

Several more circumstantial details should be con-



Figure 6. Gold bowl offered to the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople in 1914. Present location unknown (photo, 1914: Hermitage Museum Photo Collection, Oriental Department Q.255.78)

sidered. Obviously, it was a matter of no small importance that the collection belonged to Hochmann, whose fame as a forger was so well known to specialists that it put them on their guard. But after the scandalous exposure in 1903 of the famous speculation on the “Tiara of Saitaphernes,” which came from the Hochmann firm, Sch. Hochmann left the business and his brother, K. Hochmann, switched

over to forging silver antiquities, since the faking of gold had begun to arouse particularly grave suspicions on the antiquities market.<sup>44</sup> It is important to note that Sch. Hochmann obviously had no information about the time and place of the objects’ discovery. As noted above, Wiegand gave him this information only after he first saw the collection many years later. Finally, we must take into account the

fact that, according to Peshchansky, Bertier de Lagarde, one of the foremost authorities on forgeries and himself the author of a special treatise on the subject, wanted to buy the collection. Moreover, Uspensky in his second letter pointed out the absolutely identical technique used in making the scabbard plate and the bowl.

3. The gold torque (Figure 9), present location unknown. According to Uspensky, it is 70 centimeters long; the cross-section of the circlet/hoop/ring is 0.5 centimeters; and it weighs 345 grams. It is cast in the form of a round, smooth rod. The finials are decorated with beading, which forms a transition to recumbent lions or lionesses at each end. The ornament consists of three biconical “beads” separated by four flattened biconical ones. The lion figures are shown in the tense pose of predators, lying close to the ground (Figure 10). Each massive neck and head rests on the extended front paws, while the back paws are drawn up under the belly. The paws are slender with unarticulated tips. The jaws of the blunt-muzzled head are closed. The eyes and nostrils are carefully worked, and the large ears are triangular. The animals’ specific features have been depicted quite realistically and accurately.

If we follow V. G. Petrenko’s chronology, our ex-

ample should be dated to section IV, type 2, variant 2.<sup>45</sup> But whereas Petrenko’s date is based on the form of the torque’s shaft, for us the decisive evidence is the subject matter and the stylistic treatment of the decoration at each end—in this case the figures of the lions or lionesses, the presence or absence of the “pearl” type ornament, and the way it is treated.

The group of circlets of this type is not large. In addition to the one published here, we know of seven other examples. All of them come from the subkurgan burials of the second half of the fourth century B.C.; they are scattered throughout the steppe zone of the northern Black Sea region, from the Don delta in the east to the right bank on the Lower Bug in the west, including the Crimean plains (see Figure 31). Only one torque, from the kurgan of the second kurgan group near the village of Kovalevka,<sup>46</sup> is made of silver, the other six are made of gold.

Closest to our published torque in terms of the stylistic similarity of the animals and the ornamentation on the finials is the example in the Hermitage Collection, which comes from the northwestern Crimea (Figures 11–12).<sup>47</sup> It was found in 1893 during excavations by peasant grave robbers on the estate of I. Gert near the village of Apan-Sarcha, approx-



Figure 7. Gold cylindrical element from a headdress, excavated from the Kul Oba kurgan in 1830. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum (photo: Hermitage Museum)



Figure 8. Side view of Figure 7 (photo: Hermitage Museum)

imately 18 to 20 kilometers north of Eupatoria (in the region of what is now the village of Bashtanovka).<sup>48</sup> Also very similar in style and execution are the lionesses on three other decorated torques: the first from kurgan no. 22 in the third Krasno Perekopsk kurgan complex near the village of Vilna Ukraina on the left bank of the Lower Dnieper (Figure 13);<sup>49</sup> the second from the northwest chamber of the Chertomlyk kurgan (Figure 14);<sup>50</sup> and the third from the central tomb of the 8th Five Brothers kurgan, which has a smooth rather than a decorated shaft (Figure 15).<sup>51</sup> Less similar in style are the lions on the ends of the torques from Kul Oba<sup>52</sup> and kurgan 2 near Kovalevka, as well as the torques with smooth shafts from the southwest chamber at Chertomlyk.<sup>53</sup> However, the rendering of the lion on the silver torque from Kovalevka differs only in its greater stylization.

The examples examined above allow us to include the torque published here in the small group of toreutic works that, on the basis of the composition of the burial sets, can be dated as a whole to the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. (ca. 350–325).

4. The gold diadem-bracelet (Borovka), belt (Lepere, Hoffmann, and Davidson), or hoops (Uspensky) (Figures 16–21),<sup>54</sup> now owned by the Munich antiques firm H. Herzer and Co. According to Uspensky, its length is 54 centimeters, width 1.2 centimeters (Borovka puts it at 1.3 cm), thickness about 0.1 centimeter, weight 117 grams. Hoffmann and Davidson record the length as 53 centimeters and the width as 1.2 centimeters. But, again according

to Uspensky's description of the object, there are traces of three breaks with later repairs in the right-hand section. The pieces have been soldered together in the areas of the breaks with a paler gold and riveted. Traces of the repairs are clearly visible in the photographs taken in 1914 and 1927. All of this detail matches the descriptions by both Uspensky and Peschansky. The left end of the band has broken off.

The entire length of the object is filled with a frieze of repeated and alternating scenes of animals in combat. The frieze consists of four scenes (from left to right): two lions attacking a boar, two lions

Figure 10. Detail of finials of torque in Figure 9 (photo, 1927: Hermitage Museum Photo Collection, Archaeology Department Sk.1/1)

Figure 11. Gold torque excavated from Apan-Sarch in 1893. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum, 1893.1.1 (photo: Hermitage Museum)

Figure 12. Detail of Figure 11 (photo: Hermitage Museum)

Figure 13. Gold torque, excavated from kurgan 22, group III at Vilna Ukraina in 1970. Kiev, Museum of Historical Treasures of the USSR (photo: A. M. Leskov)

Figure 14. Gold torque excavated from the Chertomlyk kurgan in 1863. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum, Dn. 1863,1/187 (photo: Hermitage Museum)

Figure 15. Detail of gold torque excavated from the 8th Five Brothers kurgan in 1959. Rostov, Regional Museum of Local Art and History (photo: LOIA)

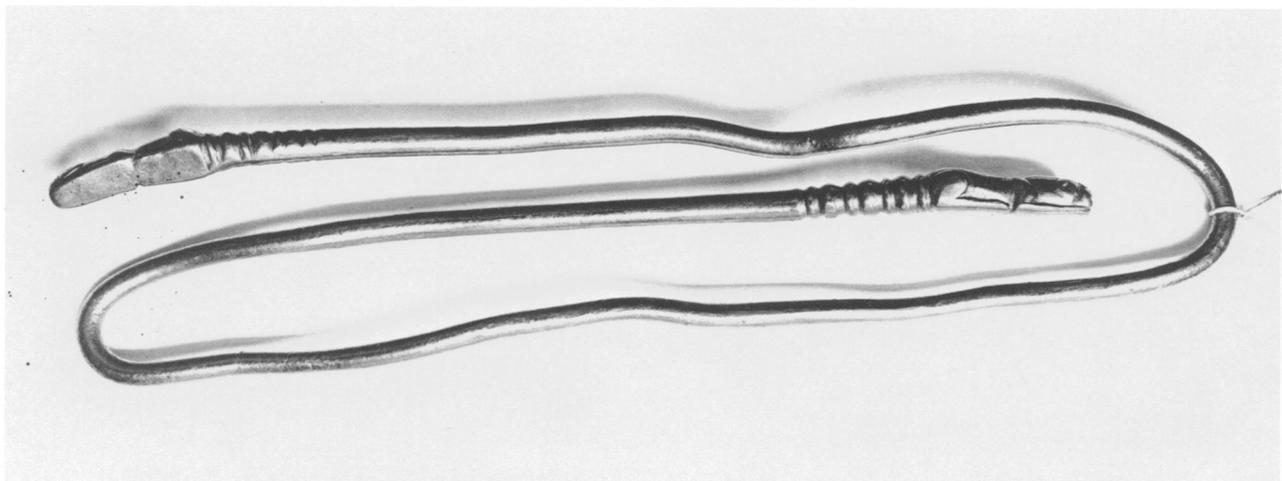


Figure 9. Gold torque offered to the Imperial Russian Institute in Constantinople in 1914. Present location unknown (photo, 1914: Hermitage Museum Photo Collection, Oriental Department Q255.79)

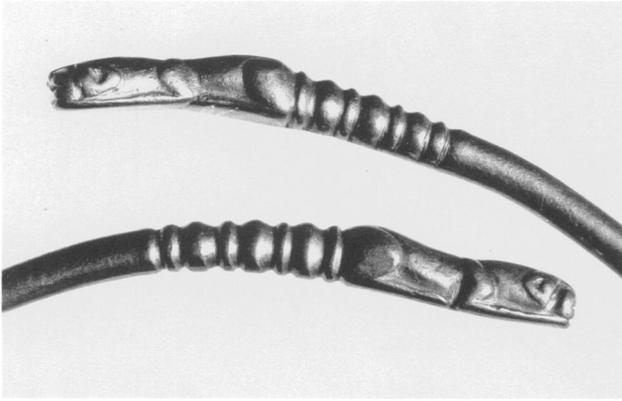


Fig. 10

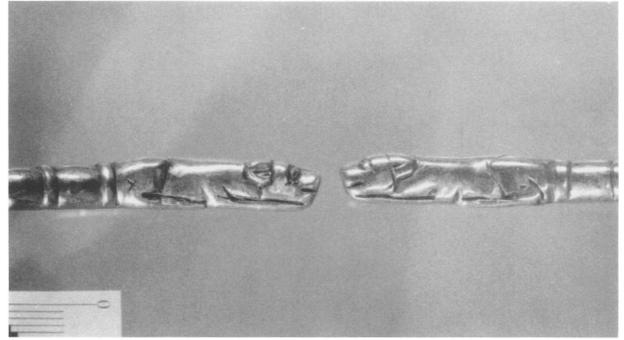


Fig. 12

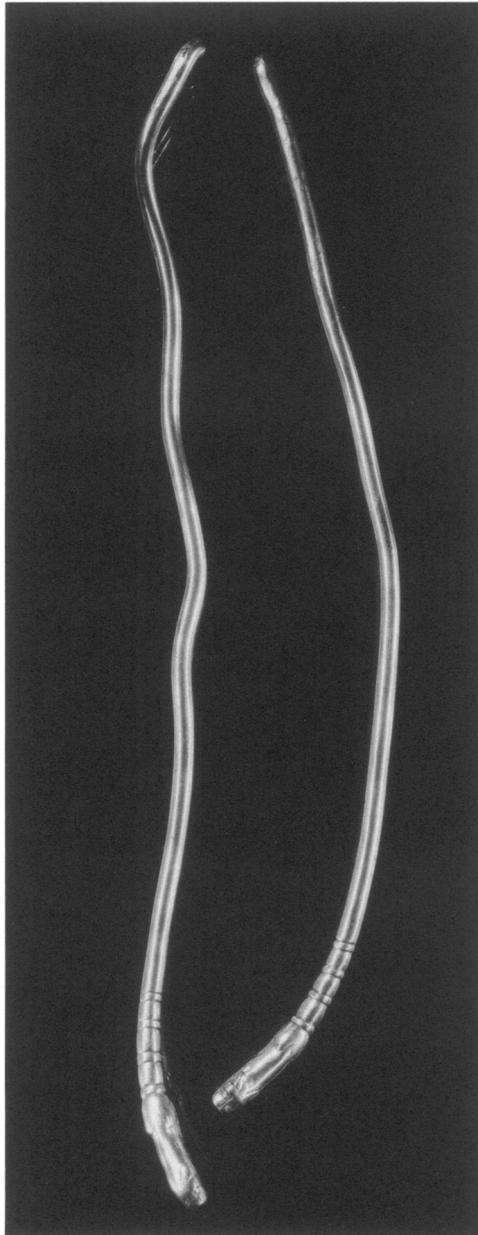


Fig. 11

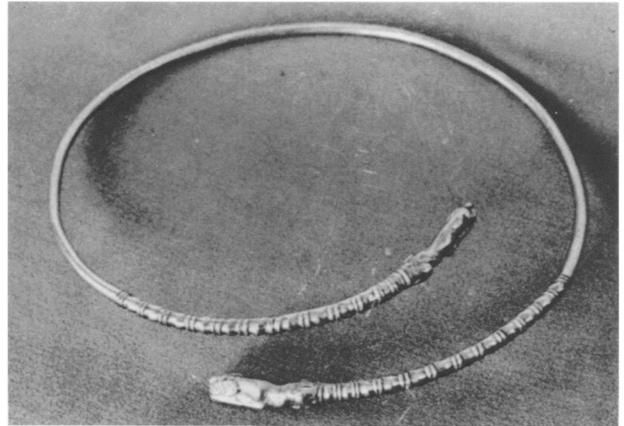


Fig. 13

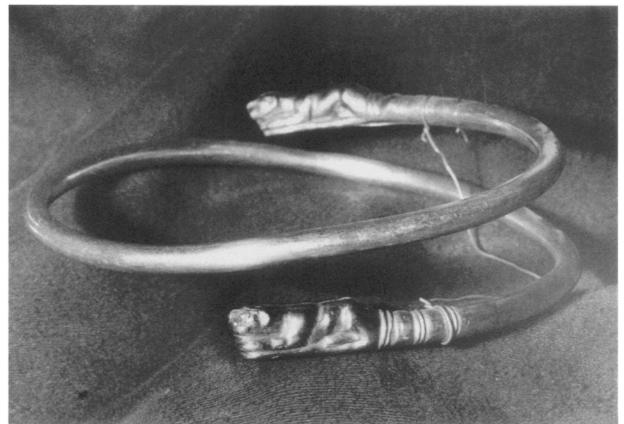


Fig. 14

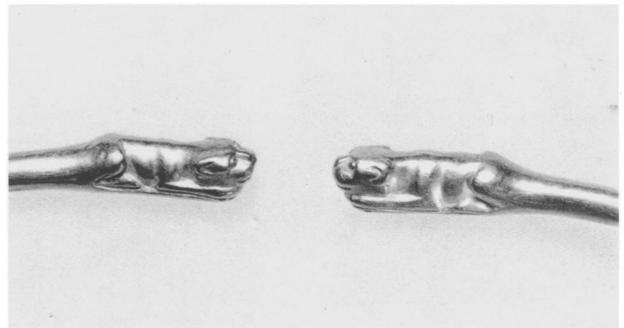


Fig. 15



Figure 16. Gold band offered to Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople in 1914. Formerly, art market Munich (photo, 1927: Hermitage Museum Photo Collection, Archaeology Department)



Figure 17. Right side of band in Figure 16 (photo, 1927: Hermitage Museum Photo Collection, Archaeology Department)



Figure 18. Left side of band in Figure 16 (photo, 1927: Hermitage Museum Photo Collection, Archaeology Department)



Figure 19. Detail of Figure 16 (photo, 1927: Hermitage Museum Photo Collection, Archaeology Department)

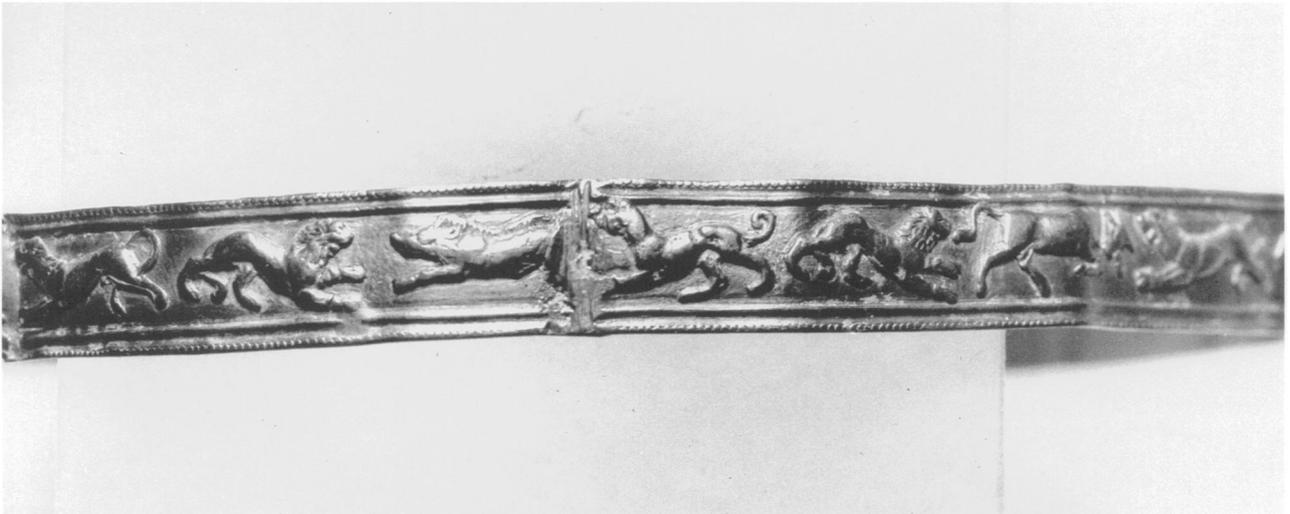


Figure 20. Detail of Figure 16 (photo, 1927: Hermitage Museum Photo Collection, Archaeology Department)



Figure 21. Detail of Figure 16 (photo, 1927: Hermitage Museum Photo Collection, Archaeology Department)



Figure 22. Gold gorytos excavated from 8th Five Brothers kurgan in 1959. Rostov, Regional Museum of Local Art and History (photo: LOIA)

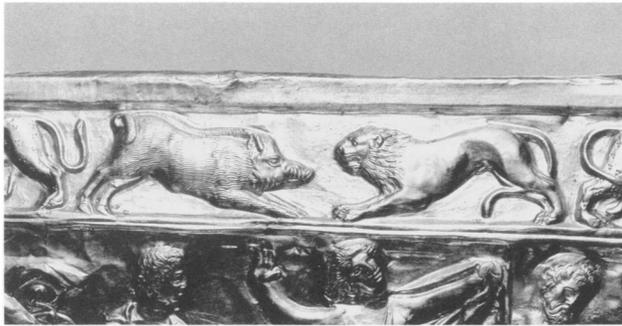


Figure 23. Detail of the upper frieze of Figure 22 (photo: LOIA)



Figure 24. Detail of the upper frieze of Figure 22 (photo: LOIA)

attacking a bull, a lion and lioness (panthers, in Hoffmann's and Davidson's description) attacking a boar, a lion and lioness (panthers) attacking a bull. The boars and lionesses turn to the left and the butting bulls to the right, while the lions face in both directions, depending on the position of their prey. Nine of these scenes have survived intact, although in the right section one scene showing a boar being attacked was lost after a repair.

Above and below the frieze is a frame consisting of two bands with an incised braid on the outer edge. The right end of the object bears the stamped mask of a lion in a square frame (Figure 17), of the same type as on the lamellate bracelet and the cylinder from Kul Oba (see Figure 8).

In our opinion, Borovka was correct in identifying the diadem as a twisted lamellate bracelet, comparing it to the bracelet from Kul Oba, and on the basis of the style of the lion mask he dated it to the same period. It is quite possible that we are dealing here with a straightened and repaired bracelet that has been reused for another purpose, for instance as a detail on a headdress.

This piece is unique, and at the present time it has no direct parallels. Nevertheless, we can point out

its stylistic and compositional similarity to the paired scenes of a lion attacking a boar and a long-maned lioness attacking a butting bull, found on the upper frieze of a gorytos from the Chertomlyk series (Figures 22–24). Moreover, the lioness's attack on the bull is treated in the same manner on the lower frieze of the long side of the wood sarcophagus from Kul Oba.<sup>55</sup> Finally, we should mention a similar scene on a limestone block fragment with polychrome decoration, from a gravestone from Chersonese.<sup>56</sup>

Of great importance in dating this work and in locating its possible place of manufacture is the motif of a butting bull that occurs both on the diadem and on silver and bronze coins issued in the Chersonese between the 370s and 350s B.C. (Figure 25).<sup>57</sup> The bulls on the coins were copied from their prototypes, the coins of the Chersonese mother country, Heraclea Pontica.<sup>58</sup> A second prototype, also related to the Chersonese types, is a subject similar to that on several later coins from Tyras, whose minting A. N. Zograf dates to the second half of the fourth century B.C.<sup>59</sup>

5. The fragment of a square stamped gold plaque with the image of a griffin facing right (Figure 26), in the Metropolitan Museum, acquired along with the scabbard plate and the plaques from the sword hilt. It was mentioned by Borovka.<sup>60</sup> The subject of the clothing plaque is a common one and occurs frequently in finds of burials in the steppes of the northern Black Sea region, dating from the second half of the fourth century B.C. (Chertomlyk, Tolstaya Mogila, 8th Five Brothers, Malyi Ogus, and kurgan 22 near Vilna Ukraina).<sup>61</sup> Moreover, in three cases plaques were found in kurgans where torques with lion-shaped finials and weapons of the Chertomlyk series had been discovered (see Figure 30). Stylistically, the Metropolitan Museum's plaque is closest to those from the 8th Five Brothers kurgan (Figure 27).

After analyzing the gold objects in the group published here, and comparing them with sets of objects from the rich tombs in the kurgans of the steppe nomads, we can see that they are not just a random collection, but rather a single complete funerary set. We can even be fairly sure that they are part of a rich set of funerary objects of a type well known from the excavation of kurgans in which individuals from the higher echelons of the nomadic nobility were buried (Chertomlyk, Melitopol, 8th Five Brothers). On the basis of the ideas proposed above, and



Figure 25. Coins of the Tauric Chersonese. a–d: ca. 370–350 B.C.; e: ca. 270–250 B.C. (photo: A. N. Zograf)

thanks to recent successes in establishing a chronology for Scythian toreutic work and setting precise dates for the burial of the Scythian nobility, we can date the manufacture of this set of objects to the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. This, incidentally, does not rule out the possibility of a later date for the burial itself, which can be dated to the second half of the fourth century B.C.

There is another more circumstantial but important piece of evidence in favor of our argument that all the objects are from a single burial complex. Independent sources from a variety of periods corroborate each other closely, making it possible to pin down the site of the find with a fair degree of accuracy.

All the reports and individuals involved in the events of 1914, i.e., the year the collection appeared on the market, are connected either directly or indirectly with Eupatoria. In his letter of 1914 Lepere pointed out that the objects were found by a peasant on his land probably 50 to 70 versts from Eupatoria. This itself leads one to think that the find would most probably have taken place in the northwestern Crimea, within the boundaries of what used to be Eupatoria district, Tauride province. But Lepere's



Figure 26. Fragments of stamped gold plaque. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1930, 30.11.12 h



Figure 27. Stamped gold plaque excavated from the 8th Five Brothers kurgan in 1959. Rostov, Regional Museum of Local Art and History (photo: LOIA)

informant (or Lepere himself) probably made a mistake here. It was not the finder who lived this distance from Eupatoria, but the owner who was selling the objects. This peasant/dealer was evidently the prosperous Tartar Islam-Ali, father of Abdulla-Islam-Ali-Oglu, the man who remembered the name, Chaian, but not the location of the village where the other Tartar (the one who had found the objects in a single grave) lived.

We should emphasize the fact that there was no village bearing that name in the regions of either Kerch district (eastern Crimea), Melitopol (the northern Azov region), or Nikopol (Lower Dnieper). The Tartar village of Chaian was located in what used to be Eupatoria district, 25 kilometers northwest of the town of Eupatoria (Figure 29), now called Zaporozhskoe.<sup>62</sup> In the steppes that surround the village there are, even today, kurgans that remain unexplored by archaeologists, including some that show signs of damage done by robbers. Just six kilometers southeast of Zaporozhskoe lies the steppe village of Bashtanovka, formerly called Apan-Sarcha, on whose territory was situated that same kurgan from which the peasant grave robbers stole the gold torque with the lions that is now in the Hermitage. In the same region, but to the south and west of the area described above, excavations of kurgans carried out in the past decade by V. S. Olkhovskiy have revealed a series of ordinary nomadic burials primarily from the fourth to the early third centuries B.C. (A gold earring was found in one of them.)<sup>63</sup> In this same region of the northwestern Crimea, 20 kilometers north of the village of Chaian, was the famous fifth-century B.C. kurgan Kara-Merkit (Ak-Mechet), where a set of gold ob-



Figure 28. Distribution of Crimean steppe kurgans in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.: *a*: kurgans of the 5th century B.C.; *b*: kurgans of the 4th century B.C.; *c*: major settlements of the later Scythians; *d*: Greek (Chersonese) cities, fortresses, and settlements; *e*: territory of the Chersonese state, ca. 350–270 B.C.; *f*: natural habitat of the Kizil Koba culture (area settled by the Taurideans); *g*: northern border of the Crimean mountain region; *h*: border of former Eupatoria district.

1: Chaian; 2: Apan-Sarcha; 3: Kara-Merkit (Ak-Mechet); 4: Zolotoy; 5: Talaevsky; 6: Dort Oba 1 and 2

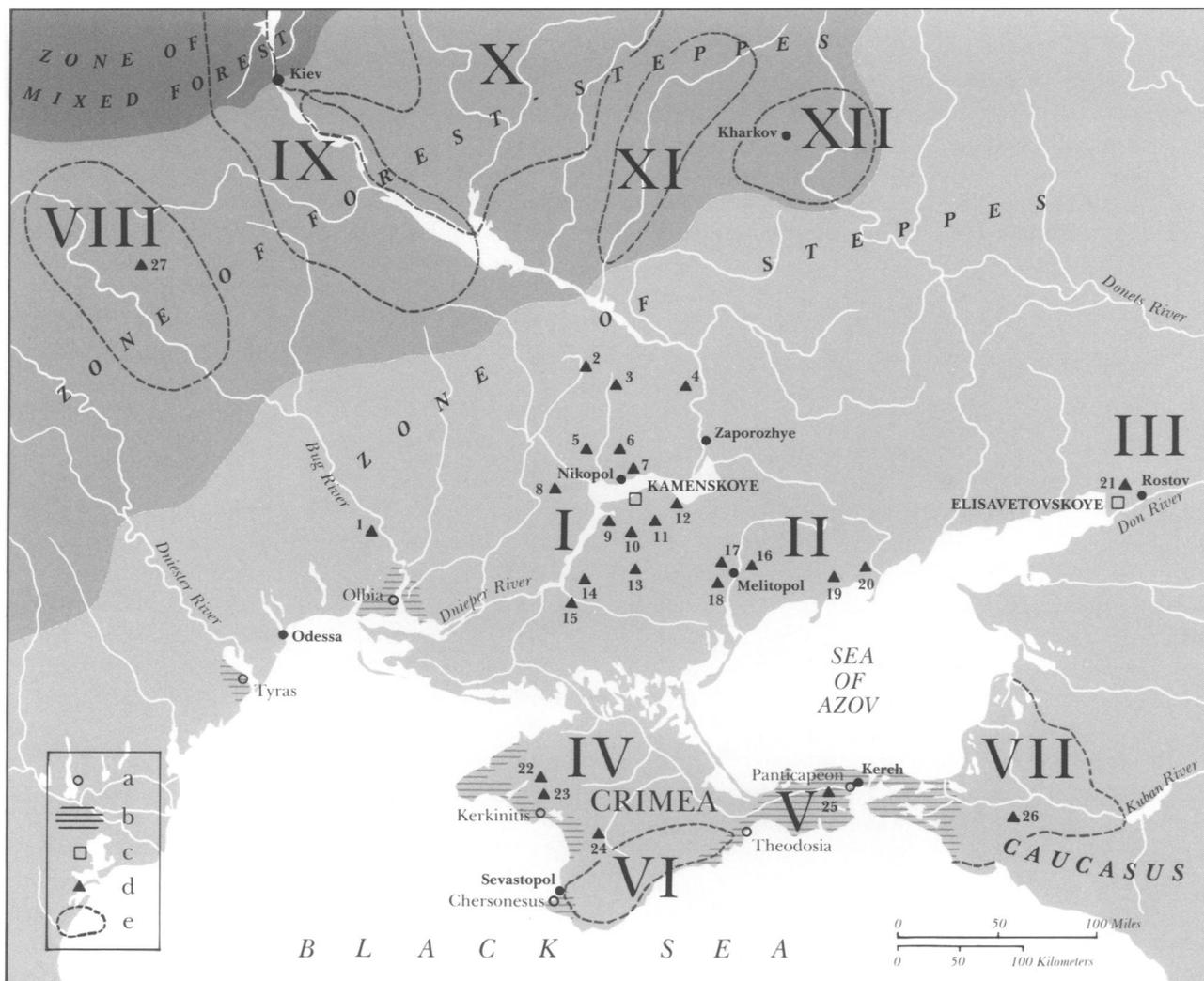


Figure 29. Map of the steppes and forest-steppes. *a*: Greek cities; *b*: the agrarian territory of the Greek states; *c*: centers of the Scythian steppes (settlements); *d*: kurgans and kurgan necropoli; *e*: local archaeological groups of settled population beyond the boundaries of the steppe zone

*I–XII*: local archaeological groups. *I*: Lower Dnieper; *II*: North-Western Azov region; *III*: Lower Don; *IV*: western Crimean; *V*: eastern Crimean; *VI*: Kizil-Koba (Tauridian) mountain area; *VII*: Sindo-Meot?; *VIII*: east Podolsk; *IX*: right bank of the Central Dnieper; *X*: Posul; *XI*: Vorsklin; *XII*: northern Donets

*1*: Kovalevka; *2*: Alexandropol; *3*: Krasnokutsky; *4*: Bashmachka; *5*: Tolstaya Mogila; *6*: Chertomlyk; *7*: Nikopol; *8*: Kozel; *9*: Tsimbalka; *10*: Chmyrev; *11*: Solokha; *12*: Gaimanova Mogila; *13*: Oguz; *14*: Mordvinovsky; *15*: Vilna Ukraina; *16*: Shulgovka; *17*: Melitopol; *18*: Konstantinovka; *19*: Dvugorbaya Mogila; *20*: Berdiansky; *21*: Elizavetovskiy mogil'nik; *22*: Chaian; *23*: Apan-Sarcha; *24*: Talaev kurgans; *25*: Kul Oba and other kurgans on the Chersonese peninsula; *26*: Karagodeuashkh; *27*: Il'inty (map: Wilhelmina Reyinga-Amrhein)

jects had also been found accidentally while stone was being quarried from the kurgan's embankment (Figure 28).<sup>64</sup>

We must also bear in mind that in the southern areas of what was then Novorossia and in the Crimea (now the southern Ukraine), treasure-hunting was widespread in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was practiced not only by professional grave robbers but also by peasant colonists and their descendants—Russians, Ukrainians, Germans, and, in the Crimea, local peoples such as the Tartars. A routine outbreak of grave-robbing in the northwestern Crimea was the cause of Lepere's trip to Eupatoria in the spring of 1914.

It is, therefore, by no means improbable that a Tartar peasant from the Tartar village of Chaian could have dug up a set of gold objects on his own plot of land, either accidentally or in search of treasure. The find took place at about the same time as peasant grave robbers were digging up the Apan-Sarcha kurgan, not far away, in the 1880s and 1890s. And it cannot be ruled out that the remains of this kurgan still stand in the vicinity of Zaporozhskoe and await investigation.

The importance of the find lies not merely in the artistic value of the objects. If one accepts our arguments in favor of their authenticity, our interpretation of the set as part of an entire complex from a rich nomadic burial site of the second half of the fourth century B.C., and also our siting of the find in the northwestern Ukraine, then it must undoubtedly be counted among the most important extant sets of burial objects, particularly those containing ceremonial weapons of the Chertomlyk series—swords and gorytoi.

There are now five examples of this kind with complete (Chertomlyk, 8th Five Brothers) or incomplete (the sword from Chaian, one gorytos each from Melitopol and Ilyinty) sets of ceremonial weapons. Four of the burials are located in the steppe region—the Azov-Dnieper steppe and the steppes of the northwestern Crimea. The fifth burial was in the forest-steppe zone between the Dnieper and Dniester rivers. To these should be added two more sites outside the steppe area—in the northern Caucasus (Karagodeuashkh) and the Balkans (Vergina)—where gorytoi were found that were stylistically, typologically, and thematically similar, depicting scenes from the Trojan War. Each of these burial sites is connected with a specific local archaeological region (Figures 30, 31).

To the east of the Scythian steppes lies the territory around the Lower Don and the northeast Sea

of Azov. Its center was the Elizavetovskoe settlement to which was attached a huge necropolis of kurgans (the 8th Five Brothers) located in the Don delta.<sup>65</sup> Chertomlyk was situated in another local region, whose natural habitat encompassed the Lower Dnieper flats and the steppes adjacent to them. The center of this region was Kamenskoe Gorodishche,<sup>66</sup> which undoubtedly occupied a central position in the steppe belt between the Dnieper and the Dniester and contained a large number of kurgans. These include the most important and famous kurgans of the nomadic nobility, among them Solokha, Tolstaya Mogila, Gaimanova Mogila, Alexandropol, and Krasnokutsk.<sup>67</sup> Traditionally, the kurgans of the northwestern Azov region, including Melitopol, have also been grouped within the steppe region on the left bank of the Dnieper. However, recent excavations by Ukrainian archaeologists, who investigated not only the burials of the regular nomads but also the new kurgans of the nomadic nobility (Berdiansk, Dvugorbaya Mogila),<sup>68</sup> suggest that in the northwestern Azov region there apparently existed a third local region with burials of a steppe-dwelling nomadic culture. Two more local regions can be identified in the plains and steppes of the Crimea. One of these, which includes our proposed kurgan near the village of Chaian, encompasses the western and probably the central part of the Crimean peninsula.<sup>69</sup> The other contains the Scythian burials situated in the eastern Crimea on the territory of the Bosporan empire.<sup>70</sup>

The tombs of the local nobility containing gorytoi of the Chertomlyk and Karagodeuashkh series that had been discovered beyond the boundaries of the Azov–Black Sea steppes are also linked to specific local archaeological cultures or their variants. Ilyinty was situated on the right bank of the Ukrainian forest-steppe, almost in the very center of the east Podolsk group of burials—one of the Scythian cultures of the forest-steppe zone of eastern Europe.<sup>71</sup> Karagodeuashkh was located in the Abin group of tombs, identified by I. S. Kamenetsky,<sup>72</sup> which were constructed by the local Maeotian culture of the Lower Kuban and in the northwestern Caucasus region. It is highly likely that members of the Scythian aristocracy<sup>73</sup> with close ties to the Bosporan rulers may have been buried in this kurgan. As for the tombs in the Great Kurgan at Vergina, it seems indisputable that they belong to members of the royal house of Macedonia.

All of these facts suggest that the scattered finds of ceremonial weapons throughout the local archaeological regions we have examined is not fortuitous.

In the steppe belt of the northern Black Sea region, between the Dnieper and the Don, they are all obviously associated with the burials of the highest nobility from separate, possibly tribal, nomadic groups (the nomadic hordes). In the zone occupied by the agricultural cultures of the Ukrainian forest-steppe and the Caucasus they are linked to the local tribal aristocracy.

There is little doubt that both of these series of costly and consummately crafted ceremonial weapons, with their depictions of scenes from the Trojan cycle, are symbols of supreme power at the very highest level. Nor does there seem any doubt that all the objects from these series were made in some Greek center as a single commission, that their typological models were the weapons of the steppe-dwelling Scythians, and that these weapons were used not only among the nomads but were also widespread throughout the tribal world of the northern Black Sea region. From this it follows that both series were probably created specifically as presents for the “emperors” of local tribes. Moreover, it is feasible that the presentation of gifts was

initiated during some important diplomatic action, probably some complex political situation that made it essential for the local Greeks to enlist the support of the local non-Greek “little emperors,” either by simply winning them over or by bribing them.

Given the date we have proposed for the scabbard plates and the gorytoi, based on a more precise dating of the burials in the 8th Five Brothers kurgan, such an action is unlikely to have been long lasting, and would have taken place around the mid-fourth century B.C., not later than the beginning of the third quarter of the century (approximately 350–340 B.C.). From about 340 B.C. on, for some forty years—until about 300 B.C.—ceremonial weapons depicting scenes from the Trojan cycle were included in the burials of the higher nobility. Therefore, we cannot agree with A. Iu. Alekseev’s hypothesis that the manufacture of the series of ceremonial weapons as diplomatic gifts took place during the reign of Alexander the Great in the last two-thirds of the fourth century B.C., nor that the main reason for this major diplomatic operation might have been attempts on Macedonia’s part to penetrate the Black

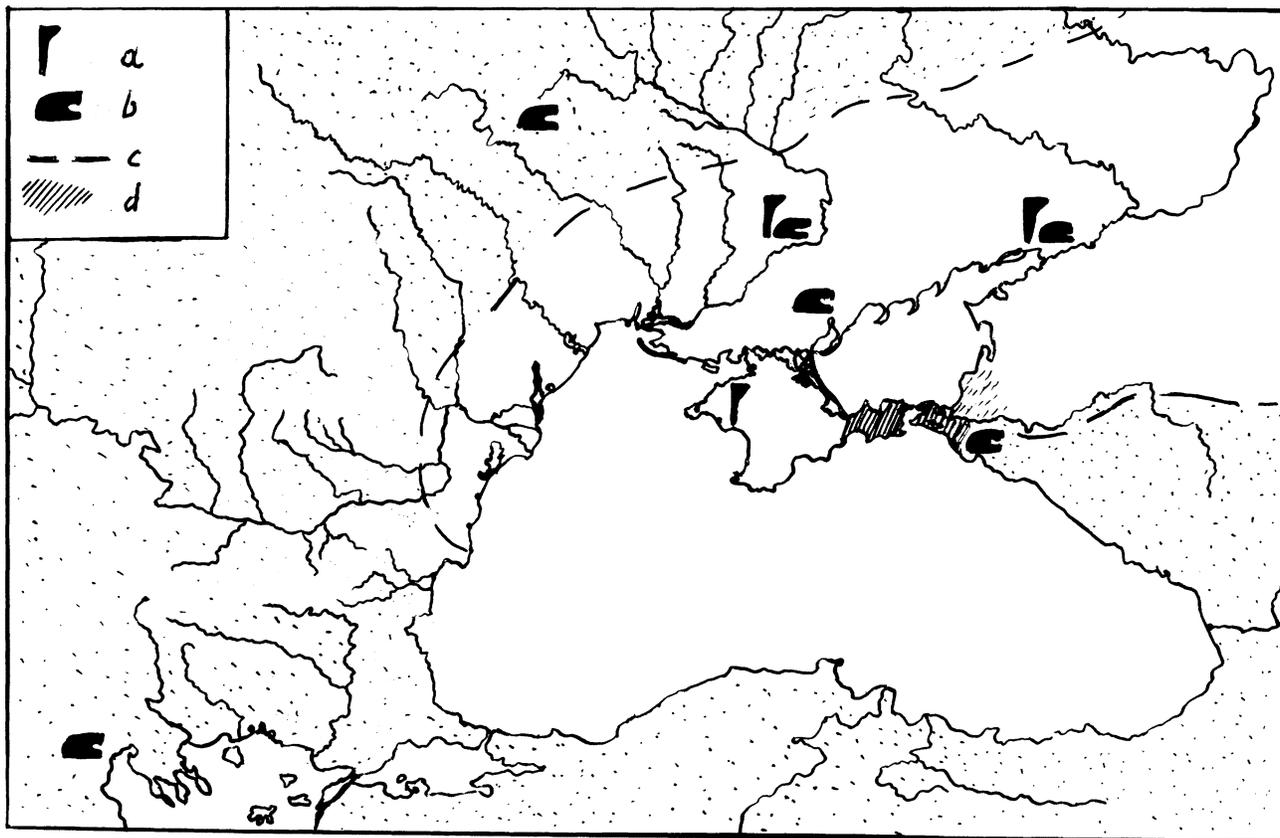


Figure 30. Dissemination of ceremonial weapons of the Chertomlyk and Karagodeuashkh series. *a*: scabbard plates; *b*: gorytoi; *c*: borders of the Azov – Black Sea and Caucasian steppes; *d*: territories of the Bosporan state

Sea, while simultaneously strengthening the Scythians's military activities in the east at the beginning of the last third of the fourth century B.C.<sup>74</sup> Still less tenable is the proposal by D. A. Machinsky and M. B. Shchukin, cited by Alexeev, that the scabbards and gorytoi were made by order of Alexander because Arrian and Curtius contain references to diplomatic exchanges between Alexander and the Scythians.<sup>75</sup>

However, we do accept Alexeev's hypothesis that the dissemination of ceremonial weapons of both Trojan series as diplomatic gifts was linked to the Bosphorus politics of Perisadus I (344/3–311/10 B.C.).<sup>76</sup> One glance at the map (Figure 30) is enough to show that all the finds of gorytoi and scabbard plates from these series are spread throughout the barbarian hinterland in an arc that encompasses and has its center in the European sector of the Bosphorus. Of course, we have no evidence for claiming that gorytoi and swords ultimately turned up in the burials of the upper nobility in the exact regions to which they were originally sent. The weapons could have been passed from hand to hand over the course of nearly two generations. An indirect indication that this was the case are odd finds of either a scabbard plate or a gorytos. But in any case the weapons remained the property of individuals from the very highest ranks of the nobility. It is, therefore, highly likely that the gorytos found by Andronikos might have been presented to Philip either as a military trophy after his victory over Atheas or as a gift from the Scythians.<sup>77</sup>

The natural habitat in which weapons of the Chertomlyk series were found, in the steppe zone of the northern Black Sea area, and their connection with local groups of nomadic burial sites would appear to point indirectly to the existence of separate nomadic groups living there in the fourth century B.C., completely or relatively independent and perhaps even competing among themselves. As is the custom among nomadic societies, they might have merged on the territory of Black Sea Scythia, forming large but rather unstable associations dominated by one of the nomadic tribes.<sup>78</sup>

Local ethno-political formations of both nomadic and settled agricultural groups were evidently in a state of continuous and multifaceted interaction, both among themselves and with the Black Sea provincial Greek settlements that bordered on the steppes. Such interactions would depend either on the general historical situation in the northern Black Sea region (and more broadly in the steppe

belt and districts adjacent to it) or on a specific situation arising in one or another region of the Black Sea. In other words, the real picture was a good deal more complex than our simplified historical models suggest,<sup>79</sup> and it was in a constant state of flux. We can suppose that the Greek states sought to make use of their non-Greek neighbors and of the conflicts between the local tribes.<sup>80</sup> Similarly, it seems likely that the local non-Greek aristocracy was also protecting its own interests through either peaceful contacts or conflicts with neighboring Greek settlements.

On the basis of our discussion thus far, let us now attempt to define the significance of our proposed burial near the village of Chaian for a hypothetical reconstruction of Greco-barbarian relations in the Crimea in the fourth century B.C. As we have already mentioned, two local groups of "Scythian" tombs on the Crimean peninsula can be identified, provisionally labeled the "east Crimean" and "west Crimean" groups. The first of these, situated on the Kerch peninsula, was located within the territory of the Bosphoran empire and had close ties with it.<sup>81</sup> If we take a broad date that spans the entire second half of the fourth century B.C., then the most important kurgan in this group would be Kul Oba, near Kerch,<sup>82</sup> where the burial coincides chronologically with the set of gold objects from Chaian. We know that the funerary inventory from Kul Oba included a ceremonial sword in a gold scabbard,<sup>83</sup> but that it was from another series,<sup>84</sup> probably manufactured for another purpose than that for which the series depicting the Trojan cycle was intended.

The west Crimean steppe group of nomadic kurgans is distinguished by the peculiarities of its burial rites, which contain a number of elements characteristic of the Kizil-Koba culture of the Crimean mountain region. This argues for the existence here of a special local group of Scythians. The nomads of this local region lived adjacent to the Ionian colony of Kerkinitis (now Eupatoria), which grew up on the shore of the northwestern Crimea in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.

Evidence of direct contacts between the nomads and Kerkinitis can be seen in the increased concentration of kurgans in the steppe adjacent to the colony and in the presence of Greek imports in the tombs. The nature of these contacts at the end of the fifth century or the turn of the fifth–fourth centuries is described in a letter written by Apaturius, found in recent excavations in Kerkinitis. If we ac-

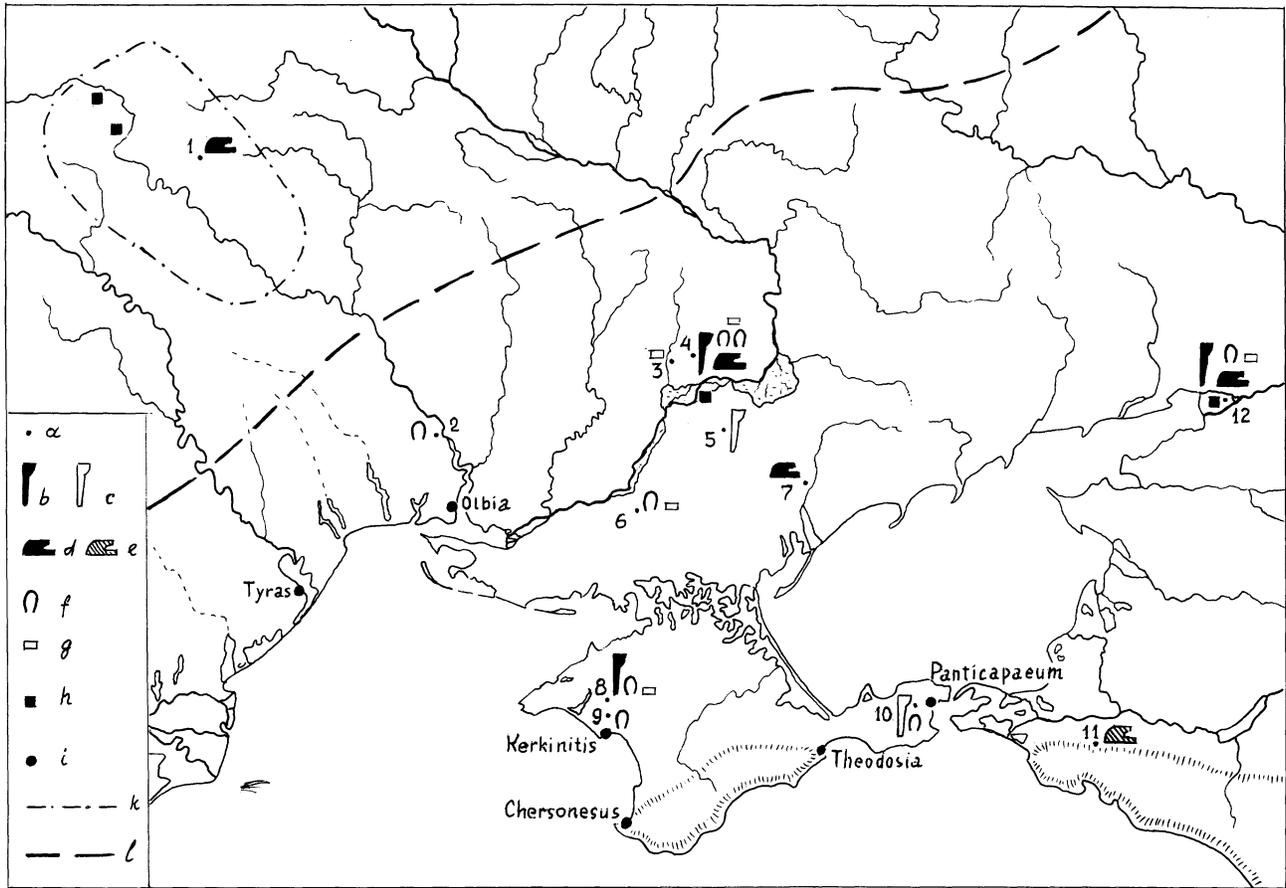


Figure 31. Kurgan complexes of the second half of the 4th century B.C. in the northern Black Sea region. *a*: kurgan; *b*: plates from the Chertomlyk series; *c*: plates from the Kul Oba series; *d*: gorytoi from the Chertomlyk series; *e*: gorytoi from the Karagodeuashkh series; *f*: torques with recumbent lions or lionesses; *g*: plaques with griffins; *h*: settlements of steppe and forest-steppe cultures in the Scythian period; *i*: Greek towns; *j*: border of the natural habitat of the east Podolsk ethnocultural group; *k*: northern border of the steppe zone; 1: Ilyintsy; 2: Kovalevka; 3: Tolstaya Mogila; 4: Chertomlyk; 5: Velika Belozerka; 6: Vilna Ukraina; 7: Melitopol; 8: Chaian; 9: Apan-Sarcha; 10: Kul Oba; 11: Karagodeuashkh; 12: 8th Five Brothers

cept the most likely reading, this letter contains information on the payment of tribute to the Scythians.<sup>85</sup>

Around 400 B.C. or at the very beginning of the fourth century, there was intensive colonization of the shores of northwestern Crimea by settlers from the northern Bug region (from Olbia or its environs). Then, around the middle of the fourth century, Kerkinitis and the entire coastal zone of the northwestern Crimea, together with other Greek settlements, became part of the Chersonese, which was transformed into a major territorial state (Figure 29).<sup>86</sup> The territorial expansion of the Chersonese in the northwestern Crimea, it can be conjectured, was aggressive in nature and possibly included a war with Olbia. It is unlikely that Kerkin-

itis's neighboring nomad peoples could remain aloof from such a situation and escape being dragged into the conflict on one side or the other. However, before the appearance of the set from our proposed Chaian burial, all conjectures to this effect remained mere speculation.

If, however, we accept the hypothesis that the set of gold objects published here was part of a single funerary inventory and came from northwestern Crimea—a region, moreover, that directly bordered on Kerkinitis and the maritime possessions of the Chersonese—then it is possible to make certain assumptions concerning the development of Greco-barbarian relations in this local region of the northern Black Sea area.

Numismatists have long pointed out that the very



Figure 32. Coins of the Tauric Chersonese (left) and Kerkinitis (right), ca. 350 B.C. (photo: A. N. Zograf)

first minted coins of Kerkinitis, issued around the middle of the fourth century, contained the far-from-coincidental image of a Scythian rider carrying a spear.<sup>87</sup> It has also been noted that the rider on Kerkinitis coins corresponds to similar images on the coins of the Scythian emperor Atheas, issued at approximately the same time in Callatis.<sup>88</sup> Scythian subjects appear once more on the coins of Kerkinitis at the very end of the fourth century B.C. (a seated Scythian, a horse).<sup>89</sup>

In addition, whether by chance or not, two compositions appear on both the coins and the objects from the set under discussion, which in subject and style correspond closely to each other. The first of these is the butting bull that appears on the lamellate bracelet (“diadem”) and on the Chersonese coins mentioned above. The second is the motif of feline predators tearing hooved animals to pieces: a lion attacking a doe on the side flange of the Metropolitan Museum’s scabbard plate (Figure 1) and a lion attacking a bull in the synchronic series of Chersonese coins and the Kerkinitis coins from around the mid-fourth century B.C. (Figure 32).<sup>90</sup> In pointing out that the issue of both series of coins had a ceremonial triumphal quality, A. M. Gilevich—quite correctly, in our opinion—linked them to the military victory by which the Chersonese brought northwestern Crimea under its control.<sup>91</sup>

Taking into consideration all of the above, one may conjecture that in the period of the Chersonese’s expansion toward northwestern Crimea, a local group of Crimean nomads, already connected with Kerkinitis, played an active part in events we do not know about. It is very likely that the nomads at this time sided with the Chersonese and with Kerkinitis, which had evidently sided with the former as an allied city.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, the Chersonese’s territorial expansion, which was local in nature, coincided

(probably not by chance) with certain major changes in the demographics of the nomadic world of the northern Black Sea region, thus creating a temporarily tense political situation throughout this entire vast region.<sup>93</sup> One indication of the complex political situation in general, and the tension in Greco-barbarian relations in particular, is the manufacture and dissemination throughout the barbarian world of costly ceremonial weapons such as the Chertomlyk and Karagodeuashkh series.

Judging from the Chersonese’s intensive economic assimilation of the maritime zone of northwestern Crimea, and the presence of ceramics imported from the Chersonese in the nomadic burial mounds in this region, relations between the Chersonese and the local nomads most probably remained friendly throughout the second half of the fourth century B.C. But at the turn of the fourth–third centuries, an internal political struggle occurred within the state of Chersonese in which certain barbarians sided with one of the political parties.<sup>94</sup> (By “barbarians” we mean their immediate warlike neighbors from the steppe.)<sup>95</sup> It cannot be ruled out that the date of the burial in the Chaian kurgan may coincide with this later period rather than with the actual time of manufacture.

While it is impossible to establish an exact date for the burial of the nomadic nobleman, it seems obvious that it took place sometime in the second half of the fourth century B.C., and that these outstanding artifacts must be examined within the context not only of Greco-Scythian art,<sup>96</sup> but also of Greco-barbarian relations and, first and foremost, relations between the state of Chersonese and its nomadic neighbors.

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Translated from the Russian by Wendy Salmond

## ABBREVIATIONS

*ASGE*—*Arkheologicheskyy sbornik God. Ermitazha*

*Bachstitz*—*Mitteilungen der Bachstitz Galerie I* (The Hague, 1929)

*BAR-S*—*British Archaeological Reports. Supplementary Series*

*ESA*—*Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua XII*

*IAK*—*Izvestia Imperatorskoi Arkheologicheskoi Kommissii*

*LOIA*—Manuscript Archive and Photo Collection of the Leningrad Division of the Archaeological Institute of the SSR Academy of Science

*MAR*—*Materialy po arkheologii Rossii*

*MIA*—*Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii SSSR*

*RA*—*Revue archéologique*

*SA*—*Sovetskaya arkheologiaa*

*SAI*—*Arkheologiaa SSSR. Svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov*

*VDI*—*Vestnik drevnei istorii*

## NOTES

1. G. M. A. Richter, "A Greek Sword Sheath of a Scythian King," *MMAB* 26, 2 (1931) pp. 44–48.

2. *Compte-rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique* (1864) atlas, pl. v, 4.

3. V. P. Shilov, "Raskopki Elizavetovskogo mogil'nika v 1959 g.," *SA* 1 (1961) pp. 150–168, figs. 11–13.

4. Richter, "Sword Sheath of a Scythian King," p. 47; idem, "A Greek Sword Sheath from South Russia," *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 4 (1932) pp. 109–130; K. Schefold, "Der skythische Tierstil in Sudrussland," *ESA* 12 (Helsinki, 1938) p. 41; N. A. Onaiko, "Antichnyi import v Pridneprov'e i Pobuzh'e v IV–II vv. do n.e.," *SA*, D1–27 (1970) p. 102, no. 424; D. von Bothmer, "A Greek and Roman Treasury," *MMAB* 42, 1 (1984) p. 53, no. 91.

5. A. P. Mantsevich, "Paradnyi mech iz kurgana Solokha," *MIA* 150 (Moscow, 1969) pp. 113–114.

6. M. Andronikos, "Vergina. The Royal Graves in the Great Tumulus," *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 10 (1977) pp. 1–72; idem, "The Royal Tomb of Philip II," *Archaeology* 31, 4 (1978) pp. 39–56; idem, "Les tombes royales de Vergina," *Archeologia* 125 (1978) pp. 16–25; idem, "Tsarskie grobnitsy v Vergine," *VDI* 1 (1990) pp. 107–129.

7. A. Lappo-Danilevsky and V. Mal'mberg, "Kurgan Karagodeuashkh," *MAR* 13 (1894) pp. 122–128, figs. 1–7, pl. IX; A. Mantsevich, "Kotkrytiiu tsarskoi grobnitsy v Makedonii v 1977 godu," *Soobshcheniia God. Ermitazha* 44 (1979) pp. 49–51; V. Schiltz, "Deux gorytes identiques en Macédoine et dans le Kouban," *RA* 2 (1979) pp. 305–310; E. V. Chernenko, *Skifskie luchniki* (Kiev, 1981) pp. 67–73, figs. 45–51.

8. A. Iu. Alekseev, "Khronografiia Skifii vtoroi poloviny IV v. do n.e.," *ASGE* 28 (1987) p. 39.

9. These papers were from the archives of the Imperial Archaeological Commission (now part of the manuscript archive of the Commission's successor, the Leningrad division of LOIA).

10. E. Kh. Lepere, letter no. 460, Apr. 13 (26), 1914. LOIA, fond 1, delo 2, 1914 ("O prodolzhenii arkheologicheskikh izyskaniy v Khersonese") list 12–22. (The letters are dated according to the Julian calendar, which was used in Russia until 1917. We include in parentheses the date according to the Gregorian calendar.)

11. Lepere, *ibid.*, list 21–22.

12. A. A. Bobrinsky, letter to Lepere, June 2 (22), 1914. LOIA, fond I, delo 2, list 34–35.

13. F. I. Uspensky, letter to Bobrinsky, no. 249, June 3 (16), 1914. LOIA, fond 1, delo 2, list 34–35.

14. *Ibid.*, letter to Bobrinsky, no. 254, June 4 (17), 1914. LOIA, fond 1, delo 2, list 37–38.

15. However, all the negatives are now housed in the Hermitage Museum, Photo Collection of the Oriental Department (Album Q255, 77–84). The negatives entered the Hermitage Photo Collection as part of the collections of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople, after the Institute was evacuated to Odessa in Fall 1914 and subsequently disbanded.

16. Bobrinsky, copy of a telegram to Uspensky, June 11 (24), 1914. LOIA, fond 1, delo 2, 1914, list 39.

17. Bobrinsky, copy of a telegram to Uspensky from June 13 (26), 1914. LOIA, fond 1, delo 2, 1914, list 40.
18. Dr. Joan Mertens, Department of Greek and Roman Art, MMA, kindly sent notes extracted from the following sources: (1) a letter from L. Peschansky to an unidentified addressee, probably in Germany (June 14, 1924); (2) a letter from Wiegand to Hochmann (Nov. 16, 1931); (3) a letter from Zahn to Hochmann (June 23, 1936); and (4) notes provided by Zahn in March 1931 that are part of the department's Marshall archive.
19. Hermitage Museum, Photo Collection of the Department of Archaeology of Eastern Europe and Siberia, Sk. 51.1–21.
20. "Gutachten des Herrn Prof. Dr. P. Borovka," *Bachstizt*, p. 36.
21. H. Hoffmann and P. F. Davidson, *Greek Gold: Jewelry from the Age of Alexander*, exh. cat., Brooklyn Museum (Mainz, 1966) pp. 207–208, cat. no. 82.
22. B. V. Farmakovskiy, "Zolotyie obivki naluchii (goritov) iz Chertomlytskogo kurgana i kurgana v m. Il'intsakh," *Sbornik arkhologicheskikh statei, podnesennykh A. A. Bobrinskomu* (Saint Petersburg, 1911) pp. 51–61, pl. I; Onaiko, *SAI D 1–27* (1970) p. 116, no. 781, pl. XXI; Chernenko, *Skifskie luchniki*, p. 76, figs. 54–55.
23. A. I. Terenozhkin, "Skifskii kurgan v g. Melitopole," *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta Arkheologii AN USSR* 5 (Kiev, 1955) pp. 23–24, ill. 11; A. I. Terenozhkin and B. N. Mozolevskiy, *Melitopol'skii kurgan* (Kiev, 1988) pp. 121–134, figs. 140–148; Onaiko, *SAI D 1–27* (1970) pp. 101–102, no. 421, pl. XX; Chernenko, *Skifskie luchniki*, p. 81, fig. 58.
24. Alekseev, *ASGE* 28 (1987) p. 39.
25. Andronikos, "Tombes royales de Vergina," p. 25; Schlitz, *RA* 2 (1979) pp. 305–310.
26. A. Iu. Alekseev, "O meste Chertomlytskogo kurgana v hronologicheskoi sisteme pogrebenii skifskoi znati IV–III vv. do n.e. (Po bliashkan-applikatsiiam i nakonechnikam strel)," *ASGE* 25 (1984) p. 74.
27. A. Iu. Alekseev, "Chertomlytskii kurgan i ego mesto sredi pogrebenii skifskoi znati Iv-nachala III vekov do n.e.," diss. abstract (Leningrad, 1982) p. 20.
28. Idem, *ASGE* 25 (1984) p. 74, no. 25.
29. Terenozhkin and Mozolevskiy, *Melitopol'skii kurgan*, p. 147.
30. I. B. Brashinsky, "Novye materialy k datirovke kurganov skifskoi plemennoi znati Severnogo Prichernomor'ia," *Eirene* 4 (Prague, 1965) pp. 89–109.
31. Ibid., p. 101; A. Iu. Alekseev, "K voprosu o date sooruzheniia Chertomlytskogo kurgana (po keramicheskim materialam)," *ASGE* 22 (1981) pp. 75–83; idem, "Chertomlytskii kurgan," p. 18; idem, *ASGE* 25 (1984) p. 74; Terenozhkin and Mozolevskii, *Melitopol'skii kurgan*, pp. 148–149.
32. I. B. Brashinsky, "Amfory iz raskopok Elizavetovskogo mogil'nika v 1959 g. (K voprosu o datirovke pogrebeniia v kurgane No. 8 gruppy 'Piat' Brat'ev)," *SA* 3 (1961) pp. 178–185.
33. I. B. Brashinsky, *Grecheskii keramicheskii import na Nizhnem Donu v V–III vv. do n.e.* (Leningrad, 1980) pp. 115–116, nos. 81–82, 87; pp. 119–121, nos. 114–117, 128–132; idem, *Metody issledovaniia antichnoi torgovli* (Leningrad, 1984) p. 139.
34. B. N. Grakov, *Drevnegrecheskie kleima s imenami astinomov* (Moscow, 1929).
35. I. B. Brashinsky dated Grakov's first group to 360–320 ("Ekonomicheskie sviazi Sinopy," *Antichnyi gorod* [Moscow, 1963]). V. I. Tsekhmistrenko, in "Sinopskie keramicheskie kleima s imenami goncharynykh masterov," *SA* 3 (1960) p. 68, convincingly dated the beginning of the stamping of astynomes' names to the end of the 360s B.C., with which Brashinsky agreed (*Grecheskii keramicheskii*, p. 42). Cf. V. I. Katz, "Ekonomicheskie sviazi pozdneklassicheskogo Khersonessa (po dannym amforynykh kleim)," *Antichnyi mir i arkheologiia* 4 (Saratov, 1979) pp. 186–187, who dates it to 360–335 B.C. Now we can accept 355–335 as being more accurate.
36. A. Iu. Alekseev, "Zametki po khronologii skifskikh stepnykh drevnostei IV veka do n.e.," *SA* 3 (1987) p. 36; idem, *ASGE* 28 (1987) p. 43.
37. In addition to Andronikos's articles (see note 6 above), see "The Tombs at the Great Tumulus of Vergina," *Acta of the IX International Congress of Classical Archaeology* (London); and *VDI* 1 (1990); see A. J. N. W. Prag, J. H. Musgrave, R. A. H. Neave, "The Skull from Tomb II at Vergina: King Philip II of Macedon," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 54 (1984) pp. 60–78. Alekseev, however, suggested that Philip Arrideus was buried in the tomb, *ASGE* 28 (1987) pp. 47–49.
38. M. I. Rostovtzev, "Gold Necklace and a Gold Armlet from South Russia," *ESA* 9 (1934) p. 220. Previously, however, he had dated Chertomlyk to the end of the 4th century B.C. (Rostovtzev, "Voronezhskii serebriannii sosud," *MAR* 34 [1914] pp. 92–93).
39. M. I. Artamonov, *Sokrovishcha skifskikh kurganov* (Prague/Leningrad, 1966) p. 52.
40. S. Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien* (Paris, 1892) p. 41, pl. II.1; *Scythian Art: The Legacy of the Scythian World Mid–7th to 3rd Century B.C.* (Leningrad, 1986) fig. 181.
41. See L. Bertier de Lagarde, "Poddelka grecheskikh drevnostei na Iuge Rossii," *Zapiski Odesskogo Obshchestva istorii i drevnostei* 19 (1896) pp. 27–68; E. R. Shtern, "O poddelkakh klassicheskikh drevnostei na Iuge Rossii," *Trudy X Arkheologicheskogo S'ezda v Rige* 1 (1898) pp. 189–196; S. S. Bessonova and D. S. Raev'sky, "Zolotaia plastina iz Sakhnivki," *Arkheologiia* 21 (1977) pp. 40, 50.
42. M. I. Rostovtzev, "Predstavlenie o monarkhicheskoi vlasti v Skifii i na Bospore," *IAK* 49 (ca. 1913) p. 13.
43. Bessonova and Raev'sky, "Zolotaia plastina," pp. 39–50.
44. For a more detailed discussion, see I. B. Brashinsky, *V poiskakh skifskikh sokrovishch* (Leningrad, 1979) p. 95.
45. V. G. Petrenko, "Ukrasheniia Skifii VII–III vv. do n.e.," *SAI D* 4–5 (1978) p. 45.
46. G. T. Kovpanenko, E. P. Buniatian, and N. A. Gavriluk, "Raskopki kurganov u s. Kovalevka," *Kurgany na Iuzhnom Buge* (1978) pp. 113–116, figs. 65, 6–7. The authors date the tumulus very broadly to the 4th century B.C., but based on a black-glazed kantharos it can be dated to the third quarter of the century (see G. T. Kovpanenko and E. P. Buniatian, "Skifskie kurgany u s. Kovalevka," *Kurgany na Iuzhnom Buge* [1978] pp. 142–145, fig. 3); Petrenko, "Ukrasheniia Skifii," p. 76, no. 161, pl. 32, 2–2a (gives incorrect information about the site of the discovery).
47. Petrenko, "Ukrasheniia Skifii," p. 79, no. 215, pls. 32, 1–1a. The torque was published here for the first time.
48. *Izvestiia Tavricheskoi Uchenoi Arkhivnoi Kommissii* 21 (1894) p. 119.

49. O. Leskov, *Sharbi kurganiv Kersonshchini* (Kiev, 1974) pp. 90–96, figs. 68, 72; Petrenko, "Ukrasheniia Skifii," p. 76, no. 175, pl. 33.2.
50. Petrenko, "Ukrasheniia Skifii," p. 48, no. 189, pl. 33.3; *Scythian Art*, no. 239.
51. Petrenko, "Ukrasheniia Skifii," p. 78, no. 203, pl. 32.3.
52. Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, p. 50, pl. VIII.2; Petrenko, "Ukrasheniia Skifii," p. 79, no. 203, pl. 33.1.
53. Petrenko, "Ukrasheniia Skifii," p. 78, no. 189, pl. 33.4.
54. *Bachstütz*, p. 36; Hoffmann and Davidson, *Greek Gold*, pp. 207–208, cat. no. 82, figs. 82a–d.
55. M. Vaulina and A. Wasowicz, *Bois grecs et romains de l'Ermitage* (Wroclaw/Warsaw/Krakow/Gdansk, 1974) pp. 45–51, cat. no. 1, pls. I–III.
56. S. F. Strzheletsky, "Zhivopis' i polikhromnye rospisi monumental'nykh nadgrobnnykh sooruzhenii IV – III vv. do n.e.," *Soobshcheniia Khersonesskogo Muzeia* 4 (1969) pp. 80–85, figs. 40–41.
57. A. N. Zograf, "Ancient Coinage," *BAR-S* 33 (1977) p. 33, pl. xxxv.4, 7–9; A. Anokhin, "The Coinage of Chersonesus," *BAR-S* 69 (1980) pl. 1.8, 23; pl. II.33.34.
58. E. Babelon and Th. Reinach, *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure* I.2 (Paris, 1908) pl. LV.5–7.
59. A. N. Zograf, *Monety Tiry* (Moscow, 1957) pl. 1.1–10. Cf. V. A. Anokhin, *Monety antichnykh gorodov Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ia* (Kiev, 1989) pl. xxv.433–440a. The same type of butting bull was placed on coins of Poseidonia and Thurii in the 5th century B.C. F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller, *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Munzen und Gemmen* (Leipzig, 1889) p. 21, pls. III.30–31; Ch. Seltman, *Greek Coins* (London, 1977) pp. 114–115, pl. XVIII.5–9.
60. *Bachstütz*, p. 36.
61. For reproductions of plaques, see Artamonov, *Sokrovishcha skifskikh kurganoc*, p. 50, fig. 93 (Chertomlyk); B. M. Mozolev'sky, *Tovska mogila* (Kiev, 1979) p. 132, fig. 114; A. Spitsyn, "Serogozskie kurgany," *IAK* 19 (1906) pl. xiv (Malyi Ogun); Leskov, *Sharbi kurganiv Khersonshchini*, p. 89, fig. 77 (Vilna Ukraina). See also Onaiko, *SAI* D1–27 (1970) pp. 105–107, 117 (for a report of finds); Alekseev, *ASGE* 25 (1984) pp. 65–75 (for an analysis).
62. *Spravochnik administrativno-territorial'nogo deleniia Krymskoi oblasti* (Simferopol', 1960) p. 155.
63. Information on Olkhovsky's excavations of the tumuli can be found in the annual *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1976–1989 gg* (Moscow).
64. I. I. Tolstoy and N. P. Kondakov, *Russkie drevnosti v pamiatnikakh iskusstva* 2 (Saint Petersburg, 1889) p. 26; A. N. Shcheglov, "Gde nakhodilsia kurgan Kara-Merkit (Ak-Mechetskii)," *Skifia i Bospor: Arkheologicheskie materialy k konferentsii pamiati akademika M. I. Rostovtseva* (Novo-cherkassk, 1989) pp. 95–97.
65. See I. B. Brashinsky and K. K. Marchenko, "Elizavetovskoe gorodishche na Donu-poselenie gorodskogo tipa," *SA* 1 (1980) pp. 211–218; idem, "Elizavetovskoe: Skythische Stadt im Don-Delta," *AVA-Materialien* 27 (Munich, 1984).
66. See B. N. Grakov, "Kamenskoe gorodishche na Dnepre," *MIA* 36 (1954); S. Ia. O'govsky, "Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskaiia rol'Kamenskogo gorodishcha," *Skyfi Severnogo Prichernomor'ia* (Kiev, 1987) pp. 48–53.
67. V. A. Il'inskaia and A. I. Terenozhkin, *Skifia VII – III vv. do n.e.* (Kiev, 1983) pp. 120–190.
68. Cf. N. N. Cherednichenko, et al., "Raskopki bol'shogo skifskogo kurgana v Priazov'e," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1978* (Moscow, 1979) pp. 419–421; O. Ia. Privalova, N. P. Zaraiskaia, and A. I. Privalov, "Dvugorbaia mogila," *Drevnosti stepnoi Skifii* (Kiev, 1982) pp. 148–178.
69. See V. S. Olkhovsky, "O naselenii Kryma v skifskoe vremia," *SA* 4 (1982) pp. 61–79; A. N. Shcheglov, "Tavry v VII – pervoi polovine IV vekov do n.e. i greko-tavrskie vzaimootnosheniia," *Mestnye etnopoliticheskie ob'edineniia Prichernomor'ia v VII – IV vv. do n.e.* (Tbilisi, 1988) pp. 71–72.
70. Artamonov, *Sokrovishcha skifskikh kurganov*, pp. 61–67; Il'inskaia and Terenozhkin, *Skifia VII – IV vv. do n.e.*, pp. 207–211.
71. Il'inskaia and Terenozhkin, *Skifia VII – IV vv. do n.e.*, pp. 282–286.
72. T. S. Kamenetsky, *Arkheologiia SSSR: Stepi evropeiskoi chasti SSSR v skifo-sarmatskoe vremia* (Moscow, 1989) p. 226, map 16.
73. Il'inskaia and Terenozhkin, *Skifia VII – IV vv. do n.e.*, pp. 80–81. It has been suggested that the king of the Thateans was buried in the tumulus, see A. A. Maslennikov, *Naselenie Bosporskogo gosudarstva v VI – II vv. do n.e.* (Moscow, 1981) p. 46. Judging by the titles of the Bosporan kings, the Thateans were included within the confines of the Bosphorus in the reign of Perisadus I (344/3–311/10 B.C.). See *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani* (Moscow/Leningrad, 1965) 9; 1015; 1014.
74. Alekseev, *ASGE*, 28 (1987) pp. 42–44.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 44, n.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
77. See V. Schiltz, "Deux gorytes," *RA* 2 (1979) p. 310; E. V. Chernenko, "O seriinom proizvodstva paradnogo oruzhiia skifskogo vremeni v antichnykh tsentrakh Severnogo Prichernomor'ia," abstract of a paper presented at the All-Union Conference *Problemy antichnoi istorii i klassicheskoi filologii* (Kharkov, 1980) p. 69; Andronikos, *VDI* 1 (1990) p. 121.
78. It is probable that Atheas's "power" might have been one of these short-lived formations, although it could be suggested with equal justice that Atheas was "emperor" of a local group of Scythians on the territory of Dobrudja.
79. Cf. K. Marcenko and Y. Vinogradov, "The Scythian Period in the Northern Black Sea Region (750–250 B.C.)," *Antiquity* 63, 241 (1980) pp. 803–813.
80. Cf. A. N. Shcheglov, "Khersones i Nizhnii Don v IV – III vv. do n.e.," *Arkheologicheskie raskopki na Donu* (1973) pp. 29–30.
81. V. F. Gajdukevich, *Das Bosporanische Reich* (Berlin/Amsterdam, 1971) pp. 283–290; Il'inskaia and Terenozhkin, *Skifia VII – IV vv. do n.e.*, pp. 207–211; E. V. Iakovenko, *Skifi Skhidnogo Krimu v V – III st. do n.e.* (Kiev, 1974) pp. 34–74.
82. The exact date of the burial at Kul-Oba is problematic. Based on a mark with the name of Areton on a Thasian amphora, Brashinsky dated the burial to the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. ("Novya materialy," p. 104). However, according to Iu. G. Vinogradov this mark (published in A.-M. Bon and A. Bon, "Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos," *Études Thasiennes* 4 [1957] no. 246) belongs to the early group that he classifies as 5a and dates to ca. 340–320 B.C. (Iu. G. Vinogradov, "Keramicheskie kleima

ostrova Fasos," *Numizmatika i epigrafika X* [Moscow, 1972] p. 39). According to Debidour's latest chronology the date cannot be narrowed down beyond the second half of the 4th century B.C. (M. Debidour, "Réflexions sur les timbres amphoriques Thasiens," *Thasiaca: Bulletin de correspondance hellénique. Supplément V* [1979] p. 311).

83. Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, pp. 73–74, pl. xxvi.2.

84. The discovery of a second plate in 1970, in tumulus No. 30 near the village of Velikaia Belozerka approximately 30 km southeast of Kamenskoe Gorodishche on the Dnieper, makes it possible to identify a "Kul-Oba" series. V. V. Otroshchenko, "Paradnyi mech iz kurgana u s. Velikaia Belozerka," *Vooruzhenie skifov i sarmatov* (Kiev, 1984) pp. 121–126. It is noteworthy that the scabbard plate from Kul-Oba and Velikaia Belozerka has designs on the side of the flange, as does our example from Chaian. See also Chernenko, "O seriinom proizvodstve," pp. 68–69.

85. E. I. Solomnik, "Dva antichnykh pis'ma iz Kryma," *VDI* 3 (1987) pp. 114–125; J. S. Vinogradov, "Der Pontos Euxenos als politische, ökonomische und kulturelle Einheit und die Epigraphik," *Actes du IXe Congrès International d'épigraphie grecque et latine I* (Sofia, 1987) p. 28.

86. For a more detail account, see A. N. Shcheglov, "Protsess i kharakter territorial'noi ekspansii Khersonesa v IV v. do n.e.," *Antichnaia grazhdanskaia obshchina: problemy sotsial'no-politicheskogo razvitiia i ideologii* (Leningrad, 1986) pp. 163–176; idem, "Un établissement rural en Crimée: Panskoje I (fouilles de 1969–1985)," *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 13 (1987) pp. 239–273.

87. Zograf, *BAR-S* 33 (1977) p. 255, pl. xxxviii.16.

88. V. I. Pavlenkov, "O monetakh Kerkinitidy so skifskimi siuzhetami," *Prolemy issledovaniia antichnogo i srednekovogo Khersonesa, 1888–1988*. Abstract of a lecture (Sevastopol, 1988) p. 84. On the coins of Atheas, see V. A. Anokhin, "Monety skifskogo tsaria Ateaia," *Numizmatika i sfragistika* 2 (1965) pp. 3–15.

89. Zograf, *BAR-S* 33 (1977) pl. xxxviii.17, 18. The dating of

the coins to the end of the 4th century is based on stratigraphical observations.

90. Zograf, *BAR-S* 33 (1977) pls. xxxv.11 and xxxviii.15.

91. A. M. Gilevich, "Kuckuk-Moinakskii klad khersonesskikh monet IV–III vv. do n.e.," *Numizmatiki i epigrafika* 8 (1970) p. 6.

92. On the relations between the Chersonese and Kerkinitis, see A. N. Shcheglov, *Severo-Zapadnyi Krym v antichnuu epokhu* (Leningrad, 1978) p. 120; idem, *Protsess i kharakter territorial'noi ekspansii*, pp. 168–172; V. A. Kutaisov, *Antichnyi gorod Kerkinitida VI–II vekov do n.e.* (Kiev, 1990) pp. 152–158; Iu. G. Vinogradov and A. N. Shcheglov, "Obrazovanie Khersonesskogo territorial'nogo gosudarstva," *Ellinizm: Ekonomika, politika, kul'tura* (Moscow, 1990).

93. We are unable to discuss here the manifestations and consequences of this crisis. We note only that in the mid–4th century B.C. serious changes took place in Graeco-Scythian art (D. S. Raev's'ky, "Ellinskie bogi v Skifii?: K semanticheskoi kharakteristike greko-skifskogo iskusstva," *VDI* 1 [1980] pp. 49–51) and that the beginning of a new period in the history of Graeco-Scythian relations dates from this time.

94. V. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini 1–2* (1904) p. 401.

95. S. A. Zhebelev, *Severnoe Prichernomor'e* (Moscow/Leningrad, 1953) pp. 233–234; Vinogradov and Shcheglov, "Obrazovanie Khersonesskogo."

96. Our aim in this article is not to examine the debatable problem of where Greco-Scythian works were produced. Among other hypotheses it has been conjectured that a large number of ornaments and objects of ceremonial weaponry were manufactured in the Bosporus (Onaiki, "Antichnyi import," pp. 51–54), while a number were probably made in Olbia (Chernenko, "O seriinom proizvodstve," p. 69). The lamellate bracelet ("diadem") from the set published here raised the question of the possible existence of a similar center of production in the Chersonese. This is an idea that has also occurred to A. Iu. Alekseev.

# A Crusader's Sword: Concerning the Effigy of Jean d'Alluye

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**A**MONG THE SCULPTURES in the Gothic Chapel at The Cloisters, the armored gisant of Jean d'Alluye from the Abbey of La Clarté-Dieu, which he founded in 1239 and where he was entombed about 1248, could well serve as the almost perfect illustration of a knight's equipment in the classical age of chivalry (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> Jean d'Alluye wears a long-sleeved mail shirt with hood and mittens in one piece; the hood, or coif, has been let down to rest on his shoulders. His hands, devoutly joined in prayer, emerge through slits at the wrists of the sleeves, leaving the mittens dangling. Spurs, the distinguishing mark of the knight, are buckled over the mail chausses covering his legs. Over his mail shirt he wears a surcoat, split open in front for an easier seat in the saddle, and belted at the waist with a narrow girdle. A matching wide sword belt is pulled aslant by the weight of the sword and hangs lower at the hips. His triangular shield, large enough to cover a man's entire left side from eyes to knee, rests against his left leg.

All these elements are what would be expected in the equipment of a knight of the first half of the thirteenth century. However, the hilt of his sword, as it shows above the rim of the shield, has a compact guard and a trilobate pommel totally different from the fairly standardized cruciform hilts in use in Western Europe at this period (Figures 2, 3).

The hilt of such a knightly sword consisted of three elements: a slender guard, with long, straight—or, at the most, very gently downcurving—quillons; a tubular wooden grip, covered with leather and sometimes reinforced with straps or wire wound spirally round or in a crisscrossing pattern; and finally a pommel of iron or bronze as a counterweight to balance the long blade. The tip of the tang was hammered down on top of the pommel

to rivet the hilt firmly together. Thirteenth-century pommels mostly had the shape either of a disk or a more or less pointed oval (Figures 4, 5).<sup>2</sup> If in an exceptional case, such as the sword on the incised tomb slab of Jaquelin de Ferrière, a trilobate pommel can be found, it is clearly only a scalloped variant of the disk-shaped pommel and is invariably associated with a guard of long, straight quillons (Figure 6).

By contrast, Jean d'Alluye's sword has a trilobate pommel, molded in relief almost like a budding flower, with a central bulbous element emerging between two outward-turning scrolls; its grip is wrapped in an intricate pattern of interlooping straps, and instead of true quillons its rather massive guard has sharply sloping shoulders ending in tiny upward-curling finials. Its unusual appearance raises the question whether this sword is of non-European, possibly Oriental, origin.

Of Jean d'Alluye, Seigneur de Châteaux, Chenu, Saint-Christophe, Méon, and Noyant, it is known that he took the cross and went to the Holy Land in 1241. He returned home three years later, in 1244, bringing with him a relic of the True Cross, a present from the bishop of Hiera Petra—a Greek see on Crete—which he devoutly donated to the abbey of La Boissière. About four years later, Jean d'Alluye died and was laid to rest under his effigy in his abbey of La Clarté-Dieu, near Le Mans. It is quite possible that his sword, so carefully represented on his gisant, was also a cherished possession brought back from Outremer.

However, it is not likely that this sword was forged at Damascus or one of the other renowned sword-making centers of the Islamic world. Despite the popular image of the cruciform swords of the knights of the Cross clashing with the crescent-shaped scimitars of the warriors of Islam, in the thirteenth century the Saracens did indeed fight with straight double-edged swords. Nonetheless,

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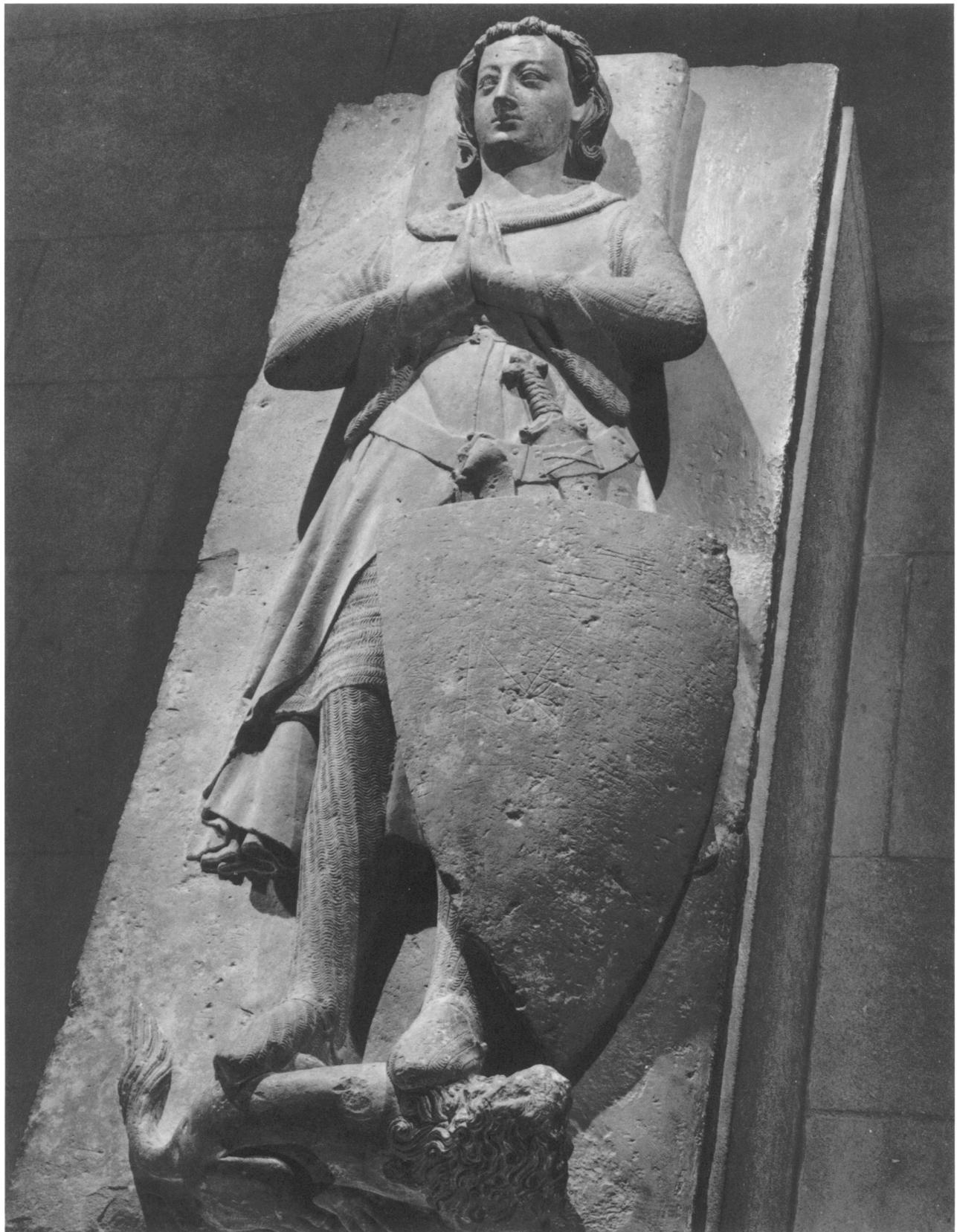
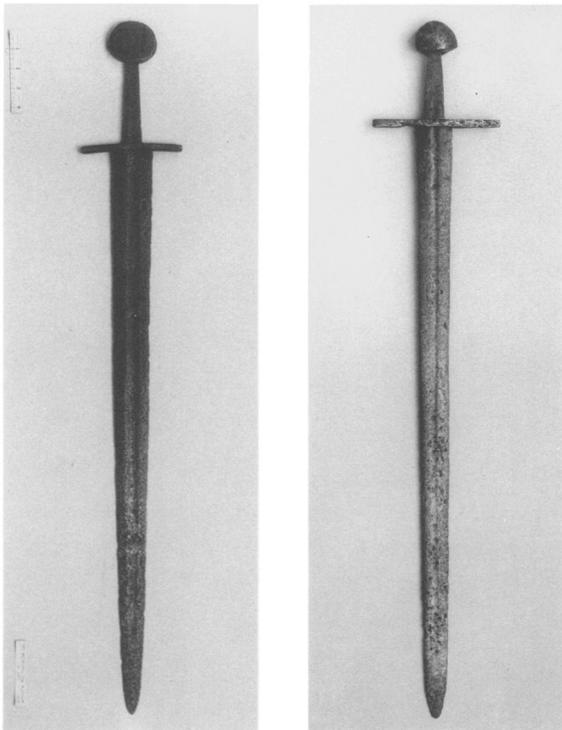


Figure 1. Limestone effigy of Jean d'Alluye (died ca. 1248), from the Abbey of La Clarté-Dieu, near Le Mans. French, mid-13th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1925, 25.120.201



Figure 2. Detail of Figure 1 showing Jean d'Alluye's sword hilt

Right: Figure 3. "The Slaughter of the Innocents," fol. 2v (detail), *The Cloisters Apocalypse*. French (Normandy), first quarter of 14th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1968, 68.174



Left: Figure 4. Sword with disk-pommel. French, 13th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of George D. Pratt, 1925, 25.188.12

Right: Figure 5. Sword with pointed-oval pommel. German, 13th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907, 07.53.2

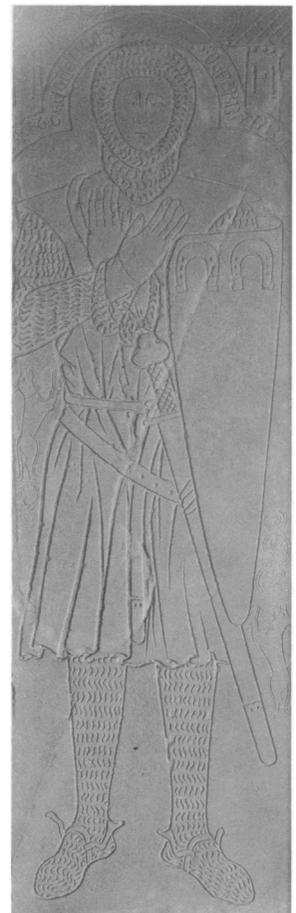


Figure 6. Tomb slab of Jaquelin de Ferrière, from Montargis, near Sens. North French, 13th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Funds from various donors, 1929, 29.158.761



Figure 7. Sword bearers in the *Maqamat al-Hariri* manuscript. Arabic, second quarter of 13th century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, no. 5847 (drawing after A. R. Zaky)



Figure 8. Sword bearer in *The Zoology of al-Jahiz*. Arabic, 14th century (drawing after A. Welch)



Figure 9. Bronze matrix of a sword guard. Seljuk, 12th–13th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund and Anonymous Gift, 1980, 1980.210.1

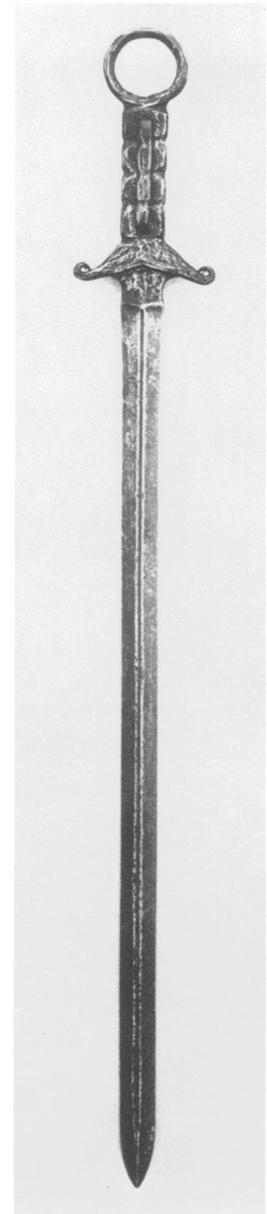


Figure 10. *Chēn*, Chinese sword of archaic form. All-iron. Formerly The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 07.55.3 (deaccessioned, 1956). Location unknown

Jean d'Alluye's sword differs radically from what we know of Islamic swords before 1400. There are very few pictorial representations of swords in Islamic art of this period.<sup>3</sup> Most of them are manuscript illustrations, and their often tiny scale makes it difficult to identify details such as the exact shape of a sword hilt, especially when so much of the hilt is hidden by the holding hand. Thirteenth- and early-fourteenth-century miniatures show swords with guards that either are straight bars or have short quillons with tightly scrolled finials; their pommels are small buttons or acorn shapes (Figures 7, 8).<sup>4</sup> No medieval Islamic swords of this type seem to have survived with their original hilts intact.<sup>5</sup> An alternative form

of thirteenth-century hilt had a guard block in the shape of an inverted cup. One matrix for the casting of such a guard block is in the Metropolitan Museum's collection (Figure 9). A surviving matrix for a pommel of this type of hilt is of domed-knob shape.<sup>6</sup>

It seems that Jean d'Alluye's sword came from much farther away than Damascus. Its guard with the sloping quillons and upturned finials is practically identical to guards found on archaic Chinese swords, *chēn* (Figure 10).<sup>7</sup> In their early forms these have ring-pommels, which go back to Bronze Age prototypes.<sup>8</sup> By the late eighth century trilobate pommels appear that are very close to the one on

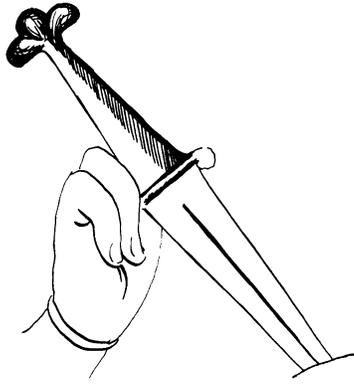
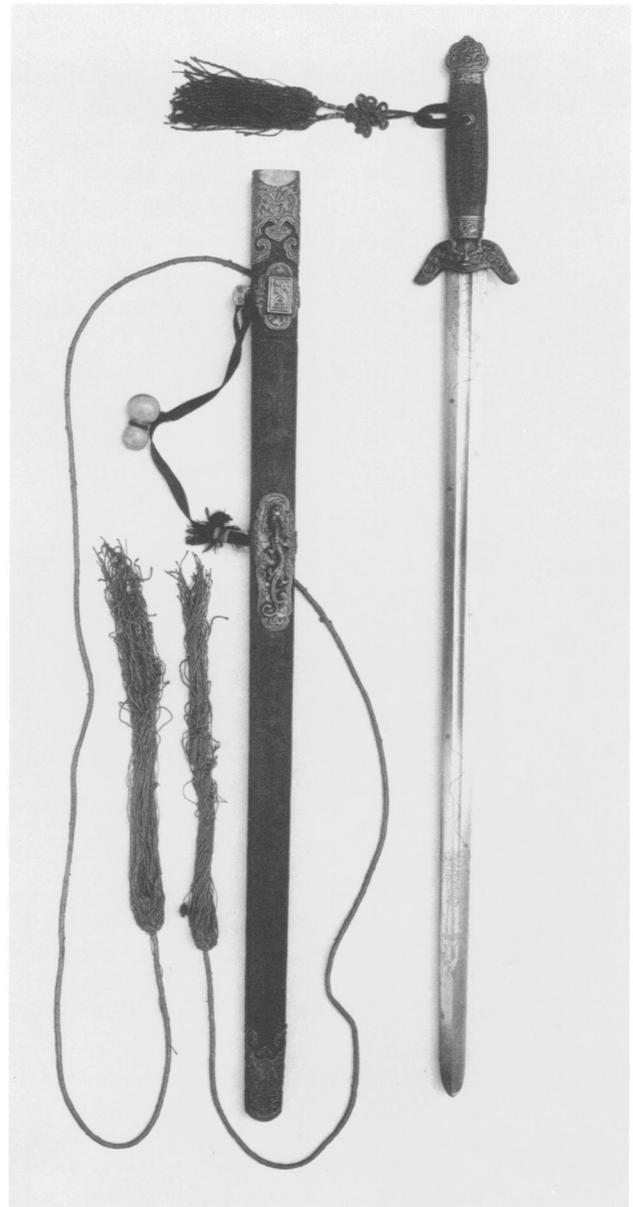


Figure 11. Sword hilt, detail from a wall painting, cave 139A, Tun-huang. Chinese (Kansu), second half of 8th century (drawing after L. Sickman and A. Soper)



Figure 12. Sword bearers of the Chinese envoy, detail of the handscroll *The Story of Lady Wen-chi*. Chinese, probably 14th-century copy of a 12th-century scroll. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of The Dillon Fund, 1973, 1973.120.3

Figure 13. Sword with scabbard, Chinese, 18th–19th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of George C. Stone, 1936, 36.25.248ab



Jean d'Alluye's sword (Figure 11),<sup>9</sup> and by the twelfth century, triple-scrolled pommels seem to have become the prevalent type in representations in Chinese art (Figure 12). However, no actual examples dating earlier than the eighteenth century have apparently survived. The tradition of the trilobate pommels, once established, was strong enough to ensure that practically all Chinese swords of the *chên* type up to modern times would have scalloped pommels, and even the talismanic swords made from strung-together Chinese copper coins, which can be found in almost any gift shop in Chinatown, invariably have trilobate pommels. Finally, the wrapping of Jean d'Alluye's sword grip

consists of thick straps woven into a double-looping pattern that is much more elaborate than the simple reinforcing binding usually found in European hilts,<sup>10</sup> while sword grips bound in complicated patterns are typical of Far Eastern swords (Figure 13). Some hilts of archaic Chinese swords were of solid metal, either bronze or iron, but even those grips were covered with macramé-like wrappings of braided cords for a firmer hold. In one rare example, a bronze sword from the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), now in the British Museum, these bindings are still preserved.<sup>11</sup> The all-iron sword in Figure 10 must have had a similarly pattern-bound hilt, as indicated by the notches on the grip, placed

there to keep the cords from shifting.

Though Jean d'Alluye has for his sword a scabbard and a sword belt in the Western European style (cf. Figure 3), and presumably of European workmanship, the sword itself must have come from the other end of the known world, faraway China.

Whether it was traded peacefully along the ancient Silk Road, or was carried by a raider in the conquering hordes of the Mongols,<sup>12</sup> whether Jean d'Alluye acquired it as an exotic collector's item in the bazaar of some Levantine port, or took it as booty on a Syrian battlefield, we will never know. In any case, though, this extraordinary weapon was important enough for him and his family to have it faithfully portrayed for posterity on his effigy.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For generously given information and assistance I would like to thank my friends and colleagues David G. Alexander and James Watt.

### NOTES

1. James J. Rorimer, *The Cloisters*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1963) pp. 96–97, fig. 43; Bonnie Young, *A Walk Through the Cloisters* (New York, 1979) pp. 81, 88, 89, ill.; Judith W. Hurtig, "The Armored Gisant before 1400," diss. New York University, 1979, fig. 23; William D. Wixom, "Medieval Sculpture," *MMAB* 46 (1989) pp. 58, 59, ill.

2. Ada Bruhn-Hoffmeyer, *Middelalderens tveæggede svaerd*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1954); Claude Blair, *European and American Arms* (London, 1962) chap. 1, "The Sword," pp. 1–5, ill.; R. Ewart Oakeshott, *The Sword in the Age of Chivalry* (London, 1964); Herbert Seitz, *Blankwaffen* (Braunschweig, 1965) I, pp. 132–155, ill.

3. Two relief carvings on the late-11th-century city gate called the Bab el-Nasr (Gate of Victory) in Cairo seem to be among the earliest such representations. The hilts of these carved swords have short, straight, and rather massive bars as guards, and pommels consisting of a similar bar topped by a semicircular cap. Though it presents a trilobate appearance, this construction resembles that of sword hilts of Northern Europe. This fact, together with the presence among the shields carved alongside these swords of one of the elongated, almond-shaped forms usually called "Norman" (because it is best known from the Tapestry of Bayeux), makes it likely that the weapons decorating the Gate of Victory are actually trophies taken from European enemies. See David Nicolle, "Saladin and the Saracens," *Osprey Man-at-Arms Series* 171 (London, 1986) p. 37.

4. Michael Gorelik, "Oriental armour of the Near and Middle East from the 8th to the 15th centuries as shown in works of art," in *Islamic Arms and Armour*, Roger Elgood, ed. (London, 1979) pp. 30–63, ill.; David Nicolle, "An introduction to arms and warfare in classical Islam," in *Islamic Arms and Armour*, pp. 162–186, ill.; Abdel Rahman Zaky, "Medieval Arab arms," in *Islamic Arms and Armour*, pp. 202–212, ill.; David Geoffrey Alexander, "Dhu l-fakar," diss., New York University, New York, 1984; David G. Alexander, "European Swords in the Collections of Istanbul," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* (1985) pp. 81–118, figs. 1–4, 64–75; An-

thony Welch, "The Arts of the Book," *Treasures of Islam*, Toby Falk, ed. (London, 1985) pp. 48–52, no. 18, ill.; Nicolle, "Saladin and the Saracens," pp. 10, 13–15, 19, 23, 24, 33, 34, 37; ill.

5. Even the ancient straight blades treasured as the swords of the Prophet, of the first four caliphs, and of other Islamic heroes, in the Topkapi Sarayi Museum, Istanbul, have been re-hilted, probably about 1500. These hilts are in the Turkish scimitar style, with rhomboid guard blocks, straight or down-curved quillons, and prongs extending upward and downward to secure the asymmetrically curved grip and to fit over the scabbard mouth. If there is a pommel at all, it is a small cap following the outline of the grip end. See Zaky, "Medieval Arab arms."

6. David G. Alexander, entry in *Notable Acquisitions 1979–1980* (New York: MMA, 1980) pp. 27, ill.; David Alexander and Howard Ricketts, "Arms and Armour," *Treasures of Islam*, pp. 294–317, nos. 305, 306, ill.

7. The Chinese word *chên* and the Japanese word *ken*, denoting a straight, double-edged sword, seem ultimately derived from the Skythian *akinakes*. From the same root come the Caucasian *kindjal*, the Turkish *khandjar*, and the Hindi *khandā*.

8. Stephen V. Grancsay, "Two Chinese Swords dating about 600 A.D.," *MMAB* 25 (1930–31) p. 194, figs. 1 and 3; William Watson, *Early Civilization in China* (New York, 1966) p. 86, fig. 66; Helmut Nickel, "About the Sword of the Huns and the 'Urepos' of the Steppes," *MMJ* 7 (1973) pp. 131–142, fig. 10; Joseph Needham and Colin A. Ronan, *The Shorter Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge / London / New York / Melbourne, 1978) I, p. 60, fig. 15.

9. Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China* (London, 1956; rev. ed. 1978) pp. 166–167, fig. 114.

10. To my knowledge there are only two other European examples of representations of sword grips wrapped in a cross-looping pattern: one is on the donor statue of Count Hermann in Naumburg Cathedral, dating from the third quarter of the 13th century; the other is on the tomb effigy of an unidentified knight, in San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples, of the mid-14th century. Interestingly, the unknown Neapolitan knight has shoulder defenses in the shape of lions' masks, a feature highly unusual in Europe at that time, but common in Chinese parade armor since the T'ang Dynasty (A.D. 618–905). See Erwin Panofsky, *Die deutsche Plastik des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1924) pl. 101; Wilhelm Pinder, *Der Naumburger Dom* (Berlin, 1925) pl. 67; Hurtig, *Armored Gisant*, figs. 124, 298; H. Russell Robinson, *Oriental Armour* (London, 1967) p. 138, fig. 70; Suzanne G. Valenstein, "Highlights of Chinese Ceramics," *MMAB* (Autumn 1975), pp. 128, 165, fig. 12.

11. Watson, *Early Civilization*, p. 86, fig. 69.

12. The Mongol armies, who from 1219 on ravaged the Muslim realms in what are now Iran, Iraq, and Eastern Turkey, contained large contingents of Nestorian Christians. This and their attacks on Muslim territories rekindled in Western Europe the belief in a mighty Christian ruler in the East, Prester John. See E. D. Phillips, *The Mongols* (New York / Washington, 1969) pp. 17, 26, 81; Robert Silverberg, *The Realm of Prester John* (Garden City, N. Y., 1972) pp. 76–96; Peter Brent, *Genghis Khan: The Rise, Authority and Decline of Mongol Power* (New York, 1976) pp. 92, 105, 133, 139, 182; James Chambers, *The Devil's Horsemen: The Mongol Invasion of Europe* (New York, 1979) pp. 34–36.

# Presents to Princes: A Bestiary of Strange and Wondrous Beasts, Once Known, for a Time Forgotten, and Rediscovered

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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF JACK L. SCHRADER

THE SIXTH TAPESTRY in the series *The Hunt of the Unicorn* shows the slain unicorn being brought to a castle and presented there to the castle's lord and lady (Figure 1). James J. Rorimer saw in this lord's face a likeness to Louis XII, King of France.<sup>1</sup> Even though this identification has been challenged, the presentation of the killed unicorn to a lordly personage is clear. It is a motif derived from a classical source, the zoological compendium *De natura animalium* by Claudius Aelianus (ca. A.D. 170–ca. 230). There the unicorn is described as an animal living in inaccessible mountain regions of India, and it is said that “the young ones are sometimes taken to the king to be exhibited in contests on days of festival, because of their strength, but no one remembers the capture of a single specimen of mature age.”<sup>2</sup> From this it can be inferred that fully grown unicorns have to be killed when hunted, because they cannot be captured alive;<sup>3</sup> the Unicorn in Captivity tapestry of the set (Figure 2) might then represent a unicorn taken as a foal and grown to maturity in some fairy-tale king's myth-haunted zoological garden.

Rare and strange beasts were considered worthy presents in the diplomatic gift exchanges between princes of virtually every period. Among the best-known examples are the elephant sent to Charlemagne by Harun al-Rashid;<sup>4</sup> the three leopards that Emperor Frederick II, *stupor mundi*, presented to his brother-in-law, King Henry III of England, “in honor of his noble coat-of-arms,” in a most elegant heraldic gesture;<sup>5</sup> and the rhinoceros King Manuel

of Portugal had received from the king of Cambodia and forwarded to the pope. Although that luckless creature drowned in a shipwreck on its way to Rome, it became immortalized by Dürer's woodcut (Figure 3).<sup>6</sup>

It is interesting to see that while Aelianus mentions the unicorn as well as the rhinoceros, he describes only the unicorn at any length (evidently without realizing that he is actually talking about the rhinoceros).<sup>7</sup> He considers a detailed description of the rhinoceros unnecessary, because that animal was quite familiar to Greeks and Romans, precisely from the animal fights staged in the Circus as “contests on days of festival.” By contrast, in Dürer's time everybody was familiar with the unicorn, which by then graced innumerable armorial shields, but it was a sensational event when the public became reacquainted with the rhinoceros.

The custom of one ruler's presenting another with animals not found in the recipient's country can be traced nearly to the beginning of recorded history. One of these early gifts was given to Tiglath-Pileser I, king of Assyria, himself a great hunter who not only slaughtered all sorts of wildlife, but also brought the live young of elephants and “wild oxen” (probably the now extinct aurochs, or urus [*Bos primigenius*]) to his menagerie at his city of Assur. About 1100 B.C. the Egyptian pharaoh sent Tiglath-Pileser a large crocodile and a hippopotamus as exotic additions to his collection.<sup>8</sup>

One of the most baffling examples of an animal that, brought to a king's court, was realistically portrayed but remained unidentified for more than two thousand years, is in the relief friezes at the palace of Persepolis. They depict tribute bearers from all

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Figure 1. *The Unicorn is Killed and Brought to the Castle*, tapestry, Franco-Flemish, ca. 1500. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller, 1937, 37.80.6

the lands subject to the Great King presenting their gifts to Xerxes the Great (ca. 470 B.C.).<sup>9</sup> Among these gifts is an animal that has been described as a “short-necked giraffe,” led on a leash by three men of clearly negroid type (Figure 4). This relief is on the stepped wings of the stairway, and the artist made clever use of the diminished available space by showing these three negroids as shorter by a head than the Persian court official ushering them

in. This is not likely to be an instance of the artistic convention of indicating social status by size, but a realistic attempt to portray Pygmies. Pygmies, though already known to the Egyptians of the Fifth Dynasty and to Homer, were considered just another fable until their rediscovery in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Some Pygmy groups live beyond the headwaters of the Nile—exactly where Homer places them—roaming the Ituri For-

est, which is also the habitat of the okapi, a short-necked relative of the giraffe, “discovered” only as late as 1901.<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand, if only a description is available of a beast of legend instead of a picture, which after all says more than a thousand words, it is often very difficult to find the real animal hiding behind an apparently precise word image. This is the case with the mysterious animal that wends its elusive way through the enchanted forests of King Arthur’s realm, the *Beste Glatysaunt*, or Questing Beast. Sir Thomas Malory, in his *Le Morte d’Arthur* (finished by 1470; published by Caxton, 1485), describes this marvel as having “in shap a hede lyke a serpents hede, and a body lyke a lybard, buttocks lyke a lyon, and foted lyke an herte.” If the “serpents hede” is meant to include a long, swaying neck, if the “body lyke a lybard” indicates a spotted hide, and the “buttocks lyke a lyon” means relatively narrow hind-quarters with a tufted tail, then, adding the slender legs and cloven hooves of a hart, we rather surprisingly have the image of a giraffe! The exotic nature

of the Questing Beast is indicated by the tradition that it was pursued as an adventurous quest, presumably to deliver it to King Arthur’s court at Camelot, by the Saracen knight Sir Palomydes, the son of the king of Babylon, who also bore it as charge on his shield and horse trappings.<sup>12</sup>

Medieval heraldry abounds with strange beasts. Thus, among the “royal beasts” set up by Henry VIII to flank the bridge of Hampton Court is the yale, a “minor monster” that has long been suspected of being a garbled rendering of a real animal.<sup>13</sup> Pliny and the bestiaries describe it as being as big as a horse, black in color, and having the tail of an elephant and the jowls of a boar.<sup>14</sup> Its outstanding feature is that its horns are not fixed but can be swiveled forward and back at will, so that, in a fight, “if it hurts the tip of one with any blow, the sharpness of the other one can take its place.” It has been suggested that the real animal that served as the model for the yale was a species of African antelope, such as the gnu or wildebeest. However, it seems more likely that Pliny’s yale was based on misinter-

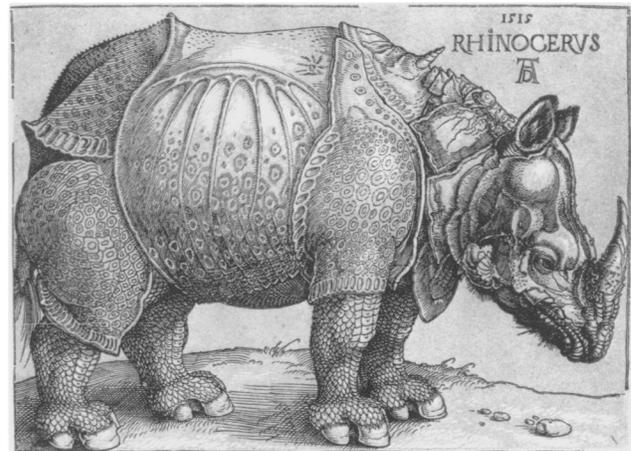
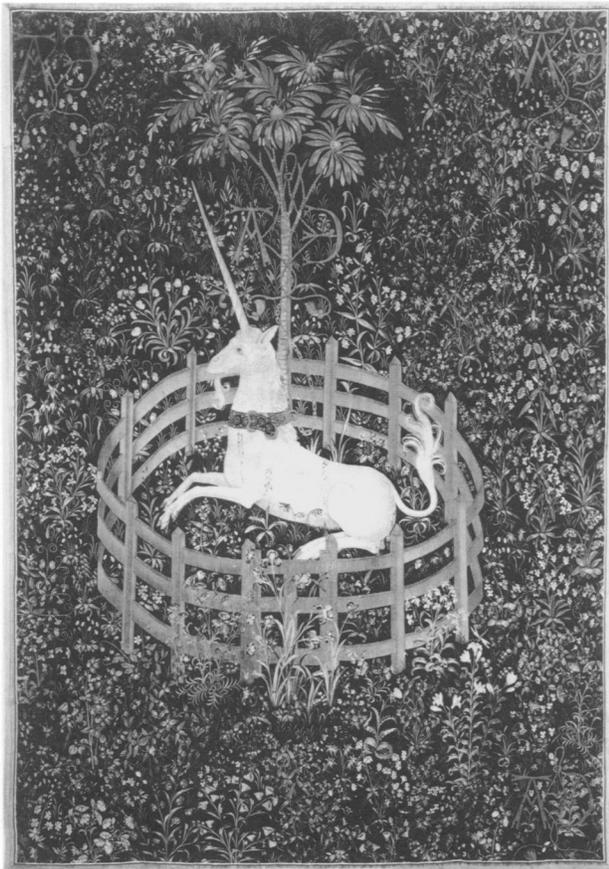


Figure 3. Albrecht Dürer, *Rhinoceros*, woodcut, German, 1515. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922, 22.10.8

Figure 2. *The Unicorn in Captivity*, tapestry, Franco-Flemish, ca. 1500. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller, 1937, 37.80.6

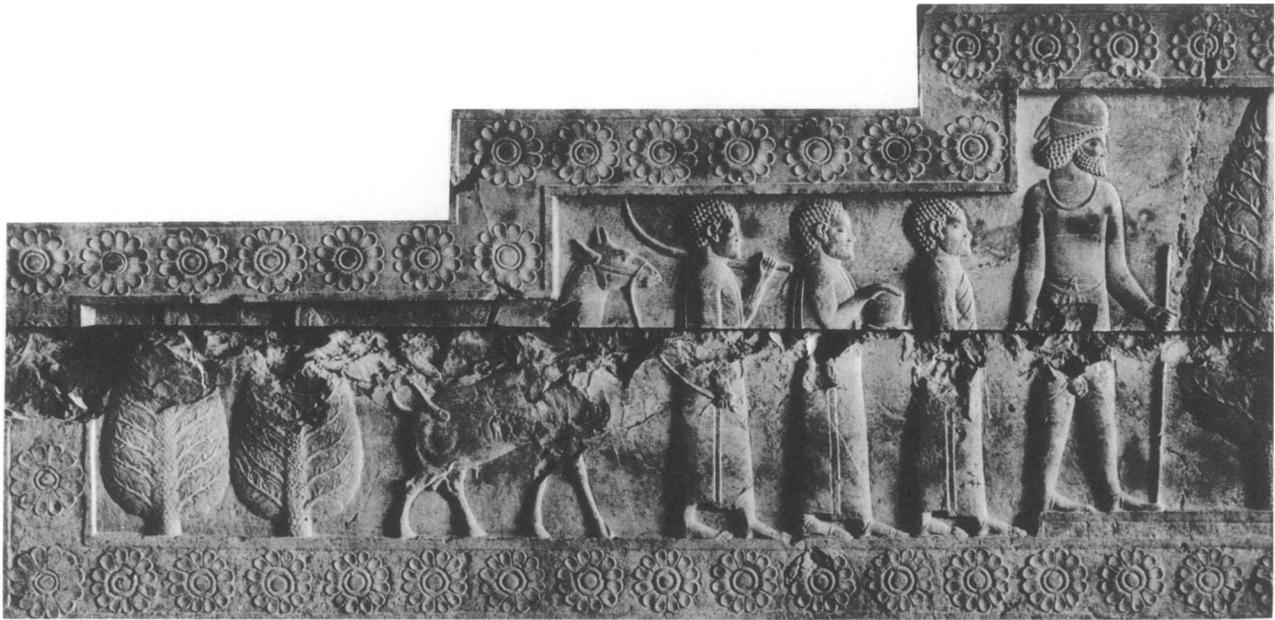


Figure 4. Tribute-bearing Pygmies leading an okapi, relief at the great stairway of the palace of Persepolis, Persian, ca. 470 B.C. (photo: from E. Schmidt, *Persepolis I: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*, pl. 49)



Figure 5. African black rhinoceroses, one with a broken horn (photo: Russell B. Aitken)



Figure 6. Heraldic yale, supporter of the arms of John, Duke of Bedford (d. 1435) (drawing after London)

preted reports about African double-horned rhinoceroses. A vague description of how the two horns are placed, one behind the other, might have suggested the notion that the rear horn could take the place of the one in front in case of damage (Figure 5).<sup>15</sup>

On the other hand, the heraldic yale had a definitely deerlike shape when it appeared in the early fifteenth century (Figure 6). Therefore, it may have had as its model an exotic deer, possibly the Père David's deer, which has a set of peculiarly double-forked antlers pointing forward as well as backward (Figure 7). These deer once lived in swampy forests in the northern parts of China, but lost their habitat and became extinct in the wild after these swamps were drained for cultivation. The species survived only in one herd that had been corralled into the Imperial Hunting Park near Beijing, which had been established about 1400. It was discovered in this preserve in 1865 by the French missionary Père Jean Pierre Armand David, who at great personal risk climbed the wall surrounding these then-forbidden and heavily guarded grounds. Before the end of the century an enlightened Son of Heaven had given permission for a number of Père David's deer to be exported to several European zoos. This was in the nick of time, because by 1900 the imperial herd was almost wiped out, eaten by starving peas-



Figure 7. Père David's deer (photo: Russell B. Aitken)



Figure 8. Gamelyon, from the arms of Thomas Garner, 1557 (drawing after Dennys)

ants during the famine of 1895. The surviving herd of about thirty animals was killed off during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900.<sup>16</sup> The boarlike tusks that have been given to the heraldic yale may have originated in this case from a confusion with another unusual Chinese deer, the musk deer (*Moschus moschiferus*), which has large fanglike canines as weapons; the musk deer, however, lacks antlers.

As we have seen with the Questing Beast, the fictitious heraldry of the Knights of the Round Table knows of manifold strange beasts, such as the dragon on King Arthur's helmet crest and battle standard, and the dragonlike *gampilūn* (probably based on an exaggerated story about the fierce-looking chameleon, which appears in English heraldry as the gamelyon) assigned to Gawain in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (Figure 8).<sup>17</sup> In the same epic, Wolfram, with grim humor, divides the griffin (a composite of eagle and lion, that guards gold nuggets in its nest beyond the steppes of Scythia) between King Hardiess of Gascony and his retainers. The king displays the forepart of the griffin in his shield, while his men bear the griffin's hind-quarters!<sup>18</sup>

More realistic than dragons and griffins is the ecdemon, *daz reine tier*, a small animal that kills snakes in India. It is quite obviously based upon reports of the ichneumon, better known as the mongoose. It is

the emblem of Feirefiz, lord of three Indian kingdoms. He was the older half brother of Parzival and the son of Queen Belakane of Zazamanc, sired by Parzival's father, Gahmuret, during his youthful days as a knight-errant in the fabulous countries of the mysterious East. After Parzival's achievement of the Grail, Feirefiz, properly baptized, married the Grail maiden Repansedeschoye and took her back to his lands in the East, where in due time they became the parents of Prester John.<sup>19</sup>

Gahmuret's blazon, bequeathed to him together with the kingship of Anschauë at the death of his older brother, an event that marked the end of his knight-errantry, was a *pantel* (panther). Interestingly, the name Gahmuret is a variant of the name of the first king of Iran, Guyomars, in Firdausi's *Shah-nameh*. Guyomars is a culture hero, who introduced proper food and clothing to his people, who were still living in wretched primitive conditions. Since weaving was not one of his innovations, clothing had to be made from animal skins. Significantly, in most representations in Persian miniatures, including the Museum's Houghton *Shah-nameh*, these clothes are shown as spotted leopard or panther skins (Figure 9).<sup>20</sup> Most of them, however, are colored whitish-gray, not yellow like the usual leopard fur. That would seem to indicate that the artists had the pelt of the snow leopard, also known as the irbis,



Figure 9. *The Court of Guyomars* (detail), miniature attributed to Sultan Muhammad, fol. 20v of *Shah-nameh*. Iranian, ca. 1520–22. Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan (photo: Malcolm Varon)



Figure 10. Giant panda (photo: Russell B. Aitken)

in mind. This species was first brought to the attention of Western zoologists in 1778, but was recognized as a separate species only in this century.<sup>21</sup>

The controversial author of the celebrated and widely read *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (1366) claimed that he had served the Great Khan of Cathay as a mercenary knight-errant for fifteen months (much as Parzival's father, Gahmuret, served the Baruch of Baghdad). He gives a colorful account of the Great Khan's court, which in his expert opinion by far surpassed that of any other Eastern potentate, including the Sultan of Babylon, the Emperor of Persia, and even Prester John of High Ind. Sir John goes on to describe in detail the hall of the Great Khan's palace, where there were twenty-four pillars of gold, "and all the walls are covered with the red skins of beasts, called *panthers*. They are very fine animals, sweet smelling, and because of the good smell of the skins no harmful air can come therein. These skins are as red as any blood, and shine so in the sun that a man can hardly look at them because of their brightness. The folk of that country honour that beast, when they see it, on account of its good properties and the sweet smell that comes from it; they praise the skin of it as much as if it had been of fine gold."<sup>22</sup>

C. W. R. D. Moseley, the translator of the *Travels*, has after the word *panthers* inserted "(pandas?)," and points out in his introductory discussion, "The Book and its Author," that though early commentators in the bestiaries<sup>23</sup> do discuss the sweet smell of the panther, the red panda does indeed smell of musk, and the Nepali word *panda* could easily be mistaken for *panthera*. This detail is not found in other reports, such as that of the missionary friar Odoric de Pordonone, who did visit the Great Khan and is one of the sources happily exploited by Sir John to flesh out his own stories; perhaps it can be taken as an indication that Sir John was not just a bald-faced liar but had some traveling experiences of his own.

In what is thought to be the first Arthurian romance of chivalry, *Erec et Enide* (ca. 1170), by Chrétien de Troyes, Erec, son of King Lac of Estregales, was given a precious mantle by King Arthur when he followed his father on the throne. This royally gold-embroidered mantle was lined with the furs of *berbioletes*, outlandish beasts with blond heads, black necks, vermilion-red backs, black bellies, and indigo (*inde*) tails, who are natives of India and eat nothing but spices, such as cinnamon and fresh cloves.<sup>24</sup> With the exception of the indigo tails—perhaps changed from *onde*, "wavy," by a need to rhyme with *Inde*, "India"—this is a fairly accurate descrip-

tion of the pelt of the red, or lesser, panda, one of the very few animals with black belly fur.<sup>25</sup> Even such an extravagant diet of spices is only a slight exaggeration; the red panda is a vegetarian. It was discovered for modern zoology in 1850, by the British naturalist Hardwicke, in the Himalayan regions of northern India.<sup>26</sup>

The red panda, as the *berbiolete*, seems to have traveled along the Silk Road only as a prized fur. Incredible as it might sound, however, at least two live specimens of its large relative, the giant panda, may have reached medieval Europe. The giant panda, a favorite zoo animal and model for cuddly stuffed toys, and known to anyone concerned about endangered species as the eye-catching logo of the World Wildlife Fund, came to the official attention of European scientists when it was found munching bamboo in the rugged mountain ranges of Western China by the indomitable Père David in 1869 (Figure 10).<sup>27</sup>

If the panda had not made the long trip alive at least once before 1869, however, it would be difficult to explain a vivid description, having all the freshness of an eyewitness account, given by an eleventh-century monk in a Bavarian monastery. This evidence is in the earliest surviving true romance of chivalry, *Ruodlieb*, written in Latin, probably by a monk at Tegernsee in Bavaria, between 1050 and 1075.<sup>28</sup> The romance's hero, Ruodlieb, decides to go abroad to seek his fortune as a knight-errant. In a faraway country he enters the service of a mighty ruler, the Greater King, who though styled as an Oriental potentate, may have been modeled after the Emperor Henry II (reigned 1046–56). It is quite likely that the author spent some time at the imperial court, where he presumably had the experiences that he worked into his story.

Ruodlieb becomes the commander of the Greater King's army and defeats his lord's hostile neighbor, the Lesser King. In spite of his overwhelming victory, the Greater King treats the vanquished foe magnanimously and offers him friendship and peace. The grateful Lesser King appears at the peace conference carrying rich gifts. Among these presents are the expected fine horses and other useful animals, such as mules, asses, and camels, but also two leopards, two lions, a lynx, two talking parrots, and two monkeys (one a snub-nosed, bare-rumped ape with truncated tail, the other a long-tailed and gray-skinned *catta marina*;<sup>29</sup> "no usefulness was seen in either brute"), and, most surprisingly, two completely white bears with black legs and paws. These bears were twin brothers, skilled in

walking on two legs like men, sitting up and doing somersaults, riding piggyback, embracing, tussling and wrestling each other, even dancing to music and joining in the ladies' round-dance so drolly that nobody minded if a few scratches were to be suffered.<sup>30</sup>

Victor von Scheffel (1826–86) was a prolific, now half-forgotten poet, whose oeuvre ranged from scurrilous student drinking songs to the historical novel *Ekkehard* (1855), considered the German equivalent to *Ivanhoe*. The hero of this colorful tale is Ekkehard I, the monk of St. Gall who is believed to have been the author of *Waltharius* (ca. 900), the earliest known epic of the Nibelungen cycle. Scheffel delights in documenting even minor incidents and obscure details in his novel, drawn from a wide variety of chronicles and other sometimes highly esoteric sources. Therefore, in describing a visit to the menagerie kept on the monastery grounds at St. Gall, he cannot resist borrowing some details from *Ruodlieb* (of course duly acknowledged in note 56 of the annotated editions). Thus the two monkeys reappear as inhabitants of the menagerie at St. Gall,

commented upon with the monk of Tegernsee's cutting remark about their lack of usefulness, and also the pair of droll tussling bears.<sup>31</sup> However, Scheffel had to change the latter into local brown bears from the Black Forest or the Swiss mountains. The extravagant coloring of the bears in *Ruodlieb* he probably had dismissed as some medieval poet's fancy, led astray by travelers' tall tales. It was only fifteen years later, in 1870, that the director of the Museum of Natural History in Paris, Henri Milne-Edwards, published Père David's discovery,<sup>32</sup> making known again to the Western world the black-and-white bear from faraway China, the giant panda.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For generous advice and kind permission to use some of his superb animal photographs I would like to thank the great friend of the Department of Arms and Armor Russell B. Aitken.

## NOTES

1. James J. Rorimer, "The Unicorn Tapestries were made for Anne of Brittan," *MMAB* 38 (1942) pp. 7–20; idem, *The Unicorn Tapestries at The Cloisters: A Picture Book* (New York, 1938; 1962) pp. 28–36, figs. 23, 24, 28, 29; Margaret B. Freeman, *The Unicorn Tapestries* (New York, 1976) pp. 155–174, rejects this identification.

2. Odell Shepard, *The Lore of the Unicorn* (New York, 1956; 1979) p. 36; Freeman, *Unicorn Tapestries*, pp. 14–15.

3. T. H. White, *The Bestiary: A Book of Beasts* (New York, 1954; reprinted 1960) pp. 20–21 "unicornis," 44–45 "monoceros"; Richard H. Randall, Jr., *A Cloisters Bestiary* (New York, 1960) pp. 32–33; J. L. Schrader, "A Medieval Bestiary," *MMAB* 44, no. 1 (1986) p. 17.

4. Einhard and Notker the Stammerer, *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, Lewis Thorpe, trans. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1969) pp. 70, 145.

5. Sir Frederick Madden, *Matthaei Parisiensis historia Anglorum sive ut vulgo dicitur Historia minor*, 3 vols. (London, 1866–69) II, p. 380; Felix Hauptmann, "Die Wappen in der Historia minor des Matthäus Parisiensis," *Jahrbuch der K. K. Heraldischen Gesellschaft "Adler,"* n. s. 19 (Vienna, 1909) p. 35 ("rex autem Angliae tres in scuto gerit leopardos [Frederick II, after his marriage to Isabella,

sister to Henry III] misit etiam regi tres leopardos leporariis simillimis, quia in clipeo regis Anglorum tres leopardi figurantur.") In medieval heraldic nomenclature lions were understood to be "rampant" and with their heads in profile; felines walking with their right forepaw raised and their heads turned to face the viewer, were called "leopards," as is still the custom in all languages except English. Quite recently, the "leopard" was renamed in English "lion guardant passant." In medieval lore the leopard was thought to be born from the adultery of a lioness with a pard. See White, *Bestiary*, pp. 13–14). For this reason, some heraldic theorists, such as John de Bado Aureo, in his *Tractatus de Armis* (ca. 1395), insisted that a leopard as armorial charge suggests the ancestor of the bearer was begotten in adultery. This belief was quite possibly the underlying reason Richard the Lionheart changed his earlier arms of two lions combattant into three leopards, in honor of his ancestor William the Conqueror, also known as William the Bastard. See Rodney Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination* (New York, 1975) pp. 135–136.

6. The text accompanying the woodcut states that in 1513 this rhinoceros was brought from India to the great and mighty King Emanuel of Portugal. See *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer*, Willi Kurth, ed. (New York, 1927; reprinted 1963) pl. 299. The entry for cat. no. 581 of the exhibition catalogue 1471 *Albrecht*

Dürer 1971, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Nuremberg, 1971) p. 310, states that this rhinoceros was a present from King Muzafar of Cambodia (1511–26) to the king of Portugal. In December 1515 the rhinoceros was sent to Pope Leo X by boat. After having been viewed by King Francis I of France during a stopover at Marseilles, the animal was drowned in a shipwreck in the Gulf of Genoa, January 1516, but its stranded carcass was recovered, stuffed, and sent on to Rome.

7. Shepard, *Lore*, p. 37; Willy Ley, *The Dawn of Zoology* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1968) pp. 58–59; Freeman, *Unicorn Tapestries*, pp. 14–15.

8. Ley, *Dawn of Zoology*, p. 9.

9. Ley, *Dawn of Zoology*, p. 14; Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis, I: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions* (Chicago, 1953) pl. 49; Gerold Walser, *Persepolis* (Tübingen, 1980) pl. 35.

10. Paul Kunhnen, *Pygmäen und andere Primitivvölker* (Stuttgart, 1952) p. 5, quotes the text of a letter from the pharaoh Nefirirkare Kakai to his general Herihuf, concerning a Pygmy dancer to be brought to his court. European science discovered the Pygmies in 1869, when Georg Schweinfurth encountered the Akka tribe.

11. Ingo Krumbiegel, *Von neuen und unbekanntenen Tierarten* (Stuttgart, 1950) pp. 25–28; Ley, *Dawn of Zoology*, pp. 11–13. The story of how the okapi and the Pygmies got into the reliefs of Persepolis is imaginatively told in L. Sprague de Camp's novel *The Dragon of the Ishtar Gate* (1961).

12. James W. Spisak, William Matthews, and Bert Dillon, eds., *Caxton's Malory: A New Edition of Sir Thomas Malory's Le Morte d'Arthur Based on the Pierpont Morgan Copy of William Caxton's Edition of 1485* (Berkeley / Los Angeles, 1983) pp. 254–255.

13. H. Stanford London, "Minor Monsters: I. The Yale," *The Coat of Arms* III, no. 19 (July 1954) pp. 90–93, ill.; Dennys, *Imagination*, pp. 165–166, ill.

14. White, *Bestiary*, pp. 54–55, ill. "There is a beast called YALE, which is as big as a horse, has the tail of an elephant, its colour black and with the jowls of a boar. It carries outlandishly long horns which are adjusted to move at will. They are not fixed, but are moved as the needs of battle dictate, and, when it fights, it points one of them forward and folds the other one back, so that, if it hurts the tip of this one with any blow, the sharpness of the other can take its place." The 15th-century heraldic yale has tusks, a feature perhaps based on this description mentioning "jowls of a boar."

15. Russell Barnett Aitken, *Great Game Animals* (New York, 1969) p. 32. There are two species of African rhinoceros, the black and the white.

16. Ley, *Dawn of Zoology*, pp. 246–249, ill. Aitken, *Game Animals*, p. 124. Père David's deer is also known as milu. Although this was the name Père David was given by his informants, it was probably confused with the sika deer. The proper Chinese name is claimed to be *sse-pu-hsiang*, "four dissimilarities," because the animal does not look like a goat, a donkey, a cow, or a stag. Père David's deer sought in the wild earlier in this century regrettably turned out to be reindeer.

17. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, Lewis Thorpe, trans. (London: Penguin Classics, 1966) p. 217 (ix.4): Arthur's dragon crest, p. 248 (x.6); Arthur's battle stan-

dard of the Golden Dragon; Michel Pastoureau, *Armorial des Chevaliers de la Table Ronde* (Paris, 1983) pp. 46–47, no. 21: Arthur's dragon crest; Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, A. T. Hatto, trans. (London: Penguin Classics, 1980) p. 290: Gawain's *gampilün*. Dennys, *Imagination*, p. 142, describes and illustrates the gamelyon. Helmut Nickel, "Heraldry," *The Arthurian Encyclopedia*, Norris J. Lacy, ed. (New York / London, 1986) pp. 278–283. Among the heraldic charges of the Knights of the Round Table there are strange beasts in abundance; besides the ubiquitous lions and leopards there are elephant, tiger, ostrich, peacock, porcupine, and dromedary, most of them regarded as "real" as unicorn, dragon, and griffin.

18. Wolfram, *Parzival*, pp. 45, 47.

19. Wolfram, *Parzival*, pp. 369, 408.

20. Stuart Cary Welch, *A King's Book of Kings: The Shah-Nameh of Shah Tahmasp* (New York, 1972) pp. 88–91 (20v).

21. Krumbiegel, *Tierarten*, p. 14.

22. Sir John Mandeville, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, C. W. R. D. Moseley, trans. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1983) p. 142.

23. White, *Bestiary*, pp. 14–17; Randall, *Cloisters Bestiary*, p. 9; Schrader, "Medieval Bestiary," pp. 14–15; Helmut Nickel, "The Iron Door Mountings of St. Léonard-de-Noblat," *MMJ* 23 (1988) pp. 83–87 (iconography of the panther).

24. Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec and Enide*, Carleton W. Carroll, ed. (New York, 1987) pp. 296–297 (ll. 6748–6757):

... La pane qui i fu cosue  
fu d'unes contrefetes bestes  
qui ont totes blondes testes  
et cos noirs com une more  
et les dos ont vermauz desore,  
les vantres noirs et la coe inde.  
Itex bestes neissent en Inde  
si ont berbioletes non;  
ne manjuent s'espices non,  
quenele et girofle novel . . .

25. The only other animal with black belly fur that Chrétien would have known is the European hamster; but he is clearly not talking about the hamster pelt with which he would have been thoroughly familiar. In the popular translation by W. W. Comfort, in Chrétien de Troyes, *Arthurian Romances* (London / New York: Everyman's Library, 1914) p. 88, the "barbioletes" are described as having white heads, necks as black as mulberries, red backs and green bellies, and a dark blue tail. These translations are probably based on a corrupt French text, or a manuscript, where *blancs* in line 6750, and *verts* for *noirs* in line 6753 were read in some scribe's crabbed handwriting.

26. Ley, *Dawn of Zoology*, p. 247.

27. Krumbiegel, *Tierarten*, pp. 16–17; Ley, *Dawn of Zoology*, pp. 249–250; Aitken, *Game Animals*, p. 125.

28. Dennis M. Kratz, ed., *Waltharius and Ruodlieb* (New York, 1984).

29. Kratz, *Ruodlieb*, pp. 108–109 (ll. V.131–133): "simia nare brevis nate nuda murcaque cauda, voceque milvina cute crisa catta marina, in quibus ambabus nil cernitur utilitatis." The Latin term *catta marina* is the same as the German *Meerkatze* and desig-

nates a long-tailed monkey of the family Cercopithecidae; it tries to describe an animal that comes from beyond the ocean (*Meer*) and climbs trees as nimbly as a cat (*Katze*).

30. Kratz, *Ruodlieb*, pp. 106–107 (ll. V.84–98): “et pariles ursi, qui fratres sunt uterini, omnino nivei gambis pedibusque nigelli, qui vas tollebant, ut homo, bipedesque gerebant; illi saltabant neumas pedibus variabant; interdum saliant seseque superiaciebant, alterutrum dorso se portabant residendo, amplexando se luctando deiciunt se; cum plebs altisonam fecit girando choream, accurrunt et se mulieribus applicuere, quae gracili voce cecinerunt deliciose, insertisque suis harum manibus speciosis erecti calcant pedetemptim, murmure trinsant, ut mirarentur, ibi circum qui graderentur, non irascantur, quodcunque mali paterentur.”

31. Victor von Scheffel, *Ekkehard*, chap. 4: “Da erfreute sich Frau Hadwig [the visiting Duchess of Swabia, the monastery’s liege] am ungeschlachten Wesen der Bären: in närrischen Sprüngen kletterten sie am Baum ihres Twingers auf und nieder; daneben erging sich ein kurznasiger Affe, der mit einer Meerkatze zusammen an einer Kette durchs Leben tollte, - zwei Geschöpfe, von denen ein Dichter damaliger Zeit sagt, dass weder das eine noch das andere eine Spur nutzbringender Anlage als Berechtigungsgrund seines Vorhandenseins aufzuweisen vermöge . . .” (Note 56) “Das ist unser Tutilo! sprach er und deutete auf einen Bären, der soeben seinen Nebenbär rücklings zu Boden geworfen . . .”

32. Krumbiegel, *Tierarten*, pp. 16, 17, 74.

# The Dragon and the Pearl

HELMUT NICKEL

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TO WESTERNERS the most widely known image of Chinese iconography is the dragon. Far from being the virgin-devouring, treasure-guarding monster of European medieval romances, the Chinese dragon is a benevolent creature. As the bringer of life-sustaining rain, he is usually shown cavorting among clouds and playing with a pearl (Figure 1). This pearl in most representations is shown issuing flamelike swirls, which indicate some sort of luminescence.

Because of this setting in the heavens, Western art historians, well aware of cosmological symbolism in Chinese art and philosophy, generally interpret this “flaming” pearl as the representation of a celestial luminary, either the sun or the moon. The dragon’s play is seen as an attempt to swallow the pearl, in order to bring on a solar or lunar eclipse. In Chinese literature the pearl does not seem to be referred to as one of the heavenly bodies but, more generally, as an object of great value that enhances the benign dragon who treasures it.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting that, although the image of the dragon in China goes back to Neolithic times, and a dragon confronting a *pi*-disk, the ancient symbol of the heavens, may occasionally be found during the Han period (206 B.C.–A.D. 9),<sup>2</sup> the combination of dragon and pearl seems to appear only at the beginning of the T’ang period. Under the T’ang dynasty (618–907), “Western,” i.e., Central Asian, influence made its mark on China and, like other innovations in Chinese art, the dragon with the pearl as a motif might have originated in Central Asia.<sup>3</sup>

Among the swords found in the imperial tomb Pei-Chueu-Shan near Lo-Yang, Honan Province, China, is one whose pommel is composed of two confronting dragons with a flaming pearl between them; this might be one of the earliest surviving examples of the motif (Figure 2). The sword, which is thought to date from about A.D. 600, was probably

fashioned by Chinese craftsmen, but its ring-pommel and P-shaped scabbard mounts are derived directly from sword types that were developed by the nomads of the Eurasian steppes and go back to the Scythian *akinakes*.<sup>4</sup>

In searching for a particular motif, pieces of the puzzle may be found in the most unexpected places. Thus, one of the more striking designs on shields of the Late Roman army in the first half of the fifth century is a dragon curling around the boss of the shield (Figure 3). These shield designs are preserved in the muster roll of Late Roman military and civilian authorities, *Notitia dignitatum*, which survives in three fifteenth- and sixteenth-century copies of an earlier, probably tenth-century, copy of the original, datable to A.D. 428. There are nine dragon devices among the 283 shields illustrated: four of them are associated with a golden or silver ball, one with a crescent, and one with a lozenge; the other three have their dragons arranged around the shield boss in a way that suggests the boss itself takes the place of the “pearl.” The units bearing the dragon-and-pearl device were the *Taifali* and *Citrati iuniores* (Occidentalis VI, 16, 35). The *Marcomanni* (Oc. VI, 22) bore a half moon, and the *Honoriani iuniores* (Oc. VI, 36) a lozenge-shaped “diamond.” The *Mauri alites* (Oc. VI, 15) bore two dragons facing one another over the shield boss. All these units were cavalry troops. Among infantry regiments the *Menapi seniores* (Oc. V, 75) bore a golden dragon and the *Cortoriacenses* (Oc. V, 96) a silver one bent around a shield boss in matching color. Two more shields with the dragon-and-pearl charge are in the frontispieces of the chapters about *Fabricae*, illustrating products of these state factories of military equipment.<sup>5</sup>

The tubular shape of the bodies of these dragons on the cavalry shields makes it likely that they represent *dracones*—the wind-sock battle standards with dragon heads of metal and billowing bodies of fabric—introduced to the West by Eastern steppe nomads, such as the Sarmatians (Figure 4). The *Taifali*

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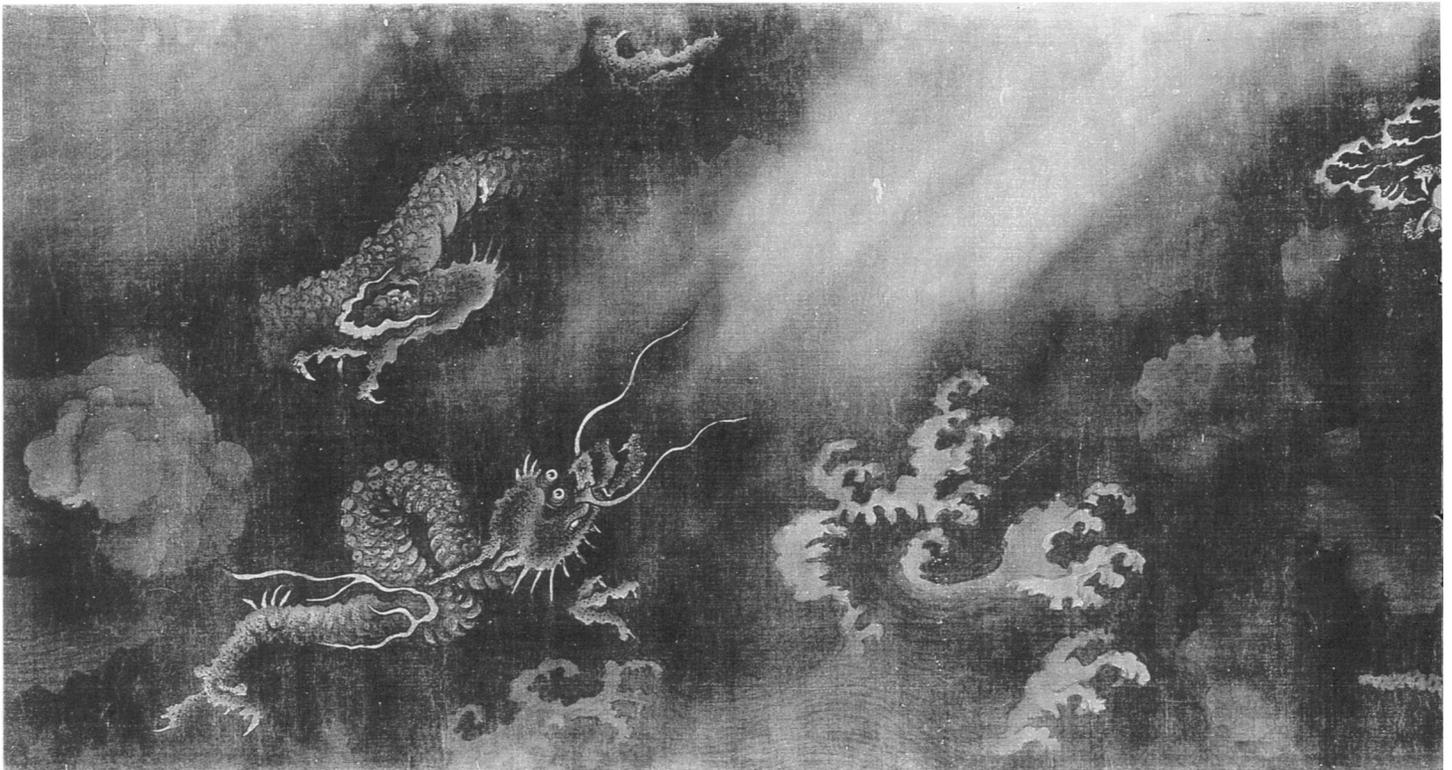


Figure 1. Chang Yu-ts'ai (died 1316), "Beneficent Rain," handscroll, ink on silk. Chinese, Yüan Dynasty (1279–1368). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Douglas Dillon, 1985, 1985.227.2

and Marcomanni were Germanic tribes that drifted into what is now the Ukraine and Hungary, where they adopted many features of the equestrian culture of their nomad neighbors, including the *draco* standard. The Taifali mercenaries, incidentally, were stationed in Britain,<sup>6</sup> and the Menapii were a Celtic tribe from an area between the Meuse and Scheldt rivers that by the fourth century had important garrisons of Sarmatian auxiliaries.<sup>7</sup>

The *draco* standards, among the trophies taken from the Dacians and their Sarmatian allies in the Dacian Wars (A.D. 101–106) and represented in the reliefs at the base of Trajan's Column, have no accompanying pearls, and neither have those in the Victoria panoply of the Column of Marcus Aurelius with trophies captured in the Marcomanni Wars (A.D. 167–180). This may have been because of the technical difficulty of affixing a free-floating pearl to such a standard,<sup>8</sup> but this motif must have been present as an underlying idea, as indicated by the dragon-and-pearl shield designs. There is in the

State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, a silver *draco* head that was found in west Siberia and is probably of Sarmatian origin. It closely resembles the carved *dracos* on the Roman reliefs mentioned above. It has a semi-globular protuberance on its brow that gives the impression of a cabochon jewel and might be a prototype of the pearl (Figure 5).<sup>9</sup> A much later—seventh to eighth century—representation from Eastern Turkestan (Figure 6) shows a *draco* mounted on a lance with a globular object, the pearl, on top of the dragon's head.<sup>10</sup>

The most famous dragon standard in European lore is that of King Arthur, who inherited it from his father, Uther Pendragon. Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *History of the Kings of Britain* (completed about 1136) tells of its origin: At the death of King Aurelius Ambrosius, Uther's brother, a star "of great magnitude and brilliance" appeared "with a single beam shining from it. At the end of this beam was a ball of fire, spread out in the shape of a dragon." On Uther's succession to the kingship, he



ordered “two Dragons to be fashioned in gold, in the likeness of the one he had seen in the ray which shone from the star.” One he presented to the cathedral of Winchester, the other he carried as his battle standard, “and from this moment onwards he was called Utherpendragon, which in the British language means ‘a dragon’s head.’”<sup>11</sup> The parallel of the brilliant star and the dragon in the sky to the Chinese dragon cavorting in the clouds with the flaming pearl is quite striking.

In the Nine Heroes Tapestries at The Cloisters, King Arthur does not display his dragon standard. Instead, he carries a lance pennon charged with the three crowns, which appear as his “official” coat of arms as of the thirteenth century.<sup>12</sup> However, the first of the Three Hebrew Heroes, Joshua, whose shield device is a winged black dragon on a silver field, has his footrest covered with a rich fabric patterned with dragons and flaming pearls (Figure 7). In this case these pearls are rendered to look more like suns—clearly a reference to the biblical story of



Figure 2. Sword, iron with silver and gilt bronze mountings; ring-pommel in shape of two dragons facing a (now lost) flaming pearl. Chinese, ca. A.D. 600. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Clarence H. Mackay, 1930, 30.65.2



Joshua commanding the sun to stand still at the Battle of Gibeon in order to finish the slaughter of the Amorites (Joshua 10:12).

In biblical contexts it is also tempting to think of the apocryphal story of the Dragon of Babel swallowing the pill Daniel fed him (Apocrypha: Daniel, Bel, and the Dragon of Babel, 23–27) and of the Dragon of the Apocalypse pursuing the woman robed with the sun and beneath her feet the moon (Revelations 12:1–6, 13–14).

A sublimation of the dragon-and-pearl motif similar to the episode of the Apocalyptic Dragon is to be found in the Christian legend of St. Margaret, who was swallowed by a dragon but by the strength of her faith overcame and killed the monster, who burst its belly (like Daniel's Dragon of Babel) and let her emerge unscathed. Here the European perception of the dragon as feeding on virgins is blended with the Eastern motif of the pearl pursued by the dragon. The connecting link and clue lies in the saint's name, *margarita*, Latin for "pearl" (Figures 8, 9).

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For kind and generous assistance I would like to express my warmest thanks to my friends and colleagues at the Museum—Joan Mertens, Charles T. Little, and James Watt—to Gunnar Freibergs, Los Angeles Valley College; Dennis Sinor, Indiana University; and Burchard Brentjes, Berlin.



Figure 4. Sarmatian *draco*; detail from a relief at the base of Trajan's Column (A.D. 113–117)

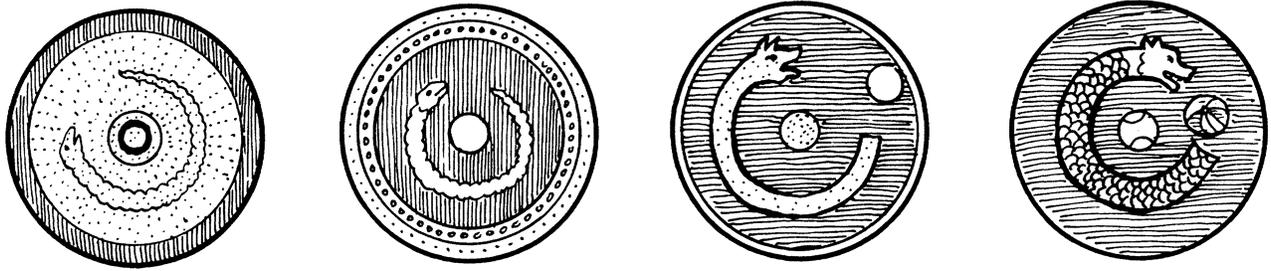


Figure 3. Shield designs in *Notitia dignitatum*. Late Roman, first half of 5th century A.D. Left to right: *Taifali*, *Citrati iuniores*, *Marcomanni*, *Honoriani iuniores*, *Mauri alites*, *Menapi seniores*, *Cortoriacenses*, two unidentified shields from *Fabricae* (drawing after Berger)

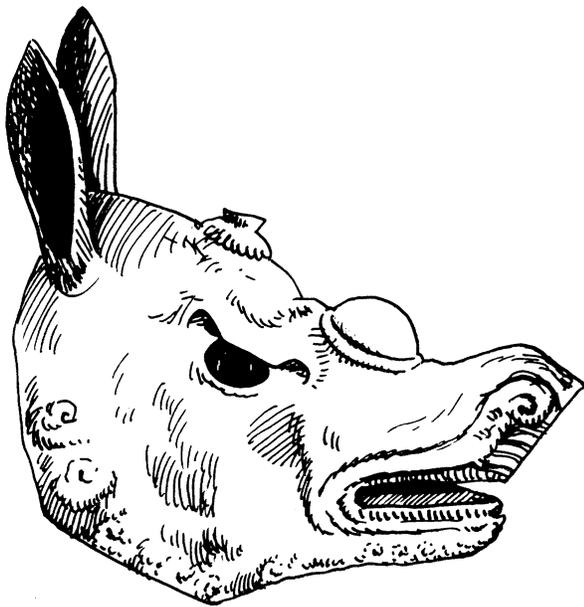


Figure 5. *Draco* head, found in west Siberia. Silver. State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad (drawing after Esin)

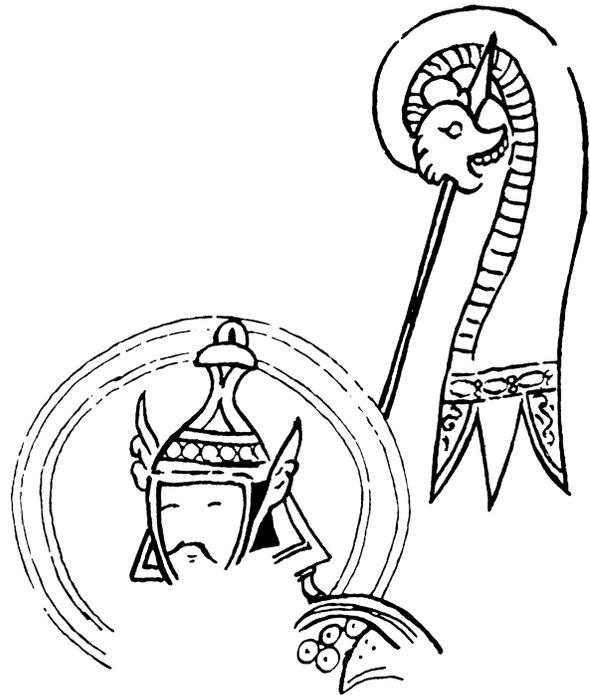


Figure 6. *Draco* standard; detail of a mural at Qyzil, Eastern Turkestan, 7th to 8th century (drawing after Brentjes)



Figure 7. Joshua, the first of the Hebrew Heroes; detail from the Nine Heroes Tapestries. French, late 14th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1947, 47.101.1



Figure 8. Silver diptych, St. Margaret and St. Catherine of Alexandria. English, 14th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.2097a



Figure 9. Workshop of Michael Pacher (active 1462/63–died 1498), *St. Margaret*. Pine wood, with traces of polychromy. Austrian, South Tyrol, Bruneck, ca. 1470–80. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1963, 63.13.2

## NOTES

1. Fong Chow, "Symbolism in Chinese Porcelain," *MMAB* n.s. 21 (1962) pp. 12–24, ill.; Jean Mailey, "Ancestors and Tomb Robes," *MMAB* n.s. 32 (1963) pp. 101–115, illus. For additional information on this problem and advice in the choice of illustrations, I thank James Watt, Brooke Russell Astor Senior Curator of Asian Art.

2. For the specific example of the Han dragon relief with the *pi*-disk I am indebted to Gunnar Freibergs, Los Angeles Valley College, who brought it to my attention in his 1984 paper "T'ai-chi on the Tiber: Some East Asian Cosmological Symbols in a Late Roman Document," fig. 24, after Ch'eng T'ē-K'un, *Archaeological Studies in Szechuan* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967) pl. 72.3. The paper was read on May 11, 1984, at the annual conference of the Southern California Academy of Sciences, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.

3. Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China* (London, 1956; rev. ed. 1978) pp. 142ff.

4. Stephen V. Grancsay, "Two Chinese swords dating about 600 A.D.," *MMAB* 25 (1930–31) p. 194, figs. 1, 3. Helmut Nickel, "About the Sword of the Huns and the 'Urepos' of the Steppes," *MMJ* 7 (1973) pp. 134–135, fig. 11.

5. Otto Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum* (Berlin, 1876). Pamela C. Berger, *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum* (New York / London, 1981). G. Freibergs, "T'ai-chi," n. 1. The complete title of the work is *Notitia dignitatum omnium, tam civilium quam militarium*. It is preserved in three 15th- and 16th-century copies (Munich / Paris / Oxford), after the lost 10th-century copy, *Codex Spirensis*,

which probably was done after the original. The connection with the Far East of some of these Late Roman shield designs is made quite obvious by the fact that two of them, *Armigeri* (Oc. V, 78) and *Mauriosismiaci* (Oc. V, 118), are unquestionably the East Asian yin-yang diagram.

6. Helmut Nickel, "Wer waren König Artus' Ritter?" *Waffen- und Kostümkunde I* (1975) p. 10, fig. 12.

7. Deborah Schorsch, "The Vermand Treasure: A Testimony to the Presence of the Sarmatians in the Western Roman Empire," *MMJ* 21 (1986) pp. 17–40.

8. In Chinese New Year's celebrations this problem is solved by carrying a globular lampion in front of the dragon borne in procession.

9. Emel Esin, "Tös and Moncuk: Notes on Turkish Flag-Pole Finials," *Central Asiatic Journal* 26, no. 1 (1972) pp. 15–46, pl. IVa, b. G. Freibergs, "T'ai-chi," fig. 20.

10. Albert von Le Coq, *Bilderatlas zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Mittelasiens*, Berlin, 1925, fig. 117. Burchard Brentjes, "Zur Westtrift ost- und zentralasiatischer Motive in skythischer Zeit," *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 5: Protokollband der XII. Tagung der Permanent International Altaistic Conference 1969* (Berlin, 1974) pp. 153–159, fig. 12.

11. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, Lewis Thorpe, trans. (New York, 1966) pp. viii.14 – viii.17.

12. James J. Rorimer and Margaret B. Freeman, *The Nine Heroes Tapestries at The Cloisters* (New York, 1953).

# The Yuan Buddhist Mural of the Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru

ANNING JING

**A** MONUMENTAL BUDDHIST MURAL in The Metropolitan Museum of Art depicting the Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru (Figure 1) has long been mistaken as the Assembly of Śākyamuni.<sup>1</sup> Problems concerning its function, date, and stylistic position in the pictorial tradition of Chinese Buddhist art have not yet been solved. The present essay attempts to clarify these and some closely related issues, including the date of a Maitreya mural in Toronto, the origin of Tejaprabha Buddha, and the school of Zhu Haogu<sup>A</sup> (see Glossary for the Chinese characters keyed to the superscript letters).

The Metropolitan Museum's mural came from the eastern gable wall of the Main Hall of the Guangsheng Lower Monastery (Guangsheng Xiasi<sup>B</sup>), one of the two compounds of a Buddhist monastery known as Guangsheng Si<sup>C</sup>, which is situated about fourteen and a half miles southeast of the county seat of Zhaocheng County in the Huo Mountains of southern Shanxi Province (Figure 2). The other compound is the Guangsheng Upper Monastery (Guangsheng Shangsi<sup>D</sup>). The two compounds are located about a mile apart, with the Upper Monastery on a hillside and the Lower Monastery at the foot of the hill.<sup>2</sup>

The Lower Monastery is constructed along a north-south axis, with a gate at the south end of the compound, a Front Hall in the middle, and the Main Hall at the northern end. The two halls are connected by a walkway and flanked by subsidiary buildings (Figure 3). The buildings—now protected by the state mainly for their architectural merit—were reconstructions of earlier buildings that were destroyed in a devastating earthquake, which struck the area in 1303.<sup>3</sup>

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Guangsheng Si predates the Tang dynasty (618–907). According to the Gazetteer of the Prefecture of Pingyang (Pingyang fuzhi<sup>E</sup>), the monastery was first built in A.D. 147.<sup>4</sup> Another early gazetteer relates that the Upper Monastery (Guangsheng Shangsi) was rebuilt in 769,<sup>5</sup> a date probably based on an inscription indicating the twenty-seventh day of the fifth month of that year. Recarved in 1064 on a stone stele now set in a wall of the Rear Hall in the Upper Monastery,<sup>6</sup> the inscription says that the original name of the monastery was Ayu Wang (King Aśoka). In 769 Emperor Daizong (r. 762–779) of the Tang dynasty granted it the name Guangsheng (Vast Triumph), which is still its name.<sup>7</sup>

Guangsheng Si had a close association with royalty. Not only was its name granted by Tang Daizong but, also during the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), a portrait of Khubilai Khan (1215–94, the founder and the first emperor of the Yuan Dynasty) was hung in the monastery where ceremonies for the celebration of royal birthdays also took place. The monastery was also known for its Buddhist relics and an imperially bestowed Tripiṭaka (literally, Three Baskets, a comprehensive compilation of Buddhist writings).<sup>8</sup> Little is known about the edition of this Tripiṭaka, but about 4,700 out of 7,000 volumes of a valuable Jin (1115–1234) edition Tripiṭaka, probably a different set, have been preserved in the monastery.<sup>9</sup>

It was through the discovery of this Jin edition Tripiṭaka in 1933 that Guangsheng Si became well known to the outside world. By the early 1930s many scholars had visited the monastery, among whom were Laurence Sickman, Liang Sicheng, and Lin Huiyin.<sup>10</sup> The last two investigated the monastery in 1933. They saw fragments of a mural on the eastern gable wall in the Main Hall of the Lower Monastery and learned that in 1927 the murals on



Figure 1. *Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru*, mural from Main Hall, Guangsheng Lower Monastery, Shanxi. Yuan dynasty (after 1309, before 1319). Paint on plaster, 24 ft. 8 in. × 49 ft. 7 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Arthur M. Sackler, in honor of his parents, Isaac and Sophie Sackler, 1965, 65.29.2

both gable walls of the Main Hall had been sold by the monks in order to renovate the buildings.<sup>11</sup> In their 1935 article Liang Sicheng and Lin Huiyin also mentioned the murals that they believed belonged originally to the Front Hall and had been sold before 1927. These murals were eventually acquired by three museums in the United States: two entered the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania between 1926 and 1929; one was acquired by the Nelson-Atkins Art Gallery in Kansas City in 1932; and another was purchased by Arthur M. Sackler and later given to the Metropolitan in 1954.<sup>12</sup>

Aschwin Lippe has pointed out that the length of the murals in Philadelphia, presumably around 32 feet each in their original condition, was about the length of the gable wall of the Front Hall of the

Lower Monastery, which is about 33 feet long, while the length of the murals in Kansas City and in the Metropolitan, each almost 50 feet long, is equal to the length of the gable wall of its Main Hall. Using these measurements as a basis, Lippe proposed rather convincingly that the Philadelphia set came from the Front Hall and the paintings in Kansas City and in the Metropolitan from the two gable walls in the Main Hall.<sup>13</sup> While he correctly identified the subject of the mural in Kansas City as Teja-prabha, his identification of the subject of the Metropolitan Museum's mural as the Assembly of Śākyamuni deserves reconsideration.

The Metropolitan Museum's mural is centered upon a triad of a Buddha and two major bodhisattvas (Figure 4). The Buddha is attended by four secondary bodhisattvas: one on his upper right up-

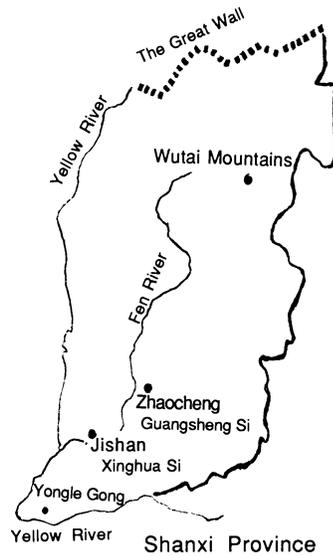


Figure 2. Map of Shanxi Province

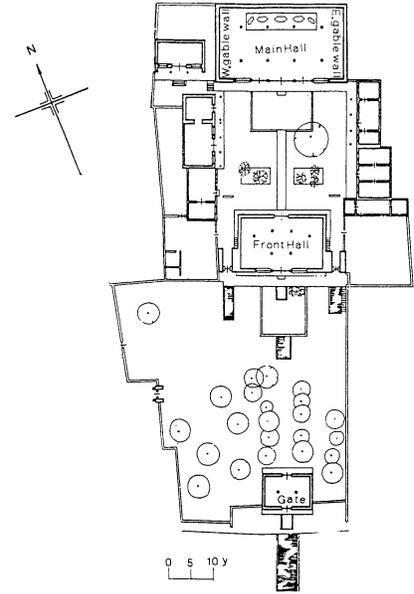


Figure 3. Plan of the Guangsheng Lower Monastery, Shanxi (after *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi* [Peking, 1984], fig. 144-1)

holding a moon disk, one on his upper left holding a sun disk, one on his lower right carrying a monk's staff (*khakkhara*), and one on his lower left bearing a bowl (*pātra*). Each of the two major bodhisattvas is attended by a minor bodhisattva. Below the triad are four minor bodhisattvas: two making offerings to the Buddha and one offering to each of the two major bodhisattvas. Above the triad are two flying attendants (*apsarasas*) and six more miniature Buddhas.

It is these six small Buddhas that Lippe took as the basis for his identification of the subject of the mural as the Assembly of Śākyamuni: "Together with the central figure they almost certainly represent the Seven Buddhas of the Past: that is, the historical Buddha Śākyamuni and the six 'mortal' Buddhas that were supposed to have preceded him. The

assembly would then be the one of Śākyamuni."<sup>14</sup>

Indeed, a group of six Buddhas may represent the six mortal Buddhas preceding Śākyamuni, but there are other possibilities. For example, they could also represent the six predecessors of Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Buddha of medicine. According to the *Saptatathāgatapūrvapraṇīdhānaviśeṣa sūtra*, a Buddhist text translated by Yi Jing<sup>F</sup> (635–713), Bhaiṣajyaguru is preceded by six Buddhas. Before they became fully enlightened Buddhas, they took a prescribed number of vows to help sentient beings. The vows culminated in the Twelve Great Vows of Bhaiṣajyaguru.<sup>15</sup> In Chinese Buddhist art, Bhaiṣajyaguru and his six predecessors are frequently presented together as a group. For instance, the seven medical Buddhas as a group appear in many caves at Dunhuang, including Caves 9, 99, 126, 155, and

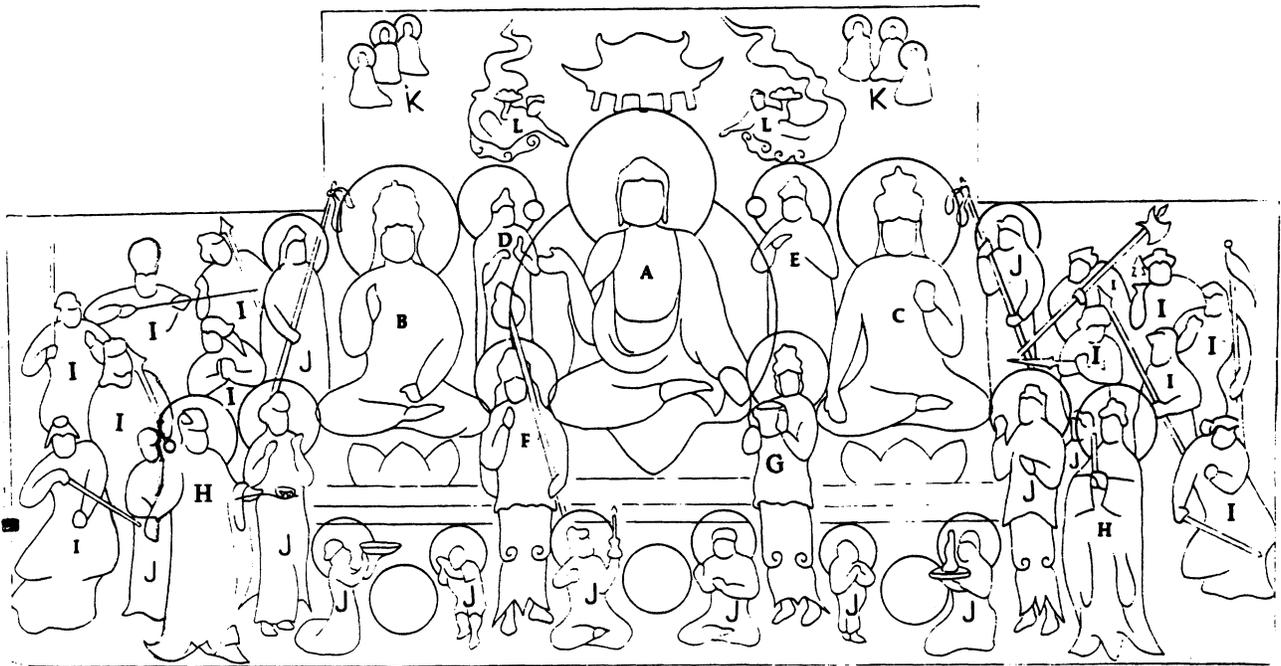


Figure 4. Drawing of *Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru*. A: Bhaiṣajyaguru; B: Avalokiteśvara; C: Cintāmaṇicakra; D: Candraprabha; E: Sūryaprabha; F: Bhaiṣajyasamudgata; G: Bhaiṣajyarāja; H: worshipers; I: the twelve guardian generals; J: minor figures; K: Buddhas; L: Apsarasas

171 of the Tang period. In the Museum's mural the six small Buddhas must be the predecessors of Bhaiṣajyaguru, who can be positively identified by the presence of the other bodhisattvas and guardian generals pertaining to his paradise and by his hand gesture (*mudrā*) and attribute.

The Buddha sits on a lotus throne in the center (Figure 5). His right hand is raised at the level of the breast with the palm turned upward and the index and the thumb close to each other in a variant of *dharmacakra mudrā*, or teaching gesture. In paintings of Bhaiṣajyaguru from Dunhuang, if the Buddha's right hand is not holding a monk's staff, it usually displays the teaching gesture with the index and thumb forming a ring, while his left hand holds a bowl, a symbol of medicine (Figure 6). In the Metropolitan Museum's mural the three iconographical features of Bhaiṣajyaguru—the teaching gesture, the monk's staff, and the bowl—are present: his monk's staff is carried by the bodhisattva at his lower right and the bowl is held toward him by the bodhisattva at his lower left.

Bhaiṣajyaguru is believed to be a Buddha of salvation. The faithful turn to him for enlightenment as well as for the prevention of disasters and for the

material things needed in this world. Through the Twelve Great Vows that he took as a bodhisattva he pledged that after he became a Buddha, he would do the following: (1) give bodily perfection of a Buddha to all the sentient beings; (2) enlighten all those who are still groping in the dark; (3) bring a life of plenty to every person; (4) convert those who do not practice Mahayāna Buddhism (the "Great Vehicle," one of the three major Buddhist practices); (5) insure that all his students would follow instructions and behave well; (6) cure those with bodily deformities and mental disabilities; (7) relieve the destitute and homeless when they hear his name; (8) insure that women who are unhappy with their sex may be reborn as men; (9) lead the fallen onto the correct path; (10) free prisoners from death row; (11) give a feast to the desperate driven by hunger before their spiritual meals; and (12) colorfully garb the naked exposed to the elements and insects and provide amusement through dancers and musicians.<sup>16</sup>

The two most important bodhisattvas in the paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru are Sūryaprabha, the Sunlight Bodhisattva, and Candraprabha, the Moonlight Bodhisattva. Sūryaprabha's attribute is a sun



Figure 5. Detail of Figure 1, showing Bhaiṣajyaguru

disk with a red bird in the center, as is seen in a painting from Dunhuang that is now in the British Museum (Figure 7). In the Metropolitan Museum's mural the bodhisattva at the upper left of the Buddha, holding a sun disk with a red bird in the middle, is clearly *Sūryaprabha*. His counterpart at the upper right of the Buddha holding a moon disk is *Candraprabha*. According to the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-pūrvapraṇidhāna sūtra*, the two possess the orthodox teaching of *Bhaiṣajyaguru* and occupy the highest

positions among the countless bodhisattvas in this Buddha's paradise.<sup>17</sup> In scenes of *Bhaiṣajyaguru* paradise, the two bodhisattvas usually form a triad with the Buddha.

Since they are specific bodhisattvas rather than generalized figures, their counterparts below—that is, the two bodhisattvas who carry the monk's staff and the bowl for *Bhaiṣajyaguru*—might also not be generalized figures: the one with the bowl might be *Bhaiṣajyarāja* and the other with the monk's staff



Figure 6. *Bhaiṣajyaguru*. From Dunhuang, Gansu. Five dynasties, A.D. early 10th century. Ink and colors on silk, 72.5 × 55.5 cm. London, British Museum, Stein painting 27. Ch. 00101 (photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

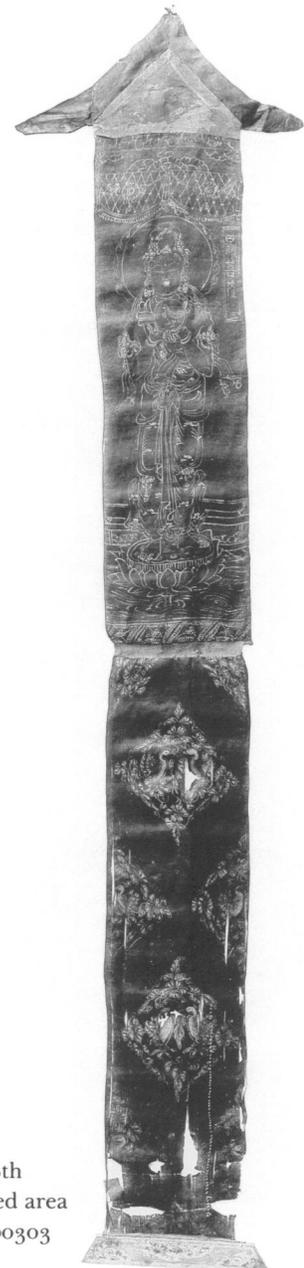


Figure 7. *Sūryaprabha*. From Dunhuang, Gansu. Tang dynasty, A.D. 8th century. White outline and colors on silk; total length 213 cm; painted area 89.6 × 25.5 cm. London, British Museum, Stein painting 121. Ch. 00303 (photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)



Figure 8. *Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru*, mural from Front Hall, Guangsheng Lower Monastery, Shanxi. Ming dynasty, after 1475. Philadelphia, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (photo: University Museum)

Bhaiṣajyasamudgata. It was believed that the two were brothers associated with medicine for the benefit of all sentient beings. According to the *Bhaiṣajyārājabhaiṣajyasamudgati sūtra*, the two brothers became bodhisattvas because of the wonderful medicine offered to monks in their previous lives. Those who hear the names of the two would be freed from suffering and from the cycle of birth and rebirth (*samsāra*).<sup>18</sup> Their association with Bhaiṣajyaguru is made clear in the text *Foshuo guāndīng bachu guozui shengsi dedu jing*,<sup>19</sup> in which they are mentioned as two of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas serving Bhaiṣajyaguru.<sup>19</sup>

Another important feature of the Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru is the presence of the Twelve Guardian Generals who symbolize the Buddha's Twelve Great Vows. According to *Bhaiṣajyagurupūrvaprāṇidhāna sūtra*, they pledge to protect those who disseminate Bhaiṣajyaguru's teaching and make offerings to the Buddha in order to free them from suffering and fulfill all their wishes.<sup>20</sup> In the mural the Twelve Guardian Generals are depicted in two groups on either side.

The twelve figures appear on one of the pair of murals from the gable walls in the Front Hall of the Guangsheng Lower Monastery, now in the University Museum (Figure 8). Among them (four on the right side, seen only in fragments) the second from the right of the Buddha carries a monk's staff while the second from the left of the Buddha holds a bowl. The presence of the Twelve Guardian Generals and of the monk's staff paired with the bowl carried by two of them indicate that the Philadelphia mural also portrays the paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru. The subject is further clarified by the representation of the central Buddha and the two major bodhisattvas. Like the Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha in the Metropolitan Museum's mural, the central Buddha's right hand is in a variant of the teaching gesture, while his left hand is placed on his left knee with the palm turned downward. Each of the two major bodhisattvas has a disk on his head and these can be read as the sun disk and the moon disk, the attributes of Sūryaprabha and Candraprabha.

Normally the two major bodhisattvas in a paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru are Sūryaprabha and Candra-



Figure 9. Pedestal. Chinese, Tang dynasty, ca. A.D. 650. Philadelphia, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (photo: University Museum)



Figure 10. *Cintāmaṇicakra*, from Dunhuang, Gansu. Tang dynasty, 2nd half 9th century B.C. Ink and colors on silk, 111 × 74.5 cm. London, British Museum, Stein painting 10. Ch. xxvi. 001 (photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

prabha, as in the Philadelphia mural. In the Metropolitan's mural they are relegated to secondary positions after two bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara and Cintāmaṇicakra, with the former on the Buddha's right. This part of the mural is particularly fragmentary and has been heavily restored, so that it is difficult to identify the attribute in his right hand. But on his headdress, seven red miniature Buddhas in gestures of meditation (*dhyāna mudrā*) are visible. In Chinese Buddhist art the color red and the meditation gesture are characteristic of Amitābha, and a miniature Amitābha in the headdress of a bodhisattva indicates Avalokiteśvara. The presence of Amitābha in the headdress of Avalokiteśvara is also described in Buddhist scriptures such as the *Amoghapāśadhāra ṇi sūtra*.<sup>21</sup>

What is unusual in the headdress is that there are seven images of Amitābha, a larger one above six smaller ones. This arrangement may refer to a special relationship between the Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru and that of Amitābha. In Chinese Buddhist art, the Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru, which is believed to be the Eastern Paradise, is usually paired with the Western Paradise of Amitābha. In Bhaiṣajyaguru texts the only paradise mentioned, other than that of Bhaiṣajyaguru, is the Paradise of Amitābha. According to the *Bhaiṣajyagurupūrvapraṇidhāna sūtra*, anyone who wishes to be reborn in the Paradise of Amitābha can have his wish fulfilled if he hears the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru once in his lifetime. At the end of a person's life, eight great bodhisattvas, including Avalokiteśvara, descend from heaven to guide him to the Paradise of Amitābha.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, by putting faith in Bhaiṣajyaguru, one is also guaranteed access to the Paradise of Amitābha. In the Metropolitan's mural the larger figure of Amitābha on the top might suggest the link between the Paradise of Amitābha and that of Bhaiṣajyaguru, and the six smaller figures might allude to connections between Amitābha and the six predecessors of Bhaiṣajyaguru at the top in the mural.

It is notable that in the mural Avalokiteśvara is combined with Bhaiṣajyaguru. Another example of such a combination is a Tang Buddhist pedestal with inscriptions in the University Museum, Philadelphia. In the center of the right face of the pedestal is Bhaiṣajyaguru, who holds a bowl and is flanked by four identical images of Avalokiteśvara (Figure 9).

The other major bodhisattva on the left of the Metropolitan Museum's Bhaiṣajyaguru also has a red Amitābha on his headdress; this suggests his association with Amitābha, while his other attributes

identify him as Cintāmaṇicakra, another form of Avalokiteśvara.

Cintāmaṇicakra's popular forms often have multiple arms, with each hand holding one attribute offering another way to salvation, as in the image of a six-armed Cintāmaṇicakra (Figure 10). In the Metropolitan's mural, however, Cintāmaṇicakra is presented in his less well-known two-arm form; his left hand holds a gem (*maṇi*) and his right hand performs a variant of a gift-bestowing gesture (*varada mudrā*). In a text on a Buddha known as Tejaprabha entitled *Da sheng miao jixiang pusa shuo chuzai jiaoling falun*<sup>H</sup>, Cintāmaṇicakra is described as holding a round gem in his left hand and performing a gift-bestowing gesture with his right hand.<sup>23</sup> The attribute and gesture of the bodhisattva in the Museum's mural agree exactly with this textual description. The agreement cannot be a coincidence: on the wall opposite that of the Metropolitan Museum's mural there was a painted Assembly of Tejaprabha, which is now in the Nelson-Atkins Art Gallery. This unusual combination was adopted not only in the Main Hall but also in the Front Hall.

Traditionally, Bhaiṣajyaguru was not paired with Tejaprabha. In about ninety-six caves in Dunhuang which contain the paradise paintings of Bhaiṣajyaguru, ranging in date from the Sui dynasty (581–618) to the Song dynasty (960–1279), there is not a single case in which the Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru is paired with the Assembly of Tejaprabha. Why was Bhaiṣajyaguru paired with Tejaprabha in the Lower Monastery murals? What is the religious significance of such an iconographical design? To solve these problems we need to know more about Tejaprabha, who has not yet been studied in any significant depth.

Tejaprabha is one of the most nebulous Buddhist figures, for he and his entourage are unrelated to the main body of the Buddhist pantheon. Alexander Soper defines the role of this iconographically complex Buddha as follows: "His prime function was to serve as a magical control against natural aberrations and catastrophes of celestial origin."<sup>24</sup> This function will become clear once his origin is clarified.

A textual study of Buddhist treatises on astronomy suggests that Tejaprabha had not yet evolved into an independent entity by the time of the Chinese Buddhist monk Ixing<sup>I</sup> (673–727), one of the most important early architects for the hierarchic system of celestial deities in Chinese Buddhism.

The text *Fantian huoluo jiyao*<sup>J</sup> attributed to Ixing

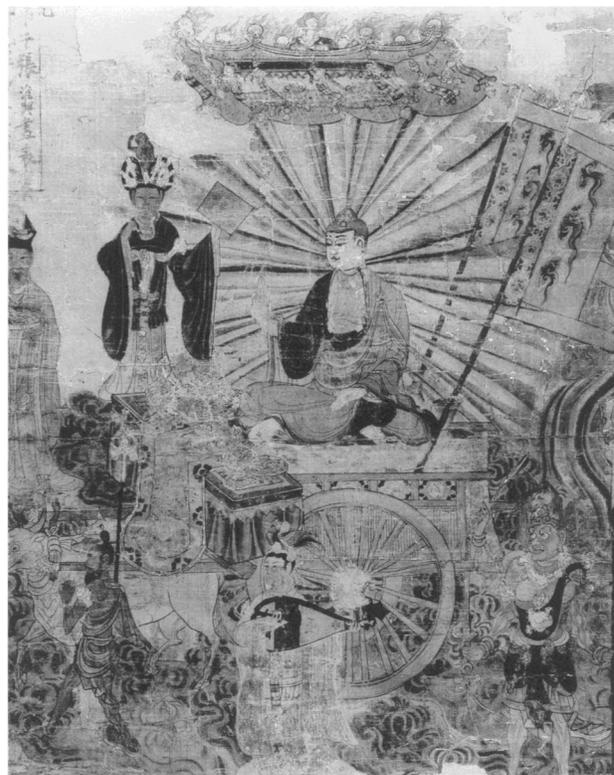


Figure 11. *Tejaprabha Buddha and the Five Planets*, from Dunhuang, Gansu. Tang dynasty, dated 897. Ink and colors on silk, 80.4 × 55.4 cm. London, British Museum (photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)



Figure 12. *Beidou*, from Wuliangci, Shandong. Eastern Han dynasty. Rubbing (from Needham, *Science and Civilization in China III*, fig. 90)

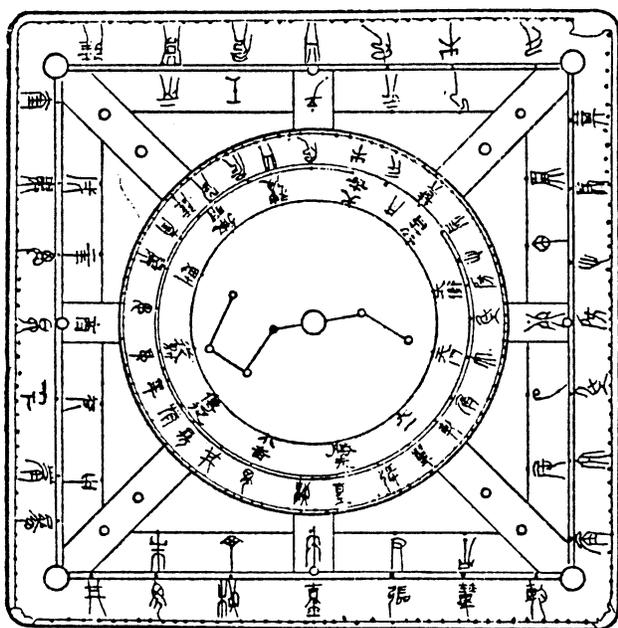


Figure 13. Astronomical diagram of *Beidou*. Excavated at Mojuzi, Wuwei, Gansu. Han dynasty (from *Wenwu*, no. 12 [1972], p. 14)

teaches the prevention of calamities by worshipping the Nine Luminaries (the Five Planets—Mercury, Venus, Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars—plus the Sun, Moon, and two Indian celestial deities, Ketu and Rāru); here, Tejabrabha is not even mentioned. His significant absence and the description of the Nine Luminaries in human forms suggest that the concept of Tejabrabha did not even exist when the iconographical identities of the Nine Luminaries were more or less formed.<sup>25</sup>

Another text, *Xiuyao igui*<sup>K</sup>, written by Ixing on the secret incantation (*dhāraṇī*) of the Nine Luminaries, presents the concept of Tejabrabha in embryonic form. In that text the expression “Tejabrabhabudhauṣṇiṣa” (Chishengguang foding<sup>L</sup>), or the Buddha Crown (that is, a turban as one of the thirty-two auspicious signs of a Buddha) of Tejabrabha, occurs as the name of a *dao chang*<sup>M</sup>, or shrine for offerings to dispel catastrophes caused by the disarray of the Luminaries.<sup>26</sup>

In the text *Foshuo chishengguang dawei de xiaozai jixiang tuoluoni jing*<sup>N</sup>,<sup>27</sup> translated into Chinese by the Chinese monk Bu Kong<sup>O</sup> (705–774), Tejabrabha is still not yet mentioned as an independent Buddha.

By the end of the ninth century, however, Tejabrabha emerged in visual art as a celestial Buddha with a stellar retinue of the Five Planets. In a Dunhuang painting dated 897 (Figure 11), the earliest

of six known surviving Tejabrabha paintings,<sup>28</sup> the Buddha is depicted as a celestial ruler sitting in a chariot in a royal procession followed by the Five Planets, which are easily recognizable because of their rather standard attributes: Mercury as a female scribe with a brush in one hand and a sacred Buddhist text (*sūtra*) in the other, Venus as a female musician with a *pipa* (a Chinese lute), Saturn as an ascetic with a bull, Jupiter as an official with offerings, and Mars as a warrior with weapons. In later paintings the retinue is expanded to include more planets, the Twenty-eight Constellations and other stellar deities.

The figural representation and iconography of Tejabrabha is derived from that of the Chinese Beidou<sup>P</sup>, the constellation known in the West as the Great Bear or Big Dipper (*Ursa Major*). In China Beidou was regarded as the controller of stars in the heaven and of men on the earth. In establishing a celestial pantheon in Chinese Buddhism, which was necessary for Buddhists because of the cardinal importance of astronomy in religious, political, social, and economic life and in state affairs in ancient China, the Chinese Buddhist monk-astronomers first followed the Chinese celestial system and worshiped Beidou as a supreme celestial monarch. Later on, Beidou as the celestial monarch in the Buddhist context was simply replaced by the newly created Buddha Tejabrabha.

In the *Fantian huoluo jiyao*, a passage entitled “the Daoist Immortal Ge Hong’s<sup>Q</sup> [284–364] method of worshipping Beidou” (“Ge Xiangong li beidou fa<sup>R</sup>”), teaches that all human beings, from rulers down to ordinary people, are controlled by the seven stars of Beidou. In order to avoid calamities they should always obey and worship Beidou.<sup>29</sup> The inclusion of the Daoist teaching in the Buddhist treatise on the Nine Luminaries was obviously an effort to organize the Nine Luminaries into a more disciplined hierarchy under Beidou according to the Daoist belief.

The Daoist worship of Beidou can be traced further back to the Han dynasty (206 B.C. – A.D. 220). The Han astronomer Zhang Heng<sup>S</sup> (78–139) described a celestial system with Beidou occupying the central position:

In the star-studded sky there are seven moving planets: the sun, the ancestor of the Yang principle; the moon, the ancestor of the Yin principle; and the Five Planets, the essence of the Five Elements. With their forms born on the earth and essence completed in the heaven, the stars, though arranged unevenly, fall into their own proper positions. . . . Among them, there are

five most divine and important groups, consisting of thirty-five units. The group in the center is called Beidou. In each of the four directions there are seven constellations forming the Twenty-eight Constellations. The Sun and Moon traverse the sky to foretell each of the good and bad omens. The Five Planets travel to presage misfortunes or fortunes.<sup>30</sup>

In this celestial system Beidou presides in the center—he is a supreme monarch controlling the Seven Planets and the Twenty-eight Constellations and influencing the fate of men. The great historian Sima Qian<sup>T</sup> (b. 145 B.C.?), in the astronomical chapter “Tianguan shu”<sup>U</sup> of his *Shiji*<sup>V</sup> (The Historical Record), speaks of Beidou as an emperor riding in a chariot: “Beidou is an emperor riding in a chariot. He traverses around the center to inspect and control the four sides. The separation of the Yin and Yang, the establishment of the four seasons, the evening of the Five Elements, the changes of the seasons, and the formation of the laws all depend upon Beidou.”<sup>31</sup>

Sima Qian’s description of Beidou gives us a clue to the identification of an important stellar image of the Han dynasty. In a rubbing from the Wu Family Shrine in Shandong, a celestial monarch seated in a chariot formed by the seven individual stars of Beidou is greeted by five other figures (Figure 12). The monarch in the chariot is no doubt the personification of the constellation Beidou and the five worshipers may be the Five Planets. Among them, the one on the right riding on a horse coming toward the Beidou is reminiscent of the images of Saturn in later Buddhist paintings. In the Dunhuang Tejabrabha painting of 897 (Figure 11) Saturn leads a bull in front of the chariot. In a handscroll “The Five Planets and Twenty-eight Constellations,” now in the Osaka Municipal Museum, Saturn rides a bull. The bull of Saturn in these later Chinese Buddhist paintings is probably a reincarnation of the Han horse. In a Han astronomical diagram excavated in a tomb at Mojuzi, Wuwei, in Gansu Province, Beidou is depicted in the center of heavens surrounded by the constellations (Figure 13). The Han presentations of Beidou are exactly the same as later Buddhist maṇḍalas or diagrams of Tejabrabha.

In *Jinshu*<sup>W</sup>, the official history of the Jin dynasty (265–420), Beidou is described as an emperor and also an imperial chariot: “Beidou has the form of a human emperor because he is the master who gives orders. He is also an imperial chariot which symbolizes movement.”<sup>32</sup>



Figure 14. Japanese copy of Beidou Maṇḍala of Tang Dynasty, dated 1148. Ink on paper, 115.5 × 51.5 cm. Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music (photo: Museum of Tokyo National University)

It is important to note that the chariot in which the celestial emperor rides symbolizes the movement of Beidou. During a year, the handle of Beidou points to different directions. In ancient China the seasons were decided by the direction of Beidou’s handle at dusk. When the handle pointed to

the east, it was spring; to the south, summer; to the west, autumn; and to the north, winter. Joseph Needham has aptly said: “For an agricultural economy, astronomical knowledge as regulator of the calendar was of prime importance. He who could give a calendar to the people would be their leader.”<sup>33</sup> In ancient China agricultural activities were tied to the movement of Beidou, which was perhaps one of the most important reasons why Beidou was regarded as the supreme celestial monarch.

The traditional Chinese concept of Beidou as a supreme celestial ruler was also shared by Buddhist monks. In an anonymous Tang Buddhist treatise, Beidou is worshiped as a celestial ruler:

Beidou is the essence of the Sun, Moon, and the Five Planets. He controls the Seven Luminaries, illuminates the eight directions, enlightens the gods in heaven and governs men on the earth. He judges what is good and what is evil, and determines misfortune and fortune. All the stars pay homage to him, and all the souls prostrate in worship before him.<sup>34</sup>

This Buddhist statement disregards the highest authority of the “three jewels” (*triratna*) of Buddhism—the Buddha, the Buddhist “Law” (*dharmā*), and “the clergy” (*saṅgha*). There is no fundamental Buddhist concern for retribution (*karma*) or the liberation from the cycle of birth and rebirth (*samsāra*). Instead, emphasis is given to the supreme power of the ruler, moral judgment, and obedience by the ruled; these views touch upon traditional Chinese thought. The Chinese Beidou worshiped by the Chinese Buddhist monks was entirely different from the image of the Indian Beidou introduced later.

In the treatise *Beidou qixing niansong igui*<sup>x</sup>, translated by the Indian monk Vajrabodhi (669–741), the Indian Beidou is not a supreme ruler but a group of eight female deities.<sup>35</sup> In Indian Tantric religious pantheons, females (unless they are the *śakti*, or energy, of major male deities) have relatively low positions. The eight females are neither “Buddha-mothers” (*fomū*) nor “female bodhisattvas” (*mu pusa*<sup>z</sup>), who have important roles in the Tantric Buddhist pantheon. Like the other planets, they have the potential to cause trouble. But if a secret Incantation (*dhāraṇī*) of the Eight Stars taught by Śākyamuni Buddha is chanted, the eight females will protect the faithful and fulfill their wishes.

The Indian concept of Beidou was totally different from the traditional Chinese belief. The solution to this discrepancy seems to have been the creation of Tejaprabha to replace the Chinese Beidou

as the supreme celestial ruler and the adaptation of the female images of the Indian Beidou as some of Tejaprabha’s attendants.

The evidence for the replacement of the Chinese Beidou by Tejaprabha can be found in Buddhist texts such as the *Fantian huoluo juyao*.<sup>36</sup> The replacement is also evident in Buddhist art. A twelfth-century Japanese copy of a Chinese stellar maṇḍala with a Buddha sitting in the center surrounded by stellar deities is inscribed not as the Maṇḍala of Tejaprabha but as the Maṇḍala of Beidou of the Tang Dynasty (Figure 14). Among the stellar deities above the Buddha in the picture is a group of seven small figures representing the seven individual stars of Beidou. As humble attendants, these figures are obviously based on the group of females of the Indian Beidou. While it is not organized around them, nor devoted to them, the maṇḍala is called “The Maṇḍala of Beidou of the Tang.” The only reasonable explanation for this discrepancy between the name and the structure of the maṇḍala is that the prototype for such maṇḍalas was originally presided over by the Chinese Beidou, hence the name. After Tejaprabha became identified with the Chinese Beidou, the two were functionally interchangeable. Therefore, there was no need to change the original name of the maṇḍala.

In the Dunhuang painting Tejaprabha sits in a chariot like the Chinese Beidou in the Han rubbing, where his chariot symbolizes the movement of the constellation. However, Tejaprabha in the chariot is totally out of context here. Texts on Tejaprabha never mention or suggest his movement or travel. To make sense out of the irrelevantly inherited attribute, the chariot in most later Tejaprabha pictures is reduced to a wheel, which in Buddhist art is always read as the *dharmacakra*, the Wheel of the Law. The chariot was thus turned into a Buddhist attribute placed in the hands of Tejaprabha, symbolizing his teachings on preventing social and natural disasters.

Tejaprabha’s special function as celestial controller against disasters must be the most important reason for pairing him with Bhaiṣajyaguru in the Lower Monastery murals. When the monastery was rebuilt after the earthquake in 1309, priority had to be given to the prevention of similar destructive forces, whether of social or cosmic origins. When the Assembly of Tejaprabha was paired with the Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru, Tejaprabha was evoked to guard against social and natural disasters; Bhaiṣajyaguru, whose power was tripled by the presence of the two saviors Avalokiteśvara and Cintāmani-



Figure 15. Zhu Haogu workshop, *Paradise of Maitreya*, mural from Xinghua Monastery, Shanxi. Yuan dynasty, 1320? Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum (photo: Royal Ontario Museum)

cakra, was called upon to provide the strongest protection from harm.

As a date for the mural from the Guangsheng Lower Monastery, Aschwin Lippe suggested the second quarter of the fourteenth century based on three dates Laurence Sickman found, not in the Guangsheng Lower Monastery but in the temple for Mingying Wang, which lies southwest of the Lower Monastery. The three inscriptions on the wall paintings in the temple give the dates 1316 and 1324, and a stele commemorating the reconstruction of the temple is dated 1319. A more important date found in the Main Hall by some Chinese archaeologists in the early 1950s, however, has been overlooked by scholars. An inscription dated autumn 1309 is written on the ridge purlin. Based on this date and the styles of the building, sculptures, and the fragments of the murals remaining on top of both gable walls, these Chinese archaeologists believed that the Main Hall was rebuilt in 1309.<sup>37</sup> The 1319 stele in the temple for Mingying Wang describes the rebuilt Guangsheng Si as “most magnificent and beautiful.” Thus, by this date, the Guangsheng Lower Monastery had fully recovered from the earthquake. Accordingly, the mural from the Main Hall can be more precisely dated between 1309 and 1319.

The new evidence for this date enables us to study the style of the Museum’s mural on firmer ground.

It clarifies to some extent the stylistic relationship between the murals from the Main Hall and some related murals from the same area. These include the murals from the Front Hall of the Guangsheng Lower Monastery, now in Philadelphia; a Maitreya mural in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto (Figure 15), originally from the Xinghua<sup>AA</sup> Monastery, which was situated nine miles south of the county seat of Jishan and about forty miles southwest of Pingyang;<sup>38</sup> and the mural in the leading Daoist monastery, that of the Quanzhen<sup>AB</sup> Sect Yongle<sup>AC</sup> Palace. Of these, only the murals from two halls of the Yongle Palace are dated: the Sanqing Hall murals of 1325 and the Chungyang Hall murals of 1358. When the dates of the other murals are known, the stylistic relationships between these murals will be clear. This should reveal not only the development of the mural style in southern Shanxi but will also shed light on some of the murals’ iconographical problems, most of which have so far been misunderstood. It is beyond the scope of this essay to deal with further iconographical problems, but a brief discussion of the dates of the other undated murals is necessary before the direct stylistic source of the Metropolitan Museum’s mural can be traced.

The murals from the Front Hall of the Guangsheng Lower Monastery, now in Philadelphia, are generally accepted as being contemporaneous with

the murals of the Main Hall. Their style, however, is different from that of the Museum's mural. In the Philadelphia Bhaiṣajyaguru mural, for example, the color scheme is similar to that of the New York mural—red and green are the basic colors, but larger areas of the bodies and garments are defined by outlines against white ground, which give the mural a much higher key. The face of the Buddha is not as full as that of the Metropolitan Museum's Buddha, and the two major bodhisattvas are placed lower than the Buddha in the picture plane. They are in three-quarter view with their heads and bodies turned toward the Buddha, thus forming a pyramidal spatial relationship. But in the Metropolitan's mural the Buddha and the two major bodhisattvas sit in strict frontal positions, more or less at the same level. The difference in spatial structure reflects the different dates of the murals.

When Guangsheng Si was studied in the early 1950s new evidence for dating was found in the Front Hall. An inscription quoted by the investigators states that the reconstruction of the Front Hall was completed in the eleventh year of the Chenghua<sup>AD</sup> reign (1475) of the Ming dynasty.<sup>39</sup> Since the Philadelphia murals are from the Front Hall, it now seems clear that they should be dated after 1475.

The date of the Toronto mural, the Paradise of Maitreya, has been disputed since 1938. Its clarification is particularly important for the stylistic study of the Museum's mural. The Toronto mural is presumably from the North Hall of the northern compound of the Xinghua Monastery.<sup>40</sup> After the mural (now in Toronto) had been removed, Li Jizhi of Qinghua University visited the monastery in 1926 and found an inscription on a wall.<sup>41</sup> The published inscription indicates that a mural was completed on the fourteenth day of the eighth month of the cyclical year *wuxu*<sup>AE</sup> of the Great Yuan State (1271–1368). Since the Chinese dating system is based on a cycle of sixty years, each cyclical name reoccurs every sixty years. However, mention of an imperial reign period or dynasty often provides further information, as is the case of this inscription, which includes the term the “Great Yuan State.” During the Great Yuan State the *wuxu* year occurred twice: the first corresponded to 1298 and the second to 1358. In 1938 William White commissioned two students to investigate the Xinghua Monastery. The students sent back a reading of an inscription that mentions that Zhu Haogu, a “painter-in-attendance” (*huihua daizhao*<sup>AF</sup>) from Xiangling<sup>AG</sup> county, and his pupil Zhang Boyuan<sup>AH</sup> completed their painting on the fourteenth day of the eighth month

of the “*qingshen*”<sup>AI</sup> year of the Great Yuan State.<sup>42</sup> Since there is no such cyclical year as *qingshen* among the cyclical names, White assumed that the students' mistranscription and the date-paragraph given by Li was “obviously the same inscription”; he published it incorrectly as 1238, a year that falls outside the span of the Yuan dynasty.<sup>43</sup>

This mistake was corrected in an article published in 1947 by Ludwig Bachhofer, who pointed out that the *wuxu* year of the Great Yuan State in the inscription read by Li could not be 1238, because the term “Great Yuan State” was not in use until 1271.<sup>44</sup> He discussed four possible readings of the students' version of the date, all of which fall before 1321, and proposes the year *gengshen*<sup>AJ</sup>, which corresponds to 1320.<sup>45</sup>

In a recent article Nancy Steinhardt refutes Ludwig Bachhofer's date and interprets Li's reading of the year *wuxu* as 1358.<sup>46</sup> According to her argument, two inscriptions, dated to the *wuxu* year 1358, on the walls of the Chunyang Hall of the Yongle Palace contain the signatures of Zhu Haogu. She argues that since the name of Zhu Haogu also appears in the Xinghua Monastery, the *wuxu* year in the Xinghua Monastery reported by Li must be the second of the two *wuxu* years of the Yuan dynasty, corresponding to 1358 rather than 1298, because it is impossible for Zhu to have been a master craftsman working in the Xinghua Monastery in 1298 and to have still been active in the Yongle Palace in 1358.

The name Zhu Haogu in the inscriptions of the Yongle Palace was not the signature of Zhu. The name was used to modify the two characters “*men tu*”<sup>AK</sup> (disciples) in the inscriptions, meaning “the disciples of Zhu Haogu.” Zhu did not paint on the walls of the Yongle Palace, nor did he leave his signature. Instead, his disciples were responsible for the murals. The inscriptions, therefore, do not seem to support the argument that Zhu was active as late as 1358. On the contrary, they tend to prove that Zhu painted in an earlier period, a generation ahead of his pupils. This would push Zhu's active date back to the early years of the fourteenth century.

If the inscriptions reported by Li and by White's students are indeed two readings of the same inscription and if Li's cyclical year of *wuxu* is correct, Zhu should have painted in the Xinghua Monastery in the earlier *wuxu* year of 1298 instead of 1358. If he did paint in the Xinghua Monastery in 1298, however, it is doubtful that his paintings and inscription could have survived the earthquake of 1303, which destroyed Guangsheng Si nearby.

Therefore, Bachhofer's suggestion that the students may have meant *gengshen*, corresponding to 1320, is reasonable and does not conflict with the historical situation of the earthquake. If Zhu worked a generation ahead of his pupils who painted in 1358, 1320 seems to be an appropriate time.

In any case, the inscriptions from the Xinghua Monastery and the Yongle Palace provide important and reliable information: "a famous painter, Zhu Haogu, painted in the Xinghua Monastery in the early decades of the fourteenth century; he was not an ordinary craftsman working individually but a leading master who had established his lineage through a painting school." The information gathered from the inscriptions can be supplemented by the brief entry for Zhu in the *Shanxi tongzhi*<sup>AL</sup> (the Gazetteer of Shanxi): "Zhu Haogu was a native of Xiangling. He was good at landscape and figure painting. Zhu and his countrymen Zhang Maoqing<sup>AM</sup> and Chang Yunrui<sup>AN</sup> were known as famous painters. People who obtain their paintings treasure them as jades. They were called 'The Three Painters of Xiangling.'"<sup>47</sup>

What is now crucial for a more tangible knowledge of Zhu is whether the Toronto mural from the Xinghua Monastery dates back to the early decades of the fourteenth century when Zhu was painting there. If the mural is indeed an early-fourteenth-century work, it was undoubtedly painted by Zhu. However, since the locations of the inscription and mural in the Xinghua Monastery are by no means certain, the probable date of 1320 in the inscription does not automatically apply to the mural. The inscription is reliable only for Zhu's active date in the Xinghua Monastery; it is not necessarily the date of the mural—only the style of the mural speaks eloquently for its date. Therefore, the style of the Toronto mural has to be examined to see if it agrees with the period style of the early fourteenth century. A comparison with the Metropolitan's mural, which can be firmly dated to the second decade of the century, will confirm its early date. The figure style of the Buddha in the Metropolitan Museum's mural (Figure 5) and the Toronto mural (Figure 15) is similar. It is characterized by the large exposed protuberance (*uṣṇīṣa*) at the top of the head; high, curving eyebrows; archlike eye sockets; almond eyes; thick nose; double chins; a few lines on the neck and the chest; and exposed chest and upper part of the stomach. The garment is wrapped around the figure's left shoulder and arm and the right shoulder, with the right arm bare. The draperies on the trousers are indicated by parallel lines at equal intervals.

In the Toronto mural the two major bodhisattvas sit with the Buddha in strictly frontal positions in a row within the shallow pictorial space of a friezelike horizontal band similar to their counterparts in the Metropolitan Museum's mural. They form a sharp contrast with the major bodhisattvas in the Philadelphia murals, which were painted after 1475 (Figure 8). Candrababha on the Buddha's right in the Philadelphia Bhaiṣajyaguru mural, for example, is depicted not only in three-quarter view but also in a foreshortened position, as if he were to be seen from a higher vantage point. The foreshortening of the figure and its lower placement in the picture plane create a sense of volume and the illusion of three-dimensional space. The four immediate attendants around the Buddha in Toronto's mural, like their counterparts in the Metropolitan's mural, are almost superimposed one over another, creating the shallow pictorial space typical of the early fourteenth century.

The Toronto and Metropolitan murals share a similar composition. The central Buddha is surrounded by four secondary figures and flanked by the two major bodhisattvas. The other minor figures are arranged on the sides of the central triad. The emphasis of the composition is on hierarchical order. The Toronto mural shares some major decorative motifs with the Metropolitan's mural, such as the haloed flower before the throne. In Buddhist art, while figural style was highly derivative owing to the use of standard texts and sketchbooks, the non-iconographical elements were always flexible. The artists could reproduce the shapes of figures through the use of cartoons and other devices, but they could not reproduce a sense of volume, spatial relationships, and pictorial spaces. The Toronto mural is similar in these aspects to the New York mural, which clearly shares all the major features of early-fourteenth-century style, of which Zhu Haogu was a leading master.

The affinity between the Toronto and New York murals also shows that the direct stylistic source of the latter is in the painting tradition of Zhu Haogu. Although no literary evidence has survived to document Zhu's connection with the Main Hall of the Guangsheng Si, stylistic evidence links the Museum's mural with Zhu's school.

Zhu's rendering of the figure of Buddha is derived from late Liao (907–1125) and Jin (1115–1234) Buddhist art as exemplified by a wood-block print of Tejaprabha (Figure 16), discovered in 1974 in a pagoda in Shanxi.<sup>48</sup> The stylistic features in the murals—the facial and body shapes, the garment,



Figure 16. *Tejaprabha Buddha and the Planets*. Yingxian, Shanxi. Late Liao or Early Jin dynasties. Woodblock print with colors on paper, 120 × 45.9 cm (from *Chinese Graphic Art Annual* [1982–1983] p. 253)

the drapery on the trousers, the shallow space around the Buddha with superimposed attendants, and the color scheme with red and green as the major hues—can all be found in the late Liao or early Jin prints.

The Zhu Haogu school, though dominant in southern Shanxi area, had limited influence elsewhere. Outside southern Shanxi, a new court style initiated by the Nepalese artist Anige<sup>AO</sup> (1245–1306)

prevailed. During the Yuan dynasty, Tibetan Buddhism became the most important religion practiced at the Yuan court, where the Tibetan monks brought with them the style of the Himalayas to meet the needs of Tibetan Buddhist practices. Promoted at the court and patronized by the Yuan rulers, the court style swept throughout China from Dadu (modern Beijing) in the east to Dunhuang in the west, and from Zhejiang in the south to Mongolia in the north. In the Wutai Mountains in neighboring northern Shanxi, Anige was busy building court-style temples and stūpas for Yuan emperors. As a high-ranking official in charge of Yuan court art, Anige patronized a Buddhist temple in the Wutai Mountains during the last years of his life, and his new style might have reached the Guangsheng Lower Monastery. As mentioned earlier, the Guangsheng Si had a close relationship with the Yuan court and possessed a portrait of Khubilai Khan. It is known that the prototype for the formal portrait of Khubilai Khan was painted by Anige after Khubilai's death in 1294, and it is likely that Buddhist paintings executed in the court style traveled to the Guangsheng Si together with the portrait. However, Zhu's style was not influenced by the court style.

The difference between Zhu's style and the court style can be seen through a comparison of the Museum's Bhaiṣajyaguru mural and a Yuan woodblock print of Bhaiṣajyaguru designed in the court style by the Chinese artist Chen Sheng<sup>AP</sup> (Figure 17).<sup>49</sup> The subject of the print is Śākyamuni's teaching of the Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru, with the presence of the seven medical Buddhas in the air above, Sūryaprabha holding a sun disk on Śākyamuni's left, Candraprabha bearing a moon disk on the Buddha's right, and the Twelve Generals on both sides in the foreground. These figures are completely reinterpreted in the new court style, a style that synthesizes traditional Chinese Buddhist art and contemporary Nepalese Buddhist art, which had absorbed the late Pāla-Sena schools of Indian art during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Bihār and Bengal regions. The difference between the figure styles of the Buddhas in the two pictures is particularly striking. In the print the Buddha is rendered with a youthful face, elegant torso, clinging garment, and more esoteric teaching gesture. The elaborate throne is clustered with exotic Indian mythological creatures: two rearing *simhavyālas* (lionlike creatures) stand on the heads of two elephants and support a beam on which perch two *makaras* (quasi-crocodilian creatures), whose tails are

turned into elaborate floral motifs connected by two snakes that are being swallowed by Garuḍa (a bird-like creature) on the top. Even the floral motifs behind the torso of the Buddha are carefully designed to recapture the flavor of the Nepalese style.

While the new court style was prevalent elsewhere, in the southern Shanxi area the old style of Liao and Jin Buddhist art still survived. The Metropolitan Museum's mural and the other murals from the same area are among the few surviving witnesses to this heritage. Although the Zhu Haogu school revitalized the Liao and Jin Buddhist art tradition during the Yuan and early Ming periods, it remained a local school and represented one of the last waves in the succession of the Liao–Jin Buddhist art tradition.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank John C. Huntington of Ohio State University for advice on the Buddhist iconographical problems and Alfreda Murck of the Metropolitan Museum's Department of Asian Art for her valuable suggestions.

#### NOTES

1. This interpretation originated with Aschwin Lippe's article "Buddha and the Holy Multitude," *MMAB* (May 1965) pp. 325–336.
2. Qi Yingtao et al., "Liangnian lai Shanxi sheng xin faxian de gu jianzhu (The ancient architecture in Shanxi Province newly discovered in the last two years)," *Wenwu cankao ziliao* 11 (1954) p. 61.
3. In front of the Lower Monastery is a spring named Huoquan, which provided irrigation for nearby farmland. A temple southwest of the Lower Monastery is dedicated to Mingying Wang, the deified spirit of the spring. A stele from the temple dated 1319 records that the earthquake "was particularly serious in our county; nothing was left [after the earthquake]." See *Chongxiu Mingying Wang dian zhi bei* (The stele in commemoration of the rebuilding of the Hall of the Mingying Wang), published by Laurence Sickman, "Wall-Paintings of the Yuan Period in Kuangsheng-ssu, Shanxi," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 11 (June 1937) pl. x.
4. However, there is no other source to affirm this early date; see *Zhaocheng xianzhi* (Gazetteer of the Zhaocheng County) (Zhaocheng, 1827) *ce* 5, *juan* 27, p. 11a.
5. Quoted in *ibid.*
6. The inscription is published in Qi Yingtao et al., "Liangnian lai Shanxisheng," p. 61.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Sickman, "Wall-Paintings of the Yuan Period," pl. x.

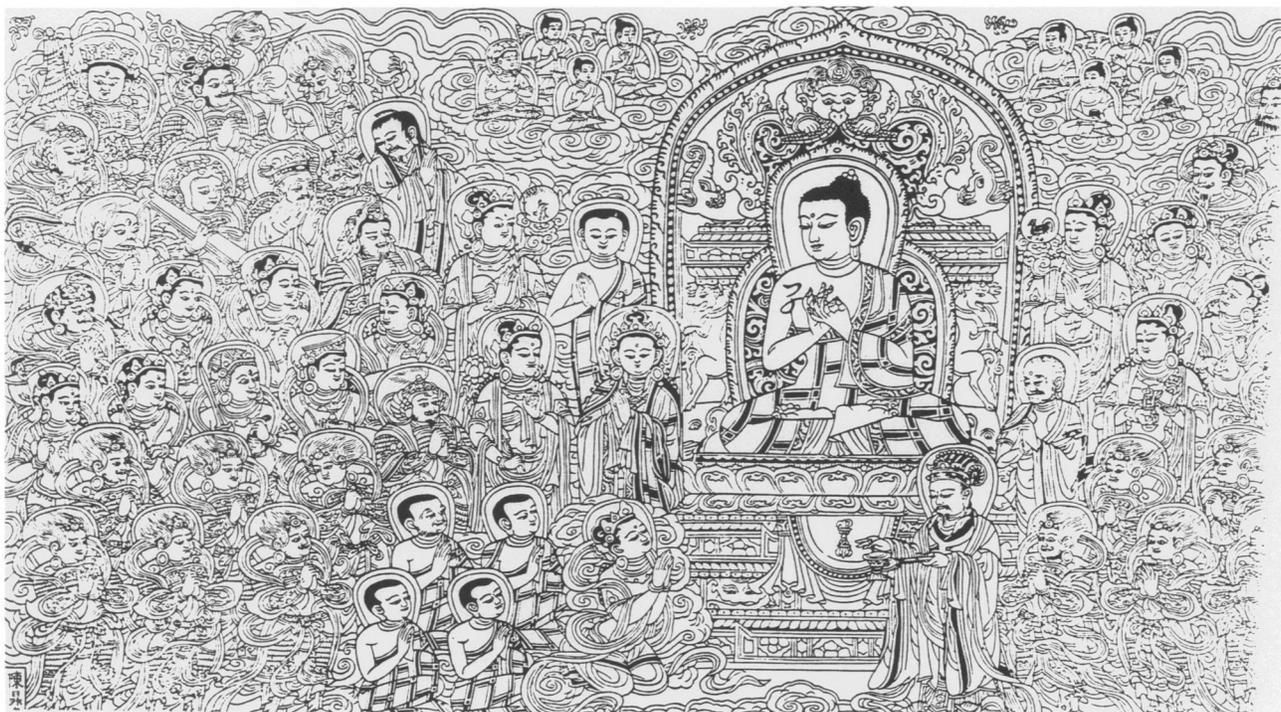


Figure 17. Chen Sheng, *Śākyamuni's Teaching on the Bhaiṣajyaguru Paradise*. Yuan dynasty. Woodblock print (from *Zhongguo banhua xuan* [Peking, 1958])

9. For a study of the Jin edition Tripiṭaka in the Guangsheng Monastery, see Jiang Weixin, *Jinzang diaoyin shimuo kao* (A study of the history of the Jin edition Tripiṭaka) (Nanjing, 1935).

10. For Sickman's studies, see "Wall-Paintings of the Yuan Period," pp. 53–67, and "Notes on Later Chinese Buddhist Art," *Parnassus* 11, 4 (April 1939) pp. 13–17. For Liang's study, see Lin Huiyin and Liang Sicheng, "Jinfen gu jianzhu yucha jiluo," *Zhongguo yingzao xueche huikan* (Bulletin of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture) 5, 3 (March 1935) pp. 41–54.

11. Lin Huiyin and Liang Sicheng, "Jinfen gu jianzhu yucha jiluo," p. 46.

12. See Nancy Shatsman Steinhardt, "Zhu Haogu Reconsidered: A New Date for the ROM Painting and the Southern Shanxi Buddhist-Daoist Style," *Artibus Asiae* 48 (1987) p. 12; Lippe, "Buddha and the Holy Multitude," p. 326. The murals in the University Museum, Philadelphia, are published by Helen Fernald in three articles: "Chinese Frescoes of the T'ang Dynasty in the Museum," *The Museum Journal* 17, 3 (Sept. 1929) pp. 229–255; "Another Fresco from Moon Hill Monastery," *The Museum Journal* 19, 1 (June 1928) pp. 109–129; and "Two Sections of Chinese Fresco Newly Acquired: Belonging to the Great Kuan Yin Wall," *The Museum Journal* 20, 2 (June 1929) pp. 119–129. The mural in the Nelson-Atkins Art Gallery is published by Laurence Sickman in "Notes on Later Chinese Buddhist Art."

13. Lippe, "Buddha and the Holy Multitude," p. 329.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 334.

15. *Saptatathāgatapūrvapranīdhānaviśeṣa sūtra* (The scripture of the seven Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddhas) Yi Jing (635–713), trans., in *Taisho shinshu daizokyo* (The tripiṭaka of the Taisho edition) J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, eds. (Tokyo, 1925) no. 451, vol. 14, pp. 409–418 (hereafter *TSD*).

16. *Bhaiṣajyagurupūrvapranīdhāna sūtra*, Dharmagupta (?–619), trans., in *TSD*, no. 449, vol. 14, pp. 401b–402a.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 402a.

18. *Bhaiṣajyarājabhaiṣajyasamudgati sūtra* (Scripture of Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata), Kālayāśa (act. 424–after 442), trans., in *TSD*, no. 1161, vol. 20, p. 665a–c.

19. *Foshuo guangind bechu guo zui shengsi dedu jing*, vol. 12 of *Guanding jing* or *Abhiṣeka sūtras*, Śrīmitra (act. 307–after 322), trans. in *TSD*, no. 1331, vol. 21, p. 533c. Alexander C. Soper believes that it is a later translation attributed to Śrīmitra. See Soper, "Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China," *Artibus Asiae*, Supp. 19, p. 170.

20. *Bhaiṣajyagurupūrvapranīdhāna sūtra*, in *TSD*, no. 449, vol. 14, p. 404b.

21. *Amoghapāśadhāraṇī sūtra*, in *TSD*, no. 1096, vol. 20, p. 410c.

22. *Bhaiṣajyagurupūrvapranīdhāna sūtra*, in *TSD*, no. 449, vol. 14, p. 402c.

23. *Da sheng miao jixiang pusa shuo chuzai jiao ling falun*, in *TSD*, no. 966, vol. 19, p. 343b.

24. Alexander C. Soper, "Hsiang-kuo-ssu, an Imperial Temple of Northern Sung," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 68 (1948) p. 42.

25. In the text only five of the luminaries, the Five Planets, are described in recognizable anthropomorphic form. By contrast,

the other four luminaries—the Sun, Moon, Ketu, and Rāhu—are mentioned in vague terms. The only indication of their human forms is that they wear brocade clothes. This suggests that the last four were latecomers in the system. See *TSD*, no. 1311, vol. 21, pp. 459b–462c.

26. *TSD*, no. 1304, vol. 21, p. 423b.

27. *TSD*, no. 963, vol. 19, pp. 337c–338a.

28. Until recently only three surviving paintings of Tejaprabha were recognized: a Dunhuang painting dated 897 now in the British Museum, a wall painting in Cave 61 at Dunhuang, and another painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. To these three at least three more can now be added: the mate of the Metropolitan Museum's mural now in Kansas City, the mate of the Philadelphia Bhaiṣajyaguru mural now in Philadelphia, and a woodblock print of the late Liao dynasty or early Jin dynasty discovered in 1974 in a pagoda in Shanxi (see Figure 16).

29. *TSD*, no. 1311, vol. 21, p. 462a.

30. Quoted by Fang Xuanling et al. *Jinshu*, *juan* 11, *zhi* 1 (reprinted Beijing, 1974) vol. 2, p. 288.

31. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, *juan* 27, vol. 4, p. 1291.

32. Fang Xuanling et al., *Jinshu*, p. 290.

33. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China* (London, 1959) III, p. 189.

34. *Beidou qixing humo miyao yigui*, in *TSD*, no. 1306, vol. 21, pp. 424c–425a.

35. *TSD*, no. 1307, vol. 21, pp. 423c–424b.

36. In the *Fantian huoluo jiuao* attributed to Ixing, the dominant stellar ruler is Beidou preached by the Daoist Ge Hong. But in the *Beidou qixing humuo fa*<sup>AR</sup>, a treatise attributed to Ixing on the worship of Beidou for the prevention of disasters, Beidou no longer has the dominant position. Attached to the end of the text are two subtitles: the "Beidou fa"<sup>AR</sup> (the method of Beidou) and the "Chishengguang yao fa"<sup>AS</sup> (the important method of Tejaprabha). The first subtitle "Beidou fa" is no doubt the last three words of "Ge Xiangong li beidou fa" adopted in *Fantian huoluo jiuao*. Here not only the words "Ge Xiangong li" (the Daoist Immortal Ge Hong's worship) but the whole text under this subtitle has been deleted. This deleted section originally might have been the same Daoist text adopted in *Fantian huoluo jiuao*. Under the second title is an independent passage about Tejaprabhabud-dhausṇīśadhāṇī, the Incantation of the Buddha Crown of Tejaprabha. This passage is actually a condensed version of the *Foshuo Chishengguang daweide xiaozai jixiang tuoluoni jing* translated by Bu Kong. As noted above, in Ixing's *Xiyao Igui*, Tejaprabha appears as the name of one of the shrines; Ixing obviously had no knowledge of the Tejaprabha text. The deletion of the Daoist method of worship of Beidou and the addition of the Tejaprabha text to the treatise devoted to Beidou had to be an effort by the followers of Vajrabodhi and his student Amoghavajra to purify the text attributed to Ixing. In any case, it indicates the replacement of Beidou by the new Buddha Tejaprabha. In the *Da sheng miao jixiang pusa shuo chuzai jiaoling falun*, the text describing the maṇḍala of Tejaprabha, this process of replacement has been completed. Beidou in this text is reduced to a much lower position than the Luminaries.

37. Qi Yingtao et al., "Liangnian lai Shanxisheng," p. 66.

38. William Charles White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes* (Toronto, 1940) p. 46.
39. Qi Yingtao et al., “Liangnian lai Shanxisheng,” p. 65.
40. White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes*, p. 53.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
42. *Ibid.*, fig. 11a.
43. White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes*, p. 54.
44. Ludwig Bachhofer, “‘Maitreya in Ketumati’ by Chu Hao-ku,” *India Antiqua* (Leiden, 1947) p. 3.
45. *Ibid.* Judging from the structure of the character “qing” in the wrong cyclical year, “qingshen” is most likely to be a mistake for “geng” in “gengshen,” which corresponds to 1320.
46. See Steinhardt, “Zhu Haogu Reconsidered,” pp. 7–11.
47. Wang Xuan et al, comp., *Shanxi tongzhi* (1892, reprinted by *huawen shuju gufen youxian gongsi*) *juan* 161, p. 19b.
48. For the archaeological report, see “Shanxi Yingxian Fogong si faxian zhengui wenwu,” *Wenwu* 6 (1982) pp. 1–8.
49. *Zhongguo banhua xuan* (Beijing, 1958) I. n.p.

## GLOSSARY

- A. Zhu Haogu 朱好古
- B. Guangsheng Xiasi 廣勝下寺
- C. Guangsheng Si 廣勝寺
- D. Guangsheng Shangsi 廣勝上寺
- E. Pingyang fuzhi 平陽府誌
- F. Yi Jing 義淨
- G. *Foshuo guanding bachu guozui shengsi dedu jing*  
佛說灌頂拔除過罪生死得度經
- H. *Da sheng miao jixiang pusa shuo chuzai jiaoling falun*  
大聖妙吉祥菩薩說除災教令法輪
- I. Ixing 一行

- J. *Fantian huohuo jiuyao* 梵天火羅九曜
- K. *Xiuyao igui* 宿曜儀軌
- L. Chishengguang foding 熾盛光佛頂
- M. *dao chang* 道場
- N. *Foshuo chishengguang dawei de xiaozai jixiang tuoluoni jing*  
佛說熾盛光大威德消災吉祥陀羅尼經
- O. Bu Kong 不空
- P. Beidou 北斗
- Q. Ge Hong 葛洪
- R. “Ge Xiangong li beidou fa” 葛仙公禮北斗法
- S. Zhang Heng 張衡
- T. Sima Qian 司馬遷
- U. “Tianguan shu” 天官書
- V. *Shiji* 史記
- W. *Jinshu* 晉書
- X. *Beidou qixing niansong igui* 北斗七星念誦儀軌
- Y. *fomu* 佛母
- Z. *mu pusa* 母菩薩
- AA. Xinghua (Si) 興化(寺)
- AB. Quanzhen 全真
- AC. Yongle (Gong) 永樂(宮)
- AD. Chenghua 成化
- AE. *wuxu* 戊戌
- AF. *huihua daizhao* 繪畫待詔
- AG. Xiangling 襄陵
- AH. Zhang Boyuan 張伯淵
- AI. “qingshen” 慶申

AJ. *gengshen* 庚申

AK. *men tu* 門徒

AL. *Shanxi tongzhi* 山西通誌

AM. Zhang Maoqing 張茂卿

AN. Chang Yunrui 暢雲瑞

AO. Anige 阿尼哥

AP. Chen Sheng 陳昇

AQ. *Beidou qixing humuo fa* 北斗七星護摩法

AR. “Beidou fa” 北斗法

AS. “Chishengguang yao fa” 熾盛光要法

# A Pax by Guglielmo della Porta

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THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART owns a rare gilt-bronze pax representing the Risen Christ Appearing to the Apostles (Figure 1), which has been associated with the northern Italian sculptor, architect, and draftsman Guglielmo della Porta (before 1506–77). Paxes were used occasionally from the thirteenth century onward as part of the Roman Catholic liturgy, to extend to the congregation the *osculum pacis*, the kiss of brotherhood and peace. After kissing the altar, the officiating priest embraced his co-celebrants, who in turn offered the pax to the people attending Mass.

At the height of their popularity in Italy in the sixteenth century, paxes were usually made of silver or gilt-bronze and consisted of a tablet with an architecturally framed central scene and a handle on the back, which also functioned as a stand. By far the most frequent image on paxes was Christ on the Cross, sometimes flanked by Mary and St. John, but other scenes from the Life and Passion of Christ occurred as well.<sup>1</sup> Subjects such as these, including the Risen Christ, were particularly appropriate, since the pax substituted for the altar, which itself is a symbol of Christ. The theme and composition of the Museum's *Risen Christ Appearing to the Apostles*, with its handsome, towering figure in the center surrounded by the disciples, emphasizes the sacrament of the Eucharist, in addition to the peace and redemption gained through Christ's death and resurrection.<sup>2</sup> These eucharistic allusions are, of course, thoroughly in keeping with the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, which was gaining momentum at this time during the second half of the sixteenth century. The unblemished, victorious Redeemer was usually represented after the Resurrection with one arm raised, wearing a (red) mantle, and holding a long-stemmed, flagged cross. The figure on the Museum's pax belongs to a sculptural tra-

dition that culminates in Giovanni Bologna's *Christ the Redeemer* of 1579 on the Altar of Liberty in the cathedral of Lucca.<sup>3</sup>

Olga Raggio was the first to point out the pax's connection to drawings by Guglielmo della Porta, in a note written in 1959 for the curatorial files. Her opinion found confirmation later in an article by Ulrich Middeldorf, who mentioned this pax in passing and described it, without further explanation, as close to the artist himself rather than by a follower.<sup>4</sup> Yet the partly documented, partly exaggerated popularity and influence of Guglielmo's compositions have led scholars, including Middeldorf, to attribute a wide range of objects to the master himself or to his circle, often on very slim grounds and superficial similarities. A closer examination of the pax and a comparison with drawings by Guglielmo resulted in the affirmation of the above-mentioned views regarding the Museum's piece. It also spurred attributions of three other related objects.

Guglielmo della Porta, active in Rome from 1537 until his death in 1577, is best known for his tomb of Pope Paul III in St. Peter's (begun 1547). However, we know that he and his busy foundry workshop also produced a number of prized, smaller figures and plaquettes.<sup>5</sup> Teodoro della Porta, Guglielmo's son, even mentions a pax among the pieces in his father's workshop, but he does not describe it further.<sup>6</sup> From about 1555/56 on, we know that Guglielmo worked on a series of drawings and models representing events from Christ's Passion and this may well have included the image of the Risen Christ that appears on the Museum's pax. The artist tried in vain to secure commissions for various ideas involving this group of designs, at times supplemented by other scenes from the Life of Christ, but none of these projects was ever realized. Fortunately, a substantial number of Guglielmo's drawings related to the Passion series have survived in a sketchbook, now housed in the Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum.<sup>7</sup> While none of these exactly matches the scene on the Metropolitan's pax, unexpected and

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Figure 1 (enlarged). Guglielmo della Porta (before 1506–77), *The Risen Christ Appearing to the Apostles*, 1566–77. Gilt bronze, H. 14.4 cm, W. (at base) 10.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931, 32.100.168



Figure 2. Guglielmo della Porta, *The Resurrection*, after 1555/56. Pen and brown ink, 228 × 164 mm. Düsseldorf, Graphische Sammlung, FP 6419 (photo: Landesbildstelle Rheinland, Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf)



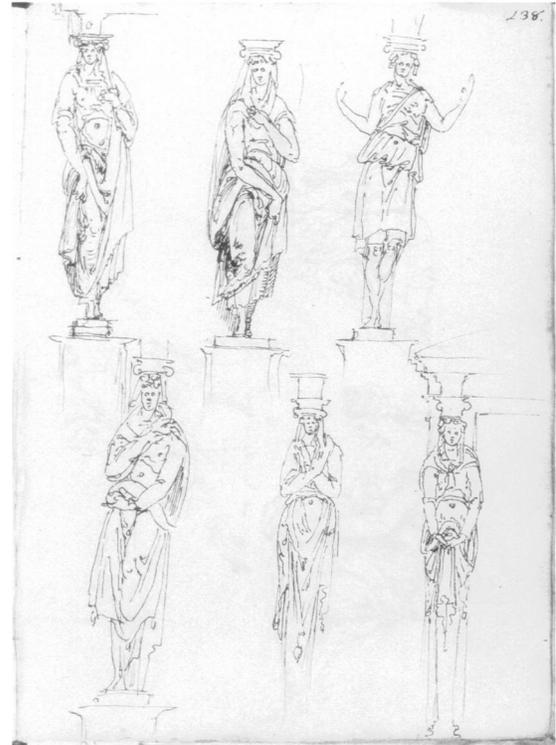
Figure 3. Guglielmo della Porta, *Four Apostles*, after 1555/56. Pen and brown ink, 228 × 164 mm. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Graphische Sammlung, FP 6419 (photo: Landesbildstelle Rheinland, Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf)

sometimes startling parallels can be drawn regarding both Guglielmo's style and his figural invention.

The whole surface of the pax conveys the same dazzling, flickering effect of Guglielmo's autograph sketches. This is mainly the result of a highly unusual manner of chasing: certain areas are deliberately left less defined, and the polishing of the richly colored mercury gilding is used selectively to achieve an even greater contrast of shining and matte surfaces.<sup>8</sup> The hair is modeled into flaming curls; muscles and draperies ripple with nervous energy. The quick pen strokes and elongated figures in Guglielmo's *Resurrection* drawing (Figure 2), for example, seem to be translated literally into relief form in the pax. In particular, the figures of the Risen Christ are so much alike in both pose and proportions that the figure on the pax must have evolved directly from the drawing. Clearly, the tall,

slender figure was intended to stand out and tower above the others in both versions. Slight variations occur in the drapery and the inclination of Christ's head and right hand, but the elegant curve of the contrapposto and the left arm are practically identical in pax and drawing. Even details of the exaggeratedly modeled torso of the drawn Christ are echoed in the relief figure. This degree of agreement is astonishing, when one considers that the pax's figures had to be adapted somewhat for execution in a fairly small metal format.

Finally, in a more general sense, the crowded figures below Christ in the *Resurrection* drawing crane their necks in a fashion similar to the apostles on the pax. One of the studies of standing prophets, sibyls, and apostles can serve as an example for the close connections of Guglielmo's drapery style in both pax and drawings (Figure 3).<sup>9</sup>



Figures 4, 5. Guglielmo della Porta, *Studies for a Frame and Caryatid Figures*, after 1555/56. Pen and brown ink, 228 × 164 mm. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Graphische Sammlung, FP 6419 (photo: Landesbildstelle Rheinland, Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf)

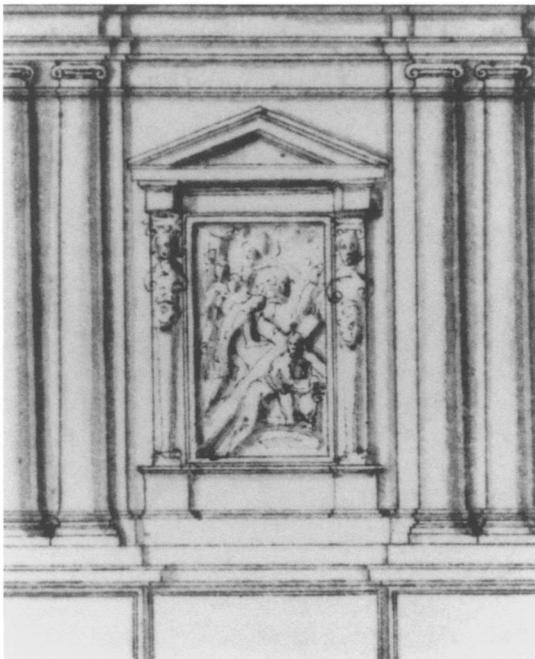


Figure 6. Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533–1609), after a scheme by Guglielmo della Porta, detail of project for San Silvestro al Quirinale, Rome, about 1556/57. Pen and brown ink and wash, 560 × 434 mm. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Largest Talman Album, fol. 37 (photo: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

Similar constructions for a centralized perspectival setting or “box” for the figures can be found in various sketches by Guglielmo, for example, his *Flagellation* (Figure 14) or *The Last Supper*.<sup>10</sup> The background space of the Metropolitan’s pax connects directly to its elegant frame, which is also in keeping with Guglielmo’s individual style. Two leaves from the sketchbook (Figures 4, 5) show a series of comparable caryatid and frame studies,<sup>11</sup> although the finished pax retains only female busts with their headdresses knotted on their breasts and larger Ionic scrolls curling by their temples. Closer to the pax are the frames Guglielmo designed for a series of Passion reliefs on the lateral walls of San Silvestro al Quirinale, Rome, in about 1558/59 (Figure 6).<sup>12</sup> The moldings of the *aediculae* in the elevation drawing (executed by Giovanni Antonio Dosio after Guglielmo’s instructions) are kept simple and the pediment is unbroken, but the caryatid terms on their tapering bases now have similar scrolls instead of arms and more pronounced Ionic crowns, like the figures on the pax.

The elegant handle on the back of the pax (Figures 7, 8)<sup>13</sup> is composed of a fanciful female torso and an S-curved scroll. There can hardly be any doubt that this figure belongs to the same family as



Figure 7. Rear view of Figure 1



Figure 8. Side view of Figure 1

the caryatid terms on the front and that it is related to yet another sketch by Guglielmo (Figure 9). On the left side of the page the foot of a candlestick is shaped into a similar, if more specifically harpylike, figure with a claw foot, a protruding belly, and a C-scroll in its back. The version at the lower right on the page is closer in proportion and detail to the pax handle: the figure is more elongated and wears a similar diadem, and the curve of its back is opened and more elastic. Finally, the quick sketch in the top right corner shows a similar, knobby modeling of the breasts and belly as executed in the handle. Although not identical, these figures all seem to have sprung from the same creative mind that developed the paper sketches into a beautiful and functional sculptural form.

These comparisons indicate to what a great extent the Metropolitan's pax captures the style, spirit, and effect of Guglielmo's autograph drawings. The artist himself must certainly have made the wax models for its central scene, frame, and handle. The chasing, polishing, and punching—which in the scene only appear to be sketchy—are, in fact, extremely confident and may even be by the hand of the master, or at least by one of his closest and most talented collaborators. Three other casts after models by

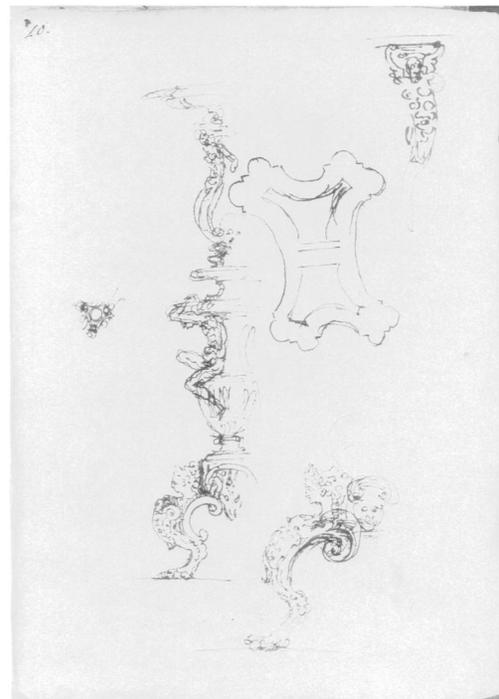


Figure 9. Guglielmo della Porta, *Studies for a Candlestick*, after 1555/56. Pen and brown ink, 228 × 164 mm. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Graphische Sammlung, FP 6419 (photo: Landesbildstelle Rheinland, Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf)



Figure 10. Teodoro della Porta (1567–1638), *The Risen Christ Appearing to the Apostles*, late 16th or early 17th century. Silver, 21 × 30 cm. Florence, Museo degli Argenti, 820 (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici e Storici di Firenze)



Figure 11. Design by Teodoro della Porta, *Monument to Lucrezia Tomacelli*, 1625. Bronze and marble. Rome, San Giovanni in Laterano (photo: Archivi Alinari, Anderson)



Figure 12. Probably by Teodoro della Porta after a model by Guglielmo della Porta, *The Flagellation*, early 17th century. Silver, 19.1 × 13 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, purchased with funds provided by Michael J. Connell Foundation and Museum Acquisition Fund, 1984, M.85.103 (photo: Los Angeles County Museum of Art)

Guglielmo also reflect the singular quality of the Museum's pax and suggest its proximity to the artist's own works.

The only other known pax depicting the Risen Christ Appearing to the Apostles is a silver example in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence (Figure 10).<sup>14</sup> Although its frame is larger and more complex than the Metropolitan's pax, the central scenes of both must have been cast from the same model or from very close copies of it; their measurements are the same,<sup>15</sup> and no major alterations to the composition have been made. The finish of both casts, however, is strikingly different. The Pitti pax has been cleaned and planed meticulously. The draperies and locks of hair have been calmed and smoothed and the outlines of the figures simplified. The floor below Christ has been incised in an effort to create a more solid and clearer perspectival recession. The profile of the disciple facing right, just visible in the Metropolitan's pax to the right of Christ's head, has

been removed in the Pitti example, which creates a slightly awkward gap in the crowded row of heads. While the execution of the Pitti pax is competent and painstaking, it cannot match the lively, scintillating surface quality of the Metropolitan's version.

It is in the frame that the Pitti pax differs most notably from the Metropolitan's. Although certain elements, such as the caryatid figures, are retained, the proportions and the pediment, or rather lintel, of the Pitti pax are completely different in design. The overall decorative scheme is more elaborate and less classical, which indicates a date of at least one generation later, probably around the turn of the seventeenth century. The artist may well have been Guglielmo's son, Myron Teodoro della Porta (1567–1638). Little is known about Teodoro as an artist; he inherited Guglielmo's workshop, which he continued to oversee with considerable success after his father's death. He fiercely protected his exclusive right to reproduce his father's models, as indicated



Figure 13. Guglielmo della Porta, *The Flagellation*, ca. 1575. Gilt bronze, H. 20.1 cm, W. 15.5 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, A.1-1977 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

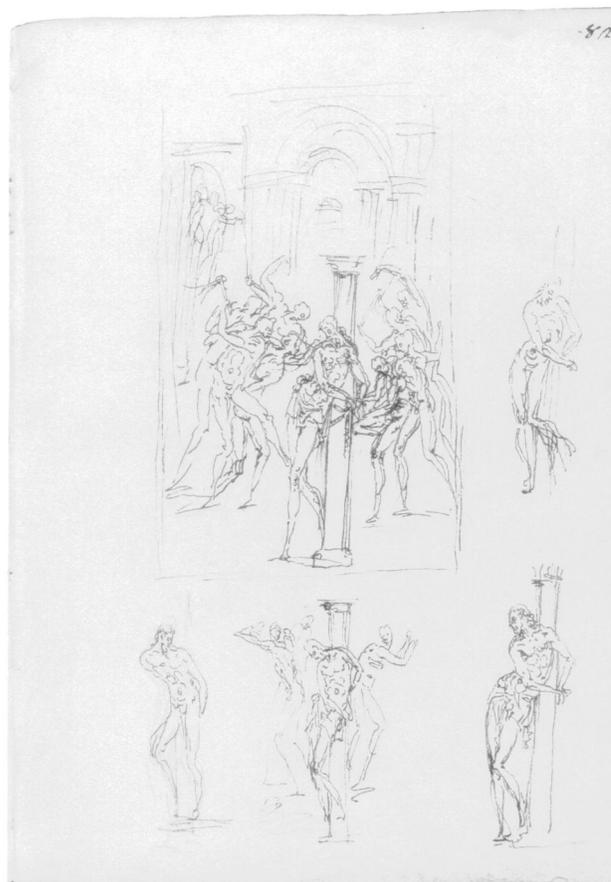


Figure 14. Guglielmo della Porta, *The Flagellation*, after 1555/56. Pencil, pen, and brown ink, 228 × 164 mm. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Graphische Sammlung, FP 6419 (photo: Landesbildstelle Rheinland, Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf)

by the lawsuit he filed in 1609 against other copyists.<sup>16</sup>

The only significant work confidently attributed to Teodoro, based on Giovanni Baglione's account, is the design for the tomb of Lucrezia Tomacelli in San Giovanni in Laterano, dated 1625 and executed by the founder Giacomo Laurenziani (Figure 11).<sup>17</sup> The rich and technically accomplished bronze decorations are sumptuous and formal, but they lack the grace and the inherent motion of the elder della Porta's art. In spite of the difference in scale of the two works, certain characteristics of the tomb, such as the smooth surfaces, the somewhat swollen faces, the wavy locks of hair, and the leaflike feathers of the angel wings, recur in exactly the same fashion in the frame of the Pitti pax.<sup>18</sup>

The same observations hold true for two plaquettes depicting the Flagellation, a silver cast in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and a gilt bronze in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Figures 12, 13).<sup>19</sup> The composition of both is clearly derived from a drawing by Guglielmo in the Düsseldorf sketchbook (Figure 14).<sup>20</sup> The two versions form a compelling contrast, not unlike the Pitti and Metropolitan paxes. The very controlled hand that cast and finished the Pitti pax appears to have worked on the Los Angeles cast as well. The chasing and polish are extremely close; the same tool seems to have been used to create the matte finish on certain draperies, as on the caryatids or apostles in the pax and an observer at the far right or the left henchman in the plaquette. In both pieces the muscula-

ture is similarly smooth, and the figures' locks curl in the same fluid way. The little cherub below the column in the Los Angeles *Flagellation* looks remarkably like the one at the base of the Pitti pax.

Likewise, the *Flagellation* in the Victoria and Albert Museum has much in common with the Metropolitan's pax. While the two works described above are silver, these are both gilt-bronze and even show similar types of imperfections in the casting. The *Flagellation* is somewhat larger and thus allows for more detail in the figures than in those of the pax. However, one encounters the same kind of deliberate surface treatment for the sake of lively, even agitated expression. Here, too, the flat parts of the architecture and the moldings ripple, instead of being planed and straightened. Light skips about nervously on the spidery extremities, flaming whips, and writhing ridges of drapery. The background figures are represented more summarily, and Christ and his tormentors stand out with greater force. Again, Guglielmo's characteristic drawing style seems directly transposed into sculpture in the London plaque, while the execution of the Los Angeles version has much more in common with traits ascribed here to Teodoro.

Unlike his father, Teodoro della Porta seems not to have been a highly imaginative artist of many talents, but rather a competent craftsman at the head of a flourishing workshop that capitalized on the value and popularity of Guglielmo's designs and models. Following the taste of his time, Teodoro toned down the vigor and nervous energy of his father's compositions, and he occasionally brought them up to date by setting them into more modern frames. The differences between the two pairs of paxes and plaquettes enable us to distinguish better between works by father and son, and the Metropolitan Museum's piece emerges as one of the rare small-scale objects by Guglielmo himself or by a collaborator who worked in his immediate proximity, close to the origin of the powerful design.

## NOTES

1. Joseph Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät* (Munich, 1930) pp. 559–560. He mentions Charles V's *formula reformationis* of 1548, which demands the reinstatement of the kiss of peace for all solemn masses by means of a pax and stipulates that the image on the pax be a crucified Christ.

2. Certain details of the representation reflect the biblical accounts of Luke and John. The artist depicted the apostles' fear

and amazement at the unexpected sight of Christ as described in Luke 24:37 and 41. The clearly defined interior space may refer to John 20:19 and 26 where Jesus' sudden appearance through closed doors is described; the dove in the pediments of the pax's frame may illustrate John 20:22, when Jesus bestows the Holy Ghost on the apostles through his breath.

3. John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1985) p. 383, fig. 73, pl. 84.

4. Ulrich Middeldorf, "In the Wake of Guglielmo della Porta," *Connoisseur* 194 (1977) pp. 75–84, in Ulrich Middeldorf, *Raccolta di scritti, III, 1974–1979* (Florence, 1981) p. 101.

5. See Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti Pittori, Scultori ed Architettori* (Florence, 1550 and 1568) G. Milanesi, ed. (Florence, 1906) VII, pp. 546–549, and Antonio Bertolotti, *Artisti lombardi a Roma* (Milan, 1881) I, pp. 142–143, for the inventory after Guglielmo's death. For comments by Guglielmo himself, see the publication by W. Gramberg cited in note 7.

6. "... et Pace di bassorilievo . . ."; see Bertolotti, *Artisti lombardi*, II, p. 127.

7. The basic reference for Guglielmo's sketchbooks is Werner Gramberg, *Die Düsseldorf Skizzenbücher des Guglielmo della Porta*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1964). The author discusses all the documents and projects involving the Passion series on pp. 53–56; the equestrian monument for Charles V, 1559/60 (cat. nos. 223, 224); the Passion series offered to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, ca. 1569 (cat. nos. 225, 226); a project for bronze church doors, probably for the Cathedral of Florence, 1569/70 (cat. no. 228); and the scenes of the Passion "di metallo indorate" offered to Philip II of Spain, 1575 (cat. nos. 200, 201). Carolyn Valone proved the existence of another project involving the Passion series as part of the decoration proposed for the church of San Silvestro al Quirinale in Rome in 1558/59; see her article, "Paul IV, Guglielmo della Porta and the Rebuilding of San Silvestro al Quirinale," *Master Drawings* 15, 3 (1977) pp. 243–255.

8. It is difficult to appreciate these subtle surface effects in photographs, yet we may be certain in this case that they were employed intentionally. Had the piece been left unfinished, it would never have received its complicated hollow backing and handle, nor the extremely expensive gilding.

9. Gramberg, *Die Düsseldorf Skizzenbücher*, cat. nos. 145–146, 164–166, 169 (ill.).

10. Gramberg, *Die Düsseldorf Skizzenbücher*, cat. nos. 109, 124, 131–132, 136, 139.

11. This connection, noted in the Museum's curatorial files, was repeated and published by Timothy Newbery et al., *The Italian Renaissance Frame*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1990) no. 29.

12. Valone, "Paul IV," pls. 1 and 3.

13. The engraved arms on the rear are those of the Dainelli and Albergotti families from the early 18th century. See Vittorio Spreti, *Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare italiana* (Bologna, 1928–35) I, p. 335; IV, p. 465.

14. Museo degli Argenti, no. 820, 21 x 30 cm; see Cristina Piacenti Aschengreen, *Il Museo degli Argenti a Firenze* (Milan, 1968) p. 175. The scene on both paxes has sometimes been called *The Incredulity of St. Thomas* instead of *The Risen Christ Appearing to the Apostles*. In fact, it is unclear whether Christ is merely raising his right hand in a gesture of blessing or displaying the wound on his

side as well. The gesture of the purported St. Thomas (or St. Peter), standing on the left, is more timid than probing, and it may just signal surprise or amazement. In the clearer, smoother Pitti version the apostle on the left does stretch out two fingers, but Christ's wound is not visible at all. It would seem that Guglielmo, who favored compositions of many figures arranged around one central figure or group (e.g., the Flagellation, Resurrection, Kiss of Judas, some of the Lamentation drawings, Mar-syas), would have chosen to organize his actors differently had the emphasis been intended for an Incredulity scene.

15. Both are  $8.8 \times 6.3$  cm.

16. In 1586, nine years after Guglielmo's death, his son Fidia, the black sheep of the family who had been disinherited, broke into the workshop and stole a number of pieces and models. Sebastiano Torrigiani, Guglielmo's former first assistant and guardian of the young Teodoro della Porta, brought Fidia to court whereupon the unhappy outcast was condemned to death. But enough damage had already been done; in 1609 Teodoro felt compelled to bring up the whole issue before court again and unsuccessfully accused several artists and craftsmen in Rome, among them Antonio Gentili da Faenza, of illegally reproducing his father's dispersed models. For a publication of the surviving documents, see Bertolotti, *Artisti lombardi*, I, pp. 143–144; II, pp. 119–161. This historical occurrence has complicated the already thorny issue of originals and copies and may help explain why scholars have had such difficulties in questions of attribution.

17. Lucrezia Tomacelli, duchess of Palliano, was married to Filippino Colonna. See Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et*

*architetti* (Rome, 1649) p. 325; Middeldorf, *Raccolta di scritti*, p. 97, n. 21.

18. I am much obliged to James David Draper for his advice on several points in this article, and especially for bringing to my attention a pax with a Doubting St. Thomas in the Casa del Camerlengo, Sezze (Lazio); it is brass, with the central scene silver-plated and measures  $15.5 \times 10$  cm. The pax has been catalogued and illustrated in *Tesori d'arte sacra di Roma e del Lazio dal medioevo all'ottocento*, exh. cat., Palazzo delle Esposizioni (Rome, 1975) cat. no. 105, pp. 46–47. Although less elaborate, the frame has several aspects in common with the Pitti pax, such as the scrolled lintel with a large central cherub and the scrolled lateral ornaments above a horizontal molded pediment. The central composition, elongated and crowded but with static figures and no architectural setting, cannot be attributed to Guglielmo della Porta. On the basis of the frame, the late-16th-century dating given in the exhibition catalogue should be pushed up to the first decades of the 17th century.

19. London: A.1–1977,  $20.1 \times 55.5$  cm; Los Angeles: M.85.103,  $19 \times 13$  cm. Other versions are known: a bronze at the Staatliche Museen, Berlin (see E. F. Bange, *Die Bildwerke des Deutschen Museums*, II: *Die Bildwerke in Bronze und in anderen Metallen* [Berlin/Leipzig, 1923] no. 1863, p. 57); and a silver example at the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (see Gramberg, *Die Düsseldorf Skizzenbücher*, p. 69).

20. See Gramberg, *Die Düsseldorf Skizzenbücher*, cat. no. 109; see also *ibid.*, cat. nos. 115, 138.

# El Greco's Miracle of Christ Healing the Blind: Chronology Reconsidered

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**A** CHRONOLOGY for the three extant paintings by El Greco representing the Miracle of Christ Healing the Blind was first proposed by A. G. Xydis in 1958.<sup>1</sup> He believed that the earliest version, now in Dresden (Figure 1), was executed in Venice about 1569–70; that the next picture, now in Parma (Figure 2), was painted in Rome about 1572; and that the Metropolitan Museum's canvas (Figure 3), the last of the three, was made during the artist's earliest years in Spain, about 1576–77. The chronology of these works has never been reconsidered or questioned.<sup>2</sup> However, the dating of the Metropolitan Museum's version has been debated: some writers believe that it was painted in Rome before 1576;<sup>3</sup> others think that El Greco might have painted it in Venice, during his putative second stay there, between 1572 and 1576.<sup>4</sup> Alfred Frankfurter regards it as "self-evident that El Greco began the picture in Venice," about 1570, and finished it in Spain, about 1581–82. He catalogues the other two variants as "unoriginal" works of the artist's early Venetian years.<sup>5</sup> Even though some scholars date these three paintings over a range of ten or twelve years, others suggest that they might have been painted during a much shorter period of time.<sup>6</sup> But no matter when or where these three works are placed in El Greco's oeuvre, everyone seems to agree that they are the product of his experiences in Italy and especially of his Venetian training.

In the past all three paintings were attributed to other Venetian artists.<sup>7</sup> The rich Venetian color plays an important role in the pictorial conception. As in many works by Titian, the religious drama is conveyed through the movement of colors and gestures. However, El Greco owes more to Tintoretto, as seen in the overall agitation and the dramatic perspective of the background. Along with many other

Venetian artists of that time, El Greco showed an interest in Sebastiano Serlio: a step in the pavement and a gatelike structure in the background (Figures 1, 3) are quotations from his stage sets for comedy and tragedy (Figures 4, 5).<sup>8</sup>

The painting that looks the least Venetian of the three is the Parma version (Figure 2); in it the color scheme is subdued and the quotations from Serlio have been eliminated. The Parma picture contains, instead, allusions to Roman monuments: the remains of a vaulted structure in the background to the right (replacing the motif after Serlio) recalls the Baths of Diocletian; a tripartite triumphal arch, like those of Septimius Severus or Constantine, appears behind Christ's left shoulder; the building at the left looks like the porch of the Pantheon;<sup>9</sup> the nude figure in the group at the left could have been modeled after the Farnese Hercules; and the head behind him is reminiscent of the Laocoön. These derivations from the Roman monuments are not surprising, if, as is generally accepted, the work was painted in Rome. However, if we are to accept that the Metropolitan Museum's version was painted later, it would seem odd that in it El Greco abandoned virtually all the Roman elements and returned to the lessons of Venice.

The Metropolitan's painting is, in fact, the most Venetian of the three versions. Its coloring has the greater variety, luminosity, and richness.<sup>10</sup> The figures rushing into an arcade are a direct quotation from Tintoretto's *The Removal of the Body of Saint Mark* (Venice, Academia). The gatelike structure in the background is the same as the one in the Dresden version; but in the Museum's picture El Greco has added an obelisk behind it, thus making a more secure reference to Serlio.

I do not believe that the distinctive Venetian elements can be explained by the artist's hypothetical second stay in Venice or by a change of heart, because a comparison between the Metropolitan Mu-

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Figure 1. El Greco (1541–1614), *The Miracle of Christ Healing the Blind*, dated here ca. 1566–68. Oil on wood, 66 × 84 cm. Dresden, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie (photo: Pfauder)

seum's version and the one in Parma shows that the treatment of the composition and the figure style are more advanced in the Parma picture. It therefore seems likely that the Metropolitan's canvas precedes rather than follows the one in Parma, and that it was painted in Venice in about 1569–70.

El Greco must have started working on the Metropolitan Museum's version soon after the Dresden painting, which he must have executed in about 1566–68. Over twice as large as the Dresden painting, the Museum's picture has the same principal elements, including an opening in the foreground, although two half-figures have replaced the dog,

and sack. The sense of depth is increased in the greater extension of the architecture. The two men in the middle ground sit on the step in the pavement, as in the first version, but they are smaller in size. The artist increased the number of figures on the left and extended the row of the buildings toward the foreground, thus creating a spatial complication in the front left corner. The arrangement of the figures behind does not allow for the columns to come down, and it is not clear where these figures are standing. It is not surprising that he left this section unfinished, because there seems to be no way to resolve the relation of this crowd to



Figure 2. El Greco, *The Miracle of Christ Healing the Blind*, ca. 1570. Oil on canvas, 47 × 61 cm. Parma, Galleria Nazionale (photo: Los Angeles County Museum of Art)

the architecture behind it. El Greco literally painted himself into a corner.

It is true that certain features in the Metropolitan Museum's version are more peculiar to the Roman than to the Venetian school of painting, such as a semi-nude man seen from behind (to display the artist's mastery of human anatomy), the unfinished head (to the left of Christ), reminiscent of one of the sons in the Laocoön group, and the two half-figures in the foreground. El Greco might have taken the picture with him to Rome in 1570, where he might have continued to work on it, and eventually to Spain in 1576.<sup>11</sup> But it is possible that he left it in-

complete when he departed from Venice. The Roman features may be explained by the fact that in Venice in the second half of the sixteenth century, many artists (especially Tintoretto) attempted to reconcile in their works Roman *disegno* and Venetian *colore*. Roman masterpieces were available through prints and casts. For instance, in Tintoretto's studio there were copies of Michelangelo's Medici statues and antique casts, including those of the Laocoön and the Farnese Hercules.<sup>12</sup>

In the use of truncated figures El Greco is thought to have been influenced by works of Roman artists such as Francesco Salviati, Pirro Ligorio, and



Figure 3. El Greco, *The Miracle of Christ Healing the Blind*, dated here ca. 1569–70. Oil on canvas, 120 × 146 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 1978, 1978.416

Federico Zuccaro.<sup>13</sup> However, this device, favored by Roman Mannerists, was also employed earlier by artists to the north, for example, Domenico Ghirlandaio and Andrea Mantegna.<sup>14</sup> In fact, El Greco's treatment of this motif is closer to that in Mantegna's *Crucifixion* (Paris, Louvre) than to that in Salviati's *Visitation* (Rome, San Giovanni Decollato). In Mantegna and El Greco these figures appear to be participants in a religious event, whereas in Salviati they are portraits of members of the confraternity of San Giovanni Decollato, and they are spectators.

The artist must have started painting the Parma variant soon after he reached Rome in 1570. It

closely resembles the Metropolitan's picture, although it is less than half its size. The Parma painting has a decisively Roman look, achieved by the increased monumentality of the figures as well as the reminiscences of ancient buildings. El Greco could have seen casts of antique statues in Venice, but he must have seen the architectural monuments—the triumphal arch and the Baths of Diocletian—in Rome.

In the Parma painting El Greco achieves a greater mastery of the figure style, which is especially clear if we compare the figure on the right, seen from behind, with its counterpart in the Metropolitan

Museum's version. In the Museum's picture the light on the drapery is concentrated on the left, whereas in the Parma canvas it is spread over the drapery with assurance and models the body underneath. El Greco resolves the spatial problem of the left corner by placing the figures at the back on steps, thus making their relationship to the architecture clearer and their arrangement more logical. The group on the right is also improved: the artist eliminates a strange, wrapped figure on the far right<sup>15</sup> and an obtrusive, contemporary-looking head at the top,<sup>16</sup> which is out of proportion to the rest of the group. The amplified scale of the foreground figures and the reduced size of the canvas left insufficient space for the two men in the middle ground. Therefore, El Greco puts these figures several steps below the pavement, reducing them still further in size and thus achieving the radical separation of the foreground figures from their spatial environment that

was noted by Everett Fahy, who called it "prophetic of the direction El Greco's style would take in his subsequent works."<sup>17</sup> If we are to treat the Parma painting as the second version, this feature would indeed appear accidental. But if we accept this painting as the third version of the subject, it would be neither accidental nor prophetic, but a logical next step in El Greco's artistic development.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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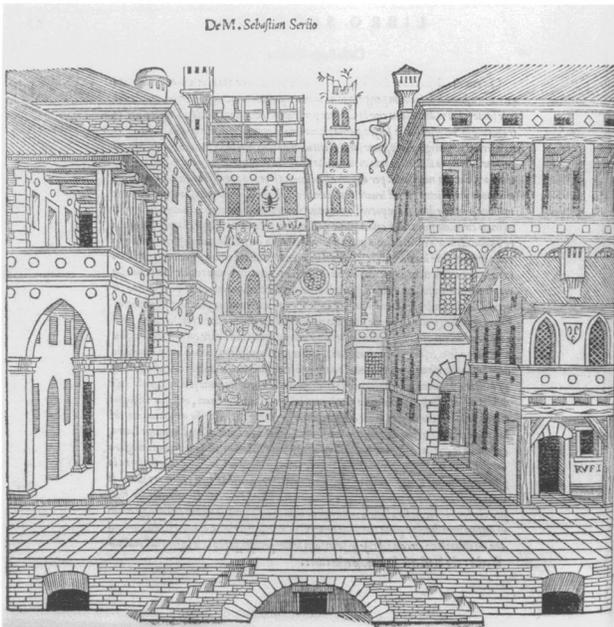


Figure 4. Sebastiano Serlio, *Architettura*, II, "La Scena Comica," p. 28v, Venice, 1551–57. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941, 41.100.144



Figure 5. Sebastiano Serlio, *Architettura*, II, "La Scena Tragica," p. 29v, Venice, 1551–57. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941, 41.100.144

## NOTES

1. A. G. Xydis, letter to the editor, *The Times* (London, May 17, 1958) p. 7, col. 5.

2. For a discussion of the three versions in this chronological order, see Harold E. Wethey, *El Greco and His School* (Princeton, 1962) II, pp. 41–43; José Guidol, *El Greco 1541–1614* (New York, 1973) pp. 33–34; Everett Fahy, *The Wrightsman Collection* (New York, 1973) V, pp. 100–102; Katharine Baetjer, “El Greco,” *MMAB* (Summer 1981) pp. 11–18; J. Brown, *El Greco of Toledo*, exh. cat. (Toledo, Ohio, 1982) pp. 88–90.

3. Baetjer, “El Greco,” pp. 12, 18; Brown, *El Greco of Toledo*, p. 90.

4. Terisio Pignatti, *The Golden Century of Venetian Painting*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles, 1979) pp. 150, 152; Rodolfo Pallucchini, *Da Tiziano a El Greco*, exh. cat. (Venice, 1981) p. 265. Some authors agree with Xydis, that the Metropolitan Museum’s version was done in Spain: Wethey, *El Greco and His School*, p. 43; Tiziana Frati, *L’opera completa del Greco* (Milan, 1969) p. 94.

5. Alfred Frankfurter, “El Greco: An Autobiography in Paint,” *ArtNews* 59 (Summer 1960) p. 36.

6. Fahy, *The Wrightsman Collection*, p. 100; Pal Kelemen, *El Greco Revisited: Candia, Venice, Toledo* (New York, 1961) p. 126.

7. The Dresden version was purchased in Venice in 1741 for the Saxon Royal Collection, as by Leandro Bassano; the Parma canvas was bought by the Galleria Nazionale in 1862, as by Veronese; the Metropolitan Museum’s picture was sold at Christie’s, London, in 1888, as by Tintoretto, and, in 1958, as by Veronese (Fahy, *The Wrightsman Collection*, p. 98; Baetjer, “El Greco,” p. 12).

8. See C. Gould, “Sebastiano Serlio and Venetian Painting,” *Journal of Warburg and Courland Institutes* 25 (1962) pp. 56–64, figs. 11c, 12c.

9. I am indebted to Joan Mertens, Curator of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum, for her comments on the ancient Roman monuments depicted in this painting.

10. It should be noted, however, that the bold combination of such a variety of warm and cold colors is El Greco’s own, which is characteristic not only of his Venetian training but of the artist’s entire career.

11. There are two copies of the Metropolitan Museum’s version in Madrid. Their existence is the only fact which suggests that the artist might have taken the painting to Spain, for it is not listed in the inventories of his property made in 1614 and in 1621, and no traces of its presence in Spain have been found (Fahy, *The Wrightsman Collection*, p. 103).

12. Marco Boschini, *La Carta del Navegar Pitoresco, a la cura di Anna Pallucchini* (Venice, 1966) p. 164.

13. Fahy, *The Wrightsman Collection*, p. 102; Brown, *El Greco of Toledo*, p. 90.

14. Wethey, *El Greco and His School*, p. 42.

15. One should note, however, that such a figure might have been eliminated when the Parma painting was reduced in breadth along the right side sometime in the past (Wethey, *El Greco and His School*, p. 42).

16. This could be the head of a patron. In the Parma version, El Greco had apparently placed a patron on the far left; see Wethey, *El Greco and His School*, pp. 43–44, for a discussion of this figure.

17. Fahy, *The Wrightsman Collection*, p. 100.

# A Lost Opportunity for the Musée de Versailles, 1852

DANIEL MEYER

*Conservateur en chef, Musée National du Château de Versailles*

WHEN LOUIS-PHILIPPE decided to transform the Château de Versailles into a museum, his concern was not to refurbish the residence of his predecessors (except for the rooms that he reserved for himself and the queen)<sup>1</sup> but to evoke the history of France through as many paintings as he could find and commission. One result of this campaign was that the cartoons for the tapestry series *L'Histoire du Roi*, executed under Louis XIV, were hung in the State Apartments.

One room was given special treatment: Louis XIV's bedroom, called the *Grande Chambre* since 1737. Louis-Philippe thought that this room, which is in the middle of the château on the courtyard side, should serve as a symbol of the former monarchy, and he decorated it with elements of the regalia that Napoleon III later transferred to the Louvre during the installation of the Musée des Souverains (Figure 1).

The idea of an historical restoration suited the king's taste. He had known the room as a young man during the last years of Louis XVI, and he must have remembered the richly sculpted and gilt *lit à la duchesse* and especially the wall hangings brocaded on a crimson ground.<sup>2</sup> (This may be why he agreed to reuse the fabrics made under Louis XVIII for the throne room at the Tuileries.)<sup>3</sup> The wooden parts of the bed were ordered from Alphonse Jacob, as were the armchairs,<sup>4</sup> and these pieces were gilded by Pauwels.<sup>5</sup> They were constructed to accommodate the installation of some tapestries whose purchase had been authorized by the comte de Montalivet<sup>6</sup> on the assumption that they were those made for Louis XIV.<sup>7</sup> The bed curtains were of white Gros de Naples brocaded with gold fringe.<sup>8</sup> We will not elaborate on the rest of the furniture and objets d'art, which must have been

luxurious and eye-catching,<sup>9</sup> but the whole may have appeared to clash somewhat, especially the mixture of gold brocade and tapestries.

This explains why experts, particularly Eudoxe Soulié (curator at that time)<sup>10</sup> gradually tried to give some unity to this ensemble, as we can see from the following purchase request addressed to the Directeur Général des Musées de France. We will quote the request in its entirety.<sup>11</sup>

Versailles

25 janvier 1852

à Monsieur le Directeur Général,<sup>12</sup>

Monsieur le comte, une collection de tapisseries anciennes doit être vendue par la Maison d'Orléans le 28 de ce mois au domaine de Monceaux.<sup>13</sup> Parmi ces tapisseries il y en est deux suites [Figure 2] qui conviendraient admirablement pour la décoration des grands appartements du Palais de Versailles et j'ai l'honneur de vous proposer d'en faire l'acquisition.

La première suite exposée sous le n° 9 se compose de 6 pièces brodées au petit point sur canevas. Une de ces pièces représente Louis XIV costumé en empereur romain et entouré de divers attributs. Deux autres faites pour être placées en regard représentent un jeune prince et une jeune princesse dont les traits rappellent ceux du duc et de la duchesse de Bourgogne; deux autres pièces représentent des Dames de l'époque de Louis XIV avec les attributs du Printemps et de l'Été. Enfin la dernière d'une exécution et d'une conservation admirables offrent [*sic*] des attributs guerriers. Ces tapisseries exécutées sur fond d'or et entièrement brodées à la main remplaceraient avec avantage dans la chambre du lit de Louis XIV, la tenture de fond et les rideaux du lit qui appartiennent à l'époque de l'empire.<sup>14</sup> On a exposé sur cette tenture deux copies anciennes mais assez faibles qui, richement encadrées<sup>15</sup> induisent le public en erreur et lui fait croire que se sont là les tableaux qui découraient autrefois la chambre de Louis XIV. Les rideaux du lit sont dégarnis de leurs franges en or qui ont été volées en 1850.<sup>16</sup> En plaçant dans les panneaux de chaque côté du lit les deux pièces qui offrent les portraits du Duc et de la

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Metropolitan Museum Journal 26

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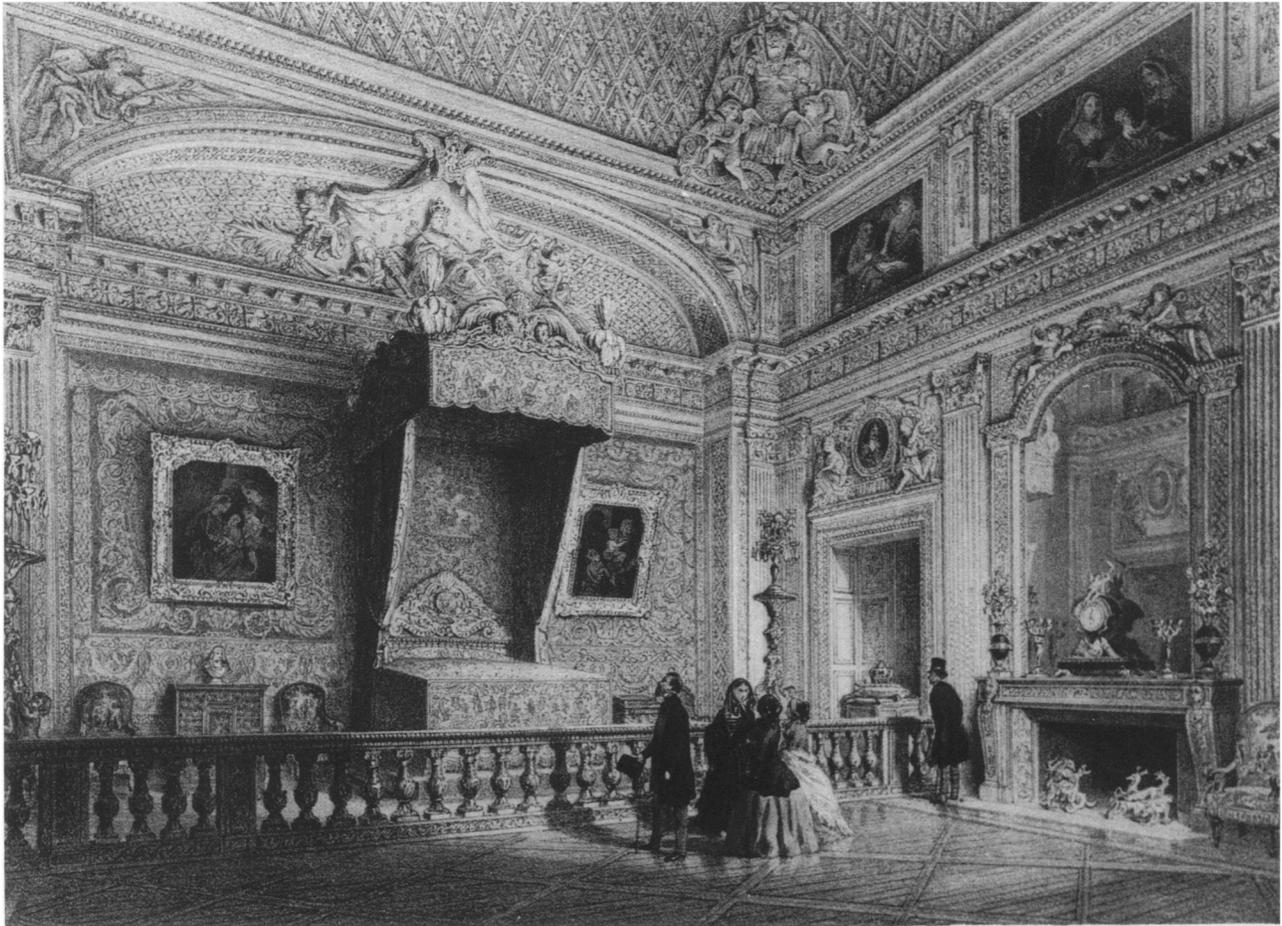


Figure 1. Louis XIV's bedroom as reconstituted by Louis-Philippe. Engraving by Arnout, ca. 1850 (author's collection)

**MAISON D'ORLÉANS.**

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CATALOGUE  
DES  
**TAPISSERIES ANCIENNES**  
DES GOBELINS (XVI<sup>e</sup> ET XVII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLES) ET AUTRES  
TAPIS

*provenant de la succession du feu roi Louis-Philippe,*  
DONT LA VENTE AURA LIEU  
Rue de Charre-du-Boule, n<sup>o</sup> 4.  
**AU DOMAINE DE MONCEAUX**  
*Le Mercredi 28 Janvier 1852,*  
*heure précise de midi.*

Par le ministère de **M<sup>r</sup> BONNEFONS DE LAVIALLE**, Commissaire-priseur,  
rue de Choiseul, 11.  
Assisté de **M. BOUSSEL**, Expert, rue du Dragon, 33.  
*Chez lesquels se distribue le présent Catalogue.*

**EXPOSITION PUBLIQUE**  
*Les Dimanche 25, Lundi 26 et Mardi 27 Janvier 1852,*  
*de midi à quatre heures*

PARIS  
IMPRIMERIE DE A. GUYOT ET S<sup>r</sup>  
rue Neuve-des-Mathurins, 18.



Figure 2. Title page of the sales catalogue of Louis-Philippe's collection

Duchesse de Bourgogne et en remplaçant les rideaux par les deux tentures analogues qui représentent des personnages de la cour, cette décoration s'harmoniserait avec la tenture du lit qui est également brodée au petit point et à la main. Les deux autres pièces trouveraient facilement place dans les grands appartements.

La seconde suite exposée sous le n<sup>o</sup> 6 se compose de cinq pièces représentant des conquêtes de Louis XIV. Ces tapisseries paraissent avoir été exécutées d'après des compositions gravées par Sébastien Leclerc, connues sous le nom de petites conquêtes et dont les planches se trouvent à la Calcographie du Louvre. Les sujets qu'elles représentent ne sont rappelés à Versailles que par des peintures de petites dimensions et bien inférieures comme intérêt historique. Dans ces tapisseries au contraire les personnages sont de grandeur naturelle et leurs costumes sont exécutés avec un soin particulier. La peinture ne peut donner avec autant de précisions les détails des broderies et des harnachements. Les tableaux de Van der Meulen transportés de Versailles au Louvre ont laissé dans les grands appartements des vides que ces tapisseries rem-

pliraient d'une manière beaucoup plus convenable que des peintures car toutes ces places se trouvent entre les fenêtres et à contre-jour.

L'acquisition de ces tapisseries pourrait être faite sur le crédit accordé pour acquisition d'objets d'art et je pense qu'une somme de 3.000 francs suffirait pour assurer au Musée de Versailles la possession de ces précieux morceaux.<sup>17</sup>

The reasons why the Musée de Versailles failed to acquire these tapestries remain unknown, for the comte de Nieuwerkerke's answer has not come down to us. It could not be found in the Archives of the Direction des Musées de France or in the curatorial archives at Versailles. It would seem that the purchase proposal was not even submitted at the meeting of the committee of curators in January 1852. The probable explanation for this is that all furnishings were still under the jurisdiction of the Mobilier National and that the curator at Versailles had very little say in these matters. In any case, the idea of replacing gold brocades on a crimson

ground and Gros de Naples curtains with tapestries may have been attractive, but it was in fact further removed from their ancien régime appearance than Louis-Philippe's attempted restoration would have been. As for the tapestries between the windows in the State Apartments, they would have created a break with the painted cartoons for the *Histoire du Roi* series, which were on the back and side walls.

The interest of this letter lies more in the history of the works in question than in the iconography of the embroidered hangings. The two series sought by the curator of Versailles had been inherited by Louis-Philippe from his mother, the dowager duchesse d'Orléans, widow of Philippe-Égalité. In the inventory made after her death, the *Conquêtes* series (erroneously attributed therein to the Gobelins) are listed under number 9, and the others under number 2.<sup>18</sup> They were among the possessions restored to the daughter of the duc de Penthièvre, and their provenance is easily identified by the coat of arms of the comte de Toulouse, which appear on all the



Figure 3. Tapestry from Louis XIV's *Conquêtes* series with the comte de Toulouse's coat of arms. Woven at Beauvais in Béagle's atelier and representing *The Sortie of the Dôle Garrison in 1674*, 17th century. Musée National du Château de Versailles, gift of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, MV 4694 (photo: Versailles)



Figure 4. *Allegory of War*, embroidered hanging. French school, 17th century. Musée National du Château de Versailles, MV 4134 (photo: Versailles)



Figure 5. *Portrait of Louis XIV with Allegory of Air*, embroidered hanging. French school, 17th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1946, 46.43-4

pieces in the *Conquêtes* series (in the eighteenth century they were in the Paris townhouse of this last surviving son of Louis XIV and Madame de Montespan)<sup>19</sup> and on two embroidered tapestries (which were in the Palais-Royal during the July Monarchy). As late as 1887 there was a cardboard label sewn onto the back of the piece then called an *Allegory of Peace* that read “Palais-Royal, tenture no. 2.”<sup>20</sup>

Not having been purchased by Versailles, the *Conquêtes* (Figure 3) passed into the collection of the duc de Rochefoucauld-Doudeauville, and later belonged to Baron James de Rothschild. Baron Edmond de Rothschild, a descendant of the latter, donated them to the Musée de Versailles in 1970, when Gérald Van der Kemp, then the Conservateur en Chef de Versailles, was elected to the Académie des Beaux-Arts.<sup>21</sup>

The petit-point tapestries, after passing into the Grandjean Collection, were sold at the 1887 Sée auction as lots 6 to 11. Purchased by Bradley Martin of New York for 45,000 francs, they were later acquired by French and Company, New York. Four pieces were purchased by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and—as Eudoxe Soulié once hoped for Louis XIV’s bedroom—they now decorate the alcove of a room devoted to furniture from that king’s reign. Of the remaining two tapestries, one found its way to the Banque de France in 1965—near its original home—and the sixth went the same year to occupy the place of the royal throne in the Salon d’Apollon at Versailles (Figure 4).<sup>22</sup>

What these tapestries represent is the second point of interest in Soulié’s letter. The *Conquêtes* series poses no problems, for the subject matter is



Figure 6. *Portrait of the duc du Maine with the Allegory of Fire*, embroidered hanging. French school, 17th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1946, 46.43.3



Figure 7. *Portrait of Mademoiselle de Nantes as Spring*, embroidered hanging. French school, 17th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1946, 46.43.1

clearly shown on the tapestries themselves. On the other hand, while the *petit-point* embroideries present a certain unity in their ornamentation, they seem to be inspired by a variety of themes and are described in different terms in the various inventories.

In 1821, in the inventory of the duchesse d'Orléans's estate, the only mention is of "une tenture complete en point de canevas composé de six pièces représentant des tableaux fond or."

In an 1852 inventory the description is precise enough, even though it seems partially incorrect:

N° 9—Une tenture, tapisserie sur canevas au petit point.

Une pièce représentant le roi Louis XIV lançant la

foudre, petite nature. Louis XIV est costumé en empereur romain, coiffé de la grande perruque; il se trouve au milieu d'un entourage sur fond or très-riche, composé d'armes, de fruits, de palmes. Au-dessus de sa tête est figuré le Soleil.

Une pièce représentant probablement le duc de Bourgogne; il est costumé en général romain, tenant en main un bâton de commandement fleurdelysé; il est placé sur un fond de paysage avec entourage analogue au précédent, rempli d'objets d'arts, de sciences, d'armes. Cet entourage est de même sur fond or.

Une pièce représentant probablement la duchesse de Berry en Flore: on remarque dans l'entourage les Gémeaux, le Bélier et le Taureau; entourage avec attributs de jardinage, fleurs et feuillage sur fond or.

Une pièce représentant une dame assise, en costume du temps de Louis XIV; un jeune homme à ses genoux lui présente une guirlande de fleurs. La scène est sur



Figure 8. *Portrait of Mademoiselle de Blois as Summer*, embroidered hanging. French school, 17th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1946, 46.43.2

un fond de paysage avec entourage analogue aux précédents sur fond or.

Une pièce représentant des attributs guerriers fort bien composés et se détachant sur un très-beau fond or artistement brodé; cette tapisserie est fort belle et d'une couleur très-remarquable.

Une pièce représentant une dame de la cour de Louis XIV en Cérès; l'entourage laisse voir trois signes du zodiaque: la Vierge, le Lion et l'Écrevisse; il est de même brodé sur un fond d'or.

Ces six pièces sont fort rares; il est probable qu'elles ont été faites à la Cour; elles sont entièrement brodées à la main, bien conservées et exécutées d'après d'assez bons dessins.

Hauteur de chaque pièce .....	4m	40c
4 pièces, largeur de chaque .....	2	80
2 id. id. ....	2	90
Ensemble 17m linéaires.		

In his letter to the comte de Nieuwerkerke, Soulié repeated the descriptions of the catalogue but substituted the duchesse de Bourgogne for the duchesse de Berry.

In 1887 the six tapestries were divided into three themes: the piece acquired by the Banque de France representing a woman seated with a young man at her feet was considered to be the *Allegory of Peace*, a companion piece to the *Allegory of War* that is now at Versailles. On the basis of the ornaments, the signs of the zodiac, and the figures, two of the remaining four were identified as *Summer*, personified by Ceres, and *Spring*, personified by Flora. The last two, numbers 10 and 11 in the Sée catalogue, were called *Louis XIV as a Child* and *Louis XIV as Jupiter*.

At the time of their sale to the Metropolitan Museum, the figure of Spring was identified as Mademoiselle de Blois and that of Summer as Mademoiselle de Nantes. The young prince was called the comte de Vexin.<sup>23</sup> Only the figure of Louis XIV brandishing a lightning bolt retained its unquestionable identification.

Who are the actual subjects represented? If, according to tradition and as the technique of these works seems to argue, the six needlepoint tapestries were executed in the atelier Saint-Joseph, then the identity of the individuals portrayed, apart from Louis XIV (Figure 5), should be looked for among members of Madame de Montespan's immediate family. According to R. A. Weigert, that atelier worked for the favorite's children after 1690.<sup>24</sup> This date rules out the possibility of identifying the young prince as the comte de Vexin, for he was born in 1672 and died in 1685, and there is no reason to identify this personage as Louis XIV or the duc de Bourgogne. On the other hand, the motifs of armor and bombards and the salamander attribute that frame the medallion and the figure holding a commander's baton with a helmet nearby (Figure 6) could lead one to identify him as the duc du Maine, in whom great military hopes were placed. Furthermore, he was the Colonel of the Grisons and, more pertinently, Grand Master of Artillery. Note that the allegorical embroidery of *War* has the same ornamental motifs.

As symbols of Renewal and Wealth, the two pieces representing Spring (Figure 7) and Summer (Figure 8) must surely portray two daughters of Madame de Montespan. It may be thought, as Edith A. Standen suggested by comparing it to a painting still at Versailles (Figure 9),<sup>25</sup> that *Spring* portrays Ma-

demoiselle de Nantes, while *Summer* is the blonde Mademoiselle de Blois.<sup>26</sup>

As for the sixth tapestry, which can be considered either as an *Allegory of Earth* or as an *Allegory of Peace* (Figure 10), it presents the coat of arms of France with brisure of bastardy and is decorated with “un jeune homme agenouillé aux pieds d’une dame à qui il présente une guirlande de fleurs,” according to the description in the Sée sales catalogue. The female figure may be identified as Mademoiselle de Blois (cf. her portrait as Thetis, Figure 11). It is tempting to identify the young man as her husband, the duc de Chartres, the future duc d’Orléans and regent of France, but he may be the comte de Toulouse, the last son of Louis XIV and Madame de

Montespan. This embroidery is the one still remaining in the former Toulouse townhouse.

I would be inclined to see in the set of six pieces from the Louis-Philippe sale a fairly old though heterogeneous set, for number 10 in the catalogue mentions: “Quatre pièces de tapisserie au canevas non terminées, l’une est la reproduction du Louis XIV foudroyant, les fonds ne sont pas faits; une autre représente l’Automne sous la figure de Bacchus, les fonds restent à faire; une troisième devait représenter l’Hiver.” The fourth piece is not described and no measurements are given.

This description may help us to explain the series in Paris and New York and confirm the fact that number 2 in the dowager duchesse d’Orléans’s in-



Figure 9. *Madame de Montespan and Her Children: Mademoiselle de Nantes, comte de Toulouse, Mademoiselle de Blois, duc du Maine.* French school, 17th century. Musée National du Château de Versailles, MV 8237 (photo: Musée de Versailles)



Figure 10. *Allegory of Peace with Portraits of Mademoiselle de Blois and the duc de Chartres or the comte de Toulouse*, embroidered hanging. French school, 17th century. Paris, Banque de France (photo: Banque de France)



Figure 11. *Portrait of Mademoiselle de Blois as Thetis*. French school, 17th century. Musée National du Château de Versailles, MV 3739 (photo: Musée de Versailles)

ventory (number 6 in the Louis-Philippe sale) was a falsely reconstituted series. As *Autumn* and *Winter* were never completed, they must have become separated from *Spring* and *Summer*. Did these works feature coats of arms? Were the figures portraits of the legitimate princes? Without having seen them, one can only pose the question.

As for the *Louis XIV Hurling a Lightning Bolt*, which reproduces identically the one in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, I would like to venture a purely hypothetical connection. On April 6, 1978, at Christie's in London, an *Apotheosis of Louis XIV* in petit point, identical to the Metropolitan's piece (except for a few color details, such as the butterflies) came up for auction. The provenance was not given,

and the tapestry would have had to be seen in order to ascertain whether the background of the medallion had been filled in.

All of these digressions around a "missed" acquisition show that the problems of the curators at the Musée de Versailles have not changed much over the last century. Very knowledgeable in French history, as his *Notice du Musée Impérial de Versailles* demonstrates, Eudoxe Soulié was very perceptive in the development of his museum when he requested—in vain—the purchase of works that would have been an homage to the ruler who was restoring the Bourbon palace.

Translated from the French by Jean-Marie Clarke

## NOTES

1. Daniel Meyer, "L'Ameublement des Petits Appartements de la Reine à Versailles sous Louis-Philippe," *Antologia di belli arti* 31/32 (1987) pp. 28–49; a similar article on the king's private apartment is in preparation.
2. These hangings had been delivered on Mar. 22, 1785, under order no. 54, dated Jan. 3, 1785, registered under no. 4656 (see particularly *L'Inventaire de Versailles (1785–1787)*, Archives Nationales O<sup>1</sup> 3469, p. 15).
3. Arch. Nat. AJ<sup>19</sup> 631, fol. 6v–10v. Chantal Gastinel-Coural, "Le décor textile de la Salle du Trône des Tuileries, 1841–1848," *Le Dossier du Musée des Tissus I* (Lyon, 1987).
4. Jacob fils, cabinetmaker, 44 rue de Bondy, Paris (see Arch. Nat. o<sup>4</sup> 1519 and AJ<sup>19</sup> 631, fol. 8v, for the armchairs and fol. 10v for the bed).
5. Pauwels, gilder, 4 faubourg Poissonnière, Paris (see Arch. Nat. O<sup>4</sup> 1519 and AJ<sup>19</sup> 631, fol. 8v, 10v).
6. Arch. Nat. AJ<sup>19</sup> 631, fol. 7v., 8v.
7. Correspondence of the Garde-Meuble dated Oct. 19, the comte de Montalivet "autorise à acheter le lit du Louis XIV moyennant 10,000 francs à condition qu'il soit bien complet." (Arch. Nat. AJ<sup>19</sup> 548).
8. Arch. Nat. AJ<sup>19</sup> 631, fol. 7v.
9. See *Inventaire de 1849*, preserved at the Musée National du Château de Versailles. Daniel Meyer, "L'ameublement de la chambre de Louis XIV à Versailles de 1701 à nos jours," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (Feb. 1989) pp. 81–104.
10. Eudoxe Soulié (1817–76) was appointed "conservateur-adjoint chargé du service de Versailles" in Feb. 1850, replacing the painter Théodore Salmon; Soulié became conservateur in 1867.
11. Archives du Musée National du Château de Versailles, *Correspondance du Conservateur I* (1852) pp. 74–75.
12. Alfred-Émilien, comte de Nieuwerkerke (1811–92), Directeur Général des Musées de France in 1840, Surintendant des Beaux-Arts in 1863, was well known because of his liaison with Princesse Mathilde.
13. This was the former estate of Philippe-Égalité. Under the Restoration it was given back to the duc d'Orléans (the future Louis-Philippe) and his sister Madame Adélaïde. The present-day Parc Monceau occupies more than a third of the former park. For its history, see *Heures du Parc Monceau*, exh. cat., Musée Cernuschi (Paris, 1981). After Louis-Philippe's death, some of his possessions were given to his heirs, who placed certain pieces in the Monceau residences they had inherited after Madame Adélaïde's death in 1847. Among these pieces were "les tapisseries anciennes et tapis . . . provenant de la succession du feu Roi Louis-Philippe" whose sale took place at "rue de Chartres du Roule, n<sup>o</sup> 4 [today's rue de Courcelles, between rue de Monceau and the boulevard de Courcelles] au Domaine de Monceaux . . . par le Ministère de M<sup>e</sup> Bonnefous de Laviolle, Commissaire-pri-seur, rue de Choiseul 11."
14. In fact, they date to the Restoration period.
15. These were two Holy Families, one Flemish, after Rubens (Musée de Versailles [MV] 7033), and the other Italian, after Andrea del Sarto (MV 7034). Their frames are at present used as surrounds for the portraits of Stanislaw Leszczynski (MV 3717) and his wife, Catherine Opalinska (MV 3718).
16. The loss was reported by guards on Apr. 18, 1850 (see Archives du Musée National du Château de Versailles, *Registre de correspondance du régisseur*).
17. See minutes of the sale preserved at the Archives de la Seine (D 48 E<sup>3</sup>44). My thanks to Maître Tailleur, the successor to Maître Bonnefous de Laviolle, who allowed me to see this document. The *Conquêtes* went for 1,940 francs and the petit-point tapestries for 3,301 francs. Soulié was optimistic when he asked for 3,000 francs.
18. There are several copies of this inventory. I consulted the one in the Bibliothèque Marmottan (no. 3019), brought to my attention by Christian Baulez, conservateur at Versailles.
19. See especially Piganol de la Force, *Description de Paris* (Paris, 1765) III, pp. 259–261.
20. See the sales catalogue of the Sée collection citing "magnifique tapisseries dont . . . six du temps de Louis XIV au petit point, avec rehauts d'argent." Hotel Drouot, May 23, 1887, Maître Paul Chevallier, auctioneer, 10 rue de la Grange-Batelière.
21. For studies of these tapestries, see my article in *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* (Paris, 1970), and the article on the Manufacture de Beauvais by Jean Coural, administrateur of the Mobilier Général, in *Les Monuments Historiques de France* (Paris, 1977).
22. See Alice M. Zrebiec, "Textile Arts," *MMAB* (Spring 1989) pp. 27–37.
23. Madame de Montespan had six children by Louis XIV, four of whom survived: the duc du Maine (1670–1736); Mlle de Nantes (1673–1710), who married Louis III de Bourbon-Condé; Mlle de Blois (1677–1749), who married Philippe II d'Orléans, future regent of France; and the comte de Toulouse (1681–1737).
24. See R. A. Weigert, "La retraite de Madame de Montespan," *Bulletin de la Société d'Étude du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1950) nos. 7 and 8, pp. 220–221.
25. Comparison made by Béatrix Daule, conservateur, Musée National du Château de Versailles.
26. Edith Appleton Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1985) II, pp. 665–674.

# The Petrifying Art: Marino's Poetry and Caravaggio

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**T**WENTY-FIVE YEARS have passed since Luigi Salerno challenged the commonly held conviction that there could be no connection between "the concrete and realistic painting of Caravaggio and the type of literature labeled 'Marinismo.'"<sup>1</sup> Salerno's arguments in favor of the importance of Marino's poetry for an understanding of Caravaggio's work have found little resonance in more recent scholarship, and even as Caravaggio's reputation as a revolutionary realist has grown, so has Giovan Battista Marino's reputation as an overly sophisticated poet whose work epitomizes the decadence of Italian letters in the seventeenth century continued to decline.<sup>2</sup> Yet, as Salerno suggested, Caravaggio and Marino had much in common, no matter how different their historical roles, or the views of tradition that they each expressed through the medium of style. A reconsideration of the relationship between these two remarkable men will, I hope, serve to show how a close reading of Marino's poetry may change the way we view a particular group of paintings by Caravaggio. Near-contemporaries working within the same aristocratic culture in Rome, Marino and Caravaggio shared, and pioneered, a certain aesthetic view of the power of art and especially of the relationship of painting to the beholder.

The briefest summary suggests how closely interwoven the lives of the two artists were, and how similar their stories. Marino was born in Naples in 1569, and we now know that Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio was born, far to the north of him, two years later.<sup>3</sup> Both men set out to make their fortunes in Rome where, in the first lustrum of the new century, they became friends and admirers of each other's work.<sup>4</sup> Giovanni Pietro Bellori's report that it was Marino who introduced Caravaggio to Virgilio Cres-

cenzi, persuading him to divide the commission to decorate the Contarelli Chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi between the poet's two friends, the Cavaliere d'Arpino and Michelangelo da Caravaggio, is incorrect.<sup>5</sup> But it is true that painter and poet came to know each other in the household of the Crescenzi, Caravaggio's important early patrons. Crescenzo Crescenzi, son of Ottavio, owned two portraits by Caravaggio, one of himself and the other of Marino. When he died in 1641, he left them as a pair "in signum amoris" to his nephew Francesco (who had himself painted a portrait of Marino for the poet's funeral celebrations at the Accademia degli Umoristi in Rome in 1625).<sup>6</sup> Marino had dedicated the first volume of his *Rime* to Crescenzo's brother Monsignore Melchiorre Crescenzi in 1602, the same year in which he probably wrote his famous poem celebrating Caravaggio's *Medusa*.<sup>7</sup> He also composed a poem in praise of Caravaggio's portrait of Melchiorre; lamentably, this, like the portraits of Crescenzo and Marino, is lost.<sup>8</sup> Marino eventually willed his own collection of pictures to Crescenzo Crescenzi, excluding only his eleven portraits of famous men.<sup>9</sup> These latter, together with his collection of drawings, he left to Francesco Crescenzi, the same aristocratic artist-dilettante who was later to fall heir to the Caravaggio and Marino portraits.<sup>10</sup>

Fortune broke up this remarkable Roman society as surely as she had created it. Marino left Rome for Ravenna with Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini in 1605 upon the death of Clement VIII and the subsequent election of Leo XI.<sup>11</sup> Two years later he traveled with his patron to the court of Maurizio of Savoia in Turin. After using all his powers of flattery, he succeeded in 1610 in attaching himself permanently to Maurizio's court. There, the famous composer Sigismondo d'India set to music for two sopranos and basso continuo eight stanzas from Marino's then unfinished epic of love, *L'Adone* (conceived already in

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the first decade of the seventeenth century, although not published until 1623), and he included them in his *Musiche a due voci*, published in 1615.<sup>12</sup> That year, leaving behind many controversies, Marino went to the court of Queen Marie de' Medici in Paris. When he returned to Italy as a pensioned noble in 1623, he held his own court in Palazzo Crescenzi before returning in triumph to Naples. Marino died almost upon his arrival, never realizing the permanent setting for his talents and his collection that he had always craved. His briefly ennobled friend Caravaggio had died thirteen years before, his life and possessions similarly scattered. Charged with the murder of Ranuccio Tomassoni in a fight over a game of racquets on May 31, 1606, Caravaggio had fled Rome, moving first to Naples and then to Malta. After being made a "cavaliere di grazia" of the Order of Knights of Malta by the Grand Master, Alof de Wignacourt, whose portrait he painted, Caravaggio was imprisoned on the island. He escaped to Sicily, and was immediately stripped of the knighthood. In 1610, having made his way back to Naples, where he was wounded in a brutal attack, Caravaggio was set to return to Rome with a papal pardon. Unlike Marino, however, he was never to see the city again; on July 18, 1610, Caravaggio died alone on the pestiferous beach of Porto Ercole.<sup>13</sup>

In retrospect it seems that many of the similarities between painter and poet that must have been obvious to contemporaries in Rome became even more apparent as their lives diverged. When Marino settled in Rome, he was on the run from his second prison sentence. He had served the first two years earlier, reputedly as a consequence of a young woman's death from an abortion; the second was for forgery on behalf of a friend condemned to death.<sup>14</sup> In Turin Marino was shot at in the street by his rival Gaspare Murtola, only to end up in prison yet again (probably in retribution for his satires against the duke), risking once more the loss of all his literary property. Caravaggio's criminal behavior, which included charges not only of murder but also of slander and disturbing the peace, was of a more aggressively violent sort; but his fights, imprisonments, and flights brought him notoriety as an artist similar to that enjoyed by Marino. Not surprisingly, both poet and painter, as we have seen, sought out ranks of honor that might transform this notoriety into fame and protect them from retribution.<sup>15</sup>

With regard to their own art, both men are noteworthy for polemicizing their originality. Caravaggio, for his part, flaunted his rejection of antiquity

and Raphael as models for imitation, determining never to be imitated himself.<sup>16</sup> It was fear that this might happen that led him to threaten to beat up Guido Reni for attempting to steal his style in his altarpiece of the *Martyrdom of St. Peter*.<sup>17</sup> Marino, on his side, conducted a duel on paper over his own inimitable originality against anyone who would be foolish enough to steal from him, a Neapolitan.<sup>18</sup> His challenge was more ironic than Caravaggio's, perhaps, in that he also flaunted his own reliance on highly recondite sources (claiming to locate his originality not in external nature but in his own fantasy and intellect), but the two artists are distinguished by their claims for the absolute originality of their work. That neither, it now appears, was reluctant to explore an original concept more than once should not seem paradoxical. Repetition and variation testify to originality, serving to reinforce the novelty of the original, to reinforce the notion of authorial possession, and to confirm each artist's mastery of artifice.

Anti-social behavior and self-advertisement may not have seemed so remarkable in Rome at a time when independent, urban, artistic personalities found themselves increasingly in conflict with the courtly society upon which the majority of poets and painters still relied for patronage. But Marino and Caravaggio are outstanding for their aggressive public assertion of their own value; it has often been suggested that Marino took special interest in the freedom that Caravaggio claimed as his. And both men produced works that were sexually ambivalent.

When Marino befriended him, Caravaggio had already completed the lateral canvases for the Contarelli Chapel and had probably signed the contract with Tiberio Cerasi for the decoration of his family chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo, and so his public career as a painter was launched.<sup>19</sup> But Caravaggio was still best known among aristocratic collectors for his half-length figures of secular subjects in the Venetian manner and especially for his musical pictures. Among these the Metropolitan Museum's *Musicians*, painted for Cardinal Del Monte, is a prime example (Figure 1).<sup>20</sup> Marino was not the only poet in the Crescenzi circle to celebrate Caravaggio, but he contributed more than any other contemporary poet, in Rome or elsewhere, to the musical and visual culture of the seventeenth century. It was in the exciting, rapidly changing musical culture of the early years of the century in Rome that the strongest connections between the two artists were forged.<sup>21</sup>

Marino's importance for the new music coming to



Figure 1. Caravaggio (1571–1610), *The Musicians*, ca. 1595. Oil on canvas,  $34\frac{5}{8} \times 45\frac{5}{8}$  in. (87.9 × 115.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1952, 52.81

prominence at the turn of the century, beginning at the very moment when Caravaggio was working for Cardinal del Monte and Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani and culminating with the musical settings of his poetry by Monteverdi, cannot be overestimated.<sup>22</sup> No collection of poetry was more frequently set to music than the *Rime*, first published in Venice in 1602, in the very same year as Giulio Caccini's *Le nuove musiche*. Indeed, several of his *poesie per musica* were published with musical settings even before this.<sup>23</sup> *L'Adone*, Marino's epic of love, also provided the material for numerous libretti, beginning with *La catena d'Adone*, published in 1626.<sup>24</sup> Sigismondo d'India's early settings of *ottave rime* from *L'Adone* have already been mentioned; these include the famous description of the monstrous,

marvelous song of the nightingale—an exercise in onomatopoeia that, when performed, would have become an impersonation. In the three books of *L'Adone* devoted to the Garden of Pleasure, Marino celebrates every aesthetic delight. One part of the garden is dedicated to sound and taste, and it is here that Marino recounts the deeply pathetic story of the competition between the trilling nightingale and the unhappy lover who sings to his own accompaniment on the lute. Each matches the other with increasingly complex and virtuoso inventions; as a result the poor bird dies from exhaustion. The remorseful musician, victorious because taught by Love, buries the nightingale in his lute and records the story with a quill taken from the little corpse of his unwitting competitor.<sup>25</sup> Marino also provides a

poetic report in this part of the poem on the most up-to-date discussion of the functioning of the ear, and he celebrates two of the greatest female singers of his day—Virginia Ramponi Andreini and Adriana Basile—before going on to hymn the praises of the taste of the fruits, plants, and herbs to which Adonis is introduced in turn.<sup>26</sup>

Marino's direct appeal to the senses, without recourse to dramatic action, in the synesthetic poetry of *L'Adone* provides the closest point of comparison for the sensuality and suppression of significant action that seventeenth-century Roman critics identified in Caravaggio's early work.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, the emphasis of Marino's sparkling madrigals, which are filled with references to Amphion and Orpheus, on the power of music suggests the closest relation to the specific imagery of the paintings Caravaggio produced for Del Monte and Vincenzo Giustiniani. Again, modern criticism has generally preferred to oppose the two, treating Marino's sensuality as a symptom of his seicentismo, of the lack of substance in his poetry.<sup>28</sup> By contrast, the sensuality of Caravaggio's manner has been associated with realism and with the painter's radical rejection of tradition, and it has even been identified as an aspect of his modernity.

Marino's work, especially his lyrical poetry, was in wide circulation long before it was published. Nonetheless, there is no reason to believe that particular poems provided Caravaggio with texts for paintings in the way that they provided the musicians he painted with songs. Quite apart from the problem of establishing the historical record, to suggest that Caravaggio could have borrowed inventions from texts in this way goes against the evidence of the early works themselves, which were criticized by contemporaries who were more attuned to the invention of *istorie*, for failing to display precisely that power of invention that bound painting and poetry together. And it is, of course, the absence of dramatic action that also characterizes even the epic poetry of Marino. What rendered his ornamental, starkly chiasmic verses so attractive to musicians was their affective sentiment; and it is in this that we find the connection between Marino and Caravaggio.

*The Lute Player* from the collection of Vincenzo Giustiniani (Figure 2) is probably the most mature example of Caravaggio's musical paintings and is certainly the best preserved.<sup>29</sup> It has never seemed reasonable to me that the extraordinary still life it contains should be interpreted in terms of an older, Northern European tradition of allegory, especially

given Caravaggio's and Giustiniani's own statements on the importance of still-life painting as painting in its own right.<sup>30</sup> Franca Camiz's recent reclassification of the image as a kind of informal portrait of a contemporary singer now renders emblematic or allegorical constructions even less justifiable.<sup>31</sup> The identification of all the music in *The Lute Player*, furthermore, as well as the particular form of the performance alluded to (in which the musician plays the bass part of a madrigal in accompaniment to his own voice), reinforces the implication of the musician's gaze: that whether a portrait or not, the image belongs primarily within a lyrical, not an allegorical, tradition.<sup>32</sup>

From within that tradition, a madrigal by Marino suggests an alternative way of accounting for the prominence of the still life in *The Lute Player*. The poem, addressed to a *Bella Cantatrice* and published in the *Lira* in 1614, reads as follows:

Abbi, musica bella,  
anzi musa novella, abbiti il vanto  
dele due chiare cetre  
che le piante movean, movean le pietre.  
Che val però col canto  
vivificar le cose inanimate,  
se nel tuo vivo cor morta è pietate?  
O chiari, o degni onori,  
porger l'anima ai tronchi e torla ai cori!  
O belle, o ricche palme,  
dando la vita ai sassi, uccider l'alme!<sup>33</sup>

(You have, beautiful music, new muse rather, you have the power of the two famous lyres [Orpheus and Amphion] that moved the plants, moved the stones. What avails it, however, to bring alive inanimate things with song if in your living heart compassion is dead? O shining, o worthy honors, to give spirit to trees and take it from hearts! O beautiful, o rich palms, giving life to stones you kill souls!)

Caravaggio's juxtaposition of the intensely appealing singer and the exquisitely natural, objectively rendered *natura in posa* posits the same questions as Marino's madrigal. What is the value of this musician's power to bring *cose inanimate* alive if he cannot be moved himself? if he becomes in turn the still life? if in bringing stones alive he is all stone in his heart—cold marble like the table Caravaggio placed (significantly) before him?

Marino's relatively simple poem involves a further paradox, for it is itself a song addressed to a singer in an attempt to move her heart. In the process, as



Figure 2. Caravaggio, *The Lute Player*, ca. 1595–96. Oil on canvas, 37 × 46 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (94 × 119 cm). Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum

Alessandro Martini has said, it slips trickily from being an encomium of the singer into an encomium of the poet's own power.<sup>34</sup> Caravaggio's lute player appeals to us so directly that we return his gaze, forcing the question of just what it is that seduces our eyes.<sup>35</sup> Was not the artist who claimed that it was as difficult to paint a still life as to paint human features here representing that very argument through his juxtaposition of *cose inanimate* so natural they decay with an impassive singer of affective melodies who seems barely to touch his instrument? All the senses of the Garden of Pleasure are present here—smell, taste, hearing, the *toccata*, or touch of the strings, and, of course, sight; but, as the madrigal insists, they are without love. The implicit presence of the power of music in *The Lute Player*, both

in the form of written scores and as the performance of lyrical song, leads the beholder inescapably to ask these questions.<sup>36</sup> And in the end, we are led to query the ultimate value of painting's power, like that of lyric poetry, to make inanimate things seem alive if it cannot move to pity. Within this question, of course, as in Marino's, is enfolded an encomium of art.

Among the most original of Marino's lyric poems is a group devoted to games, specifically to *pallone*, or football; rackets; dice; and the popular cardgame known as *primiera*. Each in turn is a play upon the game of love. These were entirely new themes for Italian lyric poetry, and the parallel with Caravaggio's equally original introduction of the themes of cardplaying and dice in the painting known as *The*



Figure 3. Caravaggio, *The Cardsharps*, ca. 1595. Oil on canvas, 36 × 50½ in. (91.5 × 128.2 cm). Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum (photo: Kimbell Art Museum)

*Cardsharps* (Figure 3) has not gone unnoticed. But after Alessandro Martini's original observation of the relationship between the two, no further implications seem to have been drawn for the interpretation of Caravaggio's painting.<sup>37</sup> The invention has again been associated with a Northern allegorical tradition rather than with the sophisticated culture of artifice and the rarefied celebration of sensual pleasures in which Caravaggio actually worked.<sup>38</sup> The publication of Marino's poems postdates Caravaggio's painting, as did, undoubtedly, their composition; in this case Caravaggio may even have prompted Marino's invention. Like the "Bella Cantatrice," however, the sonnets on games suggest how Caravaggio's image is to be read, or, more properly, they help to define a certain relationship between the work and the spectator.

In the poem about dice, the "Giucoco di dadi," the poet is the beholder. Accompanied by Love he watches as his beloved tirelessly shakes and tosses the ivory dice in both hands. In the concluding tercet, abandoning any interest in the outcome of the game, he is moved to ask why his bones cannot be buried in that same shining alabaster urn—which is to say in his lover's ivory hands.<sup>39</sup> The "Gioco di dadi" closes in this way with the macabre musing of a detached spectator who never truly enters the scene of the poem. In the "Gioco di primiera," the poem about the game of cards, on the other hand, the poet-spectator enters the picture aggressively:

Con venti e venti effigiate carte  
 (armi del'Ozio) il sol de' miei pensieri  
 esercitando già fra tre guerrieri  
 in domestico agon scherzi di Marte.

L'accogliean, le spendean confuse e sparte,  
fatti di cieca dea campioni alteri,  
e con assalti or simulati or veri,  
or schernian l'arte, or si schermian con l'arte.

Quando ver me volgendo il guardo pio  
(e gliele diè di propria mano Amore)  
quattro ne prese il bell'idolo mio.

V'era col quadro e con la picca il fiore,  
il cor non v'era già; ma gli died'io  
(per farlo apien vittorioso) il core.<sup>40</sup>

(With twenty and twenty pictured cards [the weapons of Idleness] the sun of my thoughts was training with three other warriors on a domestic battlefield at games of Mars. They collect them up, they deal them out shuffled and scattered, made proud champions of the blind goddess [Fortune]; and with attacks now feigned now true, now they mock art, now with art they fence with one another. When turning toward me his pious look [and Love gave the cards to him with his own hand] my beautiful idol picked up four of them. There he was with the diamond, and with the club, the spade, the heart not yet there; but I gave him [to make victory complete] the heart.)

Marino's game of four players, with the cheater outside the scene, may have been inspired by Caravaggio's famous picture, as Martini suggested; but the sexual excitement of the concluding amorous trick played by one man to win another finds no resonance in this particular Caravaggio.<sup>41</sup> The poem helps us to see, however, how Caravaggio also succeeded in painting the essence of a trick by involving us in it. Like Marino, he reveals to the spectator everything that is supposed to be concealed if the trick is to turn.

Marino's virtuoso poem exploits the power of lyric poetry, his medium, by calling attention to its artifice. The heart, or *cor*, signifies both the card that will give victory to his *bell'idolo*, and the heart, or *cuore*, of the speaker, who also claims a victory with the connivance of Love, dealer of the packs.<sup>42</sup> Marino's trick plays upon the fit between the numbers four and three—the numbers of the players (three plus the sol, or the one and only of his thoughts) and of the cards (the three suits to which the heart must be added)—and the quatrains and tercets of the poem. In the end his trick gives him the victory over chance, war, and his beloved, for he remains a spectator. In Caravaggio's representation of a trick, the invisible had to be expressed through purely pictorial means in a single space and time.<sup>43</sup> The

young dupe has seen the ace (of spades?) and four of diamonds on the table, but not the six of clubs and eight of hearts hidden behind the cheat's back, nor the two fingers and thumb held up by his sidekick. In representing this whole trick for the benefit of the beholder, the fundamental trickery of painting to deceive through *trompe l'oeil* is also exposed, and with it our complicity.

My last example of how a reading of Marino's poetry may sharpen understanding of Caravaggio's innovations concerns the *Sleeping Cupid*, painted in Malta in 1608 and now in the Palazzo Pitti (Figure 4).<sup>44</sup> This work, too, has been interpreted allegorically, as an image of the conquest of carnal passion. Its darkness and lack of flesh tone have been taken to signify the death of love.<sup>45</sup> Associations between Caravaggio's image and ancient sculpture have been noted, but the specific popularity of the Hellenistic image of a sleeping Cupid in the early seventeenth century has not been taken into account (Figure 5).<sup>46</sup> In Marino's *Galeria*, his anthology of poems devoted to works of art, ancient and modern, real and imaginary, appear five poems devoted to such sleeping Cupids, who have taken their ease in fountains.<sup>47</sup> In the most ambitious of the five Marino warns that this Cupid can wound, even though he is of marble and is asleep:

Guàrdati Peregrino,  
non gli andar sì vicino,  
nol destar, prega, ch'egli  
dorma in eterno pur, né mai si svegli.

Se tu 'l sonno tenace  
rompi al fanciul sagace,  
desto il vedrai più forte  
trattar quell'armi, ond'è  
e peggior che Morte.<sup>48</sup>

(Look out, Pilgrim, don't get so close, don't rouse him, pray that he sleeps forever and never wakes up. If you break the clever boy's sleep, right away you'll see him take up more strongly those weapons that make him worse than Death.)

In his sleep this cruel child dreams not of love but of deceptions, massacres, robberies, and sufferings ("Sogna dormendo inganni, / stragi, rapine, affanni"): only when Love sleeps may lovers rest ("sol quanto posa Amor, gli amanti han posa").<sup>49</sup> Marino urges the pilgrim not to gaze upon Cupid as his mother, Venus, calls to him and the rosy dawn appears. But then he asks, in conclusion:

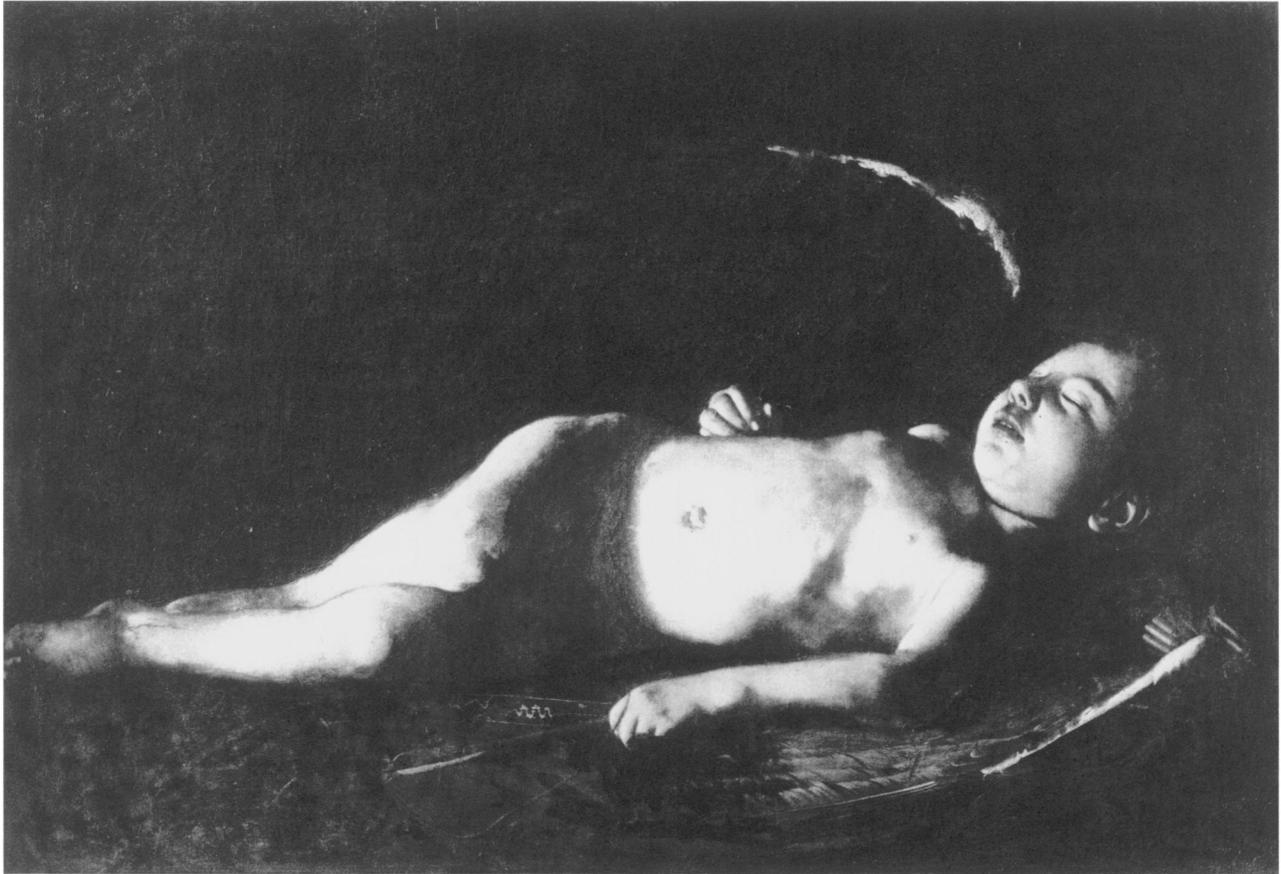


Figure 4. Caravaggio, *Sleeping Cupid*, 1608. Oil on canvas, 28 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 41 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (72 × 105 cm). Florence, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)



Figure 5. *Sleeping Eros*, Greek, 3rd to 2nd century B.C. Bronze, L. 33 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (85.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1943, 43.11.4

Qual tu ti sia, che 'l miri,  
temi non viva e spiri?  
Stendi sicuro il passo:  
toccal pur, scherzai teco, egli è di sasso.<sup>50</sup>

(Whoever you are, who gaze on him; do you fear lest he live and breathe? Lengthen your pace safely: touch him even—I was teasing you—he is of stone.)

Caravaggio's *Sleeping Cupid* has been described both as dead and as a sculpture, but he is truly neither. This figurative ambiguity was perhaps the most popular of all artistic paradoxes in the Seicento, and Marino's poem relies upon it. The relationship between the painting and the poem is much closer, however. Marino's sculpture is of a cruel god of love, tired by his work of attacking enemies and causing all kinds of suffering. With none of the thoroughly sweet charm of, for example, the similarly *conzettoso* sculpture then in the collection of Vincenzo Giustiniani of a little statue of a sleeping

Cupid discovered by a bigger Cupid (Figure 6), or of Guido's lost *Sleeping Cupid* (Figure 7), Caravaggio's *Amor* is also a cruel child, dark and tormented, not cherubic.<sup>51</sup> The livid quality of his flesh suggests the very incarnation of malign envy. As, like Marino's Roman pilgrim, we gaze upon him in wonder (Marino's verb is always *mirare*), we sense both fear at the presence of danger and death, and amazement at the artist's power, like that of love itself, to deceive us.

Poems about works of art were as common as poems about love in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and more than one poet wrote about works by Caravaggio: Marino's arch-rival Gaspare Murtola even dedicated his to Melchiorre Crescenzi.<sup>52</sup> But Marino's *Galeria*, which included the five poems on the Cupid sleeping in a fountain, must be assigned special importance in the reconstruction of Caravaggio's Roman world. The anthology was first conceived in the years in which Caravaggio and he knew each other.<sup>53</sup> In emulation of Bernardo Castello's illustrations to the *Gerusalemme liberata*, Marino planned to publish a collection of drawings of mythological subjects accompanied by appropriate verses. Gradually this was transformed instead into a sort of *musée imaginaire* of poems about works of art. The collection was published in 1619 and 1620, but many of the poems were already widely known.

It was said by a contemporary that Marino's great epic, *L'Adone*, which was longer than Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, was composed entirely of fifty words arranged in different ways.<sup>54</sup> The conspicuous, formal conventions of Marino's poetry that enable such dazzling displays of ingenious variety also make the identification of characteristic themes or emotions difficult. Perhaps the most important, however, is the power of art itself, the almost alchemical capacity of poetry, music, painting, and sculpture to transform matter into spirit and back again. As in the poems on games, however, this power is always shown to be dependent on Marino's own creative power to enchant and confound. In the *Galeria* the theme is present almost everywhere, but it is especially prominent in the group of poems devoted to sculptures. It is often treated in a straightforwardly witty way, with none of the darkness of the "Sleeping Cupid" (and indeed Marino sometimes betrays poverty of invention). Amphion, for example, who once brought stones alive, is now stone himself; but he seems to breathe, to sing, to live, and so his song celebrates the superiority of the chisel over the



Figure 6. Giovanni Valesio (ca. 1583–1633), *Love Discovers a Sleeping Infant Love*. Engraving, plate 25 from *Galleria Giustiniani* (Rome, ca. 1631–35) I, pl. 25



Figure 7. Robert Strange (1721–12), *Sleeping Cupid*. Engraving after Guido Reni. Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Muriel and Philip Berman Gift (photo: Philadelphia Museum of Art)

lyre.<sup>55</sup> A statue of Helen laments that she had not been made of stone when Paris seized her; but even as a sculpture, she insists that she is worth carrying off.<sup>56</sup> Pasquino, the famous talking statue, tells passersby not to marvel that a lifeless stone without hands and tongue can speak; there was a time when not only did he talk, but as he spoke he exploded, smashing the head and arm of the man who made him speak but wanted him to keep silent.<sup>57</sup> In one of his least imaginative puns, Marino praises Giovanni da Nola's statue of St. Stephen, an image of the saint who was stoned to death: "once cruelly killed/now nobly carved/you died by stones, and from stone you gained immortal life."<sup>58</sup> Other occasional poems under the heading of Capricci celebrate a nest of bees in a statue of Cicero that returns both sweetness and barbs to his lips; a statue of Silenus is falling—but does he fall from wine or weariness?; a statue of Nero actually falls and kills a child, showing how cruel Nero is even as a statue; Laocoön, who has been tied up to prevent him also from falling down, complains that struggling with snakes is enough; a statue of Mucius Scaevola has lost to time the hand that fire could not remove; a cooler head has been restored to a statue of a beheaded traitor who laments that it had not always been his.<sup>59</sup>

These poems about antiquities must have been inspired in part by the intense repopulation of Roman sculpture gardens that Marino observed around the turn of the century. Equally topical are madrigals and sonnets about famous modern sculpture, statues of both living people and mythological characters, as well as ephemeral figures made of snow, sugar, and wax. Two poems are dedicated to a statue of a beautiful woman, and one of these is outstanding for its length, complexity, and originality.<sup>60</sup> Out of the conventional Petrarchan *paragoni*, in which the artist's image and the living woman are compared and the impossibility of representing the perfect beauty of the beloved is then invoked, Marino weaves a complex comparison in which the true subject is the effect of the sculpture, not the natural woman:

La figura ritratta  
Medusa mi rassembra.  
La scultura è sì fatta  
ch'altrui cangia le membra.  
Già già sento cangiarmi a poco a poco  
di fuor tutto in macigno, e dentro in foco.  
Con la vivace imago  
disfogo il mio tormento.

Con occhio ingordo e vago  
v'affiso il guardo intento.  
E sì di senso lo stupor mi priva,  
ch'io son quasi la statua, ella par viva.

Spira l'imagin bella,  
quasi animata forma.  
Spira, ma non favella,  
o che pensi, o che dorma.  
Forse il rigor che le circonda il petto,  
passando al volto, irrigidì l'aspetto.

Mentr' io contemplo eguale  
or questo ed or quel volto,  
né so discernere quale  
sia 'l proprio, e qual lo scólto,  
dico con pensier dubbio è mal distinto:  
"Ambo son veri, o l'un e l'altro è finto."  
(lines 13–36)

(The figure portrayed seems like Medusa to me. The sculpture is made in such a way that it changes the limbs of others. Already, already, I feel myself changing little by little, outside all stone, and inside in flames. With the lively image I let loose my torment. With a covetous and desiring eye I fix my intent gaze upon it. And stupor so deprives me of sense that I am almost the statue, and she seems alive. The beautiful image breathes, almost an animated form; it breathes, but does not speak, neither what it thinks, nor what it dreams. Perhaps the hardness that encircles its breast, passing to the face, has stiffened its aspect. While I contemplate equally now this and now that face, I know not how to discern which is the true, which the sculptured, and I say with thought that is doubtful and badly defined: "Both are true, or both are feigned.")

So real indeed is the statue that only the soul and the vermilion of the cheeks are lacking. But, Marino continues, if Prometheus could give life to stone with his fire and if wounded Venus could tint her flower, *his* heart could endow this statue with the color of its blood and with its ardor:

Vinta, vinta è da l'Arte  
la maestra Natura.  
L'una in ogni sua parte  
fredda l'ha fatta e dura.  
aspra, sorda qual è, piena d'orgoglio:  
l'altra la fe' di carne, ed è di scoglio.  
In questo anco emendata  
da la falsa è la vera,  
che quella l'ha formata  
volubile e leggiera:  
questa ha pur dato almeno a la sembianza  
la fermezza marmorea, e la costanza.  
(lines 49–60)

(Conquered, conquered by Art is mistress Nature. The one in every part has made her cold and hard, bitter, unheeding as she is, and full of pride: the other made her of flesh and yet she is of rock. In this, too, improved upon by the false one is the true, in that the former [Nature] made her voluble and gay: the latter [Art], however, made her at least resemble the hardness of marble, and its constancy.)

The marble and the real woman are then crossed in this *canzonetta*, which is the longest poem dedicated to a sculpture. Though the *simulacro bello* must have been made by Love, he could not wound her, for, though she seems to be of marble, she is in fact *diamante*, or diamond; but Love cannot wound the real woman, “l’Idol ch’adoro,” either. If there is no lute, no sung melody, that can move this stone, and if even Amphion, who moved mountains with his plectrum, could not move her, then, sings the poet to Love:

tu mirabile e novo  
 Pygmalion divino,  
 poi che pietà non trovo  
 in un porfido alpino,  
 muta a la bella effigie il magistero,  
 e trasformala omai ne l’esser vero.  
 (lines 97–102)

(You marvelous and new, divine Pygmalion [Love]; given that I find no compassion in an alpine porphyry, change the magistry of the beautiful effigy, and transform it into a true being.)

Entwining the two figures ever more completely, Marino addresses Love-as-Pygmalion with a final substitution:

E s’informar non vuoi  
 di vivo spirto il sasso,  
 spoglia de’ membri suoi  
 questo spirito lasso,  
 pur che dopo la morte almeno sia  
 in questo sasso sol la tomba mia.  
 (lines 103–108)

(And if you do not wish to inform the stone with living spirit, take away from its limbs this wretched spirit, if after my death at least in this stone may be my tomb alone.)

And entombed in the stone he will be if this woman is indeed Medusa.

The antithesis of Medusa and Pygmalion, the one turning flesh to stone, the other stone to flesh, was

obviously not Marino’s invention; as a conceit it was especially favored by poets and artists in the seventeenth century. It is the theme upon which turns Angelo Caroselli’s invention, for example, in the painting he made for Vincenzo Giustiniani in commemoration of the publication of the *Galleria Giustiniana* (Figure 8).<sup>61</sup> Over a marble altar embellished with a Medusa head, Pygmalion holds up a volume of prints, comparing these to the living figure of a woman beside him. In contrast to more straightforward representations of the Ovidian story of Pygmalion, Caroselli’s allegory involves a complex series of displacements. Beside the altar with its offering to Venus, an already living beauty endowed with the features of a classical original is compared not to nature or to antique statuary, but to the engravings of the *Galleria*. These swelling lines, as lovely as Medusan marbles, provide the standard of comparison for the lover of both nature and art.



Figure 8. Angelo Caroselli (1585–1652), *Allegory of Sculpture*. Destroyed

The effect of Caroselli’s *concetto* (presumably from the early 1630s) in which all forms of art, including, of course, painting, are subtly substituted for each other, and all for nature, is indebted to Marino’s complex manoeuvres to render all beauty artificial, to create in his poetry a substitute reality.<sup>62</sup> Marino not only invokes the topos of the antithetical powers of Medusa and Pygmalion in witty, playful poems but also in serious contexts. These concern life—conceived as sensation, movement, or transformation, but never as action or events—and death, again conceived as a change in material state, but not as leading to spiritual salvation. Predictably, his



Figure 9. Caravaggio, *Medusa*. Oil on canvas, mounted on poplar shield, with gold leaf-on-black border, Diam. 21 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (55 cm). Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

admiration for Caravaggio, a painter of sensory perceptions who was criticized for not painting figures in action and a painter who denied the existence of an ideal beyond painting and sense, focused on the artist's powers to bring figures alive or turn them to stone. Marino's famous sonnet addressed to the Grand Duke of Tuscany in praise of the parade shield bearing the image of Medusa given to him by Cardinal del Monte and painted by Caravaggio can be excluded from discussion no longer (Figure 9):

Or quai nemici fian, che freddi marmi  
non divengan repente  
in mirando, Signor, nel vostro scudo  
quel fier Gorgone, e crudo,  
cui fanno orribilmente  
volumi viperini  
squallida pompa e spaventosa ai crini?  
Ma che! Poco fra l'armi  
a voi fia d'uopo il formidabil mostro:  
ché la vera Medusa è il valor vostro.<sup>63</sup>

(Now what enemies will there be who will not become cold marble in gazing upon, my Lord, in your shield,

that Gorgon proud and cruel, in whose hair horribly voluminous vipers make foul and terrifying adornment? But yet! You will have little need for the formidable monster among your arms: for the true Medusa is your valor.)

“La vera Medusa è il valor vostro.” Whatever the compliment to the Grand Duke, Marino celebrates, as he does in the equally famous poem in honor of Guido Reni's *Massacre of the Innocents* (see Figure 10), the power of the artist to kill and to bring alive again, to *méduser*, and to enchant.

In a few brilliant pages Louis Marin has analyzed Caravaggio's *Medusa* as the image in which the artist's shocking destruction of painting as the art of representation was perfected.<sup>64</sup> Perseus's trick to catch the eye of the Medusa in the mirrored shield gives him the power literally to turn figures into images that exist eternally in a *coup d'oeil*, in the moment of sculptural fixity that divides even the present into instants. We see the Medusa at the very moment that she sees herself, but already her blood is congealing in lines that do not follow the illusory concavity of the convex surface. Caravaggio transfixes us with the fascination of simultaneity, of doubleness—and not only in this painting. Destroying the distance between the model and its copy that representation respects, he creates a simulacrum comparable to Marino's beautiful statue.<sup>65</sup>

Marino's epitaph for Caravaggio, however conventional, expresses this shocking power. Death and Nature, he writes, conspired to kill Caravaggio, the one because he brought the dead alive with his brushes, the other because she was conquered in every image that Caravaggio created rather than painted (“da te creata, e non dipinta”).<sup>66</sup> Caravaggio's figures, even in action, are creations, not imitations; they are statues, models, simulacra. He may have dismissed the canon of antiquity, pointing to people around him as his models; but when Caravaggio set figures up in the studio, lighting them from above, painting them only in that moment, Caravaggio was not only denying reality, as Louis Marin has suggested, but he was also striving to find and occupy the momentary gap between the effects of Pygmalion and Medusa, between bringing images alive and turning them to stone.<sup>67</sup> In the process he also places the spectator in the gap between the two, and in this is to be discovered that marvelous quality that caused spectators to be amazed, to be enchanted, to be transfixed.<sup>68</sup>

Caravaggio's painting of petrification is quite different from that *maniera statuina* practiced by Vasari, against which Caravaggio, like the Carracci, reacted. In that hard manner, flesh and blood and figures in movement were painted in such an unnatural way, from memory and without reference to the model or to the effects of natural light, that they resembled statues tinted with pale hues.<sup>69</sup> Caravaggio's figures begin in the flesh and indeed continue to appear to exist in it rather than seeming to derive from memory or art; but they harden before us, and we before them. As Marino wrote of the statue of the beautiful woman: "stupor so deprives me of sense / That I am almost the statue, and she seems alive."

The association that I have outlined between Caravaggio's and Marino's conceptions of the power of the image and their denial of representation does not diminish the revolutionary quality of Caravaggio's work as painting in any way. Nor does their fascination with the Pygmalion/Medusa conceit lead to any further associations with magical automata, children's games, or with involuntary sexual responses crudely defined. It is, in fact, of the utmost importance to recognize that this conceit operates entirely within the expectations of metaphor and representation, not reality, in both Marino's and Caravaggio's work. Instead, by seeking to establish how Caravaggio and Marino shared an aesthetic viewpoint, I want to arrive at a reading of the early works that extends beyond the frame, and beyond the decipherment of individual images as allegories within it, a reading that takes into account Caravaggio's powerful demands upon our senses and our feelings. The demands of Caravaggio's paintings upon the spectator, or more accurately upon the *amatore*, or lover of painting, that a reading of Marino's poetry helps to make visible belong to a lyrical tradition. These kinds of demands are therefore most conspicuous in the early works of Caravaggio, but I believe them to be deeply important also for the later "histories" in which narrative expectations are subverted by lyrical address and stasis.

The example of Marino's subversion of poetic genre, by which he rendered both religious and historical epics as lyrical poetry, argues (if arguments are still needed) in favor of accepting Caravaggio's contemporary and equally radical reinterpretation of familiar inventions as deliberate and deeply meditated also.<sup>70</sup> Marino's undeniable thematization of his own virtuosity, furthermore, lends support to the view, often expressed but never fully explicated, that Caravaggio also made the expression of the

power of his own art into a conscious theme of his painting. Marino's *Massacre of the Innocents*, a poem full of beautiful images of gruesome events, provides the best point of departure here. In this long poem, the space and time of dramatic action are constantly repressed, as they are so often in Caravaggio's work, in order to force the eyes of the reader to admire and to react to the horror of each framed action. For example, in the midst of the slaughter, Marino describes the murder of a single child, born to a beautiful mother, as follows:



Figure 10. Guido Reni (1575–1642), *The Massacre of the Innocents*, 1611. Oil on canvas, 105½ × 66⅞ in. (268 × 170 cm). Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)



Figure 11. Caravaggio, *Martyrdom of St. Matthew*, 1599, detail. Oil on canvas, 10 ft. 7¼ in. × 11 ft 3 in. (323 × 343 cm). Rome, Contarelli Chapel, S. Luigi dei Francesi (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

Tacque la bella donna e non disciolse  
 Voce, pianto o sospir: tacque e sofferse,  
 Ma sì pietosa in atto il figlio tolse  
 E voluntaria al mascalzon l'offerse,  
 Che, se non ch'egli altrove i lumi volse.  
 Se non ch'ella d'un velo i suoi converse,  
 Vincealo il dolce sguardo, e 'l ferro acuto  
 Fora di mano al feritor caduto.<sup>71</sup>

(Silent was the beautiful woman and let out no voice, cry, or sigh: she suffered in silence, but so pitifully in gesture did she take her son and freely offer him to the scoundrel, that, had he not turned his lights elsewhere, had she not covered hers with a veil, her sweet glance would have conquered him, and the sharp blade have fallen from the hand of the striker.)

In response the poet exclaims, “Contro furor che val bellezza?” or “Against fury what does beauty avail?” The effect that failed because two gazes never met was that of perfect beauty to soften the heart, to disarm without words or force, which is to say, the very effect of silent painting to conquer without discourse in a single glance. The beautiful Medusa would have succeeded.

In the opening verses of book 3 of the *Massacre of the Innocents* (in which the massacre actually takes place), Marino laments that he can neither kill nor move to pity with words written in ink, and he seeks to borrow the colors of the painter.<sup>72</sup> But as the poem unfolds, we see that despite the frequent appeals of the colors of metaphor and of images of

works of art, beauty fails to stop events; and that it is, in fact, the poet's pen that succeeds in conquering both the affects of horror and beauty and the effects of assassins' swords and mothers' love.<sup>73</sup> Marino thematizes his pen now as sword, now as brush, throughout, but nowhere more shockingly than in the description of the death of one infant at his lessons. As the child studies Hebrew, reading the lines scattered on his little tablet, his severed head falls on the "innocent pages"; upon them is written his last deed "in living letters with vermilion characters."<sup>74</sup>

Guido Reni, who, like Caravaggio, was criticized for not being able to compose figures in action, was both the most perfect epigone of Caravaggio and the greatest expositor of Marino's theme.<sup>75</sup> In Marino's sonnet written in praise of Guido's own *Massacre of the Innocents* (Figure 10) it is not the writer's own ink but the painter's brush that offers life and death:

Che fai GUIDO? che fai?  
 La man, che forme angeliche dipigne,  
 tratta or opre sanguine?  
 Non vedi tu, che mentre il sanguinoso  
 stuol de' fanciulli ravivando vai  
 nova morte gli dà?  
 O ne la crudeltate anco pietoso  
 Fabro gentil, ben sai  
 ch'ancor Tragico caso è caro oggetto,  
 e che spesso l'orror va col diletto.<sup>76</sup>

(What are you doing, Guido, what are you doing? The hand that paints angelic forms now treats of bloody deeds? Do you not see that while you are revivifying the bloody throng of infants you are giving them new death? O compassionate even in cruelty, gentle artificer, well you know that a tragic event is also a precious object, and that often horror goes with delight.)

First (like Pygmalion) Guido's brush brings the infants alive and then (like Medusa) it kills them. Its work is bloody indeed, enlivening forms with a vermilion hue, which then flows out of the little marble bodies in daubs upon the ground. But in Guido's assemblage of living, dying, and dead forms, no child is actually being murdered. The true psychological center of this painting of transformation, close to the true, empty center of the canvas, is the short dagger dipped in blood that is held up by the bearded executioner, who so thoughtfully goes about his terrible work, even as the startled little boy he is about to kill cries out silently at the sight of it and as his mother seeks to stay the blow.

That blow is stayed forever not by the deflection of a sword but by the determination of the brush. Guido's brush is more powerful than the sword in the *Massacre*, as he represents its power both to bring alive and to kill through carmine tints. In so doing he provided a different answer to the question of what beauty could accomplish in the face of horror. Unlike the executioners who are not moved by what they see, we gaze upon the work and are arrested by its beauty. As we do so, we turn what Marino called the "tragico caso" into a "caro oggetto" and back again. We are placed in that same reflexive moment mastered by Caravaggio, which Marino's poetry represents in the form of paradoxical questions vividly reinforced by chiasmus, alliteration, and near anagrams. Once recognized, this moment appears as a central theme in Caravaggio's work as well as in Guido's, and Marino's poetic questions help us to identify it. The problematic of representation in Caravaggio's early musical paintings, as I suggested above, can be rephrased in the form of the question "Che val bellezza senza pietà?" I would now propose, and for the same reasons, that the pained expression on the face of the self-portrait of Caravaggio in *The Martyrdom of St. Matthew* in the Contarelli Chapel (Figure 11) either sets up or poses the question that so dominates painting and poetry in the early Seicento, which Marino poses so succinctly in this poem: "Contro furor che val bellezza?" Caravaggio's inscription of his own name in the blood of St. John in the late *Death of the Baptist* (almost inconceivable without Marino's example) demands an answer to the same question.<sup>77</sup>

Marino's reputation among literary critics is not the only factor that makes it difficult to argue for a Marinesque reading of early Seicento painting and of Caravaggio in particular. The relationship between painting and literature in the Renaissance has been considered from the viewpoint of narrative subject matter and of allegory but not of the special relationships set up between the spectator and the image in lyric poetry. However, I would suggest that Caravaggio's *Lute Player* bears a closer relationship to works such as Titian's *Flora* (Figure 12) than to narrative or allegorical pictures, such as de la Hire's *Allegory of Music*.<sup>78</sup> Insofar as *The Lute Player* may be a portrait, it resembles other portraits only to the extent that they, like Leonardo's *Ginevra de' Benci*, or even the *Mona Lisa*, demand, like the *Flora*, that we love and admire them.<sup>79</sup> Such works belong ultimately to the same Petrarchan tradition that inspired Marino's poem addressed to the statue of a



Figure 12. Titian, (1488/90–1576), *Flora*, ca. 1520–22. Oil on canvas, 31 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 24 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (79 × 63 cm). Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

beautiful woman. This tradition of painting derives its power from the tension Petrarch voiced between the absent beloved and the present representation. Whether portraits or not, such pictures address the spectator as lover.

Marino's own poem about Guido's *Massacre*, "Che fai Guido che fai," was itself surely written in conscious relation to Petrarch's sonnet "Che fai? che pensi che pur dietro guardi," addressed by the poet not to a painter of angelic forms, but to his own soul.<sup>80</sup> What is dead for Petrarch are not the images the painter depicts, but the very things that the soul once described and painted—the sweet words and looks of his beloved. Where Marino praises Guido for killing and bringing alive again in his images, Petrarch begs the painter (his soul) not to make new that which kills it ("Deh non rinovellar quel che n'ancide") but to look heavenward for beauty.

The poem about Caravaggio's *Medusa* also has a significant Petrarchan subtext. In the final poem of the *Canzoniere*, Petrarch celebrates the Virgin as his "saldo scudo"—the firm shield not of his artistic virtuosity, nor even of princely valor, but of the afflicted against Death and Fortune ("o saldo scudo de le afflitte genti / contr' a' colpi di Morte et di Fortuna").<sup>81</sup> The poet begs her to intercede on his behalf:

no 'l mio valor, ma l'alta sua sembianza  
 ch'è in me, ti mova a curar d'uom sì basso.  
 Medusa et l'error mio m'àn fatto un sasso  
 d'umor vano stillante.<sup>82</sup>

The sensuous beauty of Medusa and error have made him a stone, and it is not his own *valor* but Christ's humanity that will move the Virgin to pity him.

Petrarch claimed that he had come to see the seductive mortal beauty he had loved, together with earthly deeds and words, as encumbrances on his soul.<sup>83</sup> Marino's choice of subtext in this case serves to announce his own rejection of Petrarch's strategic denial of artistry; his poetry never ceases to celebrate the delights of sensual pleasure and his own virtuoso transformation of reality into art.<sup>84</sup> In the course of his working life, Caravaggio's view of his own art, his attribution of worth to illusion and representation, did not necessarily duplicate that of Marino (and certainly not that of Petrarch). But such early works as *The Lute Player*, *The Cardsharps*, and the *Medusa* succeed in representing the embrace of sensual pleasure and the delight in translating the real into art and back again; this genre of representation also distinguishes Marino's poetry.<sup>85</sup> Caravaggio's early lyrical painting, petrified and petrifying, addressed to the spectator as lover or co-conspirator, belongs to the largely uncharted tradition of representation as an affective relationship in the Renaissance.

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## NOTES

1. Luigi Salerno, Duncan T. Kinkead, and William H. Wilson, "Poesia e simboli nel Caravaggio," *Palatino* 10 (1966) pp. 106–117; see p. 107.

2. New editions and studies of Marino's work have begun to offer an alternative to the tradition of Crocean criticism. See, for example, Giambattista Marino, *Lettere*, Marziano Guglielminetti, ed. (Turin, 1966); Giovan Battista Marino, *L'Adone*, Giovanni Pozzi, ed., 2 vols. (Milan, 1976); idem, *La galeria*, Marzio Pieri, ed. 2 vols. (Padua, 1979); idem, *Rime amorose*, Ottavio Besomi and Alessandro Martini, eds. (Ferrara, 1987); idem, *Rime marittime*, Ottavio Besomi, Costanzo Marche, and Alessandro Martini, eds. (Ferrara, 1988). See also Ottavio Besomi, *Ricerche intorno alla "Lira" di G. B. Marino* (Padua, 1969); Carmela Colombo, *Cultura e tradizione nell'Adone di G. B. Marino* (Padua, 1967).

3. For information on Caravaggio's life and work, see Mia Cinotti, "Michelangelo Merisi detto il Caravaggio," in *I pittori bergamaschi dal XII al XIX secolo: Il Seicento* (Bergamo, 1983) I, pp. 205–641. For the likely date of Caravaggio's birth in October 1571, based on the date of his parents' marriage and the birth of his younger brother, see *ibid.*, p. 234.

4. Marino first visited Rome in the train of the prince of Conca for the Jubilee of Clement VIII in 1600. He returned the following year. For Marino's biography, see, in addition to the introductions of the editions cited above, James Mirollo, *The Poet of the Marvelous: Giambattista Marino* (New York, 1963). Still indispensable are Angelo Borzelli, *Il cavalier Giovan Battista Marino* (Naples, 1898), and Mario Menghini, *La vita e le opere di Giovan Battista Marino* (Rome, 1888). Caravaggio probably arrived in Rome late in 1592 or in 1593 after selling his property in Lombardy, although the precise date cannot be documented; he may have visited Venice and Emilia on the way. See Cinotti, "Il Caravaggio," pp. 209–216, 238–239.

5. Giovan Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni* (1672) Evelina Borea, ed. with introduction by Giovanni Previtali (Turin, 1976) pp. 218–219. In a note Borea points out that the contract of July 23, 1599, between the congregation of San Luigi dei Francesi and Caravaggio for the lateral paintings in the chapel, which also referred back to Virgilio Crescenzi's earlier agreements with d'Arpino, predates Marino's arrival in Rome. Furthermore, Virgilio Crescenzi had died in 1592, leaving his son Giacomo to execute Matteo Contarelli's will; see Cinotti, "Il Caravaggio," p. 238.

6. Cinotti, "Il Caravaggio," p. 571, nos. 110, 111.

7. On the Crescenzi, see, in addition to Cinotti, "Il Caravaggio," Anna Grelle, "I Crescenzi e l'Accademia di via S. Eustachio," *Commentari* 12 (1961) pp. 120–38; see further note 10 below. Cinotti, "Il Caravaggio," p. 427, cites Giorgio Fulco's observation that Marino's collection of poetry for the *Galeria* had begun already in 1602. Detlef Heikamp, "La Medusa del Caravaggio e l'armatura dello Scia Abbas di Persia," *Paragone* n.s. 17, 199 (1966) pp. 62–76, previously dated the poem roughly between the *Lira* of 1614 and the publication of the *Galeria* in 1619/20. Heikamp rejects the conventional date of 1608 for the arrival of the parade shield in Florence (in connection with the marriage of the future Cosimo II) suggesting instead that Marino could have seen it in 1601

on a visit to Florence, which means that there is no factual obstacle to redating the poem earlier.

8. Cinotti, "Il Caravaggio," p. 575, no. 134.

9. Marino's collection had been preserved in Palazzo Crescenzi since his departure from Rome in 1605. For inventories of Marino's possessions and his disposition of them, see Giorgio Fulco, "Il sogno di una 'Galeria': Nuovi documenti sul Marino collezionista," *Nuova antologia* 10 (1979) pp. 84–99.

10. For a brief biography, see Luigi Spezzaferro, s.v. "Crescenzi, Francesco," and "Crescenzi, Giovanni Battista," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1984) XXX, pp. 634, 636–641.

11. For a general treatment of Marino's biography, see Mirollo, *Poet of the Marvelous*, pp. 5–111.

12. Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, David Bryant, trans. (Cambridge, 1988) pp. 14–15. See pp. 7–20, for a useful analysis of why composers found Marino's poetry so attractive.

13. See Cinotti, "Il Caravaggio," pp. 233–248, for a register of the documented events in Caravaggio's life.

14. See Mirollo, *Poet of the Marvelous*, p. 12, for reference to the suggestion that the charge was sodomy. Neither charge has been documented.

15. Caravaggio was knighted in Malta in 1608, Marino in Turin the following year.

16. Bellori, *Vite*, pp. 214, 230.

17. See the account in Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice*, Giampietro Zanotti, ed., 2 vols. (Bologna, 1841) II, p. 13.

18. For a discussion of Marino's polemic in the context of critical debates on painting, see Elizabeth Cropper, *The Ideal of Painting: Pietro Testa's Düsseldorf Notebook* (Princeton, 1984) pp. 120–128. For the text of Marino's letter to Claudio Achillini, which contains his most important points of argument, see his *Lettere*, pp. 238–256; see especially p. 249 for his statement, "onde si possono ben vantare d'aver rubato a' napoletani, che sono avezzi a saper farlo con sottilità e con grazia."

19. Cinotti, "Il Caravaggio," p. 240. The contract for the Cerasi commission was signed on September 24, 1600.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 476–479.

21. See Salerno, Kinkead, and Wilson, "Poesia e simboli nel Caravaggio."

22. See again Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*. On the new music, or *seconda pratica*, see Claude Palisca, *Baroque Music* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968) pp. 8–28. For the importance of Marino's poetry for the music of Monteverdi, see the extensive and significant discussion by Gary Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1987) esp. pp. 151–213. See also Alessandro Martini's introduction to his edition of a selection of Marino's lyric poetry, *Amori* (Milan, 1982) esp. pp. 18–25.

23. Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 8, cites two five-part settings of Marino's texts by the young Neapolitan composer Giovan Domenico Montella, published in 1594 and 1596, and lists many other published settings from the first decade of the century in support of his claim for Marino's overwhelming influence. See also Roger Simon and D. Gidrol, "G. B. Marino e la musica del '600," *Studi secenteschi* 14 (1973) pp. 81–187.

24. Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 13. Bianconi refers to the “remarkable intellectual courage and ‘modernity’ of content” of *L’Adone*. The historical role of Marino’s poetry has been recognized among musicologists, even if the latter often tend to draw their critical conclusions from the older tradition of literary scholarship.

25. Marino, *L’Adone*, I, pp. 367–373 (canto 7, ll. 32–57). In his commentary, II, pp. 363–370, Pozzi notes the well-known derivation of the story of the competition from Famiano Strada’s *Prolesiones academicae* (1617).

26. *L’Adone*, I, p. 381 (canto 7, l. 88), and p. 363 (canto 7, l. 16); II, pp. 374, 357. See also Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 14.

27. For Bellori’s observation that Caravaggio’s work in the Contarelli Chapel lacked composition and movement, see the *Vite*, p. 220; on p. 222 appears his description of the *Conversion of St. Paul* in the Cerasi Chapel, “la quale istoria è affatto senza azione.”

28. Even Gary Tomlinson, so receptive to the power of Marino’s poetry, refers (*Monteverdi*, p. 169) to Marino’s “virtuosic spangles” as exemplifying his lack of concern for content. Such polarization of substance and ornament, especially common in discussions of the art of Mannerism and the Baroque, will always work against Marino’s reputation.

29. Cinotti, “Il Caravaggio,” pp. 447–450. For the identification of this picture with the original in Giustiniani’s collection, see Denis Mahon, “The Singing ‘Lute-player’ by Caravaggio from the Barberini Collection, Painted for Cardinal Del Monte,” *Burlington Magazine* 132 (1990) pp. 5–20.

30. Vincenzo Giustiniani in his letter to Teodoro Amideni reported that Caravaggio had said that it was as difficult to paint a good picture of flowers as it was one of people. In Vincenzo’s system of modes of painting “saper ritrarre fiori, e altre cose minute,” constituted the fifth mode. For the text of the letter, see Giovanni Bottari and Stefano Ticozzi, *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura, ed architettura . . .*, 8 vols. (Milan, 1822–25) VI, pp. 121–129; see esp. pp. 124–125.

31. Franca Trinchieri Camiz, “The Castrato Singer: From Informal to Formal Portraiture,” *Artibus et Historiae* 18 (1988) pp. 171–186; and “La ‘Musica’ nei quadri del Caravaggio,” *Quaderni di Palazzo Venezia* 6 (1989) pp. 198–221. Camiz herself, in “The Castrato Singer,” pp. 174–175, refers the still-life elements in both the Leningrad picture and the Del Monte version of it to “Northern art traditions.”

32. The history of the identification of the music has become rather complex. Thomas Bridges, in his Ph.D. dissertation, “The Publishing of Arcadelt’s First Book of Madrigals,” 2 vols. (Harvard University, 1982) I, p. 55, n. 131, provides a useful summary of the identification of “Chi potrà dir,” “Se la dura durezza,” and “Voi sapete,” in the Hermitage picture: “Germain Bazin reproduced the painting in *Musée de l’Ermitage; les grands maîtres de la peinture* (Paris: Éditions Cercle d’Art, 1958), p. 61, pl. 42, and identified ‘Voi sapete ch’io v’amo’ (pp. 67–70), with the help of Nanie Bridgman of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Susan Guess Welcker, with the help of Professor Herbert Kellman, identified the remaining two pieces. . . . See her ‘Aspects of Music in the

Early Paintings of Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio,’ Thesis Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, 1967. The pieces were also identified independently by Franca Camiz and Agostino Zino (communication, 1981).” See further H. Colin Slim, “Musical Inscriptions in Paintings by Caravaggio and His Followers,” in *Music in Context: Essays for John M. Ward*, Anne Dhu Shapiro and Phyllis Benjamin, eds. (Cambridge, Mass., 1985) pp. 241–263, esp. 243–244, for the Leningrad painting; pp. 241–242, for the Metropolitan *Concert*; and pp. 246–247 for the version of *The Lute Player* owned by Wildenstein; see also Cinotti, “Il Caravaggio,” p. 449, and Camiz’s publications cited in “The Castrato Singer.” The texts, with translations, are now available in Keith Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered: The Lute Player*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1990).

33. Marino, *Amori*, p. 99, no. 39.

34. Martini, in *Amori*, pp. 26–39.

35. The appeal of the actual singer has been associated with both homosexual and now, through the identification of him as a castrato, even heterosexual responses. I am not concerned here with identifying the “proper” sexual reaction to the sitter but rather with identifying what kind of representation this painting is.

36. Bert Meijer has drawn attention to what he calls an “audio-visual” relationship between image and beholder that would have, in his view, been much stronger in the 16th century than we perceive it to be now. Such a relationship could only reinforce the demands made upon the beholder that I seek to recover here. See his “Harmony and Satire in the Work of Niccolò Frangipane: Problems in the Depiction of Music,” *Simiolus* 6 (1972–73) pp. 94–112.

37. Martini, in *Amori*, pp. 50–51, 167–169. In his comment on p. 167, Martini explains that Berni’s poem on the game was “un capitolo giocoso,” and Alessandro Striggio’s composition “Gioco di primiera” “un divertimento musicale,” neither of them providing a real precedent for Marino’s lyric. See also his brief comment in “I capricci del Marino tra pittura e musica,” in *Letteratura italiana e arti figurative*, Atti del XII convegno dell’Associazione internazionale per gli studi di lingua e letteratura italiana, Toronto, 1985, 2 vols. (Florence, 1988) I, pp. 655–664. Howard Hibbard, *Caravaggio* (New York, 1983) p. 274, also cites Striggio’s composition in connection with *The Cardsharps*. For Striggio, and for earlier examples of cardplaying themes set to music, see Albert Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 3 vols. (Princeton, 1949) II, p. 768.

38. For various interpretations see Cinotti, “Il Caravaggio,” pp. 554–556. Barry Wind, in his recent article, “A Note on Card Symbolism in Caravaggio and his Followers,” *Paragone* n.s. 40, 475 (1989) pp. 15–18, identifies the club suit with success, the eight of hearts with good news; about the suit of the four of diamonds he has no comment, suggesting only that the number four “could be given connotations of forboding.” The ace of spades would stand for unhappiness. It remains to be determined, however, if the protagonists are engaged in playing a specific game and not just posing conveniently with cards chosen for symbolic reasons. If the addition of the concealed club card to the cards already on the table will allow the cheat to win the game, then success may indeed provoke violence and trump happiness. Wind’s interpretation relies on his belief that Caravaggio’s genre paintings are

“redolent with overt and covert symbolism,” and that the symbolism of the cards represents another “layer of meaning” in this work in which Caravaggio’s “commitment to nature . . . is actually conflated with theatrical content.” My alternative reading begins by challenging the status of these works as “genre” paintings: Marino was not writing “genre” poetry, but adapting the lyric to new subjects. On the painting itself, see Denis Mahon, “Fresh Light on Caravaggio’s Earliest Period: His ‘*Cardsharps*’ Recovered,” *Burlington Magazine* 130 (1988) pp. 10–25.

39. Martini, in *Amori*, p. 93, no. 33; see also the commentary on pp. 166–167, in which Martini, pointing to the evocation of Petrarch in the incipit (“Stiamo, Amor, a veder la gloria nostra”), contrasts Petrarch’s vision of Laura as a vivifying light with Marino’s poetic stance in this poem as “un cantore che vuol davvero stare a vedere, non ad ammirare, disincantato e cupo osservatore.”

40. *Ibid.*, p. 94, no. 34.

41. On the sex of the lover, see Martini, in *Amori*, pp. 168–172, who again points to the ultimate detachment of the poetic self as spectator. The sex of the “bell’idolo” is not determined definitively by the gender of the word here, it should be noted. I have followed Martini’s interpretation in my translation because I agree that the lover is male in the context of the game of cards. Part of Marino’s strategy, of course, is to call into question any straightforward sexual identification. However, in entitling the two poems that follow the “Giuoco di pallone. Per una donna,” and “Giuoco di rachetta. Per la medesima,” writes Martini, Marino protests too much.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 168–169.

43. Martini, in *Amori*, p. 169, also emphasizes the analogy between the two undertakings: where Caravaggio set out to tell a story through the difficult medium of a single pictorial space, Marino adopted the limitations of the sonnet.

44. Cinotti, “Il Caravaggio,” pp. 433–434, no. 14.

45. See the summary of interpretations in *ibid.* The date and provenance were established by Silvia Meloni Trkulja, “Per ‘l’Amore dormiente’ del Caravaggio,” *Paragone* n.s. 28, 331 (1977) pp. 46–50.

46. Luigi Salerno, “Caravaggio e i caravaggeschi,” *Storia dell’arte* 7/8 (1970) pp. 234–248, see p. 241, mentions the importance of the ancient figure of sleeping Cupid in connection with Caravaggio and Guido Reni only in passing. He also cites Murtola’s poem, “Se dipingere Amore,” but this cannot refer to the *Sleeping Cupid* in Florence and may not even refer to an actual painting at all. For the bronze *Sleeping Eros* in the Metropolitan Museum, see Margarete Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1955) p. 145, and figs. 616–618.

47. Marino, *La galleria*, I, pp. 273–277.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 275, ll. 21–28.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 276, ll. 33–34, 60.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 277, ll. 96–100.

51. The engraving, *Galleria Giustiniani* (Rome, circa 1631–35) I, pl. 25, is by Valesio. See further Elizabeth Cropper, “Vincenzo Giustiniani’s Galleria: The Pygmalion Effect,” *Quaderni Olivetti*, forthcoming. Guido’s famous *Sleeping Cupid* is lost: see D. Stephen Pepper, *Guido Reni* (Oxford, 1984) pp. 299–300.

52. See, for example, the poems cited by Giorgio Fulco, “Ammirate l’altissimo pittore: Caravaggio nelle rime inedite di Marzio Milesi,” *Ricerche di storia dell’arte* 10, “Roma nell’anno 1600” (1980) pp. 65–89.

53. On the history of the collection, see Pieri’s introduction, “Capriccio ma non troppo,” in *La galleria*, I, pp. xxv–xlv.

54. Marino’s enemy Stigliani tried to attribute this comment to Lope de Vega.

55. Marino, *La galleria*, I, p. 279.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 285.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 290.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 309–310.

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 293–296.

61. The painting was presumably destroyed in Berlin during the war. For further discussion, see Cropper, “Vincenzo Giustiniani’s Galleria,” forthcoming.

62. Marino develops the conceit of the engraved line’s capacity to bring stones alive in more light-hearted examples, such as the capriccio devoted to Villamena’s print of the map of Rome, *La galleria*, I, p. 261, no. 6. The poem concludes, “Now there is no need for the foot of the pilgrim from the far borders to wander around the heart of Rome looking in vain for Rome: here you see it clearly, and hence you see how by virtue of an ingenious hand the hardness of marble gives way to leaves [of paper].”

63. Marino, *La galleria*, I, pp. 31–32. See Cinotti, “Il Caravaggio,” pp. 427–429, no. 11.

64. Louis Marin, *Détruire la peinture* (Paris, 1977) esp. pp. 119–144, 191–194.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 171–176.

66. Marino, *La galleria*, I, p. 191; “Fecer crudel congiura, / MICHELE, a danni tuoi Morte e Natura. / Questa restar temea / da la tua mano in ogni imagin vinta, / ch’era da te creata, e non dipinta. / Quella di sdegno ardea, / perche con larga usura / quante la falce sua genti struggea, / tante il pennello tuo ne rifa-cea.”

67. On Caravaggio’s studio practice of setting up figures *in posa*, as if for a still life, see Keith Christiansen, “Caravaggio and ‘l’Esemplio davanti del naturale,’” *Art Bulletin* 68 (1986) pp. 421–445.

68. Bellori, *Vite*, p. 217, for example, writes of how young artists were drawn to gaze upon the miraculous power of Caravaggio’s work and then to imitate him. Caravaggio’s power over those who were taken by the novelty of his work appears to be almost a magical, irresistible enchantment according to Bellori’s biography.

69. For a general discussion of the reform of the *maniera statuina*, see Charles Dempsey, “The Carracci Reform of Painting,” in *The Age of Correggio and the Carracci: Emilian Painting of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C., 1986) pp. 237–254, esp. p. 240. On the term *maniera statuina*, see Giovanna Perini, “Il lessico tecnico del Malvasia,” in *Accademia della Crusca, Convegno nazionale sui lessici tecnici del sei e settecento* (Pisa, 1980) pp. 221–253, esp. pp. 227–232.

70. That is to say, such reinterpretation did not result from what, for example, Bellori saw as his deficiencies; see *Vite*, p. 230, “non erano in lui ne invenzione ne decoro ne disegno ne scienza alcuna della pittura mentre tolto da gli occhi suoi il modello restavano vacui la mano e l’ingegno.”

71. Giovanbattista Marino, *Dicerie sacre e La strage de gl’innocenti*, Giovanni Pozzo, ed. (Turin, 1960) p. 551 (bk. 3, stanza 50).

72. *Ibid.*, pp. 535–536, bk. 3, stanzas 1–2. He seeks to rival the painting of his friend the Cavaliere d’Arpino specifically.

73. In one extended metaphor, for example, Marino summons up an image of a Charity painted by the Cavalier d’Arpino and then transforms it into an image of Niobe with her children, which he compares in turn to a white marble sculpture stained with blood; *ibid.*, pp. 554–558.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 555, bk. 3, stanza 61.

75. For an important critical discussion of Guido Reni, Caravaggio, and Marino, see Charles Dempsey, “Guido Reni in the Eyes of His Contemporaries,” in *Guido Reni, 1575–1642*, exh. cat., Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles, 1988) pp. 101–118.

76. Marino, *La galeria*, I, p. 56.

77. Cinotti, “Il Caravaggio,” pp. 445–447, no. 23.

78. For which, see Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, pp. 82–84. For Titian’s *Flora*, see Harold Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, 3 vols. (London, 1969) III, *The Mythological and Historical Paintings*, pp. 154–155, no. 17.

79. Elizabeth Cropper, “The Beauty of Woman: Problems in the Rhetoric of Renaissance Portraiture,” in *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy Vickers, eds. (Chicago, 1986) pp. 175–190.

80. *Petrarch’s Lyric Poems: The “Rime sparse” and Other Lyrics*, Robert Durling, trans. and ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1976) pp.

452–453, canto 273: “Ché fai? ché pensi che pur dietro guardi / nel tempo che tornar non pote ormai? / Anima sconsolata, ché pur vai / giugnendo legno al foco ove tu ardi? / Le soavi parole e i dolci sguardi / ch’ad un ad un descritti et depinti ài, / son levati de terra; et è, ben sai, / qui ricercarli intempestivo et tardi. / Deh, non rinovellar quel che n’acide, / non seguir più penser vago fallace, / ma saldo et certo, ch’a buon fin ne guide; / cerchiamo ’l Ciel, se qui nulla ne piace: / ché mal per noi quella beltà si vide, / se viva et morta ne devea tor pace.”

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 575–583, canto 366; see p. 576, ll. 17–18.

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 582–583, ll. 109–112: “let not my worth but His high likeness that is in me move you to help one so low. Medusa and my error have made me a stone dripping in vain moisture.”

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 580–581, ll. 85–86: “mortal bellezza, atti, et parole m’anno / tutta ingombrata l’alma.” On the relationship between Petrarch’s poetic autonomy and his idolatry, see John Freccero, “The Fig Tree and the Laurel: Petrarch’s Poetics,” in *Literary Theory/Renaissance Texts*, Patricia Parker and David Quint, eds. (Baltimore/London, 1986) pp. 20–32 (first published in *Diacritics* 5 (1975) pp. 34–40. See also his “Medusa: The Letter and the Spirit,” *Yearbook of Italian Studies* (1972) pp. 1–18.

84. See Mirollo, *Poet of the Marvelous*, p. 20, on Marino’s elimination of such themes as the *donna angelicata* and the *cor gentile* from his Petrarchan poetry. See further, Benedetto Croce, *Nuovi saggi sulla letteratura italiana del seicento* (Bari, 1931) pp. 380–443.

85. Such transformation and representation relied on traditional means of expression bent to new purposes. It is between *The Cardsharps* and, for example, Chardin’s *The Card Castle* that we witness a final, destructive step in the tradition of lyrical viewing and painting. In this later development, as Michael Fried has analyzed so brilliantly, the beholder—no longer (I would argue) lover or conspirator, petrified and petrifying—is fully absorbed within or without the picture. For Fried’s arguments see *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1980) esp. pp. 7–70.

# Music and Painting in Cardinal del Monte's Household

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**A** CERTAIN PAINTING may attract our attention for a variety of reasons, one of which involves the desire to understand what a work of art meant to those who saw it first. This invariably leads us to seek out the society or even the individual for which it was made. Particularly relevant to this concern are paintings that were intended to be “private,” to be enjoyed in the intimacy of the home. Concert scenes and solo music performances, whether portraits or not, have always provided appropriate subject matter for this category of private pictures.

Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571–1610), for instance, painted five musical paintings. Virtually all of them date from the period between about 1595 and 1601, when he lived in one of the homes of Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte (1549–1626; Figures 1, 2).<sup>1</sup> Two of these paintings were actually listed in the cardinal's collection, *The Musicians* (Figure 3) and *The Lute Player* (Figure 4),<sup>2</sup> while two others—another *Lute Player* (Figure 5) and the *Amor Vincit Omnia* in Berlin—belonged to a neighbor of Del Monte's, the Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564–1637).<sup>3</sup> Three of these musical paintings (*The Musicians* and the two versions of the *Lute Player*) were shown together, in the spring of 1990, at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, in a special exhibition, “A Caravaggio Rediscovered: The Lute Player.” This event offered an important opportunity to focus on the ties between a particular patron's taste and a painter's artistic choices.

Cardinal del Monte played a crucial role in the early development of Caravaggio's artistic career, and his personality and interests have been the object of several studies.<sup>4</sup> His support of other artists, such as Andrea Sacchi, and his involvement in the Accademia di San Luca are well known. In fact, the

epitaph on his tomb described Del Monte as an “excellent patron of the good arts.”<sup>5</sup>

A hitherto unpublished letter, written by the Roman nobleman, musician, and composer Emilio de'Cavalieri (ca. 1550–1602) to Ferdinand, grand duke of Tuscany in Florence, provides an intimate glimpse of Cardinal del Monte's household:

Del Monte amazes me in regard to spending that he can live on what he has and do it so honorably. It is true that for his clothing he doesn't spend a *giulio*; he has had only one livery made; his coach is also the first he has had; he makes the best of what he has; he has bought himself a carriage and with this he keeps himself; the mouths [he feeds] in all don't amount to fifty; he doesn't keep horses or gentlemen but his servants are treated well and given good meals—all that is seen through your highness's favor of a beautiful home, which is now finished; as a cardinal of Rome, he formally receives at table in the morning with his silverware; and he is courted by more Romans than cardinals for his great trafficking, which is all honest, with his metalworkers; and his antechamber is always filled with people; there are no high-ranking clergy. The reason for this is that he is not involved in important transactions and those that come do so only to visit. . . . I have made this little speech so that you will know the truth. . . . I know that you will say Emilio doesn't miss an opportunity to serve Del Monte.<sup>6</sup>

This letter sheds light on the musician's close friendship with Del Monte, a bond further confirmed by Cavalieri's naming Del Monte as one of the executors of his will.<sup>7</sup> It also presents Cardinal del Monte as a discreet but refined man who depended on the generosity of the grand duke for his residences (the palazzi Medici and Firenze) and who could not ostentatiously flaunt either personal wealth or political power, at least in the early years of his career. Despite financial restrictions, however, he lived elegantly; he prized personal friendships and was kind to those who served him; and he pur-

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sued his own personal interests and dealings. We understand that these interests involved art, both from his sizable collection,<sup>8</sup> and from the frequent references in his letters to buying and selling paintings, sculpture, antiquities, precious stones, glassware, marble, and other building materials. In a letter of August 13, 1605, for instance, he reported to the grand duke of Tuscany that the wealthy Roman banker Tiberio Cevoli had “passed on to a better life and that his sons would soon be selling jewels, statues, paintings, and infinite other things,” and should the grand duke be interested, he, Del Monte, was ready to oblige.<sup>9</sup>

Del Monte was actually curious about many aspects of life and learning. On March 9, 1607, he wrote to the grand duke that he would be sending to Florence pieces of a vestment found on the Apian Way belonging to a consul of the First Punic War, so that the grand duke could inspect “the weaving of those times.”<sup>10</sup> Del Monte also dabbled in medicine without losing his practical good sense. In a 1607 letter to the grand duke, he wrote, “I am very ready to send you prescriptions for sciatica, side pains, and leg malformations, but I only need to

find a remedy to turn back forty years that I cannot find, and if your lordship will send me that prescription, I promise you all others.”<sup>11</sup> Del Monte’s interests also included the typical pursuit of seventeenth-century erudite amateurs: alchemy. The inventory of his belongings include an important distillery and books on the subject; Caravaggio’s ceiling for Del Monte’s casino at Porta Pinciana has been considered evidence of Del Monte’s alchemistic and cosmological concerns.<sup>12</sup>

Del Monte had a special passion for music. This is not surprising, because music was considered essential in the education of all proper Renaissance gentlemen and ladies. A sixteenth-century manuscript containing the biography of a well-known Italian nobleman-warrior tells us why music was considered a requisite to aristocratic breeding: “[Music] is the means with which to level moods, to give good tone to the voice, to set time for moving and measure for action.” It also “recreates the intellect, softens the mind, heals all our furious, rude, and immoderate thoughts and intentions.” And thus it “is the first thing that is placed in the rough mouths of children by farsighted fathers and pru-

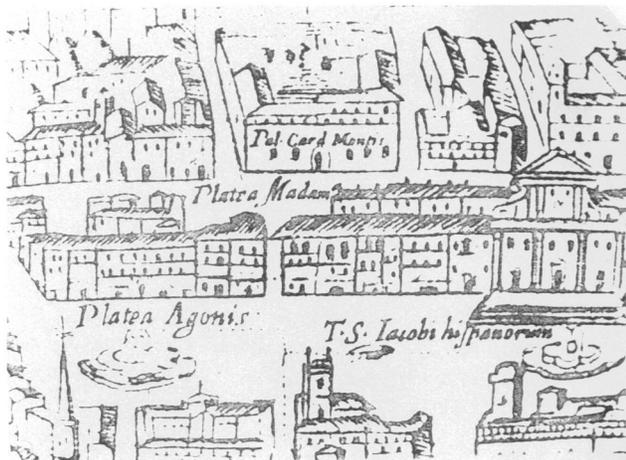


Figure 1. Detail of 17th-century map of Rome showing the Palazzo Madama, one of Cardinal del Monte’s residences (from A. P. Frutaz, *Le Pianta de Roma* [Rome, 1972] III, fig. 329)



Figure 2. Roman School, late 16th century, *Portrait of Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte* (photo: courtesy Mrs. Roland Redmond, Principessa di San Faustino)



Figure 3. Caravaggio (1571–1610), *The Musicians*, ca. 1595. Oil on canvas, 34 $\frac{5}{8}$  × 45 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (87.9 × 115.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1952, 52.81

dent teachers.”<sup>13</sup> The pride of being an amateur musician is well expressed in a painting by Giovanni Cariani (1487–1547) that depicts a richly clad gentleman singing and accompanying himself on the lute. The music book is conspicuously closed, as if the painter wished to announce the sitter’s skill in singing from memory (Figure 6).<sup>14</sup>

The nobleman-banker Vincenzo Giustiniani, owner of one of Caravaggio’s Lute Players (Figure 5) and the *Amor Vincit Omnia*, also embodied aristocratic interest in music. His *Discourse on Music* (1628) discusses the musical tastes and fashions of the period for educated patrician gentlemen like himself. Among other details, Giustiniani describes the musical *camerino*, a small private chamber “nobly deco-

rated with paintings made for the sole purpose” of providing the proper setting for small intimate musical performances.<sup>15</sup> The walls of these rooms probably constituted the ideal framework on which to hang musical pictures.

Cardinal del Monte, however, went far beyond mere courtier competence in music. He was elected to several important offices in the seventeenth-century Roman world of music. Several musicians dedicated their music to him, and Pope Clement VIII put him in charge of an important reform of liturgical music. He was present at major musical events in both Florence and Rome, and his close friendship with the composer Cavalieri also attests to his special appreciation of music.<sup>16</sup>



Figure 4. Caravaggio, *The Lute Player*, ca. 1596–97. Oil on canvas, 39<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 49<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (100 × 126.5 cm). Private collection

In what specific manner did these pictures enhance the tastes and interests of Caravaggio's music-loving patron? First of all, the artist's early style, with its North Italian concern for descriptive naturalism, was well suited to highlight the beautiful craftsmanship of contemporary musical instruments, the kind in fact that form part of the Metropolitan Museum collections.<sup>17</sup> Musical instruments were expensive and consequently must have been prestigious collectors' items or status symbols.<sup>18</sup> Cardinal del Monte had a notable collection of musical instruments that Caravaggio could easily have used as models.<sup>19</sup> The Del Monte *Lute Player*, for instance, includes a meticulously rendered recorder, a violin with floral inlay decoration more typical of northern, non-Italian instruments, a seven-course lute,

and a spinettino (Figure 7). In the Hermitage *Lute Player* Caravaggio painted an Italian-type violin with a geometrically inlaid fingerboard and a six-string lute (Figure 8).

Secondly, Caravaggio's talent for realistic detailing precisely rendered the musical notations in these pictures. The inclusion of such notation follows a Renaissance tradition of prominently placed pages of music, both in paintings with an obvious musical subject, such as *Three Women Musicians* by the Master of the Female Half Lengths (Figure 9)<sup>20</sup> and those without a musical theme, such as Holbein's *Ambassadors* (Figure 10).<sup>21</sup>

Caravaggio's scores are, however, not faithful reproductions of known, published music.<sup>22</sup> Yet they are readable and meant to be identified by musically



Figure 5. Caravaggio, *The Lute Player*, ca. 1595–96. Oil on canvas, 37 × 46<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (94 × 119 cm). Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum (photo: Araldo de Luca)

sophisticated observers present in Del Monte's or Giustiniani's palace rooms, just as our recognition of Beethoven's 29th sonata in a modern *Peanuts* cartoon enhances our understanding, and consequent amusement, at Schroeder's need for vigorous callisthenics in order to play this difficult piece.

It is appropriate that the poetical texts in Caravaggio's painted music specifically underscore the iconographic content of his pictures. In his *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, an early religious picture, possibly intended as a gift from Del Monte to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini,<sup>23</sup> Caravaggio highlighted the cantus part book (the soprano voice) of a motet by the early-sixteenth-century Franco-Flemish composer Balduin, "Quam pulchra es" (Figure 11). The words come from the book of the Canticles of Can-

ticles (Vulgate Bible 7:6–8, 10–3), a beautifully lyrical dialogue between bride and bridegroom. In Caravaggio's painting the bridal couple is represented by Joseph and Mary, and also by Christ and the Virgin, whom medieval tradition considered the symbolical substitutes of the bridal couple. The canticle elicits imagery of fertility—including plants and fruits, which refer to nature's regeneration. Caravaggio's painting picks the same regenerative theme in the lush vegetation on the Virgin's side, which contrasts sharply with Joseph's barren surroundings. The text helps us to understand the theological meaning of spiritual rebirth that Caravaggio intended for this picture.<sup>24</sup>

Of the four secular paintings in which Caravaggio included musical scores, on the other hand, only



Figure 6. Giovanni Cariani (1487–1547), *The Lute Player*. Lugano, Heinemann Collection



Figure 7. Detail of Figure 4

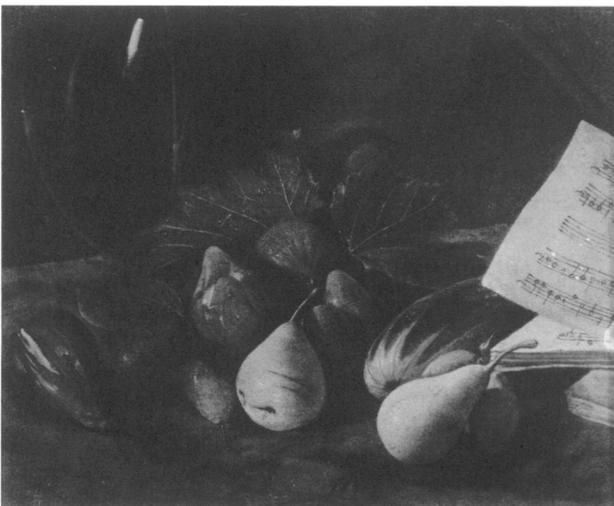


Figure 8. Detail of Figure 5

those in the two versions of the *Lute Player* are useful. The musical pages in the Metropolitan *Musicians* have been obliterated and those in the Berlin *Amor Vincit Omnia* have not been identified. On the other hand, both musical part books in Caravaggio's two *Lute Players* exhibited at the Metropolitan in 1990 are legible and entail secular music. The Hermitage *Lute Player* includes the bassus part books of four madrigals, “Chi potra dir,” “Se la dura durezza,” “Vostra fui,” and “Voi sapete ch'io v'amo” by Jacob Arcadelt. In the New York *Lute Player* Caravaggio featured Francesco Layolle's madrigal setting of Petrarch's “Lassare in velo” and Jacques Berchem's “Perche non date voi” (Figure 7).<sup>25</sup> These madrigals speak of intense devotion: love consumed by passion and sexual longing—themes that complement the sensuality evoked by the painted images.

It is interesting that Caravaggio's painted music is mostly by Franco-Flemish composers from the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>26</sup> This fact is evidence of the popularity among amateur circles, even as late as the early seventeenth century, of earlier, more archaic madrigals by Northern European composers, Arcadelt in particular. Giustiniani, for example, speaks of having studied Arcadelt in his youth.

Finally and most significantly, all of Caravaggio's pictures capture the essence of the subject matter. In the case of both versions of the *Lute Player*, the content is intimately linked to actual musical performance practice. Musical tastes of the period were particularly appreciative of the solo voice accompanied by a stringed instrument.<sup>27</sup> Appropriately, Caravaggio's *Lute Players*, despite the title, depict a singer accompanying himself on the lute. Closer inspection of the faces reveals the artist's understanding of contemporary singing techniques as found, for instance, in a treatise on the voice, which presupposes that the singer “lay down his tongue so that its tip reach and touch the base of the bottom teeth” and that “he open his mouth correctly and not more than is necessary to converse with friends.”<sup>28</sup> These rules implied soft, quiet singing suitable for chamber music in direct contrast to the full-mouthed voice emission of other singing practices.

Singing was particularly important to Cardinal del Monte. Not only did he sing himself, accompanied by a Spanish guitar, but in his official position as Protector of the Cappella Sistina,<sup>29</sup> the papal



Figure 10. Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/98–1524), *The Ambassadors* (detail). London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery)

Figure 9. Master of the Female Half Lengths, *Three Women Musicians* (Rohrau, Collection of Count Harrach)

choir, he took care of the needs of singers. Moreover, he acted as an agent for singers who sought employment in the papal chapels.<sup>30</sup> Del Monte may even have chosen to be buried in San Urbano, a small inconspicuous church (now demolished), because of its nun “choristers” from the nearby Conservatory of San Eufemia.<sup>31</sup> The cardinal’s interest in singers is also borne out by Emilio de’ Cavalieri’s letter of December 18, 1599, to the grand duke of Florence; Cavalieri reveals that a papal singer, a Spanish castrato named Pietro Montoya, was living in his household.<sup>32</sup> The Cappella Sistina diaries specify that Montoya joined the chapel choir in 1592 and returned to Spain in 1600.<sup>33</sup> Although we do not know when Montoya lived in Del Monte’s palace, it is probable that he resided there for at least part of the time he was singing in the papal choir. As noted above, Caravaggio’s stay has been assigned to the years 1595 to 1601. If both the singer and the painter were guests of Del Monte’s, the painter must have had a chance to see the singer perform for the private delight of the cardinal and his guests.

Let us also consider the status of castrati in the early seventeenth century. Indeed, Montoya’s presence in Del Monte’s home confirms that the castrato

had become a significantly important musical personality of the period. Other cardinals besides Del Monte and nobles in Rome gave lodging to castrati—in particular young boys, or *castratini*—and financed their musical training in singing and playing instruments.<sup>34</sup> The prestigious German Jesuit College, supported by Del Monte (where Montoya sang in February 1600),<sup>35</sup> provided young boys with a rigorous musical education. In a letter dated March 8, 1614, the rector of the college reported to the Marchese di Borgan:

It is now a year and a half that the putto castrato whom your Most Illustrious Lordship wished to be instructed in music here was received into the German college. . . . He is succeeding not only in singing and counterpoint but he shows excellent possibilities in playing as well. It would have been my special desire that the voice of this putto would have been discovered in such a way that he would have served as others who are kept here for our choir; but although for singing softly, sotto voce, or falsetto in a room, he does very well, nevertheless singing full voice he is not yet adequate, since he needs a little more polishing.<sup>36</sup>

Here, then, is evidence that castrati were trained



Figure 11. Caravaggio, *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (detail). Rome, Galleria Doria



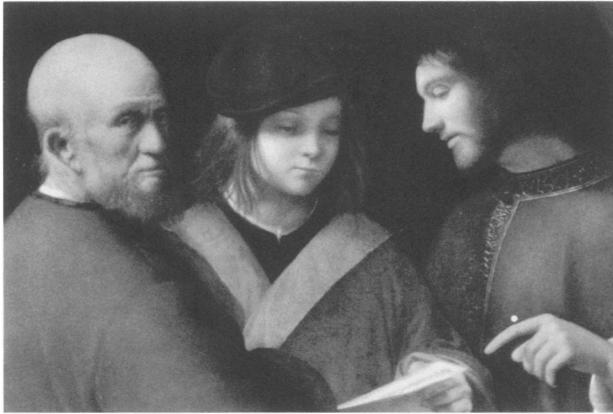
Figure 12. Pietro Paolini (1603–81), *Bacchic Concert*, ca. 1625–30. Oil on canvas, 48 × 72 in. (122 × 183 cm) Dallas Museum of Art (photo: Dallas Museum of Art)

as instrumentalists; the letter also informs us that the marchese had to pay six scudi for the young castrato's "food and clothing, two for the *maestro del sonare* and once a month for the *maestro della musica*." Castrati learned to perform both in church choirs and in the *camerini* so well described by Giustiniani. Singing for private entertainment involved a sweet, mellifluous manner of the kind Caravaggio depicted in his two *Lute Players*, a style that differed substantially from that required for choir performances.

Interestingly, the rise of castrati corresponded with the increased participation of women in professional music-making, singing in particular. If women were not recognized as part of the singing profession in earlier centuries, by 1600 "they were

at its apex."<sup>37</sup> Vincenzo Giustiniani wrote in his *Discourse* that a "famous Vittoria" (Archilei), a singer connected with the Medici, virtually originated "the true method of singing of women," which then set the standard to be observed by basses and tenors with an extensive vocal range, along with male sopranos who sang in falsetto and many eunuchs of the Cappella.<sup>38</sup> Emilio de' Cavalieri reported on February 1, 1602, that Cardinal del Monte had the same Vittoria entertain two other cardinals in his casino at Porta Pinciana. Cavalieri also indicated "he had not ever heard a more beautiful voice" that "gave so much satisfaction," and "only fear of shame" had kept one of the cardinals from crying.<sup>39</sup>

The soprano voice was especially attractive at this time. Pietro Paolini's paintings *The Concert* and



Top: Figure 13. Giorgione (ca. 1477–1511), *Singing Lesson*. Florence, Pitti Palace



Figure 14. Nicolas Tournier (1530–after 1565), *The Concert*. Paris, Musée du Louvre

*Bacchic Concert*,<sup>40</sup> which rely heavily on Caravaggio's *Musicians*, highlight women musicians and singers specifically (Figure 12). Women singers were not then allowed to perform in church services, and boy sopranos were in great demand. Several paintings indicate the importance of these boys, beginning in the earlier sixteenth century with Giorgione's *Singing Lesson* (Figure 13) and continuing into the early seventeenth century, with Nicolas Tournier's *Concert* (Figure 14). The castrato voice was particularly appreciated since it was more powerful and could be sustained longer than a woman's voice. It was valued for its agility, range, and breath control, and its sweetness was considered highly sensual. The voice was well suited for solo performance because of its greater capacity for proper phrasing, which allowed



Figure 15. J. Amigoni, *Farinelli Being Crowned by Music* (engraving by Wagner). Milan, Civiche Collezioni Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco

the expression of the strong emotions in fashion during this period.

Given the close proximity of Montoya and Caravaggio in Del Monte's household, can we speculate that the two Lute Players depict the castrato Montoya? We have no portraits of Montoya; we can only estimate that he was in his early twenties when Caravaggio painted these pictures.<sup>41</sup> Caravaggio's portrayals do, however, have androgynous features: the faces are smooth and fully rounded with almost swollen cheeks, and the hands appear effeminate. These characteristics are readily visible in the portrait in Figure 15 or in photographs of known castrati.<sup>42</sup> Caravaggio's paintings, however, can hardly be considered portraits; rather, they elicit idealized memories of the sort of musical performance that

took place in Del Monte's palace and the compelling appeal of the castrato manner of singing.

Young males in effeminate guise were not, of course, the exclusive prerogative of castrati; they also frequently characterize homosexuals. In support of an interpretation that links the Hermitage *Lute Player* with Caravaggio's and Del Monte's homosexual leanings, some art historians have invoked the description of a banquet given in Rome in 1605, when Cardinal Montalto entertained Del Monte and others: "Since there were no women, many youths took part, dressed as women, which provided not a little entertainment."<sup>43</sup> A youth dressed as a woman did not necessarily denote homosexuality, since the occurrence was far more widespread than we have imagined. *Avvisi di Roma*, the papal chronicles of major events and gossip, reported on March 24, 1609, that, during a feast in the London Royal Palace, the queen of England and her ladies, dressed as men, had danced with boys and young singers (perhaps castrati) of the royal chapel, who were dressed as women. We are also told that the queen had done this to demonstrate the "women do not lack wit."<sup>44</sup> Significantly in this case, the fact that women donned male dress is what caught the chronicler's attention rather than vice versa.

Renaissance and Baroque theater in Italy made extensive use of boys to perform women's roles. A manuscript list of amateur actors used for improvised comedies by the early-seventeenth-century Roman playwright Giovanni Briccio specifies that a former student, Capograno Romano, "being very beautiful, played the part of a nymph in pastoral plays so well that one could not hope for better"; that "Raffaello Ricciolo, Roman musician, good theorbo player, recited very well the part of women"; and that "Tomaso, a Florentine eunuch and singer in St. Peter's, played very well the role of a Florentine servant."<sup>45</sup> Female roles, therefore, were impersonated by musicians, singers, and castrati.

The sense of theater through improvisation and impersonation was an essential part of sophisticated entertainment in early-seventeenth-century Rome. In fact, the sitters in Caravaggio's paintings, the two *Lute Players* and *The Musicians*, are dressed in costumes that remind us of antique dress. A recent study of Caravaggio's early work suggests that *The Musicians* depicts amateur actors reenacting, in a mimetic mode, an antique banquet and symposium.<sup>46</sup> Staging in Caravaggio's images is also enhanced by a set of props: a still life with instruments, fruits, flowers, and even a caged songbird (Figure 4).

These details suggest an allegorical context, which is reminiscent of the symbolism in Flemish painting, if more subtly and allusively. Fruits and flowers evoke the Vanitas theme and its allusion to the transience of life and love, while the instruments with the caged bird are tied to a tradition that allegorizes the art of music.<sup>47</sup>

The amalgam of theatrical and musical elements that constitutes an important aspect of the appeal of these pictures was important for other painters and patrons as well. *The Lament of Aminta*, for instance, was painted in the second decade of the seventeenth century, probably by Bartolomeo Cavarozzi (Figure 16).<sup>48</sup> We do not know for whom it was painted, but since it closely resembles Caravaggio, especially in the rich still life of grapes and violin, we may assume a connection with Del Monte's social milieu. As in Caravaggio's images, the musical notation is relevant to the content of the painting (Figure 17). In fact, the identification of "Dolor che si crucii," one of the madrigals composed by Erasmo Marotta (1600), based on the words of Torquato Tasso's popular verse drama *Aminta*,<sup>49</sup> made it possible to understand the content of this picture. Two youths impersonate a shepherd who mournfully plays on his recorder, and a female figure, possibly the nymph Daphne, leans pensively on a tambourine. This figure wears an antique-style dress with a sash draped over the arm, which implies a musician or a male singer, although not clearly a castrato, as in Caravaggio's pictures.

Not only was the first performance of Tasso's *Aminta* in 1573 recited by "some young men from Urbino," but subsequent performances documented in Rome also involved boys ("giovanetti"), most often the sons of nobles or the nephews of their countrymen who sponsored performances with musical accompaniment in their palaces or in the bucolic settings of their country villas.<sup>50</sup> These pastoral disguises were courtly games as well as allegorical conceits, by which refined tastes were reconciled with primitive nature. The disguises in Caravaggio's paintings, on the other hand, are more directly related to musical experiences. In underlining the erotic and effeminate beauty of his sitters, Caravaggio has evoked for the viewer the compelling appeal of a particular manner of singing and the passionate nature of the pleasurable love songs that are an integral part of these images. His paintings are thereby the more effective representations of the sophisticated tastes of Cardinal del Monte, Caravaggio's protector and patron.



Figure 16. Bartolomeo Cavarozzi (1590–1625), *The Lament of Aminta*, ca. 1610–15. Oil on canvas, 32½ × 41⅞ in. (82.5 × 106.5 cm). Private collection (photo: Prudence Cuming)

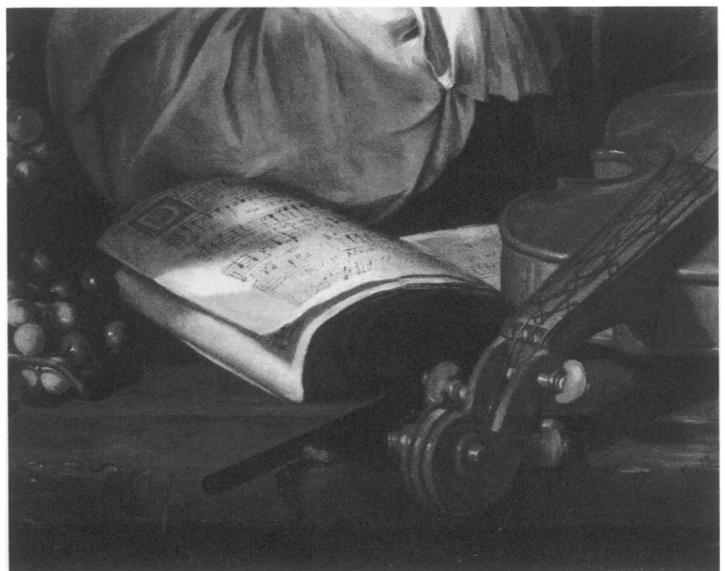


Figure 17. Detail of Figure 16 (photo: Prudence Cuming)

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article was presented as a talk during the symposium “Art, Music, and Poetry in the Age of Caravaggio” held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art on April 20, 1990. I am particularly grateful to Keith Christiansen and the Museum for this opportunity to present my research on musical aspects of Caravaggio’s paintings, the subject of earlier publications.

## NOTES

1. For the period that Caravaggio lived in Del Monte’s household, see Keith Christiansen’s introduction to *A Caravaggio Rediscovered: The Lute Player*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1990) p. 1 n. 1. The evidence that in 1601 Caravaggio had moved to Cardinal Girolamo Mattei’s palace is a document published by N. R. Parks in “On Caravaggio’s ‘Dormition of the Virgin’ and Its Setting,” *Burlington Magazine* 127 (1985) pp. 438–448. M. Marini, in “Le residenze romane di Caravaggio: L’ospite inquieto,” *Art e Dossier* 4 (1990) pp. 8–9, speculates that Caravaggio lived in the Palazzo Firenze.

2. For the inventory of Del Monte’s collection, see C. L. Frommel, “Caravaggio’s Frühwerk und der Kardinal Francesco Maria del Monte,” *Storia dell’arte* 9/10 (1971) pp. 30–49.

3. Giustiniani’s inventory was published by L. Salerno, “The Picture Gallery of Vincenzo Giustiniani,” *Burlington Magazine* 102 (1960) pp. 21–27, 93–104, 135–148.

4. F. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters* (New York, 1963) pp. 28–29; L. Spezzaferro, “La cultura del Cardinal del Monte e il primo tempo di Caravaggio,” *Storia dell’arte* 9/10 (1971) pp. 57–92; V. I. Comparato, “Bourbon del Monte, Francesco Maria,” *Dizionario degli Italiani* (Rome, 1971) XIII, pp. 523–524; M. Calvesi, *Le realtà del Caravaggio* (Torino, 1990) pp. 165–173, 291–293; Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, pp. 10–11.

5. “Franco Ma. Borbonio de Monte / Generis nobilitate novum suavitate / atque in gravioribus negociis tra / ctandis dexterritate clarissimo / pauperum patri / Bonarum que artium patrono optimo . . . ,” published in V. Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese ed altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri* (Rome, 1877) IX, p. 508, no. 1006. The rest of the inscription, which was placed in 1751 by a descendant of Del Monte’s, tells us that during the papacy of Urban VIII he had been made bishop of Ostia, that for the Holy Year of 1625 he had opened and closed the Holy Door of St. Paul’s church.

6. “. . . il quale Monte mi fa stupire circa allo spendere che possa mantenersi con [quello] che ha; et stare tanto honoratamente, e ben vero; che nel suo vestire non spende un giulio; livrea non ha mai fatta se non una; et cocchio e anche il primo; il quale si rassetta; et ha fatto un carrozza, et con questo si mantiene; non arriva in tutto a 50 bocche; cavalli e gentilhuomini non tiene; ma i servidori sono trattati bene, et buona cena a tutti; in quello che apparisce, e mediante la gratia di S. A. della bella casa quale stà finita; quanto Car[dina]le di Roma; fa su tavolini la matina galante; con suoi argenti; e corteggiato da piu Romani, che nessun

Car[dina]le i suoi traffici grandi con suoi ferraioli; et tutti politici; et nelle avanti camera, sempre vi e gente; che a Montalto, et a altri Car[dina]li che non siano de ministri, non ne vedo tanta; circa a Prelati non ve ne sono; la cagione e, che non ha negotij, e quelli che vengono, vengono per visite, ho fatto il discorsetto, accior sappiate, et sappiate il vero; . . . so che direte, Emilio non perde occasione, dove puole servire a Monte.” The letter, sent from Rome, is dated Nov. 19, 1593. Florence, Archivio di Stato Fondo Mediceo del Principato F. 3622, ff. 64v–65r. Del Monte’s entourage of nearly 50 can be compared to that of more important cardinals such as Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, whose “family” included between 85 and 145 members.

7. “Executore del mio presente testamento voglio che sia, et depicto lo Illustrissimo et Riverentissimo Signore Cardinale dal Monte . . .” Rome, Archivio di Stato, 30 Notari Capitolini, uff. 29, Cygnus Blasius, Jan. 19, 1600, f. 90. For Cavaliere, see C. V. Palisca, “Cavalieri, Emilio de’,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music* (London, 1980) IV, pp. 20–23, and W. Kirkendale, “Cavalieri, Emilio de’,” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1979) XXII, pp. 659–664.

8. For the inventory published by C. L. Frommel, see note 2.

9. “Passò a miglior vita Tiberio Cevoli, et intendo che li figlioli venderanno Gioie, Statue, Pitture, et infinite altre cose, se V. A. vuole attendere à qualche cosa mi comandi . . .” Florence, AS Fondo Mediceo del Principato, F. 3761.

10. “E stato trovato à Capo di Bove dui veste grandi consolari, che furono in tempo della prima Guerra Ponica che sono circa à dui mila anni; ne mando la mostra a A. V. accio veda la tessitura di quei tempi . . .” Florence, AS Fondo Mediceo del Principato, F. 3762a, f. 221.

11. “. . . sono prontissimo à mandarli le ricette per la sciatica, mal di fianco, debbiti, et altre schinelle; ma mi manca solo trovare rimedio di tornare indietro quarant’anni che non lo trovo et se V. S. mi manda questo ricetta io le promesso tutte le altre.” Ibid., f. 322.

12. M. Calvesi, *Le realtà*, pp. 173–196.

13. This biography refers to Alfonso d’Avalos, Marchese di Vasto (1502–46), noted feudal warrior who commanded Emperor Charles V’s troops in the siege of Tunis. He is described as having been educated to be skilled in arms, horsemanship, the humanities, the magic discipline of the cabbala, in music: “. . . sendo la musica . . . mezzo d’ugugliar gli umori, dar buon tuono alla voce, tempo all’andare, e misura al trattar delle cose, solamente disposta a ricrear l’intelletto, adolcir la mente, a medicar tutti i furiosi erudi, e strabocchevoli intendimenti, e pensieri, et indi nasce che la primiera cosa, che è posta nella bocca rozza de’ fanciulletti per ordine de’ Padri accorti, e de’ Maestri considerati, è la musica veramente ad imitation di Chirone, che in tal maniera allevò il valoroso Achille.” Rome, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Famiglia Santacroce 97, ff. 46–46v. For the aristocratic conception of music, see also J. Haar, “The Courtier as Musician: Castiglione’s view of science and art of music,” R. W. Henning, D. Rosand, eds., *Castiglione: The Idea and Real in Renaissance Culture* (New Haven, 1983) pp. 167–168.

14. R. Palucchini and F. Rosi, *Giovanni Cariani* (Bergamo, 1983) p. 125.

15. In referring to the talented female performers at the court

of Duke Alfonso in Ferrara, Giustiniani describes how they “dimoravano talvolta i giorni interi in alcuni camerini nobilmente ornati di quadri e fabbricati a questo solo effetto . . .” *Discorso sopra la musica de’suoi tempi*, published by A. Solerti in *Le Origini del melodrama* (Turin, 1903) p. 107. Carol McClintock’s English translation was published by the American Institute of Musicology (Rome, 1962). For the importance of music performed in private chambers, see F. T. Camiz, “La ‘Musica’ nei quadri del Caravaggio,” *Caravaggio Nuove Riflessioni* (Quaderni di Palazzo Venezia) 6 (1989) p. 189, n. 10.

16. Del Monte served as vice *protettore* and later (after 1620) *protettore* of the Cappella Sistina, the papal choir. For Del Monte’s involvement in music, see F. T. Camiz and A. Ziino, “Caravaggio: Aspetti musicali e committenza,” *Studi musicali* 12 (1983) pp. 72–74; Camiz, “La ‘Musica,’” n. 10; J. Chater, “Musical Patronage in Rome at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century: The Case of Cardinal Montalto,” *Studi musicali* 16, 2 (1987) pp. 212–215.

17. See Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, cat. nos. 6–10, signed by L. Libin.

18. For a comparison of sale prices of both paintings and musical instruments from the Del Monte collection, see W. C. Kirwin, “Addendum to Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte’s Inventory: the Date of the Sale of Various Notable Paintings,” *Storia dell’arte* 9/10 (1971) pp. 53–56.

19. Musical instruments are listed in Del Monte’s inventory published by C. L. Frommel, “Caravaggio’s Frühwerk,” pp. 43–49. L. Libin, in *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, p. 62, notes that “Caravaggio’s instruments, even when copied from real models, are not painted with photographic accuracy.”

20. This painting includes the cantus of “Jouissance vous donneray” by Claudin de Sermisy (ca. 1495–1562); H. C. Slim, “Paintings of Lady Concerts and the Transmission of ‘Jouissance vous donneray,’” *Imago musicae* (1984) pp. 51–73.

21. Here we have the Lutheran hymn “Komm heiliger geist”; see J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1979) p. 245.

22. Camiz–Ziino, “Caravaggio: Aspetti musicali,” p. 71; H. C. Slim, “Musical Inscriptions in Paintings by Caravaggio and His Followers,” in Anne Shapiro, ed., *Music and Context: Essays in Honor of John Milton Ward* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985) pp. 243–244, 247.

23. This painting is mentioned by Pietro Bellori (1672) as being in the palace of Prince Pamphili who, through marriage, inherited most of Cardinal Aldobrandini’s collection. See also M. Calvesi, *Le realtà*, n. 148.

24. Camiz–Ziino, “Caravaggio: Aspetti musicali,” pp. 76–83; Slim, “Music In and Out of Egypt: A Little-Studied Iconographic Tradition,” *Musica disciplina* 37 (1983) pp. 303–312; M. Calvesi, *Le realtà*, pp. 201–207. The music was also identified by Slim, “Musical Inscriptions,” pp. 244–246.

25. For the poetic texts of these madrigals and their English translation, see Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Revisited*, Appendix, pp. 90–91. See also Camiz–Ziino, “Caravaggio: Aspetti musicali,” pp. 70–71; 74–75; Slim, “Musical Inscriptions,” pp. 246–247; F. T. Camiz, “Cantare con una voce sopra un strumento: il Suonatore di liuto del cardinal Del Monte e il suo contesto musicale,” in M. Marini, *Caravaggio: Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio ‘pictor praestantissimus’* (Rome, 1987) p. 382.

26. A recently discovered musical manuscript dated 1617 (Rome, Conservatorio di San Cecilia), which belonged to a Flemish organist of the German church of San Maria dell’Anima, mainly contains motets and chansons by earlier 16th-century Franco-Flemish composers. See A. Morelli, “Intorno an un codicetto polifonico del primo seicento,” *Recercare* 1 (1989) pp. 97–109. It should be added that instrument makers in Rome were northerners. The tomb of a 16th-century German lute maker, Martin Rethausen, is still visible in the Cimitero Teutonico near St. Peter’s. See A. Weiland, *Der Campo Santo Teutonico in Rom und seiner Grabdenkmäler* (Rome/Freiburg/Vienna, 1988) pp. 791–792, fig. 152.

27. Camiz, “Cantare con una voce,” p. 382; Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, pp. 27–28.

28. C. Maffei, *Discorso della Voce* (1562), transcribed by N. Bridgeman in *Revue de Musicologie* 38 (1956) p. 20.

29. See note 16.

30. Chater, “Musical Patronage,” p. 25. In 1592 Del Monte also recommended singers from the papal chapel to the court of Mantua: A. Bertolotti, *Musici alla corte dei Gonzaga in Mantova dal secolo XV al XVIII* (Milan, 1890) p. 68.

31. F. da Mareto, *Le Cappuccine nel mondo* (Parma, 1970) p. 180. Conservatories in 17th-century Rome cared for “zittelle sperse” or “pericolanti” (spinsters who were lost or “in danger”) by providing musical training.

32. F. T. Camiz, “La ‘Musica,’” p. 211, nn. 48, 49.

33. F. T. Camiz, “The Castrato Singer: From Informal to Formal Portraiture,” *Artibus et Historiae* 18 (1988) p. 172.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 172–174.

35. T. D. Cully, *Jesuits and Music: Sources and Studies for the History of the Jesuits* (Rome/St. Louis, 1970) II, p. 67.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 143–144.

37. A. Newcomb, “Courtesans, Muses, or Musicians? Professional Women Musicians in Sixteenth-Century Italy,” in J. Bowers, J. Tick, eds., *Woman Making Music: The Western Tradition* (Urbana, 1988) p. 93.

38. *Discorso*, pp. 109–110.

39. This letter was published by C. Palisca, “Musical Asides in the Correspondence of Emilio de’Cavalieri,” *Musical Quarterly* 49 (1963) p. 346.

40. Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, cat. nos. 13, 14, signed by A. Bayer.

41. F. T. Camiz, “The Castrato,” p. 172, n. 20.

42. *Ibid.*, figs. 8, 18, 19.

43. J. A. F. Orbaan, *Documenti sui Barocco in Roma* (Rome, 1920) p. 139 n. 1; Haskell, *Patrons*, p. 29; Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, p. 45, n. 88.

44. “. . . quella Regina in certo festino fatto nel palazzo Reale con tutte le sue Dame, havea danzato con li Paggi, et musici giovinetti della Cappella Reale vestiti da donne, essendo ella con li dame comparsa mascherate con habbiti da huomo per mostrare, che li Donne non mancano di spirito . . .” Vatican Library, Urb. Lat. 1077, f. 106v.

45. “Indice di tutti i piu famosi recitanti di Comedie improvise . . . Capograno Romano . . . da giovineto per esser bellissimo, fece

da Ninfa nelle Pastorali . . . Raffaele Riccioli Romano, Musico bravo sonatore di tiorba, recitò prima molto bene di donna . . . Tomaso . . . Eunuco fiorentino, Musico di S. Pietro, essendosi fatto sacerdote, fece assai bene una serva Fiorentina." Rome, AS Cartari Febi 115, ff. 131v, 133v, 136. See also L. Mariti, "Esercizio d'attore nel seicento Giovanni Briccio & C.," *Scritti in onore di Giovanni Macchia* (Milan, 1983) II, pp. 636–641.

46. G. Poseq, "Bacchic Themes in Caravaggio's Juvenile Works," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 6 (1990) pp. 113–121. I am grateful to Keith Christiansen for bringing this study to my attention.

47. F. T. Camiz, "La 'Musica,'" pp. 205–206, 212–214; Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, pp. 43–44.

48. Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, cat. no. 12, signed by A. Bayer.

49. F. T. Camiz, "Due quadri musicali di scuola caravaggesca," *Musica e filologia* (Verona, 1983) pp. 102–104; Slim, "Inscriptions," pp. 243–251. For the words of the madrigal and its English translation, see Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, Appendix, p. 91.

50. For pastorals performed in Cardinal Bevilacqua's vineyard, see Orbaan, *Documenti*, p. 279. The poet Lelio Guidiccioni reports having played the part of Daphne in the *Aminta* in the villa of Cardinal Acquaviva in the preface to his *Tusculam amoenitatem elegia* (Rome, 1623). The *Avvisi di Roma* for March 4, 1609, reports that a pastoral with "intermedij di suoni, canti, et balletti" was recited by sons and nephews of Mario Farnese and Cardinal Bevilacqua, Vatican Library, Urb. Lat. 1077, f. 107.

# Johann Ignaz Bendl: Sculptor and Medalist

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**A**LMOST ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, The Metropolitan Museum of Art was given an ivory medallion commemorating the Holy Alliance against the Turks in 1684 (see Figure 7). It is one of the most beautiful examples of smaller sculpture from the Viennese court in the late seventeenth century, and bears the signature J. I. BENDL. We will have more to say about this piece in a later context.

What prompted the present article on the work of Johann Ignaz Bendl (active 1682?–1730?) was not this medallion, however, but the appearance of another work, a rectangular relief—in a format clearly intended for display in a private gallery—*St. Sebastian Nursed by St. Irene* (Figure 1). The piece was to have been auctioned in London on December 10, 1987, but as it failed to find a buyer,<sup>1</sup> it remains in private hands. Measuring 23.5 by 15.5 centimeters, the work is carved from a slab of grayish-brown Solnhofen stone affixed to a piece of slate (probably reworked), and displays an astonishing depth of relief, between 2.2 centimeters at the lower right corner and 1.4 centimeters along the right-hand edge. It shows the widow of the martyred Castulus and her maidservants treating St. Sebastian's wounds.

As has been the convention since the Renaissance, the wounded saint is portrayed as a comely, seminude youth. Only half conscious, he braces himself against the back of his chair. One of the servant women pulls an arrow from his chest, while St. Irene kneels beside him, holding his left hand and another arrow she has just withdrawn. A second maidservant squeezes a sponge above a shallow basin. In the background, in the upper right, are a horseman in armor and a back view of the young Sebastian bound to a tree. To the right of them are a ladder and a crouching figure next to a large boul-

der. Hovering above a series of Baroque arches four cherubs appear against billowing clouds. They seem to be proffering either a martyr's crown or a laurel wreath, and the attica figures (set on the arches) may represent either the conflict between paganism and Christianity or simply the classical and Old Testament virtues. The man with a club on the left is Hercules, while on the right Judith stands with her sword and the head of Holofernes—symbols of strength in virtue and supposed weakness in triumph. In its iconography, this *St. Sebastian Nursed by St. Irene* is in part an "imitatio Christi," reminiscent of either the Lamentation or the Anointing of Christ, and in this regard it is useful to compare Johann Michael Rottmayr's paintings of the pair from 1695 and later (Figure 3).<sup>2</sup> The type of the seminude saint would also appear to be indebted to Gian Lorenzo Bernini's marble figure of the same theme dating to 1617/18, which is in Lugano.<sup>3</sup>

In style and concept, the relief is distinguished by a highly convincing composition and a clear gradation from the highly developed figures in the foreground to the less detailed, flatter treatment in the middle distance and background. There is also a fine distinction between the smooth surfaces of the nude figure, twisted so as to be parallel to the pictorial plane, and the sharp, sweeping folds and edges of the drapery, the richly patterned gown of the kneeling St. Irene, and the distinctive hairstyles of the three women. At the same time, one cannot fail to note certain less successful details, such as the two-dimensional skirt of the figure on the left and the rather abrupt variations in depth of relief in the figure in the center.

Others have linked the relief to the circle of Johann Baptist Hagenauer (1732–1810).<sup>4</sup> However, the 1987 London sales catalogue refers to a depiction of the *Caritas Romana* in Berlin's Skulpturengalerie,<sup>5</sup> and offers the attribution "South German, mid-seventeenth century," by which the Nuremberg

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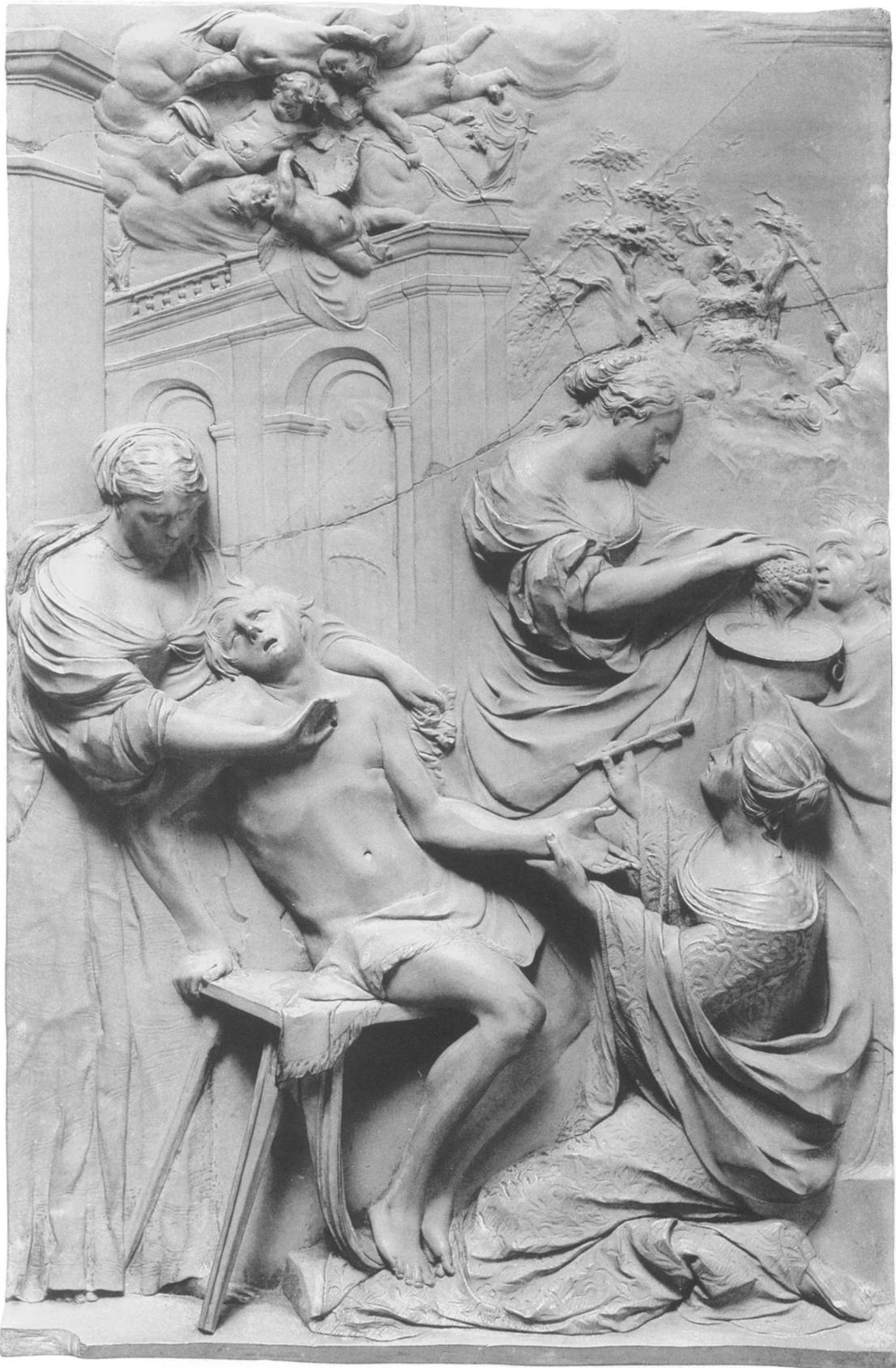


Figure 1. Attributed to Johann Ignaz Bendl, *St. Sebastian Nursed by St. Irene*. Solnhofen stone, H. 23.5 cm. Private collection (photo: Sotheby's, London)



Figure 2. Giacinto Gimignani, *St. Sebastian Nursed by St. Irene*. Engraving, H. 44.6 cm. Hamburg, Kunsthalle (photo: Elke Walford, Hamburg Kunsthalle)

of Georg Schweigger (1613–90) seems indicated. In my opinion it would be more accurate to place the relief in Vienna at the end of the seventeenth century or even the beginning of the eighteenth. Comparing the work with pieces by Michael Zürn the Younger (1654–98), for example, which display similar female figures and a similar treatment of drapery,<sup>6</sup> I am struck by the distinctly pictorial quality and somewhat academic flavor of the work—one need only think of a relief by Joseph Anton Feuchtmayr (1696–1770) of the martyrdom in Stuttgart,<sup>7</sup> admittedly from as late as 1734—which may suggest that it was based on some as yet unidentified previous work, perhaps a print (see below).

To narrow it down further, it may be helpful to look at the various sculptors who were working in Vienna at the end of the seventeenth century. Matthias Rauchmiller (born 1645) had died in 1686. Matthias Steidl (1643–1717), ivory carver by appointment to Leopold I, had created the first of his great ivory equestrian portraits in 1688. Paul Stru-



Figure 3. Johann Michael Rottmayr, *St. Sebastian Nursed by St. Irene*, 1695. Oil painting, H. 450 cm. Passau Cathedral (photo: Diocesan Building Office, Passau)

del had been working for the court or some monasteries since the mid-1680s, as had the Italian Giovanni Giuliani since 1690.<sup>8</sup> But Johann Ignaz Bendl, who was active from 1682 to about 1730, seems to me to have been the author of the Sebastian relief. Johann Ignaz was the son of the Prague sculptor Johann Georg Bendl (died 1680),<sup>9</sup> and is not to be confused with Franz Ignaz Bendl from Pfarrkirchen in Bavaria.

In about 1690 Franz Ignaz moved to Vienna, where he married the daughter of the sculptor Johann Frühwirth (1640–1701) on February 10, 1692, and he is documented in the city until after 1708. Although referred to as an “apprentice sculptor and painter,” no sculptures of his are known.<sup>10</sup>

Another son of the Pfarrkirchen sculptor Johann Christoph Bendl, Franz Ignaz was an older brother of the famous Ehrgott Bernhard Bendl (1660–1738) of Augsburg. Johann Ignaz may never have married, but Franz Ignaz fathered several children, who were baptized in either St. Michael’s or St. Ste-

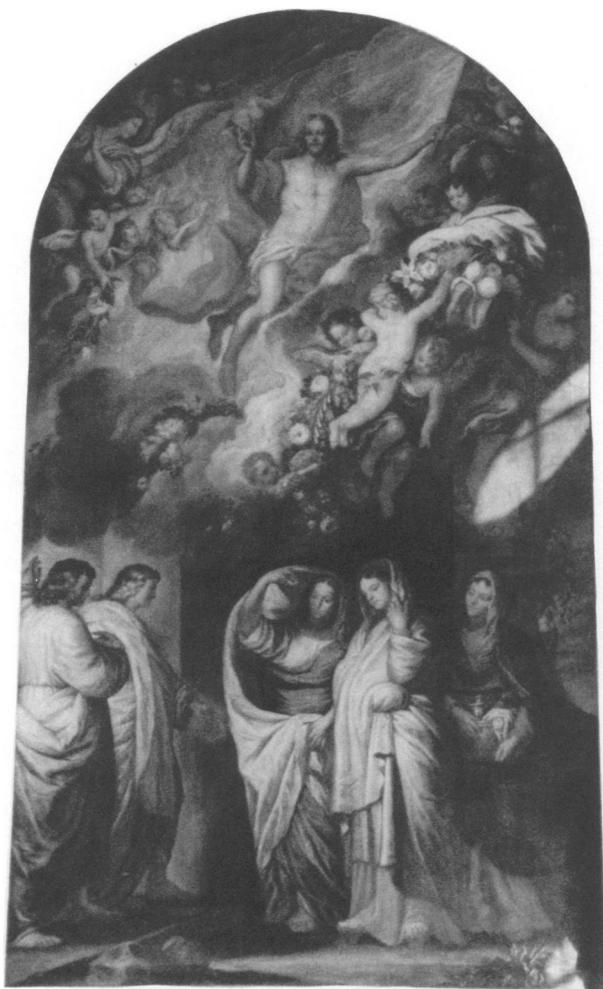


Figure 4. Franz Ignaz Bendl, *The Resurrection*. Oil painting. Gartlberg, near Pfarrkirchen, Lower Bavaria, high altar of pilgrimage church (photo: R. Konrad Weindl)

phan's. In these same parishes, he appears repeatedly as a godfather for children of various lesser-known artisans and sculptors.<sup>11</sup> Probably born in the 1650s, Franz Ignaz Bendl is doubtless the same "apprentice sculptor and painter" who, in 1687, for a fee of 300 gulden, painted the Resurrection (Figure 4) for the high altar of the pilgrimage church of the Sorrowing Virgin at Gartlberg, near Pfarrkirchen, Lower Bavaria. His father, Johann Christoph, had worked for the same church since 1662.<sup>12</sup> A year earlier, in 1686, he had painted the more primitive high altarpiece for the Franciscan church in Passau, a *Coronation of the Virgin*, which was moved to the parish church at Grainet, near Waldkirchen, in 1823.<sup>13</sup> It is possible that he was also responsible for the series of altar panels depicting St. Francis de Paul, signed "J. I. Bendel," "Ignaz Johann Bendl,"

or "I. Benx" found in Vienna's Paulaner-Kirche and Karmeliten-Kirche.<sup>14</sup>

Numerous writers have confused the names of the two artists Franz Ignaz and Johann Ignaz Bendl and thus their works.<sup>15</sup> The latter is always referred to in the sources as "Ignatius" or "Johann" Bendl; his two names are never used together. On one occasion, in connection with his work on the Plague Monument in Vienna (see below), he is further identified as a "Mahler und Bildhauer allhier." Since neither the Viennese addresses given for the two artists nor their personal acquaintanceship permit us to attribute all the known dates definitively to either one or the other, I have settled on the following hypothesis: Johann Ignaz Bendl from Bohemia is the creator of the series of ten ivory reliefs from 1684 (to be discussed below) in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. He also carved the reliefs designed by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach for the Plague Column in Vienna's Graben. These were begun in 1687–88, and the monument was dedicated in June 1693.<sup>16</sup> Johann Ignaz Bendl began work on the Four Elements Fountain in Brno in 1693, of which he also made etchings. The fountain was completed in 1699.<sup>17</sup> He also produced a number of dated etchings in the period 1699–1700, which bear the signatures BENDL or "I. Bendl" (see below). I would also like to associate Johann Ignaz with the "Ignatio Bendl bildhauern" who appears in the court chamberlain's account books and court finance records between 1699 and 1711 as the recipient of payments for "nachen hoff verrichte arbeits." <sup>18</sup>

For the first listing of the works of Johann Ignaz Bendl, including his smaller sculpture, and for the earliest critical appreciation of him we are especially indebted to Albert Ilg, Franz Dworschak, and Hans Sedlmayr.<sup>19</sup>

I shall list here all the ivory medallions and medals created by Johann Ignaz Bendl, or after his models; some have been forgotten and some are heretofore unknown.

1. A one-sided medallion, damaged by cracks and chipping, bears a profile portrait of Emperor Leopold I (Figure 5) and the inscription LEOPOLD · I · D · G · ROM · IMP · SEMP · INVICTISSE[MUS] in the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest.<sup>20</sup> On the tranche of the arm it is signed F. BENDL, and according to the catalogue of the Nationalmuseum of 1825 it belonged to Archbishop Paul Széchenyi from Veszprim (elevated 1687), prior and general definitor of the Pauline Order, Imperial councillor, and bishop





Figure 9. After Johann Ignaz Bendl, *The Holy Alliance against the Turks*. Silver, Diam. 7.9 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)



Figure 10. After Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Hapsburg Eagle*. Reverse of *Holy Alliance* medal. Bronze, Diam. 8.15 cm. London, British Museum (photo: British Museum)

Vienna in 1683. Elevated to archbishop of Kalocsa and cardinal in 1692—a date post quem for the medallion in question—Count Kollonich was then appointed president of the court chamber of Leopold I in 1692. After 1695, as archbishop of Gran and primate of Hungary, he proved an ardent champion of the Jesuits instrumental in the conversion of Hungary and Siebenbürgen to Catholicism.

3. The aforementioned medallion in fine relief (Figure 7) was presented to The Metropolitan Museum of Art by Josephine and Sarah Lazarus in 1890.<sup>23</sup> Measuring 8.4 centimeters in diameter, it presents in profile portraits of Pope Innocent XI (1611–89), Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705), King Johann III Sobieski of Poland (1624–96), and the Venetian doge, Marcantonio Giustiniani (1619–84). The inscription on the obverse, written in tall capital letters, some quite thin, reads: INNOC · XI · PONT · LEOP · I · IMP · IOA · III · REX · POLO · M · A · IVSTI · VE · DV[x].. On the tranche is the signature J. I. BENDL. The Siege of Vienna was raised on September 12, 1683, and on March 6 of the following year the pope, the emperor, and King Johann III Sobieski banded together in a Holy Alliance against the Turks. They were joined somewhat later by Venice. Initially the alliance was defensive in nature, but ultimately took the offensive.<sup>24</sup> Some of the portraits

are based on likenesses found on earlier medallions.<sup>25</sup>

The scene on the reverse celebrates the successful repulsion of the Turkish threat (Figure 8). In the foreground the eagles of the Hapsburgs and Poland hover above the corpse of a Turkish camel. A third eagle, or vulture, tears at the inner organs of the beast, and a fourth lifts its head proudly at the edge. To the left in the background we can see Venetian galleys with their landing boats, and on the shore, in front of a castle hung with banners on the right, a band of footsoldiers and cavalry are giving chase to the enemy. The banner bears the majuscule inscription: UBICUNQUE FUERIT COR US; ILLIC CONGREGABUNTUR AQUILAE · MATT · XXIV , 28 (“For where-soever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together,” Matthew 24:28).

4a and b. The image on the obverse of the Metropolitan’s medallion of about the same date can be found on a double-sided silver medal (Figure 9), 7.9 centimeters in diameter, which was cast in Vienna, probably in the time of Karl Gustav Heräus (1671–1725), “Antiquarius” of the imperial court, with a slightly abbreviated inscription. It has PO instead of POLO, for example, and IUS instead of IUSTI. It is in the Bundessammlung für Münzen und Medaillen in Vienna’s Kunsthistorisches Museum,<sup>26</sup> which also



Figure 11. Johann Ignaz Bendl (after Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach), *Triumphal Arch of the Magistrate and Citizens of Vienna*. Ivory, Diam. 6.3–6.5 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



Figure 12. Reverse of Figure 11

has a uniface bronze version.<sup>27</sup> The reverse of the medal, here the version in bronze in the British Museum (Figure 10), depicts the double eagle wearing the tiara and imperial crown and armed with shield, sword, and scepter. The Cross above it appears in the clouds. The eagle is of the type employed by Antonio Abondio (1538–91). Dworschak (1933) describes an old copy of a variant of this medal of the four rulers boasting a fifth portrait, doubtless a Russian—either Grand Prince Ivan or the later Czar Peter I (after 1689)—which was then in the Odeschalchi collection.<sup>28</sup> Whether it was actually the work of the same artist who created the silver piece in Vienna and the one in ivory, namely Johann Ignaz Bendl, I cannot determine, as I have no knowledge of the original. Among the prototypes for these works were medallion portraits of Pope Innocent XI by Girolamo Lucenti (1627–98) and Giovanni Vismara.<sup>29</sup>

5. In the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, there has been, since 1948, a 6.5-centimeter two-sided medallion in ivory that depicts a triumphal arch on the obverse (Figures 11, 12).<sup>30</sup> This was the arch commissioned by the citizenry of Vienna and erected after a design by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach in Stock-im-Eisen Platz on the occasion of the return of Emperor Leopold I and his consort,

Eleonora Magdalena, from the coronation in Frankfurt am Main of their son Joseph I as “Römischer König” on June 4, 1690.<sup>31</sup> The medallion is signed at the bottom BENDL · F · . On the reverse, in sturdy capitals, the initial letters slightly larger than the others, is the inscription: LEPOLDO MAGNO / ELEONORAE AUGUSTAE / IOSEPHO GLORIOSO / S. P. Q. VIENNENSIS / ARCUM HUNC / TRIUMPHALEM / POSUIT / MDCXC.

6. In his ground-breaking study of the medals of the Fischer era, Franz Dworschak reproduced a 6.5-centimeter medal mentioned by Albert Ilg in 1895.<sup>32</sup> Though provided with a narrow, raised edge, it is obviously cast after the ivory medallion (Figures 13, 14). This heavy, two-sided medal (a copy is in the Bundessammlung für Münzen und Medaillen in Vienna)<sup>33</sup> differs from the original in minor respects. The lettering is not the same and the signature on the obverse reads simply BENDL. Moreover the trophies at the sides of the arch and the central grouping at the top have been changed. There has been no attempt to reproduce the background scene visible through the arches in the ivory original.

7. Fischer von Erlach had also supplied the design for a second triumphal arch erected in 1690 in Vienna’s Wollzeile by the warehousemen, or foreign



Figure 13. Johann Ignaz Bendl (after Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach), *Triumphal Arch of the Citizens of Vienna*. Bronze, Diam. 6.5 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)



Figure 15. Johann Ignaz Bendl (after Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach), *Triumphal Arch of the Foreign Merchants in Vienna*. Bronze, Diam. 6.5–6.6 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)



Figure 14. Reverse of Figure 13



Figure 16. Reverse of Figure 15

merchants, for the entry of the newly crowned Joseph I into Vienna.<sup>34</sup> For this one as well, there survives a two-sided, heavily cast bronze medal by Bendl measuring between 6.5 and 6.6 centimeters in diameter (Figure 15).<sup>35</sup> The inscription on the obverse of this medal reads: LEOPOLDO MAG—ELEONORAE AUG · IOSEPHO · GLOR, with the date MDCXC below. The reverse (Figure 16) has a tutelary genius (Mercury?) blowing a trumpet and holding an outspread lion skin, his right foot just visible below it.

His winged helmet identifies him as the god of merchants and trade. Curving across the lion skin is the inscription: ARCUM HUNC / TRIUMPHALEM / NEGOTIATORES / PRIVILEGIATI EX / TRANEI POSUERUNT.

8. In 1981 the Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, managed to acquire a very finely carved, two-sided ivory medallion measuring 6.3 to 6 centimeters in diameter. The obverse depicts still another triumphal arch with the date MDCXD in raised letters and



Figure 17. Johann Ignaz Bendl (probably after Paul Strudel), *Triumphal Arch of the Free Merchants in Vienna*. Ivory, Diam. 6–6.3 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)



Figure 18. Reverse of Figure 17

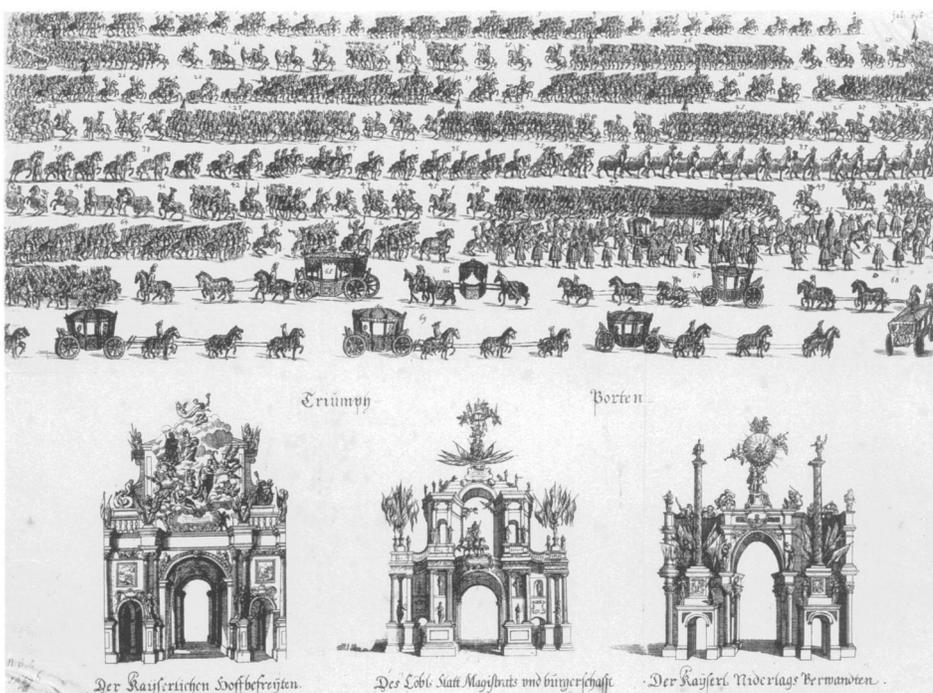


Figure 19. *Three Triumphal Arches for Emperor Leopold I and King Joseph I, 1690, Vienna*. Etching, signed “Hoffmann,” 27.2 × 33.8 cm. Vienna, Historisches Museum (photo: Museen der Stadt Wien)

the signature BENDL · F. (Figure 17). It was previously unpublished.<sup>36</sup> The inscription on the reverse, LEPOLDO MAG : INN / ELEONORAE AUG : / IOSEPHO GLORIOSO / IN TRIUMP : TES : / ARC : H : POS : AB : AVL : PRIVI—appears on a vertical stone slab, at the foot of which a seated putto appears to be putting the finishing touches on the carving (Figure 18). A compass(?) rests on the top of the stone. This arch was erected in Vienna’s Kohlmarkt, once again for the ceremonial entry of Joseph I into the city, by the

merchants who had a special dispensation from the Court.<sup>37</sup> A very detailed reworked etching signed “Hoffmann,” of which there is a copy in Vienna’s Historisches Museum (Figure 19),<sup>38</sup> depicts the three triumphal arches and the entire procession. From it, and from a notice reprinted by M. Koller from the *Corriere straordinario* of March 4, 1690, referring to a competition between Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach and an Italian architect, we may deduce that it was quite likely the “wel-



Figure 20. Attributed to Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Louis XIV of France and Sultan Mohamed*. Lead, Diam. 7 cm. Stiftsmuseum Klosterneuburg (photo: Inge Kitlitschka-Strempel)



Figure 21. Attributed to Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Kara Mustapha and Count Emmerich Tököly*. Lead, Diam. 7 cm. Stiftsmuseum Klosterneuburg (photo: Inge Kitlitschka-Strempel)

liche Maler” Peter Strudel (1660–1714) who designed this triumphal arch of a more traditional type.<sup>39</sup> No further record of it survives, and no medal based on the ivory medallion is known.

9. and 10. In 1933 Dworschak attributed two uni-face medals to Johann Ignaz Bendl and published them as such in 1934. One shows King Louis XIV of France and Sultan Mohamed (Figure 20),<sup>40</sup> the

other Kara Mustapha and Emmerich Tököly (Figure 21).<sup>41</sup> Illustrated here are the lead casts, each with a crude hole at the top and 7 centimeters in diameter, from the Münz- und Medaillen-Sammlung des Stiftsmuseums, Klosterneuburg.<sup>42</sup> The one depicting the Turkish ruler and the king of France has a date along the right side, M · D · C · L · XXXVIII, and the brief inscription DVO CAESARIS IN-



Figure 22. Johann Ignaz Bendl?, *Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm I of Baden*. Ivory, Diam. 6.5 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen (photo: Staatliche Museen)



Figure 23. Philipp Heinrich Müller and Friedrich Kleinert, *Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm I of Baden*. Silver, Diam. 5 cm. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum (photo: Badisches Landesmuseum)



Figure 24. After Johann Ignaz Bendl?, *Maria Antonia, Electress of Bavaria*. Silver, Diam. 5. cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

IMICI, identifies the pair as two of the archenemies of Emperor Leopold I. The one with the portraits of Kara Mustapha and Tököly has the inscription **DEKELI · OVOD · MIHI · ID · TIBI · CONTINGET** in bold capitals.<sup>43</sup> Though certain details are different, for example the way the figures have been fitted into the circle, the modeling of the hair, or the form of the letters, the style and technique of both medals,



Figure 25. Attributed to Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Charles II of Spain*. Ivory, Diam. 7.2 cm (without frame). Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové Múzeum (photo: Uměleckoprůmyslové Múzeum)

as well as their preoccupation with details of costume, might justify their attribution to Johann Ignaz Bendl.

11. Again on the basis of style and technique and the type of lettering, I would also like to attribute to Bendl a frequently described and illustrated uniface ivory medallion, 6.5 centimeters in diameter, in the Münzkabinett of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.<sup>44</sup> It presents a portrait of the “Türkenlouis,” Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm I of Baden (1655–1708), and bears the inscription **LUDOVIC · MARCHIO · DE BADEN** (Figure 22). After defeating the Turks, the margrave served as commander of the imperial troops fighting along the upper Rhine against the French in 1692. The Berlin ivory portrait is quite different from the ivory medallion by Jean Cavalier, 9.4 to 9.6 centimeters in diameter, formerly in the collection of the Landgraf von Hesse and now in the Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen, Kassel.<sup>45</sup> It is both more imposing and more lifelike than the Cavalier piece, a distinction already noted by Kurt Regling in 1928. Quite possibly the latter medallion served as the prototype for the signed medal, 5 centimeters in diameter, by Philipp Heinrich Müller (1654–1718); its edging was executed by Friedrich Kleinert in Nuremberg and bears the date 1693 (Figure 23), but the inverse relationship—the ivory having been carved after the medal—cannot be ruled out.<sup>46</sup> The medal exists in silver, bronze, and lead, with and without inscriptions; there are even wood board-



Figure 26. Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Maria Anna, Queen of Spain*. Ivory, Diam. 7.2 cm (without frame). Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové Múzeum (photo: Uměleckoprůmyslové Múzeum)



Figure 27. After Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Charles II of Spain*. Bronze, Diam. 7.1–7.2 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

game pieces based on it. If one compares the ivory example in Berlin to other Bendl medallions—e.g., the one of Emperor Leopold I (Figure 5)—and medals, or to the Viennese relief series from 1684 (see Figures 30, 32, 33), one could place it among works completed by Bendl before 1693.

12. A very similar treatment of detail and style of modeling—for example, the rendering of locks of hair—as well as comparable letter forms are found on a uniface silver medal (perhaps based on an ivory prototype), 5 centimeters in diameter, depicting the archduchess Maria Antonia (1669–92), a daughter of Leopold I, who married Maximilian II Emanuel, elector of Bavaria, on April 12, 1685 (Figure 24). Its inscription reads: *MARIA ANTONIA EL EC : BAVA : AR : A*.<sup>47</sup> The inclusion of the title “electress” establishes a terminus post quem.<sup>48</sup>

13. and 14. Some years ago I was able to study two ivory medallions in old, dark brown wood frames in the Umeleckoprůmyslové Múzeum, Prague. Now on public display, they were acquired in 1948 from the Doksy Palace in the district of Česká Lípa and had long been in the Wallenstein collection.<sup>49</sup> They are portraits of Charles II of Spain (1661–1700) and his consort, Maria Anna, the former duchess of Neuburg-Pfalz (Figures 25, 26), who married in 1689. Her medallion bears the signature *BENDL* to the right, below the bust. Both are uniface, and both are 7.2 centimeters in diameter. In what seems

to be a typical Bendl style of lettering, their inscriptions read, respectively, *CAROLVS II REX CAT · HISP · MON* and *MARIA ANNA DVC · DE NEOBV · ET HISPAN · REGINA*.

15. Related to the profile portrait of Charles II of Spain above is a uniface bronze medal described by Dworschak,<sup>50</sup> an example of which is in the Bundesammlung für Münzen und Medaillen in Vienna (Figure 27). It measures 7.1 to 7.2 centimeters in diameter, and is listed as “by Bendl, uniface, in copper” in the journal of Karl Gustav Heräus (1828, p. 266). The Prague ivory would appear to have been its model. Only minor changes have been made in details of costume (see the edging on the sleeve inset) and in the lettering.<sup>51</sup>

I have so far been unable to locate a corresponding medal based on the ivory medallion of Maria Anna. The style of the bust, the manner in which it has been adapted to the circle, and the lettering are similar to those of the Maria Antonia medal; but the use of a diagonal bust section shows the ivory portrait to be a discrete conception.

I would now like to mention the slightly oval ivory medallion, 6.3 centimeters high, a portrait of the Venetian court architect and theatrical engineer Ludovico Ottavio Burnacini (1636–1707), a work that has heretofore been attributed to Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach himself (Figure 28).<sup>52</sup> The work was lost long ago. A related bronze medal, 6.2 centimeters in diameter and uniface (Figure 29), bears the identical inscription: *LVDQVI · OCHT · BVRNACINI · S · M · TRV*. Whether or not this bronze medal was created after the ivory medallion is unclear. Dworschak dated the medal to 1687/88, “because Fischer was active under the Italian’s direction on the sculptures of the Greben column.”<sup>53</sup> Schmidt supposes the date 1687/89 (?).<sup>54</sup> The final word of the inscription, *TRV*, alludes to Burnacini’s office of Truchsess, or high steward in the Viennese court, a post he had held since 1676. Ilg, writing in 1889, leans toward attributing the ivory portrait to either (Johann) Caspar Schenck (who died in 1674!) or Matthias Steinl.

Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach might have used the medium of small sculpture, but there is scant evidence of his having worked in ivory. On December 24, 1688, there is mention of a “schönes Bildt” and a “Tabakh-Bixl.”<sup>55</sup>

The attribution of the bronze medal representing Burnacini to Fischer von Erlach, and consequently of the ivory medallion, was based primarily on its similarity to the large bronze medal with full-length portraits of Charles II of Spain and Maria Ludovica

de Bourbon in Rome, which is signed and dated 1682, and the related half-length portrait with Santiago de Compostela on horseback on the reverse.<sup>56</sup> Scholars have quite rightly pointed out the influence of Gian Lorenzo Bernini and the medals of Antonio Travani on these works.<sup>57</sup>

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the portrait of Burnacini, especially in its ivory version, is quite similar—in its relief concept, technique, and style of modeling (note the hollows in the drapery, the drilled curls in the wig)—to medallions by Johann Ignaz Bendl (Figures 6, 22, 26). The style of lettering, most notably the c and s, is also similar. And it is true that other Bendl medallions, such as the one in New York (Figure 7) or the casts in Klosterneuburg, make use of different sorts of letters: thinner, more vertical, and more closely spaced. In any case, the inscription on the Burnacini medal is totally different from those on Fischer's medals. If Bendl had been in Rome with the architect prior to 1684, each of them would have responded in his own way to the influence of Bernini, to the medals of Rome with their characteristic relief style, and especially their “painterly” reverse sides and background scenery. It is also obvious that the quality of the Burnacini portrait—its restraint, the unity of the bust, and the lettering within the circle—seems to set it somewhat apart from all of the Bendl works previously identified.

Although Bendl's ivory medallions depicting the triumphal arches erected in Vienna in the summer of 1690, and the cast medals doubtless based upon

them, merely reproduce designs by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach or Peter Strudel, it would appear that Bendl's other works in the medium were based on his own compositions. I refer to the uniface pieces showing portraits of Emperor Leopold I, of Count Kollonich, the enemies of the Empire, the “Türkenlouis,” and the king and queen of Spain, and especially the two-sided ivory medallion of the Holy Alliance of 1684. This is not to say that he was unaware of prototypes, whether in the form of prints or earlier medals, or that he did not make use of them.<sup>58</sup> His profile portrait of Innocent XI, for example, wearing the *cappa* and a simple cape, is reminiscent—though lacking the cross on the edging—of the medal by Girolamo Lucenti,<sup>59</sup> a pupil of Alessandro Algardi who succeeded Giovanni Hamerani at the Papal Mint in Rome in 1679. Similar antecedents might be found for the profiles of Johann III Sobieski or the other rulers.

Bendl's ivory reliefs are independent creations, like the series of equestrian portraits in ivory of the most noted commanders in the struggle against the Turks from the circle of the ivory carver Ignaz Elhafen (1658–1715) in Vienna, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum,<sup>60</sup> and also the portrait medallions by Jean Cavalier, apparently executed during a sojourn of his in the capital beginning in 1689,<sup>61</sup> which include likenesses of Emperor Leopold I, Joseph I as king of Hungary and Germany,<sup>62</sup> Ferdinand Ernst Count Mollarth,<sup>63</sup> the “Türkenlouis,” the elector Johann Georg III of Saxony, and Max Emanuel of Bavaria,<sup>64</sup> now in Vienna, Kassel, and



Figure 28. Johann Ignaz Bendl?, *Ludovico Ottavio Burnacini*. Ivory, Diam. 6.3 cm. Lost (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)



Figure 29. After Johann Ignaz Bendl?, *Ludovico Ottavio Burnacini*. Bronze, Diam. 6.2 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)



Figure 30. Johann Ignaz Bendl, *The Drunken Silenus*. Ivory, 13.9 × 23.6 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

elsewhere. Only in part were Bendl's reliefs intended as models for casting, and the limited number of medals that were cast from them were clearly meant to be art objects, mementos, and showpieces. The same may be said of the lengthy "series" of large marble medallions of the Hapsburgs—Leopold I, Joseph I, Charles VI, Charles II of Spain, et al.—from the workshop of Paul Strudel; these are of course rather lavishly framed and highly decorative in character.<sup>65</sup>

One cannot overlook the propagandistic aspect of the small ivory medallions created in the years following the liberation of Vienna and on up through

1690 and beyond. Kollonich, as we have seen, was not content to rest on his laurels after his victory over the Turks, but went on to command the emperor's troops in the war against Louis XIV of France. Shortly after the beginning of this new campaign Leibniz presented the emperor with his manifesto "Geschwinde Kriegsverfassung . . ." Fischer von Erlach and Johann Ignaz Bendl obviously worked closely with those responsible for various projects, such as the canon of the Cathedral Chapter in Vienna, Dr. Karl Joseph de la Bresche (died 1694), who oversaw the creation of the triumphal arches. It was also in 1690 that Matthias Steinkl received a commission for his three highly important ivory equestrian monuments, "an indication of the new self-confidence of the court."<sup>66</sup>

Bendl's carving skills and his considerable artistry are especially apparent on the reverses of some of his pieces, especially the ivory medallions in New York and Vienna (Figures 8, 9) and the bronze medal and ivory reliefs depicting the triumphal arches (Figures 11, 17). The profile portraits in Budapest, New York, and Prague (Figures 5, 7, 25, 26), by contrast, although distinguished by exquisite detail in their treatment of locks of hair, their rendering of pattern and ornament on costumes and armor, are rather conventional. (His various letter forms and type styles based on a number of different models have been discussed above.)<sup>67</sup>

Among the works that tend to convince me that the Sebastian relief (Figure 1) should be attributed to Johann Ignaz Bendl are the reverse of the New



Figure 31. Paulus Bendl, *Hercules and Antaeus or Wrestlers*. Ivory, 6.7 × 9.4 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)



Figure 32. Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Aeneas Bearing His Father, Anchises, from Troy*. Ivory, 14 × 23.4 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

York medallion with its detailed modeling of clouds (Figure 8) and the reverse of the one in Vienna with its putto (Figure 18). The overall style of the relief projection in these two pieces is quite similar.

Before proceeding to additional arguments, let me list the remaining sculptural works by Johann Ignaz Bendl, both large and small.

In Vienna one can admire a series of relatively large, horizontal ivory reliefs on mythological themes, each carved within a frame, so that the action appears to be taking place on a stage. One of these depicts a drunken Silenus (Figure 30), and on the wine cask beneath him, in incised Latin letters, is the full signature “Ignati bendl f:” and the date 1684.<sup>68</sup> Nearly all of these reliefs, carved in such a way as to leave only a very thin background, which causes them to look as though they were modeled in a gleaming yellowish-to-pinkish wax, have small traces of the curved outer surface of the tusk, either on a front edge or the back. Among the prototypes for this type of illusionistic relief in a boxlike “frame” are the panels by the brothers Dominikus (1655–1712) and Franz Stainhart (1651–95) in the display cabinet dating from 1678/80 in the Palazzo Colonna in Rome—in turn doubtless indebted to the works of Francis van Bossuit (1635–92) and the Netherlandish artists who were followers of François Duquesnoy (1597–1643)<sup>69</sup>—and the illustrations and prints by Matthias Rauchmiller in Vienna dating from 1681 and some of his other compositions, such as his ceiling frescoes for the Dominikanerkirche made after 1675.<sup>70</sup> Ignaz Elhafen em-

plains this style as early as the later 1680s in Vienna, and may well have learned it—after seeing it in Rome, which he visited before 1685—from Johann Ignaz Bendl, among others. It would appear that the use of stagelike scenic reliefs by Michael Zürn the Younger in about 1685 was inspired by Elhafen.<sup>71</sup> It may even be that Johann Ignaz Bendl began his relief series while still in Rome. The number and size of the panels and the date of 1684 would tend to suggest as much.

In this regard it is interesting that a small, unprepossessing ivory relief from another group in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, which depicts Hercules and Antaeus(?) against a background of classical architecture (Figure 31), is signed on the back “G Paulus Bendl / Romae fecit 1687.”<sup>72</sup> Sometime after 1657 Johann Ignaz’s father, Johann Georg, had also visited Italy.<sup>73</sup> The Paulus Bendl just cited is probably the sculptor and goldsmith from Weilheim, born in 1657 or 1654, who went to Rome as early as 1680, where he collaborated on the Ignatius Chapel of the Gesù before 1700 and was still living there in 1709.<sup>74</sup>

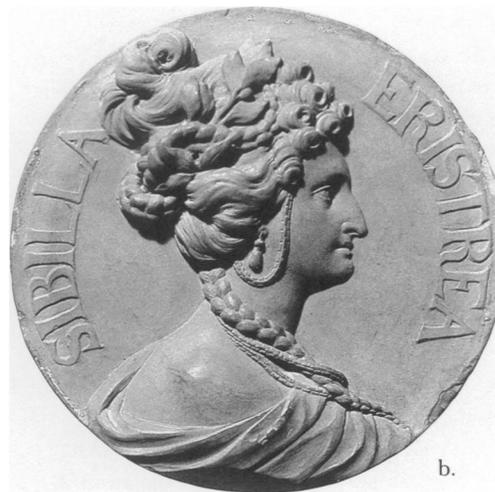
The direct precedents or models for the twelve ivory reliefs in Vienna, which were probably created over a longer period of time—beginning before 1684—are as yet unknown. A clear inspiration has been found for only one of them. Erika Tietze-Conrat has seen a connection in the landscape relief with the huntress Diana in the clouds in an etching by Johann Sadeler after Paul Bril.<sup>75</sup> Large portions of these compositions may be of Bendl’s own inven-



Figure 33. Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Death of Laocoön*. Ivory, 14.1 × 23.7 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)



a.



b.

Figures 34a, b. Johann Ignaz Bendl, *The Cimerian and Erythraean Sibyls*. Solnhofen stone, traces of gilding, Diam. 6.8, 6.9 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)



Figure 35. Johann Ignaz Bendl, *The Phrygian Sibyl*. Solnhofen stone, traces of gilding, Diam. 6.8 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

tions, of course, though clearly he was not above making use of ready-made patterns, for example the Belvedere Torso—like Matthias Steinl's early works—adapted from compositions by Pietro da Cortona,<sup>76</sup> for the back of the nude in the *Phaeton* relief (inv. no. 3782), or borrowings from Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Federigo Barocci in the one of *Aeneas Rescuing His Father from Troy* (Figure 32).<sup>77</sup>

Some of these “pictures” are altogether peaceful, almost idyllic, such as the relief of *Apollo with the Muses* (inv. no. 3644) or the one depicting *Argus Watching over Io* (inv. no. 3651). For these, one is tempted to look for Flemish prototypes. Others, such as the *Death of Laocoön* (Figure 33), the *Sacrifice of Iphigenia* (inv. no. 3663), or the “*Quos Ego*,” *Poseidon Taming the Winds* (inv. no. 3656) call to mind French and Italian painting of a somewhat academic style, especially Roman painting from the period of Nicolas Poussin and Pietro da Cortona. Of their relationship with contemporary South German and Austrian painting and sculpture in the region influenced by Venice and Northern Italy as well as Florence, more will be said below.

The style of these ivory reliefs is characterized by a dramatic emphasis on the larger groups and figures of the foreground, a scenic middle distance, and an atmospheric suggestion of depth with a view of distant landscape and architecture. The modeling of the figures and their flowing garments is reminiscent of wax techniques. There is an obvious fascination with detail and ornament, as well as a differentiation between fabrics. At the same time, one often notes a certain heaviness in the proportions of the figures, in their facial features, and in their movements. They display considerable technical virtuosity in the handling of the material. Stefan Krenn and others have suggested that they were intended to be illuminated from behind, so as to “glow in the light of the sun,” but this would seem to me to be questionable.<sup>78</sup>

These works present a number of similarities to the *St. Sebastian* relief (Figure 1): their treatment of the nude, their frequently exaggerated female physiognomies, their concentration on the draping and design of fabrics with painstaking verisimilitude, in raised relief or engraving, of their patterns and borders. The sharper-edged forms of the *St. Sebastian* piece may be explained in part by the fact that Johann Ignaz Bendl was working here in a different medium, a soft and easily worked stone, and in part by a greater experience since the series of reliefs in Vienna dating to about 1684. Compare,

for example, the horses of the sun in the *Phaeton* relief (inv. no. 3782) or the admittedly more flowing, softer modeling of the nude in the man doing a handstand in the *Silenus* relief (Figure 30) with the nude *St. Sebastian*.

Another series of works that lends valuable support to Bendl's authorship of the *St. Sebastian* relief is the group of medallions of the twelve sibyls in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Figures 34, 35).<sup>79</sup> These too are of Solnhofen stone and have raised inscriptions in stout capitals. Five of the twelve have the signature BENDL on the tranche of the arm. The carving technique, the gradation of relief, and the modeling of all kinds of details attest to the same hand. All of these medallions have traces of gilding on the edges. It is striking—and only partially explained by the great number of works from Nuremberg in the imperial collection formed in the seventeenth century—that Johann Ignaz Bendl selected a material known to us primarily from the realm of smaller Nuremberg sculpture and modeling as represented by Georg Schweigger, Jeremias Ritter, and Georg Pfründt, among others.<sup>80</sup> Any number of details in these works have parallels in Bendl's other medallions and medals, and especially in the relief of *St. Sebastian Nursed by St. Irene*. There is the same relationship between the portrait busts and the circular background and lettering, the same attention to hairstyles, with either softly flowing waves or elaborate braids adorned with leaves and pearls, the same treatment of the shoulder area and of the ear, for example, and, most telling of all, the same fascination with drapery, with sharp-edged narrow folds, patterned borders ornamented with either low relief or engraving, and the same use of fashionable accessories. I have no idea why he created the series. It may be that they were intended purely as showpieces—hence the gilding—or meant to be reproduced in cast bronze or lead. In the Baroque period these classical seeresses were thought to have foretold the coming of Christ as the redeemer, and by extension it may have seemed that they symbolized the liberation of Vienna and the Hapsburg lands from the Turkish threat, which would suggest that the medallions were created during the 1680s.<sup>81</sup>

In Vienna's Dominikanerkirche there is a monument to Georg Mittermayr von Waffenberg (Figure 36), who died, according to the inscription on the bronze plate set into the lid of the sarcophagus, on May 25, 1666. We do not know when the monument was created.<sup>82</sup> The sarcophagus itself is made of a



Figure 36. Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Tomb Monument for Georg Mittermayr von Waffenberg*. Marble, brass, larger than life-size. Vienna, Dominikanerkirche (photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna)

light, fine marble, the clouds of a sand-colored marble with flecks of red, and the allegorical female figure, the putto, and the drapery of still another marble of a yellowish to mustard-colored shade. The work is signed “J. Bendl. F.” on the lower left, below the charming cartouche of a coat of arms (Figure 37).<sup>83</sup> This coat of arms refers to Mittermayr’s occupation. In 1635 he founded a wholesale iron business in Steyr, and as one of the most important wholesalers of the period he maintained a warehouse in Vienna by dispensation of the emperor. The work is framed by an imaginative arrangement of volutes that turn into mollusk shells, above which the faces of cherubs and in the center a death’s head appear against storm clouds. Georg Mittermayr, a counselor from Steyr, was married there to Susanne Luckner, the sister of a business acquaintance, Maximilian Luckner, on November 9, 1636. He and his brothers, Conrad, Dietrich, and Isaak, were granted a patent of nobility on January 27, 1657. The suffix “von Waffenberg” was granted them only in 1678 and would seem to have been applied to Georg post mortem.<sup>84</sup>

It is surprising that there is no portrait of the deceased, only the allegorical figure of Mourning. I am inclined to disagree with Peter König, who in 1966 saw a close relationship between this composition, with its predominating free-floating drapery, and Gian Lorenzo Bernini’s 1643 tomb for Maria Raggi in S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome.<sup>85</sup> In the

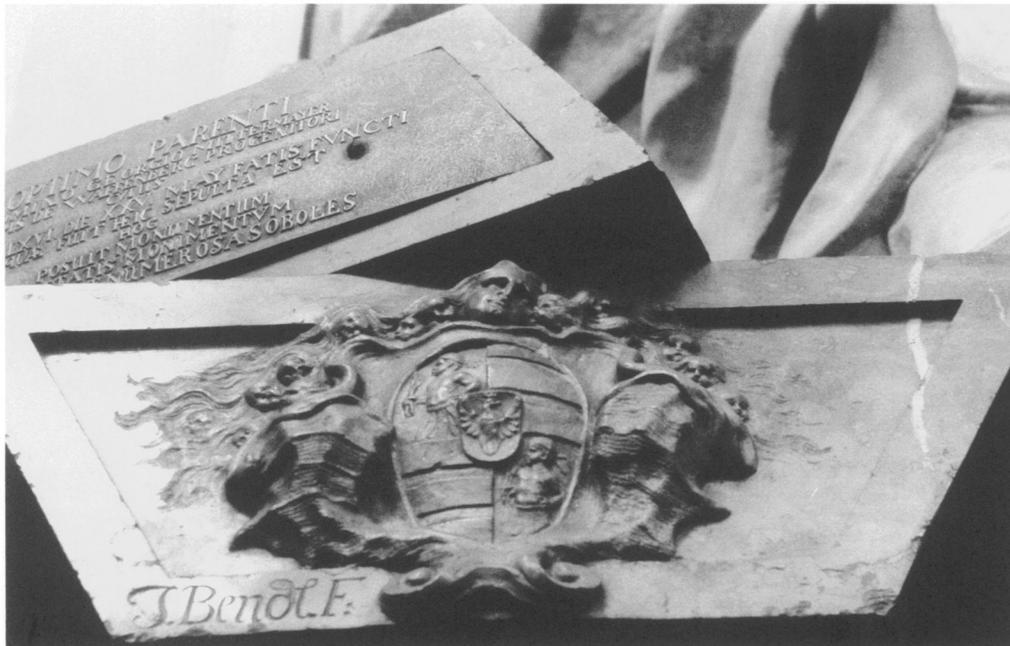


Figure 37. Detail of Figure 36, showing coat of arms and signature on sarcophagus (photo: Peter König, Vienna)

latter work cherubs support a bronze medallion with a relief bust, and the drapery is clearly cut off at the top.<sup>86</sup> Even so, the distinctive influence of the Italian High Baroque is certainly apparent in Bendl's composition. The monumentality of his figure of Mourning enveloped in richly flowing heavy drapery is in striking contrast to his small-scale work on medals and medallions and demonstrates—especially when one thinks of his graphic production with its frequent anticipations of the Rococo—his astonishing artistic breadth and his close relationship with Italian precedents. König chose the years 1711/13 for the Mittermayr monument, the period that saw the creation of the statues of Ferdinand of Tirol and Albrecht VII in Strudel's Hapsburg series (cf. note 84), but I feel the date is almost too late.

To judge from the type of the female figure and its overall style, the Mittermayr tomb must have been created much later than the series of ivory reliefs from around 1684. It, like the *Sebastian* relief, diverges from the rather squat proportions, the heaviness, at times even awkwardness, of his earlier figures. In my opinion, the technique and style of the monument to Rüdiger Count von Starhemberg (died 1701) in Vienna's Schottenkirche<sup>87</sup> would tend to suggest that Johann Ignaz Bendl, rather than the Strudel workshop, was responsible for it as well. Its combination of materials, though requested by the patron, would seem to bear me out. The Starhemberg monument is primarily hewn of red marble, with a lighter stone for the figures. Heretofore, the work has been dated to about 1725, and it has been assumed to have been created after a design by Joseph Emanuel Fischer von Erlach, who sometimes collaborated with the Northern Italian Antonio Corradini (1668–1752) and after whose design Ferdinand Maximilian Brokoff created the tomb monument of Prince Donat Trautson in St. Michael's in Vienna.<sup>88</sup>

The drapery style in the Mittermayr monument and the imposing physicality of its female figure, perceived as a relief figure rather than a fully three-dimensional one, are both prefigured in the “six lower scenes” of the Plague Column on the Graben in Vienna.<sup>89</sup> These were executed in the years after 1688/89 by “Johann Bendl, Mahler und Bildhauer alhier,” after designs and rough preliminary blocking out by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach. Emperor Leopold I had promised to erect this monument on October 18, 1679, and October 25, 1682. Among the other artists who worked on the column, all of whom were of considerable importance to Bendl, were Matthias Rauchmiller (1645–86), who

was responsible for the initial concept and some of the angel figures; Ludovico Ottavio Burnacini, who provided the final design;<sup>90</sup> Paul Strudel, the most important sculptor in the execution of the work; and Johann Frühwirth,<sup>91</sup> who may possibly have produced the temporary column made of wood and later furnished some of the angel figures and reliefs.

Payments of 3,000 gulden on August 4, 1690, and a large balance in 1705 to “Dem Bildhauer [Johann Bernhard] Fischer weggen Verfertigung der Historien und Kai. May. Contrafait”<sup>92</sup> do not name Johann Ignaz Bendl as having actually carved these works, but we do know from a 1692 description<sup>93</sup> that the monument's overseers “die Bassi Rilievi durch Herrn Fischer, wie de facto zu sehen, [hat] modellieren und aus dem Groben ausschlagen lassen,” that it was therefore Johann (Ignaz) Bendl (see above) who completed the “sechs untern Historien.”<sup>94</sup> (Fischer's portrait of the emperor, which must have been done in a competition with the one by Paul Strudel that we see today, has disappeared.) Hans Sedlmayr identified this “Johann Bendl” with Franz Ignaz—since February 10, 1692, the son-in-law of Johann Frühwirth—but in fact the latter Bendl had come to Vienna sometime after Johann Ignaz Bendl, and no works of his have yet been identified. In 1686 Franz Ignaz was in Passau, and in 1687 he was working in Gartlberg, near Pfarrkirchen. It is worth noting that it was Franz Ignaz, not Johann Ignaz, who later appears to have had close personal ties to some of the artists who collaborated on the Plague Column. The goldsmith Oktavian Coxel (Coggsell), who helped to produce the embossed and gilt copper coats of arms, crowns, and inscription tablets for the monument<sup>95</sup> and also mounted Ignaz Elhafen's tankard in Baden-Baden, dated 1693,<sup>96</sup> served as a witness when Franz Ignaz married a daughter of Johann Frühwirth's, and members of the Frühwirth family are mentioned repeatedly as sponsors at the baptisms of his children and on other occasions.<sup>97</sup>

The program of the six reliefs Bendl carved for the base of the Plague Column was established by the Jesuit Dr. Franciscus Menegatti, later the confessor of Leopold I; Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, as we have seen, was entrusted with their design. To date no one has made a thorough study of the precedents and prototypes of these works, one that would take into account both the Italian Renaissance (Ghiberti and Raphael, among others) and the art of around 1600, especially in Rome (Poussin and Sacchi, for example, the concepts of the Acad-

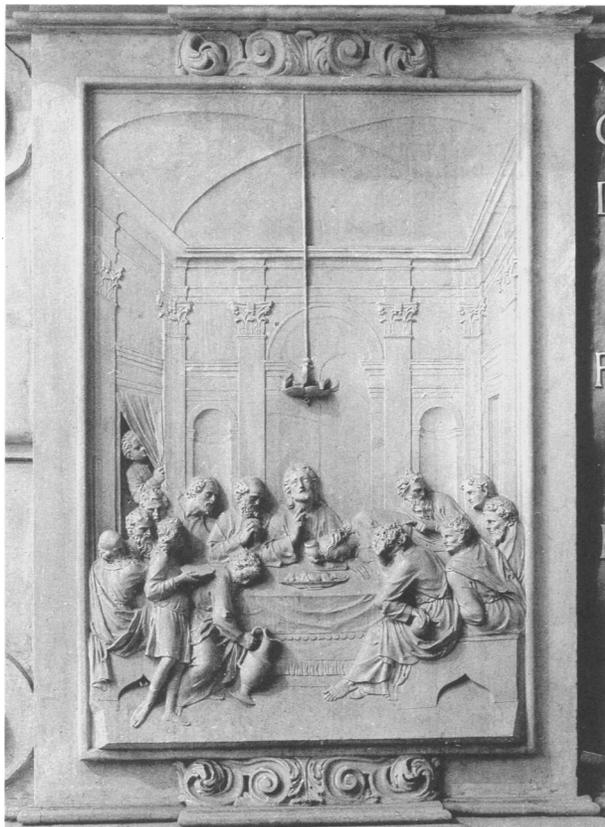


Figure 38. Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach and Johann Ignaz Bendl, *The Last Supper*. Limestone (so-called Untersberg trout marble), ca. 198 × 142 cm. Vienna, Plague Column (photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna)

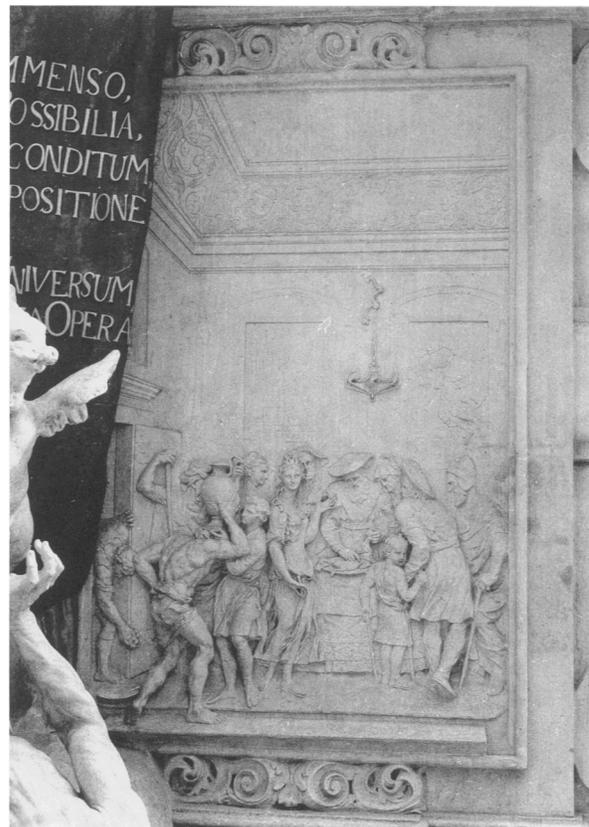


Figure 39. Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach and Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Passover Feast*. Limestone (so-called Untersberg trout marble), ca. 198 × 142 cm. Vienna, Plague Column (photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna)

emy and affiliated sculpture).<sup>98</sup> In different ways, the reliefs (Figures 38–40) are impressive for their mastery of perspective, which is almost always convincing, and for their quite sophisticated relief hierarchy—Fischer was not only a sculptor but also, like Johann Ignaz Bendl, an experienced medalist. They present a fine balance between contrast and harmony, with seemingly isolated and well-developed groupings and single figures, yet with background scenery and architecture that provide both a sense of depth and space and tie the compositions together.<sup>99</sup> They have suffered considerable weathering over the centuries, but now that they have been restored it is again possible to admire the subtlety of their execution, to recognize in the virtuosic rendering of details such as hairstyles, specific drapery motifs, and background scenery the hand of an artist accustomed to working in the smaller format of ivory carving. The above-

mentioned relationship to Italian medallions and reliefs deserves further, intensive study.

If one compares these works with the other sculptural achievements within the overall composition of the Plague Column as determined by Matthias Rauchmiller<sup>100</sup> and Ludovico Burnacini, even with those by Paul Strudel influenced by Giusto le Court, it becomes clear that despite certain retrospective features in their adaptation of prototypes, they are among the most important segments of the monument for future developments well into the eighteenth century. The same might be said of the vertical-format depiction of the plague, now on the Plague Column in Perchtoldsdorf (Figure 41),<sup>101</sup> which is generally considered to be an experimental work created by Fischer himself as he was designing the base of the Vienna monument.

It is easier to relate this relief by Fischer to the design of the *St. Sebastian* panel than most of the



Figure 40. Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach and Johann Ignaz Bendl, *The Plague in Vienna* (detail). Limestone. Vienna, Plague Column (photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna)

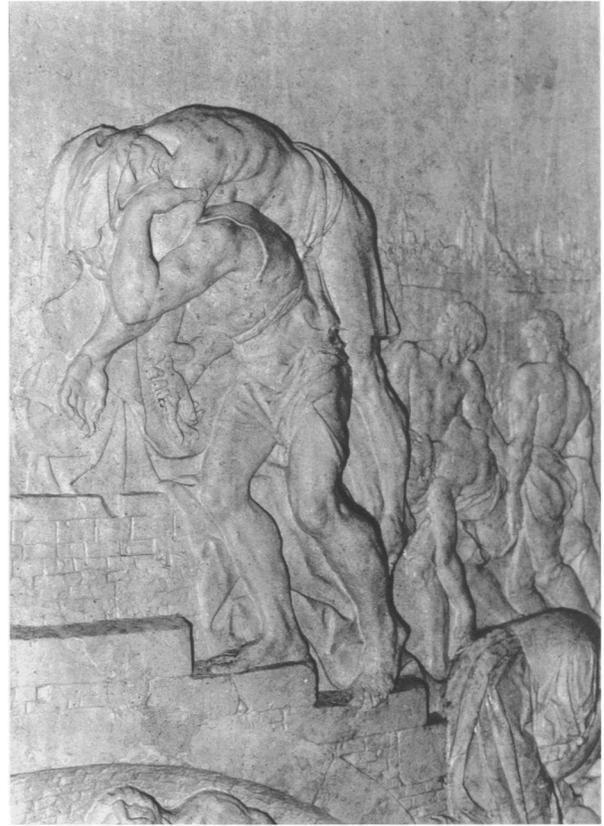


Figure 41. Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach?, *The Plague in Vienna*. Limestone relief originally planned for the Plague Column in Vienna now on the Plague Column in Perchtoldsdorf, near Vienna (photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna)

others on the Plague Column, especially in the relationship of its moving figures to the relief surface or its sharp-edged, angular treatment of drapery. Still, there are points for comparison to be found in the central female figure of the *Passover Feast* (Figure 39), which almost seems to anticipate the Rococo, or the interior architecture in the *Last Supper* (Figure 38). If one looks closely at the nude with his back to us in the *Passover Feast* or the male figure carrying another on his back in the *Plague* relief (Figure 41), or the formation of the backgrounds and the cloudy sky in the relief of the *Deluge*, one can see what led Ingeborg Schemper-Sparholz to assume that Fischer himself provided the models for the two large and relatively crudely executed stone reliefs (dating to 1697/98) of *Hercules and Antaeus* and *Aeneas and Anchises*, especially considering the precedents of Raphael and Michelangelo, guarding the portal of Prince Eugen's palace in Vienna's Him-

melfortgasse (now the Ministry of Finance).<sup>102</sup> The *Anchises* reveals some similarities to the corresponding relief from the ivory series of 1684, but it is unlikely that Johann Ignaz Bendl was responsible for these works. A more likely candidate would be Johann Stanetti, who was trained in Venice. Stanetti's first documented collaboration with Fischer was in 1701–3. In 1695 he married the widow of Adam Kracker (1653 – before 1695), who had worked on the Plague Column, and later worked—possibly with Bendl—on the redesign of the Harrach Palace in Bruck on the Leitha in 1708–11.<sup>103</sup>

Relief sculpture as practiced by Fischer and Bendl, with its classical and academic tendencies, is unquestionably indebted to the inventions of Roman and Venetian painters. In this connection, Schemper-Sparholz will soon publish a stone column (“Bildsäule”) with several reliefs dating from 1685,<sup>104</sup> which will also reveal something of the Bo-



Figure 42. Northern Italian (Venetian)?, *Portrait of an Unknown Man*. Marble, H. 86.4 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Gift of Camilla Chandler Frost, in honor of Peter Fusco (photo: Museum Associates, Los Angeles County Museum of Art)

hemian origins of Bendl's style in addition to these Italian ones. A similar influence may be seen in the earlier plaster figures by Christoph Abraham Walther from 1655/57 in the Stiftskirche at Lambach, Austria.<sup>105</sup>

I should mention that Peter König has advanced the hypothesis that Johann Ignaz Bendl collaborated—along with Lorenzo Matielli—on the series of statues of the Hapsburg monarchs begun by Paul Strudel in 1696 that are now displayed in the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.<sup>106</sup> He singles out especially the figures of Archduke Ferdinand II and Albrecht VII(?), though admittedly these were only completed under Peter von Strudel in 1711–13.<sup>107</sup> König also suggests that Bendl met Fischer in Rome before 1684.

The Los Angeles County Museum of Art owns a marble bust, 86.4 centimeters high, of an unknown gentleman in ceremonial armor (Figure 42).<sup>108</sup> Created in around 1700–20, as the museum's catalogue

states, this work, if not actually Italian, was certainly influenced by the sculpture of Northern Italy, possibly even of Venice. One thinks, for example, of Pietro Baratta (1659–1727), Giuseppe Torretti (1661–1743), Francesco Cabianca (1665–1737), or Antonio Corradini (1668–1752).<sup>109</sup> What is striking about the work is the contrast between the mass of the wig, with its almost summary repetition of nearly flat curls, and minute detail lavished on his exquisitely draped cloak and the filigree-like engraving of the buckles, buttons, studs, and so on, of his armor. Details of such delicacy and refinement are to be found neither in the products of the Strudel workshop nor the work of Johann Ignaz Bendl, nor of anyone else in Vienna at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

In the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, there are two oval portrait busts in relief of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, one of them in profile.<sup>110</sup> Altogether different in style from the bust in Los Angeles, and considerably earlier, these would appear to be among the local antecedents of Bendl's stone reliefs. They are certainly South German or Austrian, and were possibly created for the court at Innsbruck or Vienna. They are mentioned in the July 14, 1659, inventory of the archduke's art collection.<sup>111</sup> Leopold Wilhelm was also the Grand Master of the order of Teutonic Knights, and as such may have had connections with Georg Pfründt, who worked in Franconia, and the circle around Georg Schweigger in Nuremberg. The difference in quality between these portraits, especially the one *en face*, and the medals by Johann Ignaz Bendl in Klosterneuburg and elsewhere (Figures 5–7, 20, 21) is readily apparent. Certain features are reminiscent of the statues of the emperors Matthias I and Ferdinand I in the Kapuzinerkirche in Vienna, which were executed by Leonhard Worster in 1636. These have been published by Gertraud Schikola.<sup>112</sup>

Before returning to the question of the artistic origin of the *St. Sebastian* relief, let me list all the remaining works associated with Bendl or proven to have been created by him.

The first of these is the stone Four Elements fountain for the central square in Brno, which has been since 1868 in the courtyard of the Moravské Múzeum (Figures 43, 44). Over four meters high, the monument is documented by an etching of 1699 in Bendl's own hand.<sup>113</sup> He created the work in the years 1693–99, and it shows that he worked in the tradition of the Italian Baroque and not in the Mannerist style, as König suggested.<sup>114</sup> Arrayed with their respective attributes, allegorical figures of Air

(Mercury), Earth (Ceres), Water (Neptune), and Fire (Vulcan; Figure 44) are seen emerging from a mass of clouds forming the base.

The profile of Ceres is reminiscent of the sybil medallions in Vienna, and her figure bears a general similarity to the figures in the *St. Sebastian* relief—in the relationship between the body to the flowing movement of the drapery, in the type of the head, and in the treatment of the hair.

Bendl and Johann Jakob Thurneysser also made an engraving of the “Parnassus” fountain, designed in 1690 by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach for the Krautmarkt in Brno. “Parnassus” depicts the Four Monarchies, an allusion to the triumph of the Empire, and was executed by a “wälischer Bildhauer” (Giovanni Giuliani?) and Tobias Kracker the

Younger (1658–1736) by 1695.<sup>115</sup> Like the Four Monarchies fountain, Bendl’s Four Elements fountain is ultimately indebted to Italian prototypes. In its composition, he borrowed freely from Vienna’s Plague Column, and its figural ideas are taken from the more important sculptors who worked on that earlier project, Matthias Rauchmiller and Paul Strudel. Bendl’s fountain is more elegant than Fischer’s pyramid of stone. The overall concept of the work and the style of its figures and drapery give it the appearance of a smaller sculpture enlarged, and thus would tend to suggest a date for the *St. Sebastian* relief at the turn of the century or slightly later.

In the collections of the Zisterzienserstift at Zwettl there is “ein ecce homo bild aus buchsbaum,” which according to an October 6, 1731, entry in the diary



Figure 44. Detail of Figure 43

Figure 43. Johann Ignaz Bendl, *The Four Elements Fountain*. Stone, H. over 400 cm. Brno, courtyard of the Moravské Múzeum (photo: Moravské Múzeum)



Figure 45. Attributed to Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Ecce Homo*. Boxwood, H. 18 cm. Stiftsmuseum Zwettl, Lower Austria (photo: Bildarchiv der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna)

of Abbot Melchior von Zaunegg, is by “H. Pendl” and was purchased from the “Goldarbeiter Krauss zu Wien.”<sup>116</sup> The statuette, only 18 centimeters high (Figure 45), is a relatively faithful variant of the Christ attributed to François Duquesnoy, as represented, for example, by the bronze in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>117</sup> If one compares it to all of the above-named works, especially the draped figures in the reliefs on the Plague Column, one can easily imagine this “H. Pendl” to be our Johann Ignaz. Theoretically, he could also be Johann Paul Bendl,



Figure 46. Attributed to Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Ecce Homo*. Soapstone, H. 16 cm. Stiftsmuseum Zwettl, Lower Austria (photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna)

who went to Rome in 1680 and is still mentioned as being there in 1709, but stylistically this is highly unlikely.<sup>118</sup>

The abbot bought another work in Vienna in 1731, a bust of Christ crowned with thorns that is 16 centimeters high (Figure 46). An inscription on the back of a matching bust of the Virgin, obviously the sales record, reads: “Spöckstain, Wien, anno 1731, 6 fl[orins], 6 Kr[oner].”<sup>119</sup> Judging from the figure of Neptune on the fountain in Brno or the reliefs on the Plague Column, one could conclude that this Christ is indeed by Johann Ignaz Bendl—probably a relatively late work—or by someone quite close to him. It has been generally accepted that Bendl died in 1730, and the acquisition date given for these two works could serve as indirect confirmation of that assumption, for in 1731 the abbot may well have been buying from the artist’s estate.

We still need to mention a series of heads of the Apostles in Klosterneuburg, which I associated with Bendl in my 1962 catalogue of ivory works in that collection.<sup>120</sup> It is still impossible to construct a comprehensive chronology for Bendl's small works, so I will not try to solve the problem of their attribution. They reveal similarities to certain heads in the ivory reliefs of 1684, but they also seem to be related to some of the later works, for example the two depictions of Christ cited above.

In contrast to the work of Bendl's father, Johann Georg, in Bohemia,<sup>121</sup> and even to the style of the Plague Column reliefs, there appears to be something academic about the *St. Sebastian Nursed by St. Irene* relief. In recent years a number of scholars have alluded to the influence of Roman sculpture, namely that of Bernini and his followers, from Ercole Ferrata to Melchiorre Caffà, of Alessandro Algardi, and of François Duquesnoy, on the sculptors and carvers in South Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, and especially Vienna. Most of these have noted the intermediary role of Venetian sculpture in this transmission, a style characterized by painterly surface effects as well as hidden classical borrowings.<sup>122</sup> In this regard I mention Ehr Gott Bernhard Bendl (ca. 1660–1738), who was in Rome in 1678, having journeyed there from Paris. It is possible that while there he came to know our Johann Ignaz Bendl, also Fischer von Erlach, Thomas Schwanthaler, Michael Zürn the Younger, Johann Bernhard Mandl, and Wolf Weißenkirchner the Younger. E. B. Bendl may also have known Paul Strudel, who was then studying in Venice.<sup>123</sup> The direct sources of these influences were the art of Giusto le Court and his circle in Venice, on the one hand, and, on the other, apparently that of Giuseppe Mazza (1653–1741) in Bologna.<sup>124</sup> Michael Zürn the Younger might well have been in Bologna before 1675 or in about 1681/82, Ludovico Burnacini was definitely in Venice in 1683,<sup>125</sup> and Johann Ignaz Bendl may have been in Rome before 1684.

The central figure in the *St. Sebastian* relief is very similar to Bernini's *St. Lawrence*. The "disegno" of the panel, with its three-dimensional yet relatively flat figures and background architecture, is not so much reminiscent of the relief style of Algardi as it is of the paintings of academically oriented painters such as Andrea Sacchi and Pietro da Cortona, also Domenichino, Guido Reni, and later Carlo Maratta. In its overall composition as well as in the main features of its figures it would appear to have a direct prototype in the painting of the same subject by Gia-

cinto Gimignani (1606–81), which dates from 1642 and was returned only recently to the altar in S. Domenico in Pistoia.<sup>126</sup> There is a copy of this painting by Gimignani himself<sup>127</sup> and an engraving of his dated 1649 (Figure 2).<sup>128</sup> Gimignani's composition is based in part on Andrea Sacchi's *Death of St. Anne* of 1640/42 in S. Carlo ai Catinari in Rome, a painting frequently reproduced in engravings.<sup>129</sup> Sacchi's early altarpiece in S. Maria della Concezione in Rome, *St. Anthony Raising a Youth from the Dead*, adopts the well-known St. Susanna figure by François Duquesnoy,<sup>130</sup> and sculptors like Pietro Paolo Naldini also studied in Sacchi's academy. On the other hand, Guido Reni's *Venus at her Bath* in the National Gallery, London, of around 1622 or even earlier, would appear to be the ultimate source for all of the variants of this compositional scheme.<sup>131</sup> The figure of the kneeling St. Irene in the *St. Sebastian* relief can clearly be traced back to a type used repeatedly in Rome about 1620/30. It was used by Simon Vouet about 1620 in his painting of *St. Sebastian Nursed by St. Irene* in the Candorelli collection in Rome. Vouet's paintings of St. Sebastian probably influenced Pierre Puget as well,<sup>132</sup> and the fact should not be overlooked that Gimignani had close connections with the French art colony in Rome.

Gimignani, a pupil of Pietro da Cortona and Poussin, was one of the more moderately academic Roman painters from before the middle of the century, an artist who repeatedly created carefully drawn, rather simple compositions based on well-known, preexisting pictorial types. This was not unlike Giovanni Francesco Romanelli,<sup>133</sup> who created his St. Sebastian when he collaborated with Sacchi on the baptistery of the Lateran. In Romanelli's portrayal, the saint is resting his left hand lightly on the cloth draping his chair. Bendl's stone relief (Figure 1) reverses the figure, and the saint now uses his right hand to help brace himself. In Gimignani's work (Figure 2), St. Irene bends down only slightly beside the sufferer, intent on her task. The Solnhofen stone, on the other hand, has her kneeling in front of the young man and leaning back as she looks upward in sorrow, holding an arrow she has just removed from his hand. The male figure behind and to the right of the saint in the painting has been transformed into another servant woman trying to extract an arrow from the martyr's breast, while the pair of figures made up of a cloaked woman with a sponge and a boy holding a basin for her has been separated from the main grouping and moved back and to the side. A pillar and a series



Figure 47. Melchior Küsel after a drawing by Matthias Rauchmiller, *Doctrines of the Viennese Jesuits*. Engraving, 61 × 45 cm. Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum (photo: Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum)

of perspective arches take the place of the large curtain of the painting, and the putti have been drawn closer together. A scene helping to define the space, such as the one of the hills to the upper right in the relief, would have offended the sensibilities of the academic painter.

The sculptural style in the execution of the figures, the sweep of the characteristic draperies, even the cut of their hems—all of these qualities seem to me to be defined primarily by impressions that Johann Ignaz Bendl must have experienced in his

study of the works of Matthias Rauchmiller: for example, the angel figures on the Plague Column, with their rich and complicated drapery and exquisite, even tender expressions, especially the ones with the lute and the book;<sup>134</sup> the ivory tankard from 1676 in Vaduz depicting the Rape of the Sabines, with its swirling movement and virtuosic back carving;<sup>135</sup> and lastly a figure such as the Minerva in the center of the engraving listing the doctrines of the Viennese Jesuits (Figure 47) in the Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck.<sup>136</sup> Admittedly,



Figure 48. Ignaz Elhafen after Matthias Rauchmiller, *The Death of Cleopatra*. Ivory, 11 × 19.2 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

Figure 49. Jacob Auer?, *St. Sebastian*. Ivory. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (photo: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe)



the torsion that characterizes Minerva and helps to define the space in which she is placed is something Johann Ignaz Bendl neither could nor would have hoped to achieve. An ivory relief of the *Death of Cleopatra* by Ignaz Elhafen (Figure 48),<sup>137</sup> now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, seems to be almost a companion piece to the *St. Sebastian* relief. Probably created between 1697 and 1715 as an adaptation of one of Rauchmiller's engraved designs, this work is even more pictorial, more additive in its effect. In the realm of monumental art, one is also reminded of Pierre Puget's *St. Charles Borromeo and the Plague* in Marseilles, which dates from between 1688 and 1692/93.<sup>138</sup>

In the majority of Rauchmiller's other works—such as the epitaph for Octavio Pestaluzzi of 1679, formerly in St. Magdalena in Breslau and preserved only in fragments,<sup>139</sup> the standing Piast figures in Liegnitz of 1675/79,<sup>140</sup> or even in his graphic works and his ceiling frescoes in the Dominikanerkirche in Vienna,<sup>141</sup> difficult to judge because of their poor

state of preservation—one can find similarities in both technique and style to all of the Bendl works described so far.<sup>142</sup> The similarities can be seen in the ivory medallions, the bronze medals, the stone sculptures, and the ivory reliefs of about 1684. They all reveal a fascination with detail, whether in the rendering of richly ornamented costume, the drapery of contrasting textile designs, or the female figures' hairstyles.

There is an ivory *St. Sebastian* relief in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, in Hamburg (Figure 49), which was carved either shortly before or at the same time as the one in Solnhofen stone. In my opinion it is more likely the work of Jacob Auer (1645–1706) than of Matthias Rauchmiller.<sup>143</sup> As such, it serves, along with the *Cleopatra* panel by Elhafen, as a further example of the influence of Rauchmiller's art on the smaller sculpture of the period.

Postponing for the moment further remarks on the larger context of Johann Ignaz Bendl's art in the region of Bohemia and Moravia as well as Austria, and on the relationships between Vienna and Venice, let me cite yet another relief carved from the soft and easily worked Solnhofen stone. This one, a *Martyrdom of St. Barbara*, is in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (Figure 50).<sup>144</sup> Executed in recessed high and low relief within a tall oval, this work presents in the left foreground a splendid executioner, the king, wearing a richly bordered cloak and a turban, who is just reaching for his sword. On the ground before him kneels his daughter, seemingly in a transport of prayer for all who remember the Passion of Christ and his martyrs. One is struck by the way the executioner's left hand rests lightly on the young woman's naked breast. On the ground beside her stand the chalice and host of the devoted Christian, who will later comfort the faithful at their hour of death. The setting is either Heliopolis or Antioch in Syria, where in the reign of Emperor Maximian she was betrayed by her father (who was later killed by lightning) because she had had herself baptized and refused to recant. The figure of Jupiter on the right, with his bolts of lightning and his eagle, stands on a pedestal that is beginning to show cracks. His appearance points to Rome, as does the suggestion of a barred cave or cellar below, the cellar beneath the Capitol, where, according to other Latin versions of the legend, St. Barbara suffered, then managed to escape, and finally perished. The oriental locale is suggested not so much by the horsemen on the upper right and the turreted silhouette of a city as by the exotic fig-



Figure 50. Vienna or Upper Austrian?, *The Martyrdom of St. Barbara*. Solnhofen stone, 21.1 × 17.2 cm. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum)

ures, some with Negroid features, on the left below the powerful but oddly riderless horse and a free-floating parasol—one suspects that the landscape was never finished. The larger cherubs in the clouds above the scene bear the crown and palm branch of the martyr. The dove of the Holy Ghost hovers over all.

The use of Solnhofen stone in this period was limited to southern Germany, especially to Nuremberg, but except for various much simpler small reliefs, wholly unrelated to the work of Georg Schweigger, there is nothing comparable in style to be found in this area.<sup>145</sup>

At first glance there would seem to be few similarities, either in relief treatment or in the style of the figures, to the *St. Sebastian* relief I attribute to Bendl. Yet the fierce-looking, bearded head of the king/executioner, some of the other individual facial types, the putti in the bulging clouds, and to some extent even the richly ornamented fabrics remind one of the work of Thomas Schwanthaler (1634–



Figure 51. Michael Willmann, *The Martyrdom of St. Barbara*. Oil painting. Leubus, Silesia, Stiftskirche (photo after Erich Kloss, *Michael Willmann*)

1707) and his circle in Upper Austria. One thinks, for example, of the large framed wood group of *The Beheading of St. Barbara* of 1672 in the parish church in Schalchen,<sup>146</sup> or a series of small-format reliefs in wood, now found in St. Florian (near Linz), Hamburg, London, and Munich, that are also attributed to an early-eighteenth-century workshop in the tradition of Schwanthaler.<sup>147</sup> However, there is still no conclusive identification of these works, nothing to clarify their relationship to specific—for the most part Italian—prototypes. It is instructive to compare the group of horsemen in the Nuremberg *St. Barbara* relief with the corresponding one from the boxwood panel of the *Beheading of St. Paul*. The latter, by Michael Zürn the Younger, signed mZ and dating to the 1680s, in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin,<sup>148</sup> appears derivative of the painting and sculpture of Bologna.

It is possible to imagine the oval relief in Nuremberg as being closely related to the Bendl oeuvre if one takes into account the precarious stance of the

executioner, the various types of heads and faces, the extremely opulent garments and the way they relate to the body, the fascination with detail in the secondary scenes, in the attributes, the costumes, and the ground area, the technical treatment of the medium, or even features such as the “graven image” on its shaky pedestal. All of these have parallels in the medallions, the series of sibyls, the Plague Column reliefs, or the Vienna Laocoön relief (Figure 32) of about 1684. To make such a connection, one would again have to consider the influence, even on the execution of the work, of earlier carvings and designs by other artists, Fischer von Erlach, for example, and Roman painting before and



Figure 52. Johann Michael Rottmayr, *The Beheading of St. Barbara*. Oil painting, 308 × 182 cm. Marbach, near Mauthausen, Upper Austria (photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna)

around the middle of the century. I should also mention the Bohemian and Moravian origins of the art of Johann Ignaz Bendl; very little is known about it. One would want to examine the work not only of his father, Johann Georg (see below), but also that of the followers of Georg Bendl in Prague (died 1657), whose reliefs from as early as around 1630 may be seen in Prague's St. Vitus Cathedral.<sup>149</sup>

Given the obvious isolation of the primary actors in the *St. Barbara* relief, the scene's placement in front of a strikingly two-dimensional hilly landscape that is by no means convincing in terms of perspective, and the position of the secondary groupings in the upper right and lower left and their relationship to the landscape and to the relief surface itself, one has to assume that the artist based his work on previous compositions, either prints or paintings.

Michael Willmann (1630–1706) produced two paintings of this subject. Using largely the same cast of characters, he focuses on the decisive dramatic moment when the executioner has raised his sword and is about to bring it down on his victim's neck. A theatrical use of lighting serves to heighten the drama of the scene. One of these, set at night, hangs in the palace at Brieg.<sup>150</sup> Painted in 1687, it introduces a large angel figure hovering on the right. The other painting, of 1682, includes more figures and adds the statue of a god in the upper right (Figure 51). It may be seen in the Cistercian church at Leubus, Silesia.<sup>151</sup> Compared with this latter prototype, the version of the subject by Johann Michael Rottmayr, painted in Vienna in 1709 but hung above the side altar of the church in the *Johannispital*, Salzburg, reveals a wholly different feeling of space.<sup>152</sup> Nevertheless, it does preserve the statue of a heathen god in a niche in the upper right, in this case a *Hercules at Rest*. However, a second painting by Rottmayr, of 1704, is most like our relief, if only in the way its many figures are so closely packed together (Figure 52). Formerly in the palace chapel, it now hangs in the palace itself at Marbach, near Mauthausen.<sup>153</sup> Yet, here too, the executioner is on the point of swinging his sword and the startled on-lookers and attendants are again more closely related to the figures in the foreground, who serve as a frame around the action. Returning to the relief, one is struck by the distinctly Mannerist proportions of the main figures. For example, note the small size of the martyr's head.

There are other points of comparison between Rottmayr and Bendl. Regarding the latter's ivory reliefs in Vienna of about 1684, especially the *Abduc-*

*tion of Helen* and the *Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, it is worth studying two horizontal paintings that Rottmayr completed in Venice before 1687, one of Sophonisba, the other of Cleopatra,<sup>154</sup> both formerly in Bohemian collections. In this connection it is worth noting that Rottmayr, who studied with the famous painter Carl Loth (1632–97) in Venice for roughly ten years (from after 1675 to before 1687/88), painted the fresco portraying the builder of the palace at Frain, in Moravia, in 1695. Fischer von Erlach had been one of the architects involved in the design of the palace in 1688/89, and one of the sculptors who collaborated on the project was Tobias Kracker the Younger, the brother of Adam Kracker. In 1694, Tobias the Younger unveiled his statues of the ancestors of Johann Michael II, Count Althan, a cycle modeled after Paul Strudel's Hapsburg series in Vienna.<sup>155</sup>

In 1689 Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach had found a patron in Count Thun, in Salzburg, and Bernhard Mandl had also moved there from Prague. In the fall of 1695 Rottmayr went to the seminary at Heiligenkreuz, near Vienna. While there, he executed the painting for the high altar, for which Giuliani had created the sculptures in 1694/95. Then after November 1696 and from 1698–1708 Rottmayr was back in the capital. It was probably the sculptor Wolf Weissenkirchner the Younger (1639–1703) who had arranged to send Rottmayr to Carl Loth in Venice sometime between 1675 and 1679. Peter Strudel, a brother of the sculptor, was also studying in Venice up to 1685, when he returned to Vienna, where he would become Rottmayr's chief competitor.<sup>156</sup> Johann Ignaz Bendl, who as we have seen was employed in around 1687 with Adam Kracker on the Plague Column, obviously felt a kinship to the sculptors (and painters) around Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach in the years from 1685/90 to after 1700. In this regard one should note that Tobias Kracker the Elder (married 1650 in Vienna), the father of Adam and Tobias, was originally from Bohemia, and was one of the teachers of Balthasar Permoser, who left Wolf Weissenkirchner the Younger in Salzburg and went to Vienna in 1670.<sup>157</sup>

In 1690 Bendl translated Strudel's design for a triumphal arch into an ivory medallion (Figure 17), as well as the two designs by Fischer von Erlach (Figures 11, 15).

Joseph Kracker, incidentally, the son of the younger Tobias, later worked for Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt, and from 1708 to 1711 he worked in

Bruck on the Leitha (cf. notes 82, 157) with the sculptors Giovanni Stanetti and Johann Ignaz Bendl. None of his works created there has been identified.<sup>158</sup> Just as Stanetti had been trained in Venice, Paul and Peter Strudel had been pupils of Carl Loth (died 1697), and were doubtless even more important in spreading Loth's style and manner of composition in Austria, especially Vienna, than Rottmayr.

Nevertheless, Rottmayr's early pictures of *St. Sebastian Nursed by St. Irene*, one from 1695 in St. Stephen's Cathedral in Passau (Figure 3)<sup>159</sup> and the other from 1697 on one of the side altars of the former Cistercian church (now the parish church) in Raitenhasslach,<sup>160</sup> with a variant from after 1702 in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum,<sup>161</sup> reveal in part a distinct indebtedness to the works of Loth, and they would also appear to have been known by Johann Ignaz Bendl. Furthermore, the stucco angel figures framing the Passau altarpiece are from the workshop of Diego Francesco Carlone, and date to after 1695. Peter Strudel, who was with Carl Loth in Venice until 1695, has also left a painting on this subject, which hangs in the Stiftskirche at Klosterneuburg.<sup>162</sup> It was completed only in 1698, and the saint is shown standing up rather than seated.

In 1689 Peter Strudel was appointed official painter to the Viennese court. In the previous autumn he had founded in what would later become known as the Strudelhof, the "Accademia del disegno del naturale," which was officially recognized by the court on October 26, 1692. Beginning in the spring of 1692 plaster casts of classical and "modern" sculptures were imported from Rome to be used by students at his academy.<sup>163</sup> And between 1682 and 1687 Paul Strudel, the sculptor, created both life-size and smaller marble figures as framing sculptures for the paintings of Carl Loth and Johann Michael Rottmayr from 1685/87 for the Cappella del Crocefisso in the cathedral at Trent.<sup>164</sup>

One must consider the studio of Carl Loth in Venice, one of the most important centers for the training of painters and sculptors from South Germany, Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, where (according to the testimony of Nicodemus Tessin from 1688<sup>165</sup> and others) his drawing classes copied Roman antiquities, works by Alessandro Algardi, and engravings. Another center, beginning in 1670/80, was the workshop of Giusto le Court.

For Bendl and his *St. Sebastian* relief and also for the questionable *St. Barbara* relief, one can find only relatively close compositional links to Johann Mi-

chael Rottmayr's works on the same themes in the years 1690/1700 but no direct relationship to either Loth or le Court. Yet as noted above, the types of figures in the *St. Sebastian* relief, its relief style, and the structure of its draped figures have a certain Roman quality, just as the more painterly *St. Barbara* relief has a detailed surface treatment that seems reminiscent of Venetian artists. One thinks of the sensitivity of the works of Giacomo Piazzetta (ca. 1640–1705),<sup>166</sup> for example, or the paintings of Sebastiano Ricci. It is possible, when one considers Ludovico Burnacini's designs for Vienna's Plague Column,<sup>167</sup> that we should include him as one of the artists who brought Italian prototypes to Bendl's attention.

#### EXCURSUS

I have deliberately not included here all the medals heretofore associated with Johann Ignaz Bendl. But there are two large, uniface pieces in bronze attributed by Franz Dworschak to either Fischer or Bendl; one represents Cesare d'Avalos, Marquess of Pesaro (doubtless from 1700), and the other, a tall oval, is of Franz Ehrenreich von Trauttmansdorff (1662–1719), a count of the Holy Roman Empire and imperial ambassador to Switzerland.<sup>168</sup> The second of these is now missing, but the first is still in the collections of the Augustiner-Chorherren-Stift, Herzogenburg. Compared to Bendl's ivory medallions discussed above or, for example, the double portrait of Louis XIV and Sultan Mohamed (Figure 20) in Klosterneuburg, Trauttmansdorff's portrait seems much less refined in its adaptation of the bust to the round and in specific features such as the modeling of the hair. In this latter respect, it somewhat resembles the second Klosterneuburg double portrait (Figure 21).

Another medal, a cast silver piece commemorating the conquest of the city of Ofen in 1686 (Figures 53, 54), serves as an object lesson on the difficulty of determining the sources of Bendl's medallion style and technique. The copy in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, is relatively small, only 5.7 centimeters in diameter.<sup>169</sup> Dworschak chose to relate it to various stamped pieces, suggesting that its reverse design, with the imperial eagle above the besieged city, was reminiscent of older medals made at the same time as or shortly after those bearing the monogram IPM (Johann Permann).<sup>170</sup> Like these,



Figure 53. Attributed to Jan Smeltzing, *Leopold I*, 1686. Silver, cast, Diam. 5.7 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

Figure 54. Reverse of Figure 53, showing *The Conquest of Ofen* (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

the stamped pieces were created in collaboration with the historiographer Dominik Franz Calin von Marienberg and foreign designers. Johann Permann, a wax modeler and medalist who had married in Vienna in 1660 and worked there, was influenced by the medals of Georg Pfründt and others—his datable pieces span the period 1657 to 1680. Karl Schulz points out that by contrast, the stylistic sources for the BUDA CAPTA medal were in fact the medals of Louis XIV, one of whose carvers was the diemaker Jan Smeltzing (1656–93) from Leiden, who worked at the royal mint in Paris in 1690. The silver medal of Leopold I may well have been based on a stamped piece—another one from 1686 is signed—and displays the obligatory style set forth in the *Histoire Métallique* series, not only in its profile portrait but also in its lettering and the composition on the reverse.<sup>171</sup> This uniform medal style established by the French Academy is in fact quite different from that of Johann Ignaz Bendl.

Yet one must bear in mind that the artists who designed many of these medals and those who executed them were only rarely one and the same. This is true not only of the works from South Germany and Austria in general, and from Vienna specifically, but also of the Italian prototypes on which Bendl's style was ultimately based.

Hans Sedlmayr has pointed out that the painterly, flat relief style of the 1686 BUDA CAPTA medal in Vienna suggests the apparent influence of Fischer von Erlach and the medallic art of Rome after inventions by Bernini.<sup>172</sup> Fischer had trained and worked in Italy, primarily in Naples and Rome, from roughly 1671 to 1686. Bendl also seems to strive for a painterly overall impression, certainly in the scenes on the reverse of the ivory medallions in New

York and Vienna and even in some of his portraits. But in spite of his technical virtuosity his work does not display the compositional and formal grandeur achieved by Fischer in his medals from the period 1679–82.<sup>173</sup> Dworschak compared this relationship between the versatile—not always terribly original—Bendl and Fischer von Erlach to that between Gioacchino Francesco Travani (active from 1634 to 1674/75) and Bernini.<sup>174</sup> Travani's self-portrait of 1680, for example, with its ship on the high seas and the inscription TUTUS · IN · ADVERSIS,<sup>175</sup> is an excellent parallel to Bendl's medallions and medals. One notes a similar overall concept, a similar style of modeling, the same relationship between portrait and inscription, and the same type of reverse design. However, this is not meant to detract from the importance of Bendl's cast medals with their obvious propagandistic and patriotic function in Vienna in the politically crucial decades between 1680 and 1700.

If Johann Ignaz Bendl really was with Fischer von Erlach in Italy but did not create the series of ivory reliefs on mythological subjects while he was there, he must have left for Vienna before his contemporary, sometime before 1684.

When looking at Bendl's ivory panels (Figures 30, 33) and at specific features of the *St. Sebastian* relief, one can compare them to reliefs exhibited at the Florentine Academy in Rome in the 1670s—works by Giovanni Battista Foggini (1652–1725), for example, or Carlo Marcellini,<sup>176</sup> and see how influential the classical compositions by artists like Andrea Sacchi, Pietro da Cortona, or Ciro Ferri were and the importance of these compositions on students from the north. Bendl's graphic works also show this, as we shall see shortly.

Italian artists also influenced Bendl's style, just as they did that of Balthasar Permoser. Bendl's sense of the individual figure and the manner in which it is accommodated in the space of the relief, his adductive style of drapery, the way his figures appear to have been modeled in wax can all be seen in the work of Domenico Guidi (specifically in his *Lamentation of Christ* of 1667–76,<sup>177</sup>) in Melchior Caffà,<sup>178</sup> and somewhat less clearly in the works of Ercole Ferrata, one of whose duties was to instruct the young Florentine students in Rome in the art of modeling.

In his ivory panels, Bendl can be compared not so much with the variant style of Bernini's successors in Venice as represented by Giusto le Court as with Domenico Parodi (1630–1702) of Genoa, who worked in Venice and the Veneto after 1683. This is true of Bendl's use and adaptation of earlier designs and of accepted principles of composition and his concept of drapery and figures. We need only compare the *St. Sebastian* relief to Parodi's *Pietà* in S. Giustina, Padua,<sup>179</sup> his tomb monument for Francesco Morosini (died 1678) in S. Nicola dei Tolentini, Venice or to the figures of the Apostles in S. Giorgio Maggiore from 1685.<sup>180</sup>

Also of interest with respect to the figures on the reverse of the New York medallion described above (Figure 7) and Bendl's reliefs in general are the embossed copper reliefs of Antonio Bonacini, who was originally from Milan but who worked in Venice in the second half of the seventeenth century. Some of these are in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vi-

enna.<sup>181</sup> The Italian's figures do not crowd into the foreground to quite the same degree, but he reveals a similarly theatrical use of architecture and landscape as a means of creating a sense of spaciousness, and he shares the same fascination with decorative details and the subtlest of background relief, which in his case was achieved by repoussé and engraving.

The *St. Sebastian* relief must be much later than the ivory panels in Vienna and the ivory medallions (Figures 5–7, 11, 17, 22). While in its composition it recalls the crafting of Giacinto Gimignani and ultimately of Guido Reni and Andrea Sacchi, in its execution it reveals a rather more elegant, sharp-edged style, one influenced, as noted above, by Matthias Rauchmiller. Rauchmiller's delicate drawing of the *Annunciation* in the Albertina in Vienna<sup>182</sup> may well have been a design for a relief similar to the *St. Sebastian* panel. Thus in addition to the Italians with their predominantly academic approach and the artists of his native Bohemia and Moravia, whose style is as yet too little understood, the chief influences on the smaller sculpture of Johann Ignaz Bendl are the works in the tradition of the Viennese court artists, from Johann Caspar Schenk (died 1674) and the young Matthias Steinl to Matthias Rauchmiller, whose superbly designed ivory tankard of 1676 is in the Liechtenstein collections.<sup>183</sup> Again it must be admitted that Bendl was incapable of achieving the virtuosity of form and dramatic movement represented by Steinl and Rauchmiller. Speaking specifically of drawings, Veronika Birke has suggested that we still do not know enough



Figure 55. Giuseppe Maria Mazza, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*. Bronze. Venice, San Clemente in Isola (photo: Museo Civico, Venice)

about the influence of artists from the Netherlands (specifically Antwerp)<sup>184</sup> on developments in Vienna. It may be that this sharp-edged, virtuosic style of Rauchmiller's tankard, for example, or the tomb monument for Philipp Erwin von Schönborn in Geisenheim, which is attributed to either Rauchmiller or Johann Wolfgang Fröhlicher (1653–1700),<sup>185</sup> both owe something to this same influence. Bendl's large sculptures—the fountain in Brno (Figure 43), for example, or the Virgin Column that Ingeborg Schemper-Sparholz is about to publish, as well as his works in wood created after the turn of the century—also appear to have various stylistic sources. On the one hand they are indebted to the Italian High Baroque, and on the other to South German, Austrian, and Bohemian traditions that were influenced by the Italians but independent of them.

One reason for suggesting a relatively late date for the *St. Sebastian* relief—I think it was created well after 1690—is its striking similarity to the reliefs of Giuseppe Maria Mazza of Bologna, whose earliest work dates from 1681. Mazza's relief of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in S. Clemente in Isola, Venice (Figure 55) bears the date 1704.<sup>186</sup> In his works the figures tend to be grouped closely together in a small space in the foreground, while the

background, though of necessity flat, is so richly filled with stagelike scenery that it evokes a sense of great space. Mazza's reliefs thus betray not only his close association with painters, for example Giovan Gioseffo del Sole and Lorenzo Pasinelli, but also his own training in painting. His bronze reliefs of scenes from the life and work of St. Dominic in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, of great importance for further developments in this medium, were admittedly created considerably later, the wax models in 1716–19, and the casts in 1722.<sup>187</sup>

In another way, the *St. Barbara* relief (Figure 50) seems to me to contain certain Mannerist elements that become increasingly evident in relief art of the eighteenth century. One notes, for example, the proportions of the head and the body, or the relationship between the body and its clothing. Some of these features would become characteristic of the South German Rococo, the Carlones, or Joseph Anton Feuchtmayr.<sup>188</sup> In their seeming horror vacui, these artists no longer insisted on logically structured, comprehensible relief spaces, and though they tend to use highly realistic features and exaggerated expressions, they show an increasing indifference to anatomical accuracy, so that frequently it is left to the elaborate design of drapery to convey the artist's sense of form.

Figure 56. Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Alexander the Great and the Gordian Knot*. Etching, 36.3 × 53 cm. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (photo: Albertina)



SOME NOTES ON THE GRAPHIC WORK OF  
JOHANN IGNAZ BENDL

The majority of Bendl's known engravings and etchings, either signed by him or attributed to him on the basis of style and technique, are preserved in either the Albertina or the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna.<sup>189</sup>

The Albertina has two large etchings, each with numerous figures in a stagelike setting. One is of *Alexander the Great and the Gordian Knot* (Figure 56),<sup>190</sup> the other is of *Achilles and Kyknos* or *Hector* (Figure 57).<sup>191</sup> The latter is signed in the lower left: "Bendl in: et fecit 1700," and though its label identifies it as the battle between Achilles and Kyknos, the son of Poseidon and Kalyke, the attributes would suggest otherwise. Kyknos, who had come to the aid of the Trojans, was first stunned by a stone, then strangled with the strap of his helmet. The sword and lance as well as the shield and breastplate (of Patroclus) in the foreground make it more likely that this is the close of the struggle between Achilles and Hector, the Trojan prince.

The overall layout of this composition, the relationship between the large figures on the stage of the foreground and those of the middle distance and background, the heavy proportions and the fa-

cial types, even the insistence on the precise rendering of all the details of costume and armor recall the style of the ivory reliefs in Vienna from around 1684. One might compare, for example, *Philoctetes Outwitting Odysseus*<sup>192</sup> or the *Argus Watching over Io*.<sup>193</sup>

The placement of the two warriors in the foreground is reminiscent of the Rotterdam oil sketch from the Achilles cycle by Peter Paul Rubens of 1625/27,<sup>194</sup> from which Franz Ertinger (1669—after 1697) made an engraving in 1679. However, for the entire concept and compositional scheme one can again point to Pietro da Cortona—his *Death of Turnus* of 1651/54 in the Galleria Pamphili<sup>195</sup>—and his school, to Carlo Cesio (1626–86)<sup>196</sup> and especially Giacinto Gimignani. The most relevant of Gimignani's works are the fresco *The Vision of Constantine Before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge* in S. Giovanni in Fonte, Rome,<sup>197</sup> and the drawing in the Galleria Pallavicini in Rome for the enamel painting of the *Magnanimity of Scipio*.<sup>198</sup> One also finds very similar figures and facial types in his *Death of Virginia*.<sup>199</sup> Also worthy of mention in this context are the works of Domenichino's pupil Andrea Camassei (1602–48/49), who in the 1640s worked with Gimignani for Andrea Sacchi in the baptistery of the Lateran in Rome.<sup>200</sup> The style and technique of the engravings produced by Salvator Rosa (1615–73) in Rome from



Figure 57. Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Achilles and Kyknos* or *Hector*. Etching, 34.8 × 51.5 cm. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (photo: Albertina)



Figure 58. Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Etching, 31 × 52 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1968, 68.599

about 1650 on likewise suggest the sort of work Bendl could well have come to know during his sojourn in Italy. I mention only Rosa's *Death of Atticus Regulus* from about 1662.<sup>201</sup> Bendl, however, as the rest of his graphics show, seemed especially interested in the particular contrast of light and shadow in the center-stage figures as opposed to that in the middle distance and background. One might compare his technique with that of Stefano della Bella (1610–64) in the *Il Cosmo o verso L'Italia Trionfante* of 1650, his first work after his return from France.<sup>202</sup>

There is also an etching of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* in the Albertina (Figure 58), signed on the column section "Bendl 1700."<sup>203</sup> Since he failed to include the word "invenit" in his signature, one is tempted to assume he was borrowing from a Roman prototype by someone like Pier Francesco Mola (1612–66), who also worked with Francesco Albani (1578–1666) in Bologna,<sup>204</sup> or one by a true Bolognese such as the Reni follower Elisabetta Sirani (1638–65).<sup>205</sup> In Bendl's etching of the *Awakening of Lazarus* in the Albertina,<sup>206</sup> the style and technique, especially the type of drapery and the theatrical manner in which he frames the landscape with figures in the middle distance, again link him with Bologna, another Reni pupil, Giovanni Battista Bolognini the Elder (1611–88), and his *Peter Receiving the Keys*.<sup>207</sup> At the same time the style and technique

are reminiscent of Gimignani's allegory *Fortune Favoring Ignorance and Turning Away Virtue*, an etching of 1672,<sup>208</sup> or the types of heads and figures found in Alessandro Algardi and Pietro da Cortona.<sup>209</sup>

The Albertina's signed etching of the *Conversion of Saul* (Figure 59)<sup>210</sup> is altogether freer and lighter, less academic. Here Bendl reveals a technique and sensibility slightly reminiscent of Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770). One might well compare the work to the *Allegory on the Viennese Republic*<sup>211</sup> by Giuseppe Diamantini (1621–1705) or the prints by Giulio Carpioni (1611/13–79) in Venice.<sup>212</sup>

Also in the Albertina's collection is a series of quite freely drawn heads and half figures of biblical and mythological characters. Only a head of one of the Apostles is illustrated here (Figure 60),<sup>213</sup> which can hardly have been meant to be a finished sketch for a work in progress. In these etchings it seems that Bendl was inspired by some Bolognese artists, Agostino Carracci (1557–1609), for example,<sup>214</sup> and especially by Salvator Rosa, who worked in Rome around the middle of the century.<sup>215</sup> The same may be true of various quite sketchy but highly imaginative designs for fountains that Bendl produced.<sup>216</sup> These are for the most part rather modest, two-dimensional designs for wall basins and shell grottos, and I have no way of knowing whether all of them are of his own invention. Certainly this is the case for the print of the Four Elements fountain in Brno,

which bears the legend “Ignatius Bendl inven. delin. et fecit aqua forti.”<sup>217</sup>

This is not the place to discuss Bendl’s various etchings with designs for ceiling corners and their relationship to planned or existing projects.<sup>218</sup> As a sample, I am illustrating the one from the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst with the signature “Bendl In. et Sculp. 1699 Wiens” (Figure 61).<sup>219</sup> It seems to refer to the arts and sciences on the left, with a globe, a lute, and a violin. On the right an oar, an urn, and a pair of dolphins above a large shell serve to symbolize water. The manner in which he has incorporated the figures into the ornamental architectonic framework is extremely sophisticated. Doubtless related to this design is another print, signed “Bendl. f.,” with a mythological design in the center panel.<sup>220</sup>

Other graphic works are also in the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, and most are signed with the monogram ligature *JB*.<sup>221</sup> Among these are six designs for sedan chairs, eight for sleighs—some of them including figures in period costume<sup>222</sup>—and eight for chairs. It is interesting to note that oriental figures and Chinese heads appear in some of these prints, just as they do in various other designs. There are thirteen prints of lamps and sconces of widely different types, most of which lend themselves to being executed in precious metals.<sup>223</sup> One of the wall sconces also has a Chinese figure supporting a mirror.

In contrast to the above, the seven pages of illustrations, or designs, for garden vases<sup>224</sup> are for the most part derivative of French and Italian prototypes—like the urn designs of the great Fischer von



Figure 59. Johann Ignaz Bendl, *The Conversion of Saul*. Etching, 20.7 × 12.8 cm. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (photo: Albertina)



Figure 60. Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Head of a Man (Apostle?)*. Etching. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (photo: Albertina)

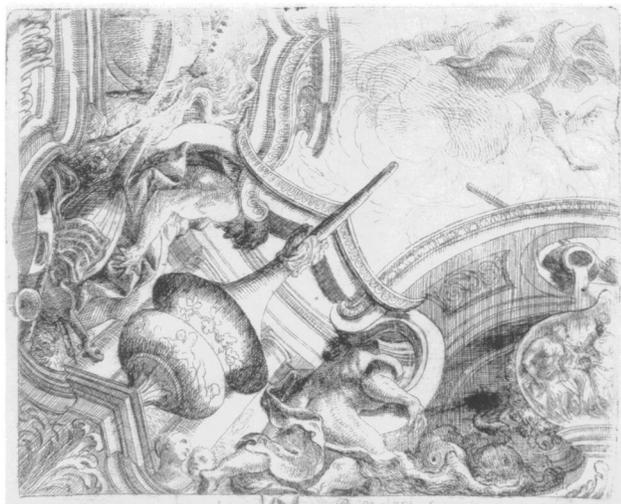


Figure 61. Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Corner for a Ceiling*. Etching, 15.7 × 18.9 cm. Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst (photo: Österreichisches Museum)

Erlach and the actual pieces based on them.<sup>225</sup> Even so, they display considerable ingenuity in their details.

There are no Chinese figures in these last prints, but these do reappear in two of the pen drawings of vases, fountains, and figures in landscapes, thought to be by Bendl, that came on the art market in Zu-

rich in 1965.<sup>226</sup> One shows an oriental gardener at the entrance to a park; the other, a little Rococo scene at the edge of a lake, has a lute player sitting on a branch of a tree. A second figure stands in a small skiff and pours something into a container, perhaps a lamp that he is filling with oil suspended from what looks like a fishing pole.

Twelve prints present various jugs and pots; most of them are probably teapots.<sup>227</sup> These could be of special interest to anyone studying metalwork (silver) or early porcelain and their relationship. They have a bearing on the early history of porcelain manufacture in Vienna and elsewhere and especially oriental influence. A squat object, with one snake for a handle and another twisting across the fluting of the throat area and coiling around the base of the spout (Figure 62), is reminiscent of a silversmith's technique.<sup>228</sup> Another teapot rests on a base with moldings of various designs, which, together with the geometrical facets that form the squat body of the vessel, provide a striking contrast to the vine tendrils growing from the branch that serves as a spout. Here, too, a coiling serpent is the handle, its grotesque head resting on the luxuriant leaf that forms the lid (Figure 63).<sup>229</sup> The plump body of a third, which boasts a crouching animal with an oriental's head and a long beard as a lid ornament, is decorated with a landscape—whether to



Figure 62. Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Teapot*. Etching. Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst (photo: Österreichisches Museum)



Figure 63. Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Teapot*. Etching, 12 × 9 cm. Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst (photo: Österreichisches Museum)



Figure 64. Johann Ignaz Bendl, *Teapot*. Etching, 12 × 9 cm. Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst (photo: Österreichisches Museum)

be thought of as painted or engraved and gilt is impossible to say. In it a procession of carriages can be seen moving past palm trees toward a distant city. The delicate drawing of this scene contrasts sharply with the crownlike motif on the base (Figure 64).<sup>230</sup> These do not appear to be designs for actual works,<sup>231</sup> whether of silver or porcelain, but they share similar features with nearly contemporary works by the silver- and goldsmiths of Augsburg and the early porcelain from Meissen and Vienna.

A small teapot, only 10 centimeters tall, made by Johann Georg Deckinger in Augsburg, about 1717/18, has a squat, round shape and a dragon spout.<sup>232</sup> Dragon spouts and masks, small slabs of agate, or reliefs as ornaments on the body of the vessel can be seen in pieces from both Augsburg, about 1716/19,<sup>233</sup> and Stockholm, about 1720.<sup>234</sup> The Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg has a silver and agate pot, only 15 centimeters tall, by Tobias Baur of Augsburg.<sup>235</sup> Made at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the piece boasts a hexagonal shape, a dragon spout, and a handle ornamented with masks. Such features not only link the work to Bendl's etchings, but are forerunners of porcelain forms from the early years, around 1720–30, of the Du Paquier firm in Vienna, such as a small teapot

from the former Karl Mayer collection in Vienna.<sup>236</sup> These works were greatly influenced, again, by Chinese forms. Other teapots, coffee pots,<sup>237</sup> and early vases<sup>238</sup> from this Viennese manufacturer seem to adapt contemporary silver designs. At the same time, their highly sculptural relief decor in the form of dragons, flowers, and leafy branches imitates the overall look of Chinese red stoneware. One is reminded of Yixing ware, for example, in which a section of tree trunk might serve as the body of a pot, while branches function as handle and spout.<sup>239</sup>

The use of a branch for the spout, with its foliage trailing across the body of the vessel, is perhaps the only feature that Bendl's chinoiserie teapots have in common with the Chinese originals, which the designers for the Du Paquier firm might well have studied when creating lids for teapots and terrines. Just as the Meissen factories turned out copies of Kuan Yin figures, Du Paquier began making imitation blanc de chine statuettes in around 1720.<sup>240</sup>

Bendl's etchings show him to have been an artist of considerable inventiveness and imagination, one who, as the eighteenth century progressed, managed to transcend the more traditional concepts in his series of ivory reliefs and his medallions that were not always original.

Translated from the German by Russell Stockman

## NOTES

1. Sotheby's, London, Dec. 10, 1987, p. 93, no. 185, ill. For the photograph and valuable assistance I am indebted to Elizabeth Wilson, London; for more precise information regarding dimensions and condition, to J. D. Wille, Zurich.

2. Erich Hubala, "Die Nürnberger Sebastianspflege des Johann Michael Rottmayr," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (Nuremberg, 1981) pp. 107–114, figs. 1–4.

3. Rudolf Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1981) p. 174, cat. no. 4, fig. 5.

4. Letter to the author from J. D. Wille, Zurich.

5. Ernst Friedrich Bange, *Die Bildwerke in Holz, Stein und Ton, Kleinplastik*, vol. 4, *Die Bildwerke des Deutschen Museums* (Berlin / Leipzig, 1930) pp. 118–119, ill. p. 121; Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, *Die Brandenburgisch-Preussische Kunstkammer, eine Auswahl aus den alten Beständen*, exh. cat. (Berlin, 1981) pp. 94–95, cat. no. 25, ill.

6. Most recently Christian Theuerkauff, "Michael Zürn d. J. (1654–1698) und Italien, zu einem Kleinrelief aus der Berliner Kunstkammer," *Festschrift für Peter Bloch* (Mainz, 1990) pp. 193–203, fig. 1; Bange, *Kleinplastik*, p. 95, ill.

7. Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, Schloss Bruchsal, *Barock in Baden-Württemberg vom Ende des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*

*bis zur Französischen Revolution*, exh. cat. (1981) p. 192, cat. no. B 35, ill.

8. Cf. Gertraud Schikola, "Wiener Plastik der Renaissance und des Barocks," in *Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, n.s. 7, 1, *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Wien, Plastik in Wien* (1970) pp. 102–125, 128–132, figs. 159–168, 173–221.

9. The following observations regarding the relationship of Johann Ignaz Bendl to sculptors of the same name in South Germany (Waldsee, Pfarrkirchen, Weilheim), Prague, and Vienna, are based in part on unpublished material belonging to the author, collected while researching his dissertation, *Studien zur Elfenbeinplastik des Barock, Matthias Rauchmiller und Ignaz Elhafen* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1962; pub. 1964) pp. 154–158, p. 37 n. 117. Most recently Marita Stahlknecht, "Ehrgott Bernhard Bendl (1660–1738), ein Augsburger Bildhauer des Spätbarock," diss. (Munich, 1978) pp. 165–166, with further bibl., and Herbert Schindler, *Bayerische Bildhauer, Manierismus, Barock, Rokoko im altbayerischen Unterland* (Munich, 1985) pp. 40–48, esp. pp. 46–47.

10. Theuerkauff, *Rauchmiller und . . . Elhafen*, pp. 155, 277, nn. 484–488, and Stahlknecht, "Ehrgott Bernhard Bendl," pp. 261–262 with bibl.

11. In addition to the dates published by Alexander Hajdecki,

*Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien, I. Abteilung, Regesten . . .*, VI (Vienna, 1908), and in part mentioned by Stahlknecht, "Ehrgott Bernhard Bendl," I can present the following:

- 1692, Feb. 15 (baptismal register of the parish church of St. Michael, Vienna, vol. E, 1687–1701, fol. 239): "Jacobus Antonius, et Patre Dno Francisco Ignatio Pendel, et Dna / Anna Catharina matre." Since "der Edle undt kunstreiche Herr Frantz / Ignati Bendl Bildthauer zu Pfarr / kirchen in Beyern gebürtig" had only married "mit der / ehr und tugentreichen Jungfrau Anna / Catharina Frühwirthin, des Herrn Johann Frühwirth dass Aussern Raths undt / Anna Maria seiner Ehwirthin ehl. dochter" on Feb. 10, 1692, and indeed in the parish of St. Stephan's in Vienna (Marriages, vol. 31, July 1691–Nov. 1693, fol. 120 = Hajdecki No. 7149), it is uncertain whether or not the Franz Ignaz Bendl mentioned at St. Michael's on Feb. 15, 1692, is our sculptor from Pfarrkirchen, though a change of residence could have occasioned a transfer of parish as well.
  - 1695, July 27 (Vienna, St. Stephan's, Baptisms, vol. 44b, Apr. 1, 1694–July 1, 1695, fol. 595): "Innocentius Ignatius, Franciscus Ignatius Bendl. Anna Catharina uxor." Regarding this son of Franz Ignaz, whom Stahlknecht, "Ehrgott Bernhard Bendl," pp. 262–263, erroneously identifies as the son of Johann Ignaz Bendl, I shall have more to say later. He became a Viennese citizen on Dec. 13, 1737, was a middle-class sculptor, and died on July 27, 1754 (R. Gugitz, "Auszüge aus den Totenbeschauptokollen Wien, 18. Jahrhundert, M–R," MS in the Archiv der Stadt Wien, B 323 b 10, p. 547). "Als seinen Vätter," Ehrgott Bernhard Bendl had presented Innocenz Ignaz Bendl as an apprentice in Augsburg in 1712.
  - 1696, Jan. 13 (Vienna, St. Michael's, Marriages, vol. 1649–1704, fol. 386): "Franciscus Ignatius Pendl" appears as witness for Johann Georg Jonas Auriga and Anna Maria Schwartzingerin.
  - 1697, Dec. 23 (Vienna, St. Michael's, Baptisms, vol. E, 1687–1701, fol. 417): Maria Eva, daughter of "Francisco Ignatio Pendl et matre Catha / rina."
  - 1699, Feb. 8 (Vienna, St. Stephan's, Marriages, vol. 34, fol. 245 = Hajdecki, no. 7138): "Franz Ignatius Bendl, Bildhauer" is a marriage witness for Wolf Ehrenreich Carl Prieffer, painter under the 2 black pickaxes, and Maria Theresia Werner, and in fact was joined by his father-in-law, "Johann Frühwirth, dass Ausseren Raths und Bildhauer." In 1700 "Ignatius Pendl, Bildhauer unter der schwarzen Picken," is a witness at the marriage of "Benedict Steber, hofbefreiter Bildhauer, geboren von Payerbach aus Bayern, wohnt in dem Antonioletti-Haus in der Rossau . . ." and "Maria Barbara Pamfiolin" (Hajdecki, no. 7844).
  - 1700, May 28 (Vienna, St. Stephan's, Baptisms, vol. 48, Apr. 1, 1699–May 22, 1701, fol. 596): "Germanus Antonius–Joannes [instead of Franz, probably an error, see the sponsors; author's note] Ignatius Pendl / Anna Catharina uxor." With the sponsors also Johann Michael Hofmann and his wife, Barbara.
  - 1701, Sept. 27 (Vienna, St. Stephan's, Baptisms, vol. 49, May 13, 1701–Mar. 31, 1702, fol. 219): "Amalia Teresia," daughter of "Franciscus Ignatius Pentl Maria Catharina uxor." The "Maria" is doubtless mistakenly substituted for "Anna," since in the parishes of St. Michael's, St. Stephan's, St. Ulrich's, and in the Schottenkirche in Vienna between 1692 and 1701 there is no other marriage of a Franz documented.
  - 1703, June 23 (Vienna, St. Stephan's, Baptisms, vol. 50, Apr. 1702–Jan. 31, 1704, fol. 336): "Joannes Christopherus," son of "D. Franciscus Ignatius Pendl D. Anna Catharina Uxor."
  - 1704, Dec. 19 (Vienna, St. Stephan's, Baptisms, vol. 51, Feb. 1, 1704–Sept. 30, 1705, fol. 261): "Joannes Georgius," son of "Franciscus Ignatius Bendl Anna Catharina uxor."
  - 1708, June 3 (Vienna, St. Stephan's, Marriages, vol. 37, fol. 330 = Hajdecki, No. 7244): "Franz Ignatius Pentl, Bildhauer," witness for Johann Baptist Vainini, magistrate, and Maria Clara Frühwirth [sic!].
12. Anton Eckardt, *Bezirksamt Pfarrkirchen (Die Kunstdenkmäler von Niederbayern X)* (Munich, 1923) pp. 74–80, fig. 54. Most recently, with bibl., Josef Huber, *Wallfahrtskirche zur Schmerzhaften Muttergottes Gartlberg Pfarrkirchen* (Schnell und Steiner, Kunstführer no. 697) (Munich, 1972) 2nd ed., pp. 4–10, figs. pp. 5, 7.
  13. Felix Mader, *Stadt Passau (Die Kunstdenkmäler von Niederbayern III)* (Munich, 1913) pp. 189–192; photograph from the Kunstverlag Peda in Passau. I am grateful to Franz Werner Oberhuber, Pfarrkirchen, and diocesan architect A. Zangenfeind, Passau, for their assistance.
  14. Georg Dehio, *Die Kunstdenkmäler Österreichs, Wien*, Justus Schmidt and Hans Tietze, eds., 4th ed. by Anton Macku and Erwin Neumann (Vienna, 1954) pp. 98, 117. See also M. Seis, *Die Pfarrkirche St. Paula in Wien* (Vienna, 1827) p. 23 ("J. Benx pinxit et sculpsit").
  15. Erika Tietze-Conrat, Edmund Braun-Troppau, and Hans Sedlmayr, among others. See notes 17, 19, 75.
  16. Albert Ilg, *Die Fischer von Erlach* (Vienna, 1895) pp. 121, 126–129; Alois Hauser, "Die Dreifaltigkeitssäule am Graben in Wien," *Berichte und Mitteilungen des Altertumsvereins zu Wien* 21 (1882) p. 104. Most recently, with bibl., Manfred Koller et al., "Die Wiener Pestsäule," *Restauratorenblätter* 6 (Vienna, 1982) pp. 18–23.
  17. For example, Hans Sedlmayr, *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach*, 2nd ed. (Vienna, 1976) pp. 39–40, 247–248; Moritz Trapp, "Notizen über die Künstler Bendel," *Österreichische Kunstchronik I* (1879) pp. 171–173. A copy of Bendl's engraving is in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna (Inv. no. Ö.K. p. 6, no. 6).
  18. June 4, 1701, "dem Ignatio Bendl bildhauern, zwey Auszug, mit 760 Rth [reichsthaler]: ibidem zu bezahlen" (Protocol to the Court Financial Registers 1701, Vienna Hofkammerarchiv, Hofffinanzregesten E, 1701, j. [1026], fol. 295); Vienna Hofkammerarchiv, Hofkammerrechnungen 1708, fol. 330, no. 1103: "Dem Bildthauer Ignatio Bendl an denen angeschafften 710 Rth. . . à conto zweyhundert gulden." Feb. 19, 1711, "zu handten des allhiesigen Bildt, / Jauers Ignati Bendels den Resr an denen wegen noch anno 1699 nacher Hoff gemachten arbeit," "die überrestige fünffhundert zehn / gulden. . ." (Vienna Hofkammerarchiv, Hofkammerrechnungen 1711, fol. 250, no. 1080; see also fol. 57, remittance).

19. See Ilg, *Die Fischer*; Sedlmayr, *Johann Bernhard Fischer*; Franz Dworschak, "Der Medailleur Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (Johann Permann und Ignaz Bendl)" *Jahrbuch der Kunst-historischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.s. 8 (1934) pp. 237–239, pl. xx, figs. 1–9.

20. The "F" to be read not as "Franz," but more likely as "fecit." Inv. no. 50/935–200. Diam. 10.3 cm. *Cimeliotheca Musei Nationalis Hungarici sive Catalogus Historico-Criticus Antiquitatum, Raritatum et Pretiosum* . . . (Buda, 1825) p. 39, no. 4. Presented to the museum in 1812. Huszár Lajós, "Bendl Ignác Két Elefántesontérme" (Two Ivory Medallions by Ignaz Bendl) *Athenaeum* 9 (1935) pp. 278–279, fig. p. 281. I am indebted to Dr. József Korek, Budapest, for his assistance and the photograph.

21. For his assistance in studying the originals in Vienna and providing photos and Xeroxes, I wish to thank Dr. Helmut Jungwirth, director of the Sammlung von Medaillen, Münzen und Geldzeichen at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; also his colleague Dr. Karl Schulz.

22. Not completely round, 6.5–6.7 cm in diam. Acquired in 1906 as the gift of Dr. Ödön Gohl, who then proceeded to publish it in *Numismatikai Közlöny*, n.s. 7 (1908) pp. 76–77. Lajós, "Bendl Ignác Két," pp. 278–280, fig. p. 281.

23. For his answers to my questions I wish to thank James David Draper, who was unable to find any previous publication of the medallion.

24. On this historic occasion, see, for example, Franz Dworschak, "Zum 12. September 1683–1933," *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 66 (1933) pp. 121–125, pl. II, figs. 1–4; Historisches Museum Wien, *Die Türken vor Wien*, exh. cat. (Vienna, 1983) esp. pp. 58–70, pp. 96–97, with ill.; Geza Gelavics, *Kössünk Kordot az pogany ellen* (Budapest, 1986) pp. 105–132, figs. 72–90, summary pp. 166–168. In reference to Marcantonio Giustiniani, cf., among others, Andrea da Mosto, *I Dogi di Venezia con particolare riguardo alle loro tombe* (Venice, 1939) pp. 264–268, 341. The doge died Mar. 23, 1684. See, among others, *Storia dei Dogi di Venezia* . . . S. M. I.R.A., *Francesco Giuseppe I, II* (Venice, 1857), and Andrea da Mosto, *I Dogi di Venezia nella vita public e privata* (Milan, 1960) pp. 417–426. I thank Dr. Marino Second Zorzi, Venice, for his assistance.

25. See *Türken vor Wien*, exh. cat. (1983) pp. 135ff., nos. 13/52ff., pp. 62ff., nos. 9/2ff., pp. 96ff. For the portrait of Pope Innocent XI, see also the medal by Girolamo Lucenti (1627–98) in Andrea S. Norris and Ingrid Weber, *Medals and Plaquettes from the Molinari Collection at Bowdoin College* (Brunswick, Me., 1970) p. 37, no. 105.

26. Inv. no. 32 b β, neg. nos. I 1005/1006. On the tranche of the arm "l." Karl Domanig, *Die Deutsche Medaille in kunstgeschichtlicher und kulturgeschichtlicher Hinsicht* (Vienna, 1907) p. 79, no. 467, pl. 53; Dworschak, "Zum 12. September 1683–1933," p. 122 n. 7 with earlier bibl. (P. Filippo Bonanni S. I., *Numismata Pontificum* . . . [1699] no. 737, xvii–xviii).

27. Illustrated here is the reverse of the bronze two-sided example in the British Museum. Inv. no. 738–1914 B. George III Cap. M Æ II, I 9, Diam. 8.15 cm. Very thick cast. On the connection to Italy, the Bernini circle, and his successors, see below.

28. Dworschak, "Zum 12. September 1683–1933," pp. 122–123.

29. See notes 25 and 174 f. above.

30. Inv. no. A. 19–1948. Irregular diameter of 6.3–6.5 cm. Whitish material, considerably yellowed on the back. Theuerkauff, *Rauchmüller und . . . Elhafen*, pp. 155–156 n. 491, fig. 297.

31. For example, Herta Haselberger-Blaha, "Die Triumphtore Fischers von Erlach," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 17, 21 (1956) pp. 80–81, no. 35, fig. 54; Sedlmayr, *Fischer von Erlach*, pp. 66, 247, figs. 41, 207. See esp. *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach*, exh. cat. (Graz / Vienna / Salzburg, 1956/57) pp. 50–55, cat. no. 7/4.

32. Dworschak, "Der Medailleur Fischer von Erlach," p. 237 n. 42, pl. xx, fig. 4. See also Moritz Dreger, "Zeichnungen des älteren Fischer von Erlach," *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der K.K. Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst* 2 (1908) pp. 139–141, fig. 68.

33. Inv. no. 1024 b β. Numerous discrepancies in size, motifs of the small figures, architectural components, even in the thickness of the letters on the reverse (the "T" in POSUIT, the "X" in the date) suggest an intermediate model for the actual casting.

34. Haselberger-Blaha, "Triumphtore," pp. 80–81, cat. no. 35, fig. 52; Sedlmayr, *Fischer von Erlach*, pp. 246–247, figs. 40, 206, p. 335, no. 20; *Fischer von Erlach*, exh. cat., pp. 50–52, cat. no. 7/1–2, fig. 30b.

35. Illustrated here is the copy in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. no. 1023 b β, a heavy, yellow casting up to .7 cm in thickness. Dreger, "Zeichnungen," pp. 139–141, figs. 69–70; Dworschak, "Der Medailleur Fischer von Erlach," p. 237 n. 42, pl. xx, fig. 5; Sedlmayr, *Fischer von Erlach*, fig. 206.

36. Inv. no. P.10.132. Ivory, dull white on the obverse, yellowed to partially brown on the reverse. Traces of red pigment. I am indebted to Manfred Leithe-Jasper and Rudolf Distelberger for their help in Vienna and for permission to reproduce the photos.

37. Haselberger-Blaha, "Die Triumphtore," pp. 80–81, cat. no. 35. *Fischer von Erlach*, exh. cat., pp. 53–54, cat. no. 7/7.

38. Inv. no. 20.596.

39. Haselberger-Blaha, "Die Triumphtore," pp. 66–67 nn. 6–8, 81; Manfred Koller, "Peter Strudel 1660–1714" (Ph.D. diss.), University of Vienna, 1972 (quoting *Avisi Italiani*, Mar. 9, 1690). I am grateful to Manfred Koller for providing me with information and a photocopy of the Hoffmann print.

40. Dworschak, "Zum 12. September 1683–1933," p. 124, pl. II, fig. 1, where the Göttweig Seminary copy is mentioned. According to the seminary custodian, Father Gregor M. Lechner, OSB, there are two examples in the institute's numismatic collection, both in lead with later gold pigment on the reliefs, one flat on the obverse, one concave. Dworschak, "Der Medailleur Fischer von Erlach," pp. 237–238 n. 44, pl. xx, fig. 2.

41. Dworschak, "Zum 12. September 1683–1933," p. 124, pl. II, fig. 2, where the Herzogenburg Seminary copy is described; Dworschak, "Der Medailleur Fischer von Erlach," pp. 237–238 n. 44, pl. xx, fig. 3. The inscription refers to Tököly's fate, roughly: "Your betrayal of the Emperor and King [Leopold I] is now being avenged by your capture by the Turkish friends" (1685). According to Wolfgang Payrich, dean of the college, Herzogenburg no longer has the lead copy.

42. I am indebted to Dr. Floridus Röhrig, Can. Reg., the custodian of the Klosterneuburg monastery for his assistance.

43. Regarding the text, cf. note 41 above.

44. Inv. no. 77/1927. Polished, yellowed on the reverse. Small chips. Kurt Regling, "Medaillenstudien III: Elfenbeinmedaillonen von Jean Cavalier und anderen," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 49 (1928) p. 227, fig. 7; Friedrich Wielandt and Joachim Zeitz, *Die Medaillen des Hauses Baden. Denkmünzen zur Geschichte des Zähringen-badischen Fürstenhauses aus der Zeit von 1499 bis 1871* (Karlsruhe, 1980) under no. 44 (erroneously listed as belonging to the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz and as being "in the overall style of Jean Cavalier"); *Barock in Baden-Württemberg*, exh. cat. (Bruchsal, 1981) I, p. 499, no. I.25, ill.

45. Inv. no. B VI 10. Arvid Julius, *Jean Cavalier och några andra elfenbensmidere* (Upsala / Stockholm, 1926) p. 139, no. 28. I am grateful to Ekkehard Schmidberger for information and the photograph.

46. Friedrich Wielandt, *Medaillen der Renaissance und des Barock. Eine Auswahl aus den Beständen des Badischen Landesmuseums* (Karlsruhe, 1969) no. 47, fig. 47; Wielandt and Zeitz, *Die Medaillen des Hauses Baden*, no. 44, ills.; *Barock in Baden-Württemberg*, I, pp. 492–493, no. I.8, ill.

47. See Dworschak, "Die Medailleur Fischer von Erlach," p. 238, n. 45, pl. xx, fig. 1, with additional bibl.

48. The silver copy illustrated here is in the Bundessammlung, Vienna, inv. no. 2936 b SS. Cf. *Kurfürst Max Emanuel I*, p. 9; II, pp. 93–97, cat. nos. 235–244, ill.

49. Inv. no. 79433 and 70434 (formerly Z-135a and b). In old brown wood frames that prevent one from seeing the inscriptions on the backs. I wish to thank Frau Dr. Vera Vocáčova, Prague, for the information.

50. Dworschak, "Der Medailleur Fischer von Erlach," p. 238 n. 45, pl. xx, fig. 6, with reference to the bust by Paul Strudel (see below) illustrated in Herrgott, *Pinacotheca*, pl. LXVI, fig. 4, which in my opinion did not serve as a model.

51. The Vienna copy is illustrated here, inv. no. 7132 b β.

52. Albert Ilg, "Ein Porträt Burnacinis," *Mitteilungen des Wiener Altertumsvereins* (1889) pp. 18–20, fig. p. 19.

53. Dworschak, "Der Medailleur Fischer von Erlach," p. 237, pl. XIX, fig. 3. Regarding his work on the Graben monument, see Hauser, "Die Dreifaltigkeitssäule am Graben in Wien," pp. 82–107, esp. p. 96, and in summary Koller et al., "Pestsäule," pp. 6ff., esp. pp. 13–23.

54. Justus Schmidt, "J. B. Fischer von Erlach als Bildhauer," *Belvedere* 13, 1 (1938/39) p. 2, no. 5; Sedlmayr, *Fischer von Erlach*, p. 245 (1688!), and *Fischer von Erlach*, exh. cat., p. 38, cat. nos. 1, 3, fig. 46a. Most recently Eduard Holzmayr, "Österreichische Medaillen der Fischer-Zeit," *Alte und Moderne Kunst* 1, 2 (1956/57) p. 29, fig. 1 (1687/88).

55. Sedlmayr, *Fischer von Erlach*, p. 245. The "Tabakh-Bixl" mentioned could also have been a box made of ivory.

56. Dworschak, "Der Medailleur Fischer von Erlach," pp. 234–237, pl. XIX, figs. 1, 2; Sedlmayr, *Fischer von Erlach*, pp. 27–30, p. 236, figs. 1–2, 4, 6.

57. *Fischer von Erlach*, exh. cat., pp. 11, 37–38, cat. nos. 1/1–4

and 5/2–5, with the hypothesis that there was a Fischer self-portrait in Göttweig.

58. For the eagle of the New York relief, for example, see the reverse of the cast silver medal of Leopold I of 1686, which Dworschak reproduces and attributes cautiously to J. I. Bendl as well, "Der Medailleur Fischer von Erlach," p. 236, fig. 159.

59. Cf. note 25 above.

60. Christian Theuerkauff, "Der 'Helffenbeinarbeiter' Ignaz Elhafen," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 21 (1968) pp. 104, 139–140, nos. 87–94, figs. 101, 103. Most recently *Kurfürst Max Emanuel, II*, p. 92, cat. no. 233, ill.

61. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. no. 4297, bearing the monogram IÇ; Julius, *Jean Cavalier*, p. 142, no. 1.

62. In the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel (Julius, *ibid.*, p. 140, no. 32) and also one dated "1689" on the obverse in a private collection.

63. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. no. 3657, 7.8 cm in diameter. Dated "1689" and signed. Christian Theuerkauff, *Die Bildwerke in Elfenbein des 16.–19. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2, *Die Bildwerke der Skulpturengalerie Berlin* (Berlin, 1986) pp. 61–62 n. 4.

64. All in Kassel. Julius, *Jean Cavalier*, pp. 139–140, nos. 26, 28, 30. Cf. no. 29. Theuerkauff, *Die Bildwerke in Elfenbein*, pp. 61–62 n. 5.

65. Among the most recent, Jean Eisler, "Reliefs en marbre figurant des Habsbourg dans la Collection des Sculptures Anciennes," *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* 40 (1973) pp. 49–57, figs. 45–57; Elfriede Baum, *Katalog des Österreichischen Barockmuseums im Unteren Belvedere in Wien* (Vienna, 1980) pp. 686–688, cat. no. 488, fig. 488.

66. Sedlmayr, *Fischer von Erlach*, pp. 10, 66; Leonore Pühringer-Zwanowitz, "Ein Triumphdenkmal aus Elfenbein: die Reiterstatuetten Kaiser Leopolds I. und König Josephs I. von Matthias Steinkl," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 19, 23 (1963) pp. 88–164, figs. 63–82. One of the four signed ivory medallions in Leningrad, namely the profile portrait of one ANTON · IVSTIN [IAN] NOBILIS VENETUS, which seems to be related to a one-sided bronze medallion, Diam. 5.6 = 5.7 cm in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Bundessammlung für Münzen und Medaillen, inv. no. 12663b β (I thank Dr. Karl Schulz also for the photograph), leads us to believe that Bendl was a portraitist in the circle close to the king—possibly through the political connections of the ambassador Antonio Giustiniani. The other Leningrad medallions will be the subject of a future study by Elena Slikevitch of the Hermitage.

67. As for the other medals associated with the name Johann Ignaz Bendl, see the notes below dealing with his and Fischer's stay in Italy.

68. Listed in the order found in Ernst Kris and Leo Planiscig, *Katalog der Sammlungen für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien* (Vienna, 1935):

Inv. no. 3729, *The Slaughter of the Niobids*, 13.8 × 23.7 cm  
Inv. no. 3656, *Poseidon Calming the Winds* ("Quos Ego"), 14.1 × 23.7 cm

Inv. no. 3645, *Laocoön*, 14.1 × 23.7 cm (ill. 33)

Inv. no. 3662, *The Rape of Helen*, 14.2 × 23.8 cm

Inv. no. 3655, *Silenus and His Train*, 13.9 × 23.6 cm, very high relief, thickness of nearly 3 cm at the edge (ill. 30)

Inv. no. 3650, *Philoctetes Outwitting Odysseus*, 14.2 × 23.7 cm  
 Inv. no. 3782, *Phaeton Scorching the Earth*, 14 × 23.8 cm  
 Inv. no. 3651, *Argus Watching over Io*, 13.9 × 23.7 cm  
 Inv. no. 3663, *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, 13.9 × 23.5 cm  
 Inv. no. 3728, *Landscape with Diana*, 14.0 × 23.7 cm  
 Inv. no. 3644, *Apollo and the Muses*, 14.0 × 23.6 cm  
 Inv. no. 3781, *Aeneas Bearing His Father, Anchises, from Troy*,  
 14.0 × 23.4 cm (ill. 32a)

All of the reliefs are from the Treasury (Schatzkammer). The ivory in the series is for the most part matte and dull, sometimes resembling wax, and whitish to yellowish pink in color, as for example in the case of inv. no. 3655, *Silenus and His Train*. On the side edges and at the top and bottom of the back they all show traces of the outer surface of the tusk, which is in spots still somewhat brownish. Overall, their condition is quite good, with only minor chipping and a few missing sections; specific details, such as the knife, the staff, and the sword hilt in inv. no. 3663, *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, have been cemented on.

Select bibl.: Albert Ilg, *Die Fischer*, pp. 126–130 nn. 261–268; Kris and Planiscig, *Katalog*, p. 144, nos. 22–33; Theuerkauff, *Rauchmüller und . . . Elhafen*, pp. 37, 154–156 nn. 117, 484–488, ill.; idem, “Helffenbeinarbeiter,” p. 106 n. 40, fig. 116 (fig. 115 by Bossuit, not J. I. Bendl!); Schikola, “Wiener Plastik,” p. 100 n. 95, fig. 168; *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Führer durch die Sammlungen* (Vienna, 1988) pp. 219–220, ill. (Phaethon).

69. For example, Christian Theuerkauff, “Zu Francis van Bossuit (1635–1692) ‘Beeldsnyder in Yvoor,’” *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 37 (1975) pp. 131–132 nn. 50–54.

70. Veronika Birke, *Matthias Rauchmüller, Leben und Werk* (Vienna / Freiburg / Basel, 1981) pp. 78–84, cat. nos. 9, 12–13, 19–20, figs. 7, 46, 47, with notes on the illustrations.

71. Christian Theuerkauff, “Michael Zürn d. J.,” p. 201 nn. 47–48, figs. 1–8.

72. Inv. no. 4325, H. 6.7 cm, width 9.4 cm., yellowish ivory with cardboard pasted to the back—in part because of the crack on the right side—on which is the transferred signature in brownish ink. The flat background is partially cracked, the group almost completely three dimensional. Karl Feuchtmayr, “Der Fall Bendl,” *Das Münster*, no. 9/10 (1957) p. 326, fig. 5. In less high relief, but doubtless related stylistically, though created somewhat later, are inv. no. 4314, *Mercury and Argus*, 5.8 × 12.5 cm, and inv. no. 4298, *Jupiter and Juno*, 5.9 × 12.5 cm, which bear the old numbers “68” and “69” in ink. Cf. the ivory reliefs inv. no. 4348, *Diana and Actaeon*, 10 × 5.6 cm, and inv. no. 4346, *Boar Hunt*, 9.8 × 5.7 cm.

It would be worth examining the relationship between the ivory work on the so-called Lobkowitz Cup, an equestrian portrait of Louis XIII of France in small format in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Prague (inv. no. Z-241/90), and in the relief *Samson with the Doors of Gaza* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. no. A. 27-1949), and the work of Georg Bendl (d. before 1657) in Prague. V. V. Stech, *Die Barockskulptur in Böhmen* (Prague, 1959) pp. 11–12, fig. 2, pl. 5. On the Lobkowitz Cup from roughly 1650, cf. Gerhard Bott, “Der Lobkowitzsche Kaiserpokal und verwandte Arbeiten des Goldschmieds Hanns Reinhardt Taravell vom Prager Hof Ferdinands III.,” *Festschrift Harald Keller* (Darmstadt, 1963) pp. 301–334, figs. 1, 5.

73. Oldřich J. Blažicek, *Jan Jiří Bendl*, exh. cat., Národní Galerie v Praze (Prague, 1982) pp. 5–11, 28.

74. Stahlknecht, “Ehrgott Bernhard Bendl,” p. 269.

75. Tietze-Conrat, “Die Erfindung im Relief,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, 35, 3 (1920) p. 129, figs. 14–15, p. 170, no. 23.

76. See Christian Theuerkauff, “Una statuetta di tritone a Londra—opera giovanile di Matthias Steintl?,” *Antichità Viva* 5 (1972) pp. 49–62, figs. 1–2, 11–17, 21. Regarding the relief of the *Abduction of Helen* (inv. no. 3662), and also Bendl’s engravings on themes from Greek and Roman mythology mentioned below, cf. for example the depictions by G. F. Romanelli in Rome and London (Giulio Briganti, *Pietro da Cortona o della pittura barocca*, 2nd ed. [Florence, 1982] figs. 139, 141), which underlie Bendl’s less dramatic conception.

77. Rudolf Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, p. 179, no. 8, figs. 10, 15, 16; Harald Olsen, *Federigo Barocci* (Copenhagen, 1962) pp. 180–182, no. 39, pl. 69, cf. pl. 64. Regarding Agostino Carracci’s engraving after F. Barocci (B. XVIII, 99, 110), cf. *Federigo Barocci*, exh. cat., Museo Civico (Bologna, 1975) p. 254, cat. no. 359, fig. 359. As for the meaning of Bernini’s group on the same theme and of the Barocci painting said to have hung behind and above Bernini’s group in the “terza stanza” of the Casino Borghese in 1650 as examples of the emulation of classical poetry in modern sculpture, cf. Rudolf Preimesberger, “Zu Berninis Borghese-Skulpturen,” in *Antikenrezeption im Hochbarock*, Herbert Beck and Sabine Schulze eds. (Berlin, 1989) p. 110 nn. 5–7; *Italian Masters of the 16th Century*, vol. 39, *The Illustrated Bartsch* (New York, 1980) p. 152, no. 110, ill. Tietze-Conrat, “Die Erfindung im Relief,” p. 111, fig. 1, suggested Annibale Carracci.

78. See *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Führer durch die Sammlungen*, pp. 219–220.

79. Here in the sequence given in the inventory of the collections at Schloss Ambras near Innsbruck from 1788, Part II, Treasury, p. 144 or 154, photocopies of which were kindly furnished by Dr. Alfred Auer, Ambras:

p. 144, no. 42 *Sibilla eristrea / : Erythrea* ; Inv. no. 4415, Diam. 6.9 cm, signed on the tranche of the arm BENDL 2, or no. 3 of the series.

p. 144, no. 43 *Sibilla cumaine / : Cumana* ; Inv. no. 4395, Diam. 6.7 cm, on the tranche of the arm BENDL 10.

p. 144, no. 44 *Sibilla europaea / : Europea* ; Inv. no. 4400, Diam. 6.8 to 6.9 cm, on the tranche of the arm 11.

p. 144, no. 45 *Sibilla tiburtina*, Inv. no. 4403, Diam. 6.6 to 6.7 cm, on the tranche of the arm 2

p. 144, no. 46 *Sibilla Helesponti*, Inv. no. 4407, Diam. 6.8 cm. There are chips at the spot on the breast section where no. 8 might have been.

p. 144, no. 47 *Sibilla Delphica*, Inv. no. 4377, Diam. 6.7 to 6.8 cm, on the tranche of the arm BENDL 5.

p. 154, no. 82 *Sibilla libica* (“damaged”), Inv. no. 4381, Diam. 6.8 cm, on the tranche of the arm BENDL 9.

p. 154, no. 83 *Sibilla Cimeriana / Cimeria* ; Inv. no. 4369, Diam. 6.8 cm, on the tranche of the arm I.

p. 154, no. 84 *Sibilla Agrippina*, Inv. no. 4379, Diam. 6.7 to 6.8 cm, on the tranche of the arm 7.

p. 154, no. 85 *Sibilla Persica*, Inv. no. 4373, Diam. 6.8 cm, on the tranche of the arm 4.

p. 154, no. 86 *Sibilla Phrygiensis / Phrygia* ; Inv. no. 4367, Diam. 6.8 cm, on the tranche of the arm 12.

p. 154, no. 87 *Sibilla Samiense* / : *Samia* ; Inv. no. 4412, Diam. 6.9 cm, on the tranche of the arm BENDL 6.

All of the relief medallions reveal splintering, cracks, and chipping of greater or lesser degrees, and various amounts of grayish green pigment along with gilding and brown pigment, mostly on the edges and the tranche of the arm or breast sections. The depth of the relief varies from .35 to 1.3 cm and the thickness of the stone slabs from .35 to .6 cm. The execution of the details of costume and hairstyles is as exquisite and precise as one would find in the work of a goldsmith. All of the reliefs are included in the inventory of works taken over from Ambras in 1880, A. 1880, VII, 99–110. Inv. no. 4379, the *Agrippina Sibyl*, is distinguished from the rest of the series by a less sharp and somewhat cruder treatment of the surface. For earlier mentions of them, cf. Ilg, *Die Fischer*, p. 129 n. 265, and Dworschak, "Der Medailleur Fischer von Erlach," p. 237 n. 43, pl. xx, fig. 9, the *Cumaean Sibyl*, with bibl.

80. For example cf. Christian Theuerkauff, "Zu Georg Pfründt," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums Nürnberg* (1974) pp. 58–104, esp. pp. 68–71, figs. 16, 20–21, and the relief from the Berlin Kunstkammer, *Caritas Romana*, note 5, above.

81. Regarding the technique of the medallions, it is of interest that an Ignatius Bendl, possibly our Johann Ignaz, served as a witness at the marriage of "Johann Jakob Jetzl, Siegel-, Wappen-, und Steinschneider" on June 1, 1693, in St. Stephan's, Vienna (Marriages, vol. 23, fol. 399; Hajdecki, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, no. 7055).

82. For example, Schikola, "Wiener Plastik," p. 117 n. 189 (with additional bibl.) pl. 49, fig. 193.

83. The inscription on the lid of the sarcophagus reads: OPTIMO PARENTI / DOMINO GEORGIO MITTERMAYER / STIRPIS DE WAFENBERG PROGENITORI / AMDCLXI DIE XXV MAY FATIS FUNCTI / PARS QUAE FUIT HIC SEPULTA EST / HOC / POSUIT MONUMENTUM / IN PIETATIS MONUMENTUM / GRATIA ET NUMEROSA SOBOLES //.

84. Siebmacher, *Niederösterreichischer Adel* (Nuremberg, 1909) p. 483, 301. For their assistance and suggestions, I am indebted to Dr. Johann Karl von Schroeder formerly of the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Dr. Andreas Cornaro, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Vienna, and Dr. Volker Lutz, Staatsarchiv, Steyr. For the position of Georg Mittermayr, cf. Irmgard Heck, *Steyr und seine Beziehungen zum Innerbergischen Eisenwesen* (Steyr, 1953), based on his dissertation (Graz, 1949), where a bibliography is included. On July 26, 1678, the brothers Johann Ludwig, Leopold, Matthias, and Maximilian of the following generation were elevated to the nobility as "Mittermayrs von Waffenberg."

85. Peter König, "Die Ahnenreihe der Habsburger von Paul und Peter Strudel" (paper required for enrollment in the seminar of the Institute of Art History), University of Vienna (1966) pp. 49–51, with bibl.

86. Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, p. 212, cat. no. 44, pls. 68, 70.

87. On the south wall. Schikola, "Wiener Plastik," p. 139 n. 300. Thomas Zacharias, *Joseph Emanuel Fischer von Erlach* (Vienna / Munich, 1960) p. 152, fig. 168. The putto in the lower left is reminiscent of those of Matthias Rauchmiller or Jakob Auer.

88. Schikola, "Wiener Plastik," p. 138, pl. 61, fig. 226.

89. Leonore Pühringer-Zwanowetz, "Unbekannte Zeitungsnachrichten zum Wiener Barock," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 28 (1975) p. 190. In the following, cf. esp. Fischer von Erlach, exh. cat., pp. 38–42, cat. no. 2/1–3; Schikola, "Wiener Plastik," pp. 102–106 nn. 103–124, pls. 40–41, figs. 159–165; Sedlmayr, *Fischer von Erlach*, pp. 237–239, figs. 11, 12; Koller et al., "Pestsäule," pp. 6–47, figs. with comprehensive bibl. Cf. note 16 above.

90. Gertraud Schikola, "Ludovico Burnacini Entwürfe für die Wiener Pestsäule," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 25 (1972) pp. 247–258, figs. 178–184.

91. Koller et al., "Pestsäule," pp. 12, 67–76, nos. 22, 42, 67–72.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 10 n. 3, pp. 18, 22.

94. Hauser, "Dreifaltigkeitssäule," p. 104.

95. Koller et al., "Pestsäule," pp. 34, 36, fig. 64.

96. Theuerkauff, "Ignaz Elhafen," pp. 93, 101 n. 27, pp. 121, 122, cat. no. 17, figs. 91, 93, 94.

97. Stahlknecht, "Ehrgott Bernhard Bendl," p. 262. Cf. note 11 above.

98. A beginning and desiderata in Schmidt, "Fischer von Erlach als Bildhauer," pp. 1–10, figs. 1–6, and also in Fischer von Erlach, exh. cat., pp. 38–42.

99. Illustrations, condition report, and bibliography most recently in Koller et al., "Pestsäule," pp. 77–80, nos. 73–78, figs. pp. 73–75; Fischer von Erlach, exh. cat., pp. 39–40, cat. nos. 2/1–6.

100. In this connection it is interesting that it was Leopold Cardinal von Kollonich, bishop of Raab (Győr), who on Dec. 10, 1688, asked the court chamberlain if he might have the copper group of the Holy Trinity, which, as a result of the change in plans, was no longer required. One wonders whether his ivory medallion and that of Emperor Leopold I (Figures 5, 6) might have been executed at this time.

101. Schmidt, "Fischer von Erlach als Bildhauer," pp. 2, 4, fig. 6; Koller et al., "Pestsäule," p. 30, fig. c. Cf. also Fischer von Erlach, exh. cat., pp. 40–41, cat. nos. 2, 7.

102. Ingeborg Schemper-Sparholz, "Skulptur und dekorative Plastik zur Zeit des Prinzen Eugen," in *Prinz Eugen*, K. Gutkas, ed. (Vienna, 1984) p. 340 n. 12. I have not studied the small marble relief depicting John the Baptist in the Joanneum, Graz, which is only 17.2 × 14.2 cm, hypothetically described as a work of Fischer's. Bendl does not appear to be a possible source. Fischer von Erlach, exh. cat., p. 42, cat. no. 2A.

103. Schikola, "Wiener Plastik," p. 122 n. 218; Bruno Grim-schitz, *Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt* (Vienna / Munich, 1959) pp. 63–64; Friedbert Aspetsberger, "Der Bildhauer Josef Kracker und die Fassadenplastik der Linzer Deutschordenskirche," *Kunstjahrbuch der Stadt Linz* (1963) p. 21. On the competition among artists and the great supply of architects and sculptors in Vienna around 1700, see Helmut Lorenz, "Kunstgeschichte oder Künstlergeschichte—Bemerkungen zur Forschungslage der Wiener Barockarchitektur," *Artibus et Historiae* 4 (1981) pp. 99–123.

104. *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* (1991). I am indebted to Ingeborg Schemper-Sparholz, Vienna, for sharing her photographs and for my conversations and correspondence with her.

105. Lise Lotte Möller, "Einige neue Zeichnungen des Dresdener Bildhauers Christoph Abraham Walther," *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 16 (1971) pp. 85–104, fig. 8, n. 8.

106. König, "Ahnenreihe von Strudel," pp. 49–52; Schikola, "Wiener Plastik," pp. 109–111, pl. 46, figs. 181–183, nn. 140–147.

107. Koller, "Peter Strudel"; Schikola, "Wiener Plastik," p. 156 nn. 146–147.

108. Inv. no. M. 84. 176. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, *Summary Catalogue, European Painting and Sculpture* (1987) p. 171, ill. Whether one ought to ascribe a life-size boxwood bust of an unknown man in a large, full-bottomed wig from around 1670 to this North Italian–Viennese milieu, as does Theodor Müller, "Eine Gruppe vlämischer Kleinskulpturen des 17. Jahrhunderts und ihre Konsonanzen," *Festschrift von Einem* (Berlin, 1965) p. 175, pl. 35, fig. 5, strikes me as doubtful. The cut of the bust, its physiognomy, the armor, and the relief ornament cause one to question such an attribution, even when one compares it to similarly conceived marble portraits like the one of Carolus Contarini (d. 1688) on the left wall of the Cappella Contarini in S. Maria dell'Orto, Venice.

109. Semenzato, *Scultura Veneta*, pp. 95–95, figs. 46–51; pp. 106–108, figs. 7–97; pp. 108–109; figs. 98–101; pp. 111–113, figs. 113–116.

110. A. Berger, "Das Inventar Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelms," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen . . . Wien I* (Vienna, 1883) fol. 456, no. 209, p. CLXII; Hermann Julius Hermann, "Zwei unbekannte Büsten des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm von Hieronymus Duquesnoy d. J. und François Dusart," *Festschrift für Julius Schlosser zum 60. Geburtstag* (Zurich / Leipzig / Vienna, 1927) p. 256 n. 6.

111. Inv. no. 4421, 13 × 10 cm; Inv. no. 4423, 13 × 10 cm.

112. Schikola, "Wiener Plastik," p. 94 n. 51, pl. 36, figs. 146–147 (the figure of Ferdinand IV was added in 1669).

113. Cf. among others Ilg, *Die Fischer*, p. 129 n. 263; Stech, *Barockskulptur in Böhmen*, p. 23 pl. 28; Stahlknecht, "Ehrgott Bernhard Bendl," p. 265; Schindler, *Bayerische Bildhauer*, p. 48 n. 92. I am indebted to Dr. M. Stehlik, Brno, for the photos.

114. König, "Ahnenreihe von Strudel," p. 50.

115. *Fischer von Erlach*, exh. cat., pp. 55–56, cat. no. 9/1–2; Stech, *Barockskulptur in Böhmen*, p. 23, pl. 27; Sedlmayr, *Fischer von Erlach*, pp. 247–248, figs. 42–43.

116. Paul Buberl, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Zisterzienserklosters Zwettl (Österreichische Kunsttopographie)* 29 (Vienna, 1940) p. 235, no. 1, cf. nn. 313ff., Regeste 352. On the base, in the hand of the abbot Melchior von Zaunegg, is: "Artifice . . . emi Vienna 1731."

117. Hans Robert Weihrauch, *Europäische Bronzestatuetten 15.–18. Jahrhundert* (Braunschweig, 1967) p. 373 n. 382 (Amsterdam copy), fig. 453. Cf. François Souchal, "La Collection du Sculpteur Girardon d'après son inventaire après décès," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 82 (1973) p. 53, no. 57, fig. 86, cf. p. 38, no. 16, fig. 17.

118. Stahlknecht, "Ehrgott Bernhard Bendl," p. 269. Johann Paul was also a goldsmith.

119. Buberl, *Zwettl*, p. 235, no. 2, cf. nn. 313ff., Regeste 352. The bust of the Virgin has polychrome traces. Clearly there is no close connection to an engraving on the same theme by Johann

Jakob Thurneysser the Elder (1636–1711) or the Younger (1668–1736), Nagler, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, p. 440, no. 29, as Ilg, *Die Fischer*, p. 129, suggests.

120. Christian Theuerkauff, *Elfenbein in Klosterneuburg*, vol. 2, *Klosterneuburger Kunstschatze* (Klosterneuburg, 1962) pp. 19, 48–49, cat. no. 19, figs. 20, 21.

121. Cf. Stech, *Barockskulptur in Böhmen*, pp. 12–15, pls. 6–7; Oldrich J. Blažiček, *Sochárství Baroku v Cechách, Plastika 17. a 18. věku* (Prague, 1958) pp. 71–75, pls. 20–31; Národní Galerie v Praze, *Jan Jiří Bendl*, exh. cat. (Prague, 1982) pp. 5–29, figs. 1–20.

122. For example Schikola, "Wiener Plastik," p. 104; Schemper-Sparholz, "Skulptur und Plastik," pp. 339–346; Oldrich, J. Blažiček, "Braun a jeho místo v plastice Českého Baroku," in *Národní Galerie v Praze, Matyáš Bernard Braun, 1684–1738* (Prague, 1988) pp. 17–27; Bernd Wolfgang Lindemann, *Ferdinand Tietz, 1708–1777, Studien zu Werk, Stil und Ikonographie* (Weissenhorn, 1989) pp. 74–80 nn. 116–215, with reference to the Parodi studies by R. Preimesberger.

123. Most recently Theuerkauff, "Michael Zürn d. J.," p. 199 nn. 28–31.

124. *Ibid.*, pp. 194–195 nn. 9–10; Stefan Krenn, "Josef Thaddäus Stammel," in *Seitenstetten, Kunst und Mönchtum*, exh. cat. (Seitenstetten, 1988) pp. 242–250, figs. pp. 244, 247, 248; *idem*, "Der Reliefzyklus von Josef Thaddäus Stammel in Stift Seitenstetten," *Oberösterreich* 2 (1988) pp. 47–53, figs. 1–7.

125. Schikola, "Wiener Plastik," p. 104 n. 116. For the influence of Le Court in general, cf. Schikola, "Burnacinis Entwürfe," pp. 247–258.

126. Ursula Verena Fischer, "Giacinto Gimignani (1606–1681)" (Ph.D. diss., Freiburg im Breisgau, 1973) p. 146, cat. no. 20, and correspondence with the author in 1989. I wish to thank Ursula Fischer-Pace for her assistance. Cf. Steffi Röttgen, "Guido Reni und die römische Malerei im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," in *Guido Reni und Europa*, exh. cat. (Frankfurt am Main, 1989) p. 562 n. 94, fig. 120.

127. Fischer, "Gimignani," p. 34, cat. no. 21. There is another composition of this theme with two cherubs at the top, the figures arranged even more in a line parallel to the picture, by Lodovico Lana, 1649 (cf. Marcus S. Sopher, *Seventeenth-Century Italian Prints*, exh. cat., Stanford Art Gallery (1978) fig. 67.

128. Fischer, "Gimignani," p. 197, cat. no. R 20; *Italian 17th Century*, vol. 45, *The Illustrated Bartsch* (New York, 1982) p. 100, no. 7 (201).

129. Fischer, "Gimignani," pp. 34–35 nn. 41–44; Röttgen, "Guido Reni," pp. 551–555; and illustrated in Ann Sutherland-Harris, *Andrea Sacchi* (Oxford, 1977) p. 97, no. 75, pls. 150–151.

130. Fischer, "Gimignani," p. 94 n. 43. Regarding the Duquesnoy statue, cf. Norbert Huse, "Zur 'S. Susanna' des Duquesnoy," in *Argo, Festschrift Kurt Badt* (Cologne, 1970) pp. 324–335, plaster.

131. *Guido Reni und Europa*, fig. 63, p. 302, cf. cat. no. C 33, engraving.

132. Erich Schleier, "Un Chef-d'oeuvre de la période italienne de Simon Vouet," *Revue de l'Art* 11 (1971) pp. 65–73, fig. 3, cf. nn. 14–15.

133. I would like to mention the very fine wax relief of *The Sacrifice of Polyxena* based on Pietro da Cortona's painting of 1624

in the Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome, which is in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, inv. no. 1927.89. In many respects it is reminiscent of works by Abraham Drentwett in Augsburg. A similar work is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Cf. note 76 above.

134. Schikola, "Wiener Plastik," pl. 41, fig. 162; Birke, *Matthias Rauchmiller*, pp. 41–49, 73–78, figs. 34–35.

135. Birke, *ibid.*, pp. 59–60, cat. no. 3, figs. 8–11. Most recently Johanna Hecht in *Liechtenstein, The Princely Collections*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1986) pp. 100–104, cat. no. 67, figs. 20–21, pl. 67.

136. Birke, *Matthias Rauchmiller*, pp. 81–82, cat. no. 16; Edmund Wilhelm Braun, "Matthias Rauchmiller," *Oberrheinische Kunst* 9 (1940) p. 102, 10 (1942) pp. 148–150, fig. 23. Illus. here is the copy in the Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, inv. no. FB 4447.

137. Theuerkauff, "Ignaz Elhafen," p. 124, cat. no. 27; Braun, "Matthias Rauchmiller," figs. 11–12.

138. Klaus Herding, *Pierre Puget* (Berlin, 1970) p. 198, no. 53, figs. 290–291.

139. Birke, *Matthias Rauchmiller*, pp. 38–39, p. 71, cat. no. 6, fig. 31. Most recently, and also with a survey of Rauchmiller's other works in Silesia, Konstanty Kalinowski, *Rzézba Barokowa na Śląsku* (Warsaw, 1986) pp. 56–62, figs. 37–42.

140. Birke, *Matthias Rauchmiller*, pp. 30–36, 61–69, cat. no. 4, figs. 22–27.

141. *Ibid.*, p. 78, cat. no. 9, fig. 7, cf. cat. nos. 14–20, fig. 48; Braun, "Matthias Rauchmiller," figs. 7–9, 11.

142. I am inclined to doubt the attribution to Matthias Rauchmiller of the *Maria Immaculate* of Salzburg marble, roughly 80 cm high, which stands in the Passau Cathedral. More likely it is from the circle around Johann Ignaz Bendl and was executed later than the 1680s. Cf. Schindler, *Bayerische Bildhauer*, p. 114 n. 195, fig. 63. Regarding the dating, cf. Franz Anton Kuen's *Virgin* of 1713/16 in Ossegg (Lindemann, *Tietz*, pp. 60, 74, fig. 77).

143. Jörg Rasmussen, *Deutsche Kleinplastik der Renaissance und des Barock*, vol. 12, *Bilderhefte des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe* (Hamburg, 1975) p. 111, no. 42, fig. 42; Christian Theuerkauff, "Jakob Auer—'Bildhauer in Grins,'" *Pantheon* 41, 3 (1983) p. 201 nn. 60–64, fig. 21.

144. Inv. no. pl. 2201. 21.1 × 17.2 cm. Acquired in 1912 "by L. Loewenbach, Nuremberg, from the Pickert Collection." Pickert was an antiquarian and collector, whose collections were auctioned in Cologne in 1881/82. For her information and assistance I am indebted to Claudia Maué, who is presenting this relief in detail in the catalogue of Baroque sculpture in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum (in press). Indeed, she classifies it, hypothetically, as South German or Austrian, ca. 1700(?), although the late 18th century is not an impossibility.

145. Cf. note 5 above and a relief of Cimon and Pero signed "WW" (ligature) in the Kestner Museum, Hannover, inv. no. 1929/140. Acquisitions by the Kestner Museum from 1920–1929, in *Hannoversche Geschichtsblätter* n.s. 1, 1 (1930) p. 59, fig. 51 (Nuremberg or the Netherlands, ca. 1630–40).

146. Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Reichersberg am Inn, *Die*

*Bildhauerfamilie Schwanthaler 1633–1848*, exh. cat. (1974) p. 112, cat. no. 28, col. pl. III.

147. *Schwanthaler*, figs. 33–34, cat. nos. 49–50, 112–114; Eva Frodl-Kraft, "Eine Marienkrönungsgruppe von 1672—Zur Bildüberlieferung in der Schwanthaler-Werkstatt," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie* 21 (1977) pp. 5–32 nn. 22, 57–61, fig. 13, with ref. to Alfred Schädler's colloquium contribution, *Schwanthaler*, in 1974.

148. Theuerkauff, "Michael Zürn d. J.," pp. 193–203, fig. 1.

149. Stech, *Barockskulptur in Böhmen*, p. 11, fig. 2, pl. 5.

150. Erich Kloss, *Michael Willmann, Leben und Werke eines deutschen Barockmalers* (Breslau, n.d.) pp. 104, 166, no. 12, fig. 73 (at that time in the Stiftskirche, Leubus, or in the Museum der Bildenden Künste, Breslau).

151. *Ibid.*, p. 172, fig. 67.

152. Erich Hubala, *Johann Michael Rottmayr* (Vienna / Munich, 1981) pp. 209–210, cat. no. G 132, fig. 165, cf. Willmann, fig. 468.

153. Hubala, *Rottmayr*, p. 192, cat. no. G 63, figs. 146, 358.

154. *Ibid.*, p. 207, cat. nos. 106–107, figs. 33–34.

155. *Ibid.*, p. 136; Sedlmayr, *Fischer von Erlach*, pp. 242–243. Tobias Kracker the Younger represented Fischer von Erlach in Brno at the erection of the "Parnassus" fountain (Schikola, "Wiener Plastik," p. 123, and Aspetsberger, "Josef Kracker," p. 20 nn. 9, 10).

156. For example, Hubala, *Rottmayr*, pp. 16–18, 108, archival n. 81; Lothar Pretzell, *Salzburger Barockplastik* (Berlin, 1935) pp. 44–45, fig. 24a (after a design by Fischer von Erlach!); Manfred Koller, "Die Akademie Peter Strudels in Wien (1688–1714)," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie* (1970) no. 58, pp. 5–38, esp. pp. 7–11.

157. Schikola, "Wiener Plastik," p. 96 n. 65, pl. 34, fig. 142; Koller et al., "Pestsäule," pp. 22, 65, 67; Aspetsberger, "Josef Kracker," pp. 19–38.

158. Grimschitz, *Hildebrandt*, p. 64; Schikola, "Wiener Plastik," pp. 129–133 nn. 209–227, where she comes to the conclusion that it is impossible to identify proper circles of sculptors associated with Fischer von Erlach and Hildebrandt; individual sculptors may have worked for both of them.

159. Hubala, *Rottmayr*, p. 200, cat. no. G 94 a, fig. 107.

160. *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 205, cat. no. G 112, fig. 113.

161. *Ibid.*, p. 198, cat. no. G 87, fig. 121; idem, *Anzeiger Nürnberg* (1981) pp. 107–114, figs. 1–4, cf. n. 2.

162. Franz Dworschak et al., *Martin Johann Schmidt* (Vienna, 1955) pl. 59b.

163. Koller, "Akademie Strudel" (1970) pp. 7, 10.

164. Koller et al., "Pestsäule," p. 14 n. 17; Hubala, *Rottmayr*, pp. 28, 195–196.

165. Koller, "Akademie Strudel," p. 7, no. 2.

166. Semenzato, *Scultura Veneta*, p. 113, figs. 120–125; Ursula Schlegel, *Die italienischen Bildwerke des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, *Die italienischen Bildwerke der Skulpturengalerie Berlin* (Berlin, 1978) pp. 177–182, cat. no. 61, pls. 39–41.

167. Schikola, "Burnacini . . . Pestsäule," pp. 247–258, figs. 181–183; Koller et al., "Pestsäule," pp. 21–24, figs. 25–28.
168. Dworschak, "Der Medailleur Fischer von Erlach," p. 238 n. 47, pl. xx, 7 and 8. I am grateful to Wolfgang Payrich, dean of the Augustiner Chorherrenstift Göttweig, for his help in providing photographs.
169. Dworschak, *ibid.*, p. 236 n. 37, fig. 159. Illustrated here is the Vienna copy in silver; I am indebted to H. Jungwirth and Karl Schulz for the photograph.
170. Dworschak, *ibid.*, pp. 226–233, pls. xvii, xviii, figs. 152–156.
171. The attribution to Smeltzing by Karl Schulz, Vienna, whom I would like to thank for his informative correspondence and the photograph, can be found in Lochner, *Sammlung Merkwürdiger Medaillen* III (Nuremberg, 1739). Cf., for example, *La Médaille au temps de Louis XIV*, exh. cat., Hôtel de la Monnaie (Paris, 1970) pp. 251–252, cat. no. 350, with the earlier bibl., and Peter Barber, "A Tercentennial Tale, Sir Gabriel Sylvius's Medal Commemorating the Old Pretender's Birth 1688," *The Medal* 13 (Autumn 1988) pp. 33–38, fig. 1.
172. Hans Sedlmayr, "Fischer von Erlach und Bernini," *Das Münster* 5 (1952) p. 273 n. 30.
173. Dworschak, "Der Medailleur Fischer von Erlach," pp. 234–237, pl. xix, figs. 1–2; Sedlmayr, *Fischer*, pp. 27–29, 236, figs. 1–2, 4, 6; *Fischer von Erlach*, exh. cat., pp. 37–38, cat. nos. 1/1–2.
174. Franz Dworschak, "I risultati delle ricerche austriache intorno al barocco romano e un nuovo gruppo di opere di Gianlorenzo Bernini," *Atti dell'Istituto di Studi Romani: Gli studi romani del mondo* 2 (1935) pp. 27–37, figs. 2–6; Sedlmayr, "Fischer und Bernini," pp. 265–268; Norris and Weber, *Medals and Plaquettes from the Molinari Collection*, pp. 35–36, nos. 96–103, cf. pp. 36–37, no. 104; John Varriano, "Alexander VII, Bernini, and the Baroque Papal Medal," in *Italian Medals*, vol. 21, *Studies in the History of Art* (Washington, D.C., 1987) pp. 249–260, figs. 1–21. Also see the original medallions at the twin churches in the Piazza del Popolo in Rome of 1662 (J. Varriano, *Alexander II* [Rome, 1987] p. 259, fig. 21) and works by G. Morone Mola after Gianlorenzo Bernini (Silvana da Caro Balbi, "Gian Lorenzo Bernini e la Medaglia barocca romana," *Medaglia* 4, 7 [1974] pp. 7–26, figs. 2, esp. figs. 17 [1665] cf. 20, Fischer von Erlach?) Cf. for this context "Roma Resurgens, Papal Medals from the Age of Baroque," exh. cat. University of Michigan Museum of Art (Ann Arbor, 1983).
175. Dworschak, "I risultati delle ricerche," p. 36, fig. 2. Let me also mention here as being reminiscent of the cast medal from 1659 (*Androcles and the Lion*), the engraving after Bernini's design by Giovanni Battista Bonacina (Varriano, "Alexander VII," p. 254, figs. 11–12), whose kinsman Antonio Bonacina of Milan created copper reliefs in Venice in 1683, which Bendl may have known (cf. note 181 below).
176. Klaus Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik* (Munich, 1962) pp. 29–38, figs. 82–83. Regarding its relationship to smaller sculpture, cf. Theuerkauff, "Zu Francis van Bossuit," pp. 137–141 nn. 82–83, fig. 30.
177. Antonia Nava Cellini, *La scultura del seicento* (Turin, 1982) pp. 103–104, fig. p. 104; Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600–1750*, 3rd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1973) p. 312, fig. 202.
178. Nava Cellini, *Scultura del seicento*, fig. after p. 96, cf. fig. p. 99.
179. Semenzato, *Scultura Veneta*, pp. 93–94, figs. 44, 42. As a contemporary parallel in Rome, one might compare the stagelike scenery with St. Francis de Sales, ca. 1700, by Francesco Moratti in the church of the same name, cf. Robert Enggass, *Early Eighteenth-Century Sculpture in Rome* (London, 1976) I, pp. 114–116; II, pl. 81 a–b.
180. Rudolf Preimesberger, "Zu zwei Werken Filippo Parodis in Venedig," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 13 (1971) pp. 297–302, ill.
181. Leo Planiscig, *Die Bronzeplastiken, Katalog*, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna, 1924) pp. 175–176, cat. nos. 287–291, figs. pp. 176–177.
182. Birke, *Matthias Rauchmiller*, p. 80, cat. no. 13, fig. 47, with bibl.
183. *Ibid.*, pp. 59–61, cat. no. 3, figs. 8–11, cf. figs. 2–3, 13–14. Most recently Hecht, in *Liechtenstein*, pp. 100–104, cat. no. 67, pl. 67, fig. 21.
184. One might stress Artus Quellinus the Younger, on whom see the bibl. in *La Sculpture au siècle de Rubens dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux et la principauté de Liège*, exh. cat., Musée d'Art Ancien (Brussels, 1977) pp. 158–169, cat. nos. 119–130.
185. Birke, *Matthias Rauchmiller*, pp. 57–58, cat. no. 1, fig. 1.
186. Semenzato, *Scultura veneta*, fig. 54; Enrico Riccòmini, "Opere veneziane di G. M. Mazza," *Arte Veneta* 21 (1967) pp. 177–178, fig. 215.
187. Riccòmini, "G. M. Mazza," figs. 222–223. Cf. also John Flemming, "Giuseppe Mazza," *The Connoisseur* 148 (1961) pp. 206–215, fig. 10, cf. fig. 1.
188. Veit Loers, "Bemerkungen zur Manierismusrezeption," *Studien zur europäischen Barock- und Rokokoskulptur*, Konstanty Kalinowski, ed., Uniwersytet Im. Adam Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, *Seria Historia Sztuki*, no. 15 (Poznan, 1985) esp. pp. 72–84, fig. 7, cf. figs. 8–11.
189. Ilg, *Die Fischer*, p. 129 nn. 266–267. Franz Schestag, *Illustrierter Katalog der Ornamentstich-Sammlung des K. K. Österr. Museums für Kunst und Industrie* (Vienna, 1871) II, pp. 127, 130, 164, 171, 205, 210; Albertina, Vienna, Ö. K. XI, pp. 6–13, nos. 8–23, and Folder D III, 44, pp. 44–47.
190. Albertina, Vienna, Ö. K. XI, p. 5, no. 5. 363 × 530 mm.
191. Albertina, Vienna, Ö. K. XI, p. 4, no. 4 (without signature), and D. III. 44, p. 45. The title *Achilles and Kyknos* and signature added (transferred?) in pencil and ink.
192. Inv. no. 3650, 14 × 23.6 cm. Kris and Planiscig, *Katalog*, p. 144, no. 27.
193. Inv. no. 3651, 13.9 × 23.6 cm. Kris and Planiscig, *ibid.*, p. 144, no. 29.
194. Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, *The Achilles Series, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard X* (London / Brussels, 1975) pp. 130–134, nos. 7–7b, figs. 62–71; Museum Boymans van Beuningen, *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens*, exh. cat. (Rotterdam, 1953) pp. 75–78, 82, cat. no. 67, fig. 57.

195. Briganti, *Pietro da Cortona*, pp. 250–255, 251, 255, 257, ill.
196. *Italian Masters of the 17th Century*, vol. 47, *The Illustrated Bartsch* (New York, 1983) p. 106, no. 78 (118), fig.
197. Fischer, “Gimignani,” p. 143, no. 16.
198. Francesco Zeri, *La Galleria Pallavicini in Roma* (Florence, 1959) p. 134 n. 222, fig. 218; Fischer “Gimignani,” p. 158, no. 62 and p. 231, no. Z 114; on the drawing style of Cortona and Gimignani, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 74–75.
199. *Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 45, p. 118, no. 24 (207); Fischer, “Gimignani,” p. 197, no. R 18.
200. Fischer, “Gimignani,” p. 143, nos. 16/2, 3. Cf. Bendl’s ivory relief inv. no. 3729 in Vienna.
201. Richard W. Wallace, *The Etchings of Salvator Rosa* (Princeton, 1979) pp. 275–276, no. 110, fig. 110. Regarding Bendl’s *Soldiers in the Mountains*, Albertina, D. III, 44, p. 46 (neg. no. 242/89) cf. Wallace, *Salvator Rosa*, pp. 297–300, no. 115, figs. 115–116 (“1663”) and the engraving with the putti, Albertina, Vienna, Ö. K. XI, p. 13, no. 23 (neg. no. 242/89); Wallace, *Salvator Rosa*, p. 318, no. 120, fig. 120.
202. Phyllis D. Massar, *Stefano della Bella* (New York, 1971) I, p. 150, no. 959; II, p. 209, fig. 959. Cf. *Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 45, p. 127, no. 6 (216); p. 139, no. 18 (220) for the masklike faces, with the emphasis on the foreground of the stage composition.
203. Albertina, D. III, 44, No. 43 and Ö. K. XI, p. 1, No. 1 blue, 361 × 520 mm. In representations of the same theme, cf. Paola Bellini, *L’opera incisa di Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (1609–1665)* (Milan, 1982) pp. 99–101, no. 20; p. 167, no. 63; pp. 180–181, no. 84. The Metropolitan Museum version is reproduced in Figure 58.
204. Sopher, *Seventeenth-Century Italian Prints*, p. 22, cat. no. 17, fig. 17, *Rest on the Flight*. On della Bella, cf. Massar, *Stefano della Bella*, I, pp. 45–46; II, p. 7, nos. 4–17.
205. Sopher, *Seventeenth-Century Italian Prints*, p. 50, cat. no. 77, fig. 77, *Holy Family*. See also Bellini, *Castiglione*, pp. 99–102, no. 20, *Flight into Egypt*, and pp. 180–191, no. 84, the same by Antonio Travi.
206. Inv. no. Ö. K. XI, p. 2, no. 2 (neg. no. 358/88).
207. *Guido Reni*, exh. cat. (1989) pp. 414–415, cat. no. C 6, cf. p. 88, fig. 70.
208. Sopher, *Seventeenth-Century Italian Prints*, p. 25, no. 23, fig. 23; Fischer, “Gimignani,” pp. 198–199, cat. no. R 25.
209. Jennifer Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi* (New Haven / London, 1985) I, pp. 142–244 n. 28, fig. 157.
210. Ö. K. XI, p. 7, no. 7 (neg. no. 358/88), 207 × 128 mm, “Bendl f.” on the lower left.
211. Sopher, *Seventeenth-Century Italian Prints*, p. 75, cat. no. 127, fig. 127.
212. *Ibid.*, pp. 73–74, cat. no. 120, fig. 120.
213. D. III, 44, p. 47 (neg. no. 242/84). The companion piece D. III, 44, p. 47 (upper right; neg. no. 242/84). For the heads of the Apostles, cf., among others, Bellini, *Castiglione*, pp. 106–110, nos. 23–45, which generally appear darker and not as loose as Bendl’s pages. For the female half figures (Sibyls?), cf. “Agostino Carracci’s Prints,” in *Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 39, pp. 317, 306–377.
214. Diane DeGrazie, *Le Stampe dei Carracci con i disegni, le incisioni, le copie e i dipinti comuni* (Bologna, 1984) pp. 131, 135, cat. no. 113a, fig. 140a (B. 58).
215. Sopher, *Seventeenth-Century Italian Prints*, pp. 97–99, cat. no. 166, fig. 166. Wallace, *Salvator Rosa*, pp. 135–141, cf. for Bendl’s fountain figures pp. 231–239, figs. 91, 93–94. Regarding the comparison with Castiglione, see Bellini, *Castiglione*, pp. 106–120, cat. nos. 23–45. One print in the Albertina that makes particular use of the contrast between light and dark is Bendl’s *Mary Magdalene*, Ö. K. XI, p. 3, no. 3 (neg. no. 242/84). For the numerous engraved half and three-quarter figures of nymphs and bacchantes, Susanna, David, Judith, Bathsheba, Mars(?), and others in the Albertina (Ö. K. XI, p. 10, no. 16, p. 11, no. 19, p. 7, no. 10, p. 7, no. 9, p. 7, no. 8, p. 10, no. 15, p. 10, no. 17, p. 11, no. 18) further prototypes in Italian painting and printmaking can doubtless be identified.
216. Schestag, *Illustrierter Katalog*, p. 210; inv. no. 147.6 in the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst.
217. Illustrated here is the copy in the Albertina, Ö. K. XI, p. 6, no. 6, 451 × 334 mm.
218. Schestag, *Illustrierter Katalog*, p. 205. Inv. no. 143/28–30. In the Albertina, Ö. K. XI, pp. 8–9, nos. 11–14.
219. Inv. no. 143/29 below, 157 × 189 mm.
220. Inv. no. 143/29 above, 158 × 187 mm.
221. Inv. no. 97/46–47; Schestag, *Illustrierter Katalog*, p. 127.
222. Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst (Vienna) inv. no. 101/1 and 2; Schestag, *Illustrierter Katalog*, p. 130. Among the sedan chairs there is one showing a Chinese figure as a bearer. The sleighs are quite imaginative, one in the form of an oak leaf with a wolf and dogs. One of the passengers is a woman with a lute above a dolphin or winged putti.
223. Inv. no. 126/4–7; Schestag, *ibid.*, p. 171.
224. Inv. no. 120/1, Schestag, *ibid.*, p. 164.
225. *Fischer von Erlach*, exh. cat., pp. 230–235, cat. nos. 64 E, 3–20, figs. 23–26; Sedlmayr, *Fischer von Erlach*, pp. 240–241, figs. 15–22, with additional bibliography (Kunoth, *Historische Architektur*, 1956). See also Susanne David, “Ziervasen von der Renaissance bis zum Klassizismus” (Ph.D. diss., Kiel University, 1962) pp. 53–54 nn. 170–174.
226. L’Art Ancien S. A., Zurich. In 1965 I was given copies by its director, A. Frauendorfer.
227. Inv. no. 120/2–3, in each case A–F; Schestag, *Illustrierter Katalog*, p. 164.
228. Inv. no. 120/3 F, 120 × 90 mm.
229. Inv. no. 120/2 D, 120 × 90 mm.
230. Inv. no. 120/2 F, cut at the top, 120 × 90 mm.
231. Cf. Inv. no. 120/2 B, 120 × 90 mm.
232. Helmut Seling, *Die Kunst der augsburger Goldschmiede 1529–1868* (Munich, 1980) II, no. 873, fig. 873. Cf. a teakettle by Simon Pantin, dating from 1724/25 in London, Carl Hernmarck, *Die Kunst der europäischen Gold- und Silberschmiede von 1450 bis 1830* (Munich, 1978) fig. 303.
233. Hernmarck, *Die Kunst 1450–1830*, fig. 311 (Elias Adam); Seling, *Die Kunst 1529–1868*, I, fig. 880, cf. pp. 144–147, 181–182.

234. Hernmarck, *Die Kunst 1450-1830*, fig. 313 (Andreas Wall).

235. *Ibid.*, fig. 309, cf. fig. 308.

236. Sales cat., *Wiener Porzellan, Sammlung Karl Mayer*, Nov. 19, 1928, Glückselig (Vienna) no. 13, pl. 9 left, H. 16.5 cm.

237. John F. Hayward, *Viennese Porcelain of the Du Paquier Period* (London, 1952) pp. 37-40, 50-55, pl. viii; cf. pl. vii; *Wiener Porzellan 1718-1864*, exh. cat. Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst (Vienna, 1970) p. 78, cat. no. 10, fig. 7, pl. 1; Rudolf Just, "Die frühesten Erzeugnisse du Paquiers," *Keramikfreunde der Schweiz, Mitteilungsblatt* 55 (1961) pp. 31-32, figs. 16-19.

238. Hayward, *Viennese Porcelain*, pl. ii. On the relationship between silver and porcelain in Meissen, cf. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, *Johann Friedrich Böttger zum 300. Geburtstag*, exh. cat.

(Dresden, 1982) pp. 83-113, figs. p. 105, pl. 1/2-15 (including Johann Jakob Irminger, among others).

239. Terese Tse Bartholomew, *I-Hsing Ware*, exh. cat., China Institute in America (New York / Kansas City / San Francisco, 1977/78) pp. 66-71, nos. 43-46, ill. (examples from the 16th to 18th centuries); Sotheby's Publications, *The Stone Wares of Yixing from the Ming Period to the Present Day* (London, 1986) pp. 54, 81, nos. xiv, fig. 21. I am grateful to Willibald Veit, Berlin, for directing me to these sources. Waltraud Neuwirth, *Böttgersteinzeug, Yixing und andere rote Ware* (Vienna, 1982) II, figs. 1-7, esp. fig. 35.

240. John V. G. Mallet, "Die frühesten Wiener Porzellanfiguren," *Alte und Moderne Kunst* 14, 105 (July/Aug. 1969) pp. 31-35, figs. 1-3, cf. figs. 7-8.