

Metropolitan Museum Journal

Volume 35/2000



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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL Volume 35 / 2000

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is issued annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Its purpose is to publish original research on works in the Museum's collections and the areas of investigation they represent. Contributions, by members of the Museum staff and other specialists, vary in length from monographic studies to brief notes. The wealth of the Museum's collections and the scope of these essays make the *Journal* essential reading for all scholars and amateurs of the fine arts.

Journal 35 opens with an article that identifies possibly the earliest workshop thus far known in Greek pottery, based on an examination of a Geometric-period pedestaled krater in the Museum's collection. Three precious objects receive scrutiny: a gold crossbow fibula of late 5th–early 6th century date presented in the historical context of such fibulae and in a close technical analysis of its openwork decoration; an enameled gold watch of ca. 1600 in the form of an ensign of the Order of the Garter; and a Dutch silver psalter cover identified here by its original contents, an early 17th-century book of Psalms. The carved works examined include an Umbrian 12th-century marble portal with a brief review of its iconography; a wood statue of Saint Roch, whose origin is attributed to the Lower Rhenish town of Kalkar, ca. 1500; and an elaborate life-size wood bust that most likely depicts the powerful Russian soldier Alexander Menshikov. Chinese, French, and American works on paper and canvas inspired studies: the historical context of a painting attributed to Guo Xi examined through poems by his contemporaries about his intimate landscape handscrolls; attributions of drawings in the Museum's collection restored to Hubert Robert; portraits by Ingres revisited in a postscript to the recent exhibition; studies that Dagnan-Bouveret made for his *Pardon in Brittany* at the Metropolitan demonstrating the complex working methods of this naturalist painter; and the mountain depicted in an *Autumn Landscape* by Jasper F. Cropsey correctly identified.

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Manuscripts submitted for the *Journal* and all correspondence concerning them should be addressed to James David Draper. Guidelines for contributors are given on the last page of this volume.

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PLATE 1. Crossbow fibula, ca. A.D. 450–ca. 558. Gold, L. 11.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1995 (1995.97). See pp. 39–86



PLATE 2. Watch in the form of a Lesser George, an ensign of the Order of the Garter, English (London), ca. 1600. Gold, partly enameled, with a movement by Nicholas Vallin, 3.6 x 2.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.1475). See pp. 137–52



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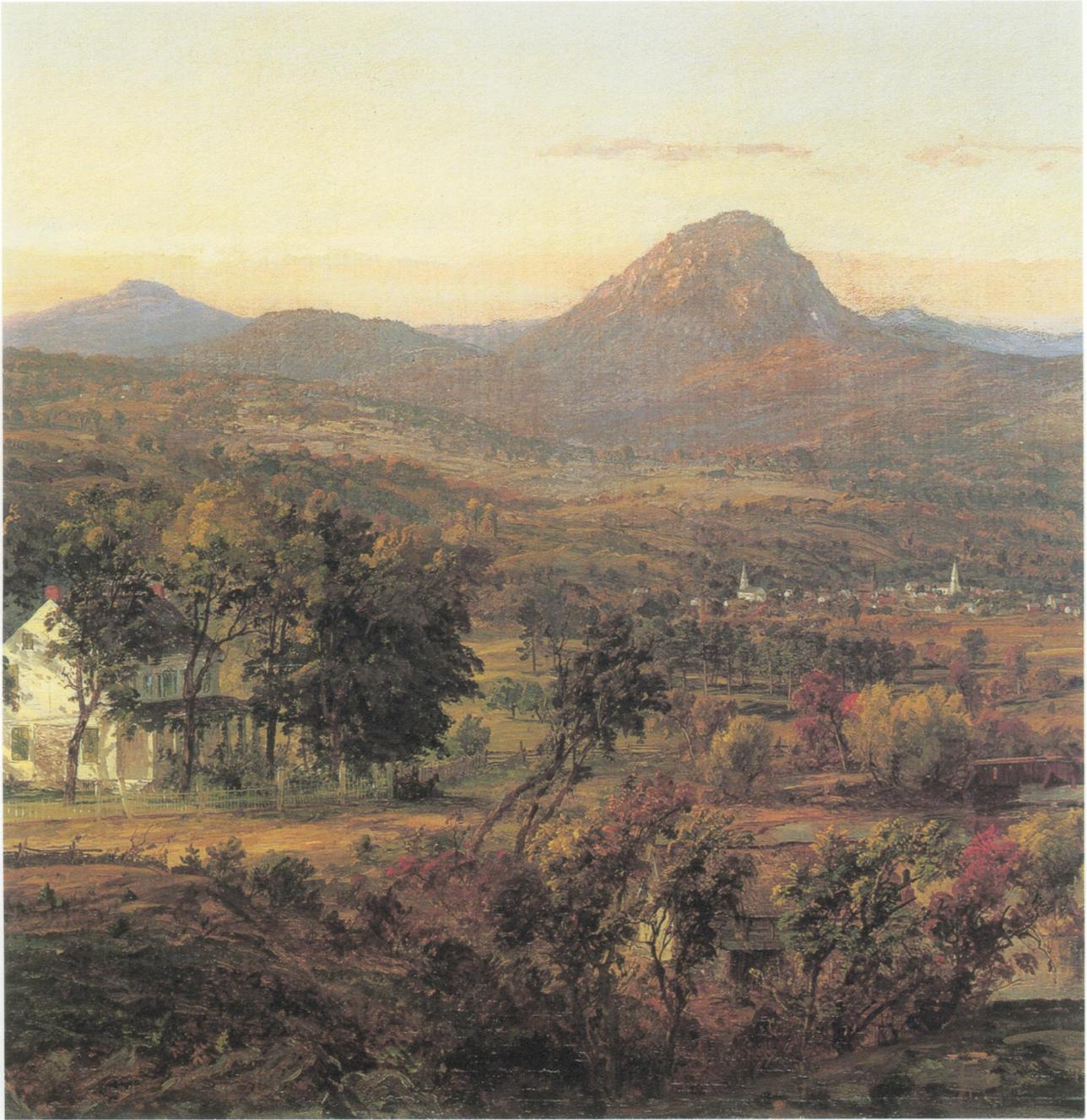


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ABBREVIATIONS

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

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.
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**METROPOLITAN
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Volume 35 / 2000

Ships on a “Wine-Dark Sea” in the Age of Homer

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Professor of Art History, Hunter College of the City University of New York

IN MEMORY OF EVELYN LORD SMITHSON (1923–1992)

THE CIVILIZATION of ancient Greece is commonly equated with the High Classical period of the fifth century B.C. The achievements of this period include the building of the Parthenon, which displayed some of the most famous sculpture in the world. It was the era in which the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, as well as the comedies of Aristophanes, were written. Music and poetry flourished. It was truly a golden age. But it was not the first golden age in the ancient Greek world. Much earlier, there was another. It is called the Geometric period.

The Geometric period is the earliest phase of the ancient Greek civilization and is named for the abstract patterns that decorate many objects, especially pottery. The era begins around the middle of the tenth century and lasts to about 700 B.C. It witnessed the beginning of alphabetic writing and ambitious figural compositions appear for the first time since the end of the Mycenaean era (i.e., ca. 1100 B.C.).¹ The main artifacts are mostly small and made of various materials, including bronze, gold, silver, ivory, and clay. Their use is primarily funerary and dedicatory.

The Geometric material preserved in greatest abundance consists of vases that were used as tomb offerings or, in the case of very large vessels, as grave markers. Many of these vases can be grouped stylistically into workshops and sometimes even combined to establish a single painter, but the artists' identities are unknown. Geometric pottery was produced all over the Greek world, and various local styles have been recognized.² The best, however, was made in Athens, where it is most readily visible in the National Archaeological Museum, the Kerameikos Museum, and the museum of the Agora, the ancient city's commercial and civic center. Among other European museums, the Louvre, the British Museum, and the Antikensammlung in Munich have important collections of Geometric pottery. On this side of the Atlantic,

only the Metropolitan Museum has a large collection, demonstrating the variety and character of this sophisticated pottery.³ Particularly notable are three monumental, well-preserved pedestaled kraters. The earliest of the three, New York MMA 34.11.2, is the subject of this article (Figures 1–14).⁴ The figured scenes on MMA 34.11.2 are very special within the context of narrative in Greek Geometric art, and this krater is the nucleus around which five more pedestaled kraters and one stand, all fragmentary, may be grouped to form a workshop. This workshop, which I propose to call the Workshop of New York MMA 34.11.2 after our krater, may be the earliest known thus far in Greek pottery.

The pedestaled krater has a high, slightly offset rim and an ovoid body that tapers to join a flaring base or pedestal, the feature that gives the shape its name. It has two bull's-head handles joined to the body at its widest point.⁵ Often, as on MMA 34.11.2, there is a hole in the bottom through which libations were poured. The decoration of the vase consists of both figural and non-representational motifs.

The invention of the high pedestaled krater was one of the great triumphs of Attic Geometric potters. For a long time, we have known that it served as a grave marker, for one of them was found in situ during the excavations of the Dipylon cemetery in Athens in the late nineteenth century.⁶ Almost all of the known examples of this specific shape come from Attica, particularly Athens. The only exception known to me is the very fragmentary piece found in the excavations at Agrabodochori in Elis, near the west coast of the Peloponnese.⁷ The high pedestaled krater in monumental form appears as early as 800 B.C. (the Middle Geometric period) and lasts through the third quarter of the eighth century (the Late Geometric I period), when the shape flourished. Thereafter, production on a monumental scale ceases.⁸

THE NEW YORK KRATER

MMA 34.11.2 is datable to the Middle Geometric period, probably late in the first quarter of the eighth

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The notes for this article begin on page 31.

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Figure 1. Side A of a Middle Geometric pedestaled krater, ca. 760 B.C. H. 97.8–99 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1934 (34.11.2)

century B.C. (see below, pp. 18–20). Like other pedestaled kraters of this time, the decoration on the body in the handle zone consists of a metope-triglyph band with a fringed starburst between battlements in the lateral metopes and vertical hatched meander patterns in the triglyphs. The central metope on each side contains figures. Below the handle zone there is

a frieze of figures that continues around the vase without interruption. In addition, there were figures in the panels and spandrels of the handles. There is no filling ornament between the figures.

Each figural metope depicts a prothesis, the deceased lying-in-state with mourners, in this case women. A horizontal line divides the space so that the



Figure 2. Side A/B of the Middle Geometric pedestaled krater in Figure 1



Figure 3. Side B of the Middle Geometric pedestaled krater in Figure 1

deceased appears in the upper zone and the women mourning him in the lower one. On Side A (Figure 5), all that remains of the deceased are his lower extremities.⁹ He lies on a bier with a thick mattress and heavy legs, both crosshatched. A diminutive mourner with both hands to her head kneels at the foot of the bier.¹⁰ Below the bier, there are three geese, the body of each outlined and crosshatched, the rest in silhouette except for its reserved eye (the third goose is very faint). Each stands to left, its head and neck turned back, preening itself. In a zone below, mourners stand to right: all of three remain as well as the legs of a fourth and a fifth. They are in silhouette, both arms above their heads forming a semicircle. Each has an inverted-triangle shaped torso with slightly concave sides, rounded buttocks and thighs, strong calves, and short feet. A breast (sometimes very faint) descends from each armpit. On Side B (Figure 3), little remains of the prothesis: the lower legs of the deceased on a crosshatched mattress and part of three mourners in the frieze below the bier. The leg at the foot of the bier seems to have been omitted. The glaze at the break below the mattress belongs to the arched neck of a bird similar to those on Side A.

The handle panels and spandrels contained figures. In the lower right of the panel of handle A/B are the calves and feet of a mourner (Figure 2) to right (there was enough room for four mourners in all). In the right spandrel of handle B/A (Figure 6), a female



Figure 4. Side B/A of the Middle Geometric pedestaled krater in Figure 1

mourner in silhouette stands to right with both hands to her head. Only her left breast is included; the right was omitted.

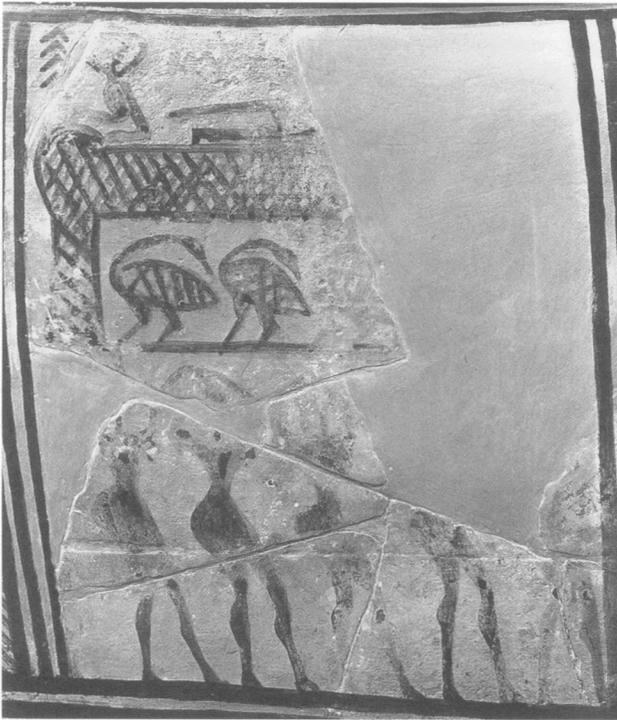


Figure 5. Side A of the Middle Geometric pedestaled krater in Figure 1 showing the prothesis



Figure 6. Side B/A of the Middle Geometric pedestaled krater in Figure 1 showing the figure in the spandrel of the handle (photo: the author)

Below the handle zone, a frieze of two warships alternates with two processions of warriors (Figures 1–4, 7, 8, 13, 14). On each side, the warship appears in the area below the left group of patterns with its ram below the prothesis scene, and each ship is similar except for details.¹¹ The ram is thin and pointed, the hull black and sleek.¹² A star-shaped “eye” within a reserved rectangle decorates the bow screens, and the horn piece of the bow curves gracefully upward and back.¹³ The stern compartment has a balustrade, its rail extending beyond the stern post, and the blade of one steering oar appears below the solid black of the hull.¹⁴ A bird with crosshatched body, perhaps a gull,¹⁵ perches on the stern post, from which there are two projections near its pointed tip. Above the hull of each ship two horizontal lines stretch from the bow to slightly past the stern, intersected by verticals of which every other one reaches the top horizontal, but only as far as the stern; beyond, each vertical reaches to the top. The lower horizontal line may represent the longitudinal beam, while the shorter vertical lines that extend above it may indicate the tholepins for the oars.¹⁶ The verticals that reach to the top horizontal may be understood as supporting the deck or a rail, in this case, probably the deck (Figures 7, 8, 13, 14).¹⁷

Lively combats take place on each ship. On Side A (Figure 9), an attacker, armed with a spear, steps onto the ram and helps himself to a stash of four pikes or ship’s spears in the bow.¹⁸ He is met by an archer who takes aim with his arrow. Behind the archer, a warrior, probably an opponent who has gained access to the ship, hurls his spear at an enemy no longer preserved. In the stern, two warriors attack one another at close range with their swords, the left tugging at the crest of his opponent’s helmet (Figure 10).¹⁹ Traces of another fighter (lower leg, ends of two spears) appear at the break. I think he carries a Dipylon shield because of the nearly vertical position of the ends of his spears, and he probably resembled his counterparts elsewhere in this frieze.

On Side B (Figures 8, 11, 14), a warrior identified by his helmet crest sits in the stern watching the duel taking place before him. The duelists wear helmets, are armed with swords, and appear evenly matched. Behind them, a warrior (head, part of torso lost) armed with a Dipylon shield and two spears moves to right. In front of him at the break, part of a Dipylon shield lies on the deck (Figure 8).²⁰ The next element is a crosshatched sail suspended from a yard that is supported by a mast topped by a finial and anchored to the deck by the sail-yard braces.²¹ At the right break is a little of a second Dipylon shield also lying on the deck. The sail extended to the left beyond the mast, as shown by a bit of glaze indicating more crosshatching.

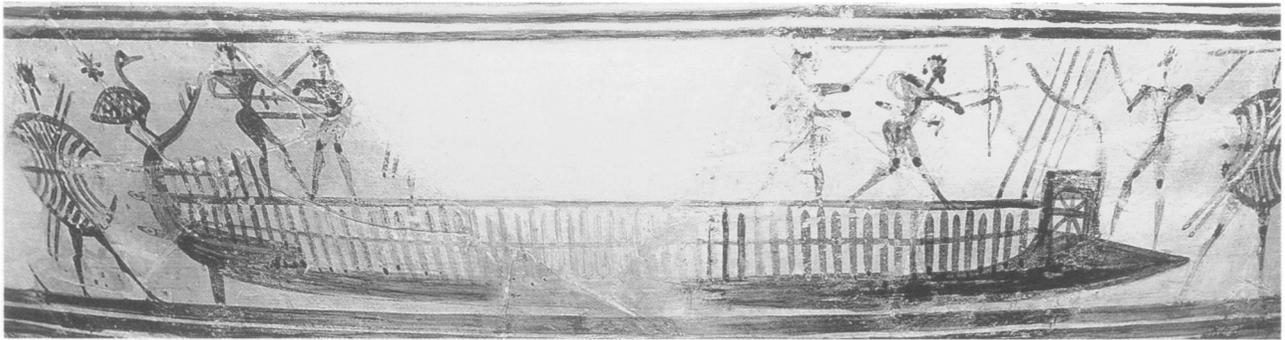


Figure 7. Side A of the Middle Geometric pedestaled krater in Figure 1 showing the ship



Figure 8. Side B of the Middle Geometric pedestaled krater in Figure 1 showing the ship

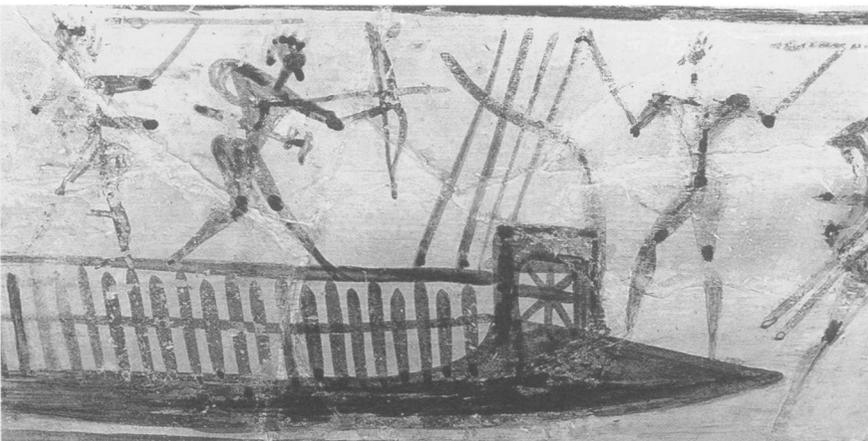


Figure 9. Side A of the Middle Geometric pedestaled krater in Figure 1 showing the fight in the prow



Figure 10. Side A of the Middle Geometric pedestaled krater in Figure 1 showing the fight in the stern and a warrior



Figure 11. Side B of the Middle Geometric pedestaled krater in Figure 1 showing the helmsman and warriors

Beneath the sail, a woman sits on the deck, her arms outstretched, and the line of glaze extending from each hand to the base of the mast or to the sail-yard brace suggests that she is fettered (Figure 12). Hair on her head identifies her as female and she may be a captive (see p. 24 below). Her right breast is not indicated and there is modern fill in plaster where the left would have been. After a gap and at the next break there is the leg of a warrior to left as well as a line of glaze that is the leg of another. They are probably allies (see p. 25 below). The glaze at the break above the horn piece may be an eight-pointed star like the one behind the bird perched on the stern post. I am not certain what the horizontal line to the left of it represents; perhaps it is the end of the horn but, if so, it would have an odd shape (Figure 8).

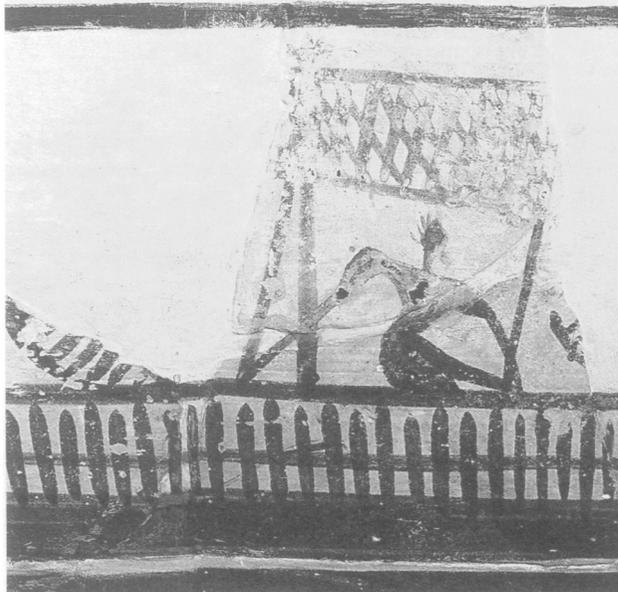


Figure 12. Side B of the Middle Geometric pedestaled krater in Figure 1 showing the captive woman

Between the two ships are files of warriors to right (Figures 1–4): from Side A to Side B and below handle A/B all thirteen remain; from Side B to Side A and below handle B/A, eight are fully preserved, the lower legs and feet of three more remain, with room for another, totaling twelve. Each warrior wears a helmet that has a long crest, with projections along its upper edge; each carries two spears and a Dipylon shield drawn to resemble wickerwork. None of these warriors has arms, nor does the Dipylon warrior standing on the deck on Side B. In front of the head of each warrior there is an eight-pointed star.

THE SHAPE AND DATE

MMA 34.11.2 is the only Middle Geometric monumental pedestaled krater in which the entire shape and system of decoration may be fully understood. The remaining examples are fragmentary. Our krater predates the Late Geometric pieces, for its proportions are rather squat, its contour a bit slack, and the figures occupy less of the surface than they do later (see below, p. 20 and Figure 20). An incomplete, early Middle Geometric krater is the fragmentary one found in Grave 43 of the Kerameikos in Athens, inv. 1254 (Figure 15),²² already compared with MMA 34.11.2 by Marwitz.²³ The earliest preserved occurrence of a human figure on an Attic Greek vase appears on this krater: in the handle spandrel there is a female mourner, a rare feature that recurs on MMA 34.11.2; in what is left of the handle panel are the hindquarters of a horse and part of its head and neck (our panels had mourners).²⁴ The remaining decoration on the Kerameikos krater is ornamental, but on the body in the handle zone it probably had a central panel with figures. It would be most unusual for the spandrels and panels of the handles to have figures and the body only ornamental patterns.²⁵

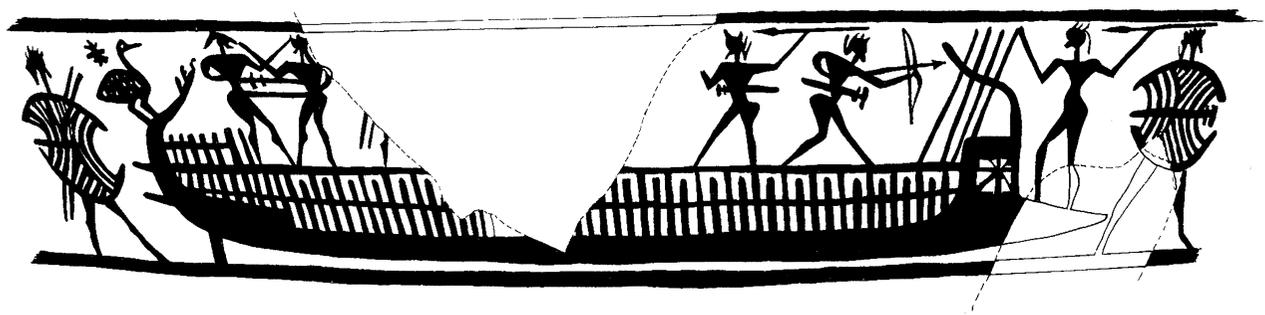


Figure 13. Drawing of the ship on Side A of the Middle Geometric pedestaled krater in Figure 1 (drawing: the author)

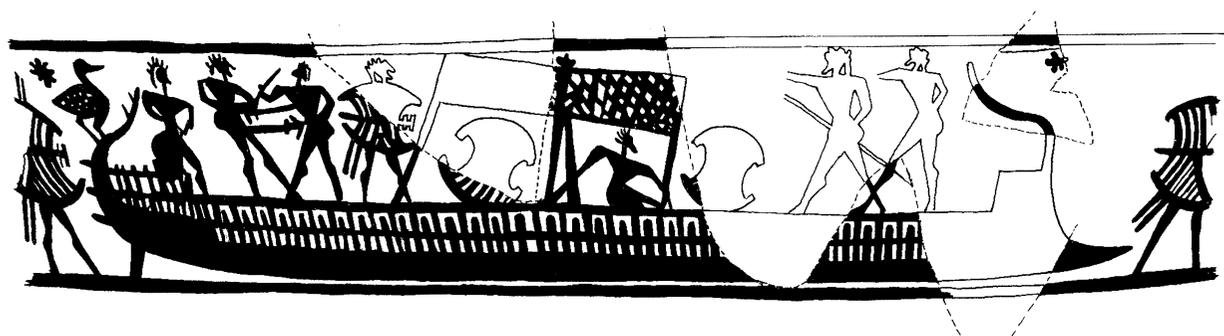


Figure 14. Drawing of the ship on Side B of the Middle Geometric pedestaled krater in Figure 1 (drawing: the author)

The mourner in the handle spandrel on MMA 34.11.2 has an even closer counterpart. It occurs on a fragmentary pedestaled krater, Trachones Tr. 37, found in an unstratified context in the ancient cemetery on the Geroulanos property at Trachones, a suburb of modern Athens near the airport (Figure 16).²⁶ In the spandrel, there is a female mourner, identified not only by the position of her arms, but also by her breasts, both on one side. In the small remaining part of the handle panel there is the bent arm of a mourner. To the left of the handle, the preserved decoration indicates that the ornaments were set in metopes and triglyphs with fringed starbursts in the metopes and meanders in the triglyphs. Nothing of a figural central metope remains, but I believe that there was one, for the same reason as for Kerameikos inv. 1254.

Also close to MMA 34.11.2 is the fragmentary krater found in an unstratified context at Thorikos, TC 65.666 (Figures 17 and 21).²⁷ Like ours, it has figures in the spandrels and panels of the handles and a prothesis in the central metope on *each* side.²⁸ A ground line

for the bier separates it from the mourners below and another line from the mourners above, thus dividing the space into three separate but related zones. The excavators date this krater shortly after the middle of the eighth century B.C. (i.e., in the Late Geometric I period). They draw attention to the many features it shares with MMA 34.11.2 and seem to accept the Middle Geometric II dating for it. However, they justify the discrepancy in date of ten to fifteen years by suggesting that the Thorikos krater was made locally by artists who were still working in the more conservative Middle Geometric style rather than in the progressive Late Geometric one that had taken root in Athens by the middle of the century. This explanation seems forced. As far as I know, these two kraters are the only Middle Geometric ones that have *both* a figural metope on *each* side *and* the composition divided horizontally into thematically related zones.

Two non-joining fragments of a Middle Geometric pedestaled krater found in a well in the Athenian Agora, P 8357, preserve only ornament, a hatched

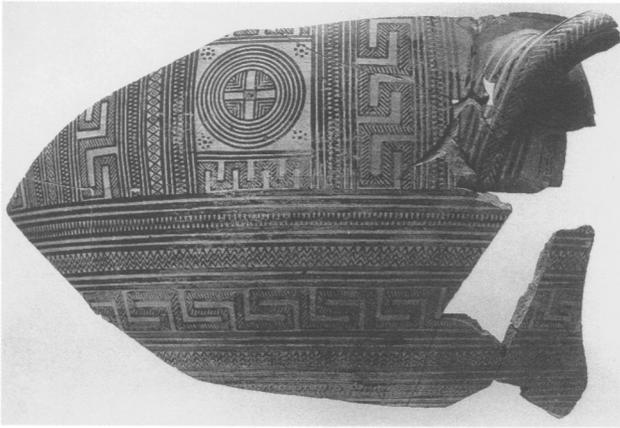


Figure 15. Fragment of a Middle Geometric pedestaled krater, ca. 800 B.C. Kerameikos Museum, Athens, inv. 1254 (photo: DAI, Athens)

battlement pattern above a zone each of zigzags and upright triangles (Figure 18). Above the battlement is another zone of zigzags, then what looks like a little bit of an area of metopes and triglyphs.²⁹ Louvre CA 4606 preserves the start of one bull's-head handle decorated with horizontal chevrons between lines, then a zigzag pattern above a hatched battlement and a zone of multiple zigzags (Figure 19).³⁰

These five kraters, Kerameikos inv. 1254, Trachones Tr. 37, Thorikos TC 65.666, Agora P 8357, and Louvre CA 4606, represent the Attic Middle Geometric monumental high pedestaled kraters known to me that are relevant to MMA 34.11.2. Where preserved, the figures appear in a metope in the center of each side in the handle zone, as well as in the spandrels and panel of each handle. Between the handle and the figural panel, the ornament is arranged in a metope-triglyph configuration. In a frieze below the handle zone, the artist of MMA 34.11.2 added a depiction of two splendid ship fights alternating with files of marching warriors. The effect of these kraters is restrained and elegant, with a thoughtful balance between the figural and ornamental areas. In Late Geometric, beginning with the Dipylon and Hirschfeld Workshops,³¹ additional figures are introduced and gradually, as on other shapes, they take up more and more of the surface of the vase and are set in a frieze rather than a metope. New York MMA 14.130.14 (Figure 20), from the Hirschfeld Workshop, and MMA 14.130.15 are good examples.³² The overall effect is very different.³³

The majority of scholars who have dealt with MMA 34.11.2 accept the Middle Geometric II dating, placing it in the second quarter of the eighth century B.C., just before the Late Geometric series begins. But a few dissent, and it is worth reviewing their reasons, when

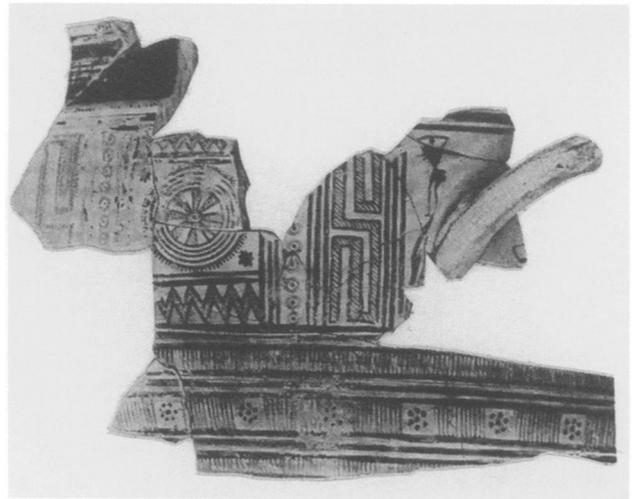


Figure 16. Fragment of a Middle Geometric pedestaled krater, showing a mourner in a handle spandrel, ca. first quarter of the 8th century B.C. Trachones, Geroulanos Collection, Tr. 37; now Piraeus Archaeological Museum (photo: after Johannes M. Geroulanos, "Grabsitten des ausgehenden geometrischen Stils im Bereich des Gutes Trachones bei Athen," *AM* 88 [1973], pl. 52, 5)

given, for a later date. Young was the first to state a preference for a late eighth-century date when he compared MMA 34.11.2 with Agora P 8357, which he said has a similar meander (battlement) and key pattern (Figures 1, 3, 18).³⁴ Marwitz observed quite a few peculiarities of potting as well as decoration and thought that they warranted a late date for the krater,³⁵ an opinion accepted by Morrison and Williams, whose focus was on ships, not chronology.³⁶ Arias placed MMA 34.11.2 in the third quarter of the eighth century.³⁷ Finally, Dörig considered MMA 34.11.2 late for rather strange reasons: all the units and symmetrical articulation of parts are molded into a freer ensemble; the contour begins to waver; the fields lose their regularity and the prothesis is "reduced to small metopes."³⁸ The date I prefer is Middle Geometric II (i.e., ca. 800–760 B.C.) because of the shape and system of decoration described above and for reasons given below in the discussion of the figural scenes. Furthermore, on none of our human figures is the eye indicated, which is standard later on carefully painted vases such as MMA 14.130.14 (Figure 20); each figure on our krater is rendered in pure silhouette, with hatching or cross-hatching reserved for the birds and inanimate objects. Also, there is no filling ornament between the figures. It seems much more likely that MMA 34.11.2 stands at the beginning of a complex, energetic figural style rather than at the end. As Kirk put it: "The fighting on the deck . . . is animated, and the figures do not yet have the stiffness of the Late Geometric period."³⁹



Figure 17. Fragment of a Middle Geometric pedestaled krater showing part of a prothesis, ca. 760 B.C. Max. 17.9 cm. Thorikos, TC 65,666 (photo: after Herman Mussche et al., *Thorikos 1965: Rapport préliminaire sur la troisième campagne de fouilles* [Brussels, 1967], p. 43, fig. 49)

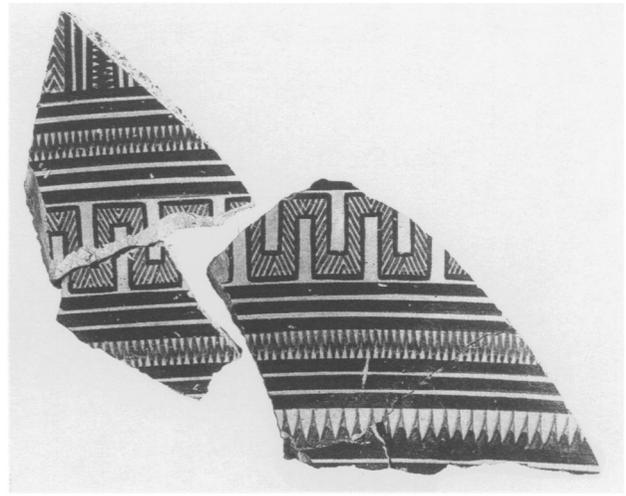


Figure 18. Fragment of a Middle Geometric pedestaled krater, ca. first quarter of the 8th century B.C. H. 16.5 cm. The Athenian Agora, Athens, P 8357 (photo: American School of Classical Studies, Agora Excavations)

THE SUBJECTS

In the Geometric period, pictures of various subjects painted on vases were the principal form of artistic expression, the most viable means of visually describing human deeds and conveying human feelings. For a long time, the Late Geometric period monopolized the attention of scholars seeking to identify workshops and individual painters or studying scenes for their narrative content and ability to communicate directly with the viewer. But picture-making in Attic pottery really begins in the Middle Geometric period, which was the first to depict the prothesis with the deceased and mourners and to represent combats—whether duels or battles, on land or at sea. Middle Geometric artists also are the first to differentiate between the sexes. For the prothesis, the basic study is by Gudrun Ahlberg, who analyzed the components of the two parts of the Attic funeral in the eighth century B.C.⁴⁰ The prothesis scenes on MMA 34.11.2 are among the earliest preserved, and they are the only Middle Geometric protheses in Ahlberg's catalogue.⁴¹ The early date of MMA 34.11.2 may account for the unusual feature of having the bier with the corpse occupy the upper half of each panel, while the mourners appear in the lower half, the two zones separated by a ground line for the bier. In later examples, mourners may occupy two friezes, one above the other, but the bier always shares the ground line with the group of mourners who surround it. Good examples are Athens N.M.

804 by the Dipylon Master or MMA 14.130.14 by a painter of the Hirschfeld Workshop (Figure 20).⁴²

The only other Middle Geometric exception to this arrangement known to me, and hence the best parallel with MMA 34.11.2, is the fragmentary pedestaled krater found at Thorikos dated by the excavators shortly after the middle of the eighth century (i.e., Late Geometric) and by Ahlberg to Late Geometric II a, or about 730 B.C. (Figure 17).⁴³ Ahlberg, however, knew only the main fragment with part of the prothesis,⁴⁴ and not the fragments found in 1975 and 1979, well after her study appeared. These fragments established



Figure 19. Fragment of a Middle Geometric pedestaled krater, ca. first quarter of the 8th century B.C. H. 14 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, CA 4606 (photo: Louvre)



Figure 20. Side A of a Late Geometric pedestaled krater, ca. 725 B.C. H. 108.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1914 (14.130.14)

that the system of decoration between the central figural panel and the handles consisted of metopes and triglyphs with concentric circles in the metopes and meanders or starbursts in the triglyphs (Figure 21). Part of the prothesis on each side remains, that on the reverse merely a small non-joining fragment.⁴⁵ The better-preserved scene on the obverse shows a row of standing mourners above and below the bier, each separated by a ground line. That on the reverse preserves a little bit of the bier with the legs of the deceased and part of four mourners in the lower frieze, but presumably there was a row of them above as well. The panel was probably a metope, as on MMA 34.11.2, and the scene is very compartmentalized, even more so than on our krater.

Louvre A 517, a Late Geometric example from the Dipylon Workshop, has a row of seated figures above the bier and a standing row of them below it, as well as mourners standing at each side, but there the composition reads as a unit.⁴⁶ If the reconstruction of a further vase, Athens N.M. 806 (incorporating four fragments in the Louvre, CA 3272 a–d, and one fragment of Athens N.M. 802) is correct,⁴⁷ it shows the prothesis framed by two chariot teams with a row of mourners above and below, each in a long narrow frieze.⁴⁸ Below this ensemble comes a zone of chariots each drawn by a single galloping horse. The effect is quite different from that of MMA 34.11.2, for the figures occupy a very large proportion of the krater's surface. Athens N.M. 806 is dated Late Geometric I a.⁴⁹

In figural composition and the amount of ornament, the Thorikos krater is closer to MMA 34.11.2 and other Middle Geometric pedestaled kraters than it is to any of the Late Geometric examples; it ought, therefore, to be dated to the Middle Geometric period.

Of note also in the prothesis scenes of MMA 34.11.2 is the bier. Kyrieleis lists it among his five examples of Type II: club-shaped legs thickening toward the top.⁵⁰ But actually, this is the only feature our krater shares with Kyrieleis's four other examples. These have legs in pure silhouette to distinguish them from the cross-hatched mattress, whereas the bier on MMA 34.11.2 is completely crosshatched without a distinction between legs and mattress. According to Ahlberg there is no parallel for our bier, and in *Prothesis and Ekphora* she says that it "seems to be a more substantial bier, i.e. a sort of catafalque without the bier legs rendered."⁵¹ This may be another argument in favor of a Middle Geometric date for our krater.

The location of the prothesis in real life has provoked interest, but the problem is probably insoluble. Marwitz offers suggestions in favor of both indoors and outdoors.⁵² Ahlberg discusses the problem of setting at some length and suggests that the prothesis took place either inside the house or outside in a protected area, perhaps a courtyard.⁵³ She thinks that weapons or other objects above or below the bier and certain kinds of furniture indicate an indoor setting; that the presence of tripods, baldachins, and other structures suggests a courtyard. Perhaps if birds and animals are included, an outdoor venue is intended, but even this cannot be proven. The best advice may be Ahlberg's: "I do not think it is advisable to strain the iconographic information of the setting of the prothesis scenes more than has been done here."⁵⁴

Of all the features on MMA 34.11.2, the ship scenes have provoked the most interest.⁵⁵ Kirk noted that in Attic Geometric painting a surprisingly large number of ship scenes occur, and he suggested that this fact could hardly be coincidental, especially because so many of them appear on pedestaled kraters.⁵⁶ He summarized earlier explanations for the phenomenon: (1) the kraters marked graves of those who belonged to Athenian naucraries;⁵⁷ (2) the deceased lost his life in a naval battle; (3) the naval scenes were inspired by heroic saga and represent either specific or generalized legendary engagements. None of these explanations is without problems, according to Kirk, who further remarked that not all of the ships appear in battle scenes and sometimes the ship itself is the focus. While he more or less agreed ship combats on the big kraters could suggest how the deceased lost his life, Kirk also proposed that the appearance of so many ships might

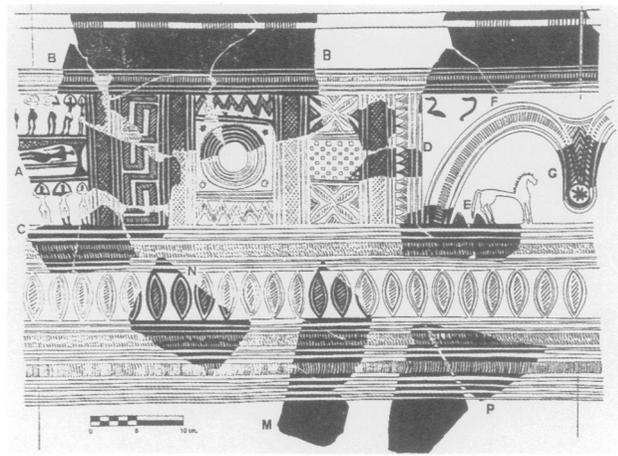


Figure 21. Reconstruction drawing of the pedestaled krater in Figure 17 incorporating the fragments found in 1975 and 1979 (photo: after Marthe and Jean Bingen, "Le cratère 'géométrique récent' de Thorikos," in *Rayonnement Grec: Hommages à Charles Delvoye* [Brussels, 1982], p. 80)

indicate the Athenians began to assemble a defensive naval force as early as the eighth century B.C.⁵⁸

Nearly all of the Attic ship scenes belong to the Late Geometric period. A brief discussion of the exceptions reveals how striking the ship scenes are on MMA 34.11.2 and how they stand at the head of a significant pictorial tradition. The earliest ships on Attic vases seem to be the following, all Middle Geometric: a one-handled cup in Athens N.M. 18471; a hydriskos in Athens (no no.), said to be from the same tomb as the cup; an oinochoe found in a tomb at Agioi Theodoroi in the Corinthia; and an Attic pyxis found at Lefkandi.⁵⁹ Each of these shows only the ship. There are no human figures, although the ship on the Lefkandi pyxis has two birds standing on the deck. The elegant vessels have a slender hull, curved stern, steering oars, and a large stem with horn. The ship on the oinochoe has a sail, that on the pyxis a mast and sail-yard brace, but no sail. The hydriskos ship has a mast, a yard, and two braces, but no sail, unless it is furled at the top of the yard.

The famous Middle Geometric II skyphos, Eleusis 910 (741) (Figure 22),⁶⁰ shows, on one side, a diminutive archer taking aim to left at a warrior armed with three spears and a Dipylon shield; a similar warrior with a Dipylon shield appears next to the stern. Neither looks particularly threatening. A bird perches on the stern. On the other side is a lively fight with six warriors, none armed with shields. Ahlberg considers the two sides to be linked thematically.⁶¹

The ship scenes on MMA 34.11.2 are not much later, but the progress over the earlier works is enormous. On the Eleusis skyphos the figures do not directly engage one another. The warriors with Dipylon shields

frame the ship instead of participating in the combat. In the conflict on the other side, the arrangement and effect are similar.⁶² On the New York vase, the opposing sides in each combat are clearly drawn and each scene reads as a true narrative. Much scholarly attention has focused on these two scenes, beginning with Miss Richter's publication in 1934.⁶³ Following Pernice's observations of ships on Geometric vases, Miss Richter saw that the poles in the bow of the ship on Side A are the pikes or ship's spears referred to by Homer,⁶⁴ and then suggested that the protruding rods at the stern represent the horizontal beams.

Grunwald suggested that the figure behind the archer on Side A is not Greek because she thinks he wears a kind of jacket or tunic;⁶⁵ she has misread the surface, for the warrior is nude just like the others (Figure 9). Grunwald also argues that the Dipylon shields lying on the deck on Side B are not booty, but stand ready for the ship's crew to use, just as the pikes do in the ship on the other side.⁶⁶ This is an important observation. Coldstream, in his review of Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea*, observed that "there is no Geometric battle scene where men wearing the same type of shield are fighting each other."⁶⁷ Grunwald went one step further. She thinks that in scenes of the prothesis, warriors with Dipylon shields always belong to the same side as the deceased and that the Dipylon shield is reserved for one side only.⁶⁸ This observation seems to be correct for Middle Geometric and Late Geometric I representations, as perusal of the illustrations in Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, reveals.⁶⁹ By Late Geometric II, hoplite warriors with round shields are more frequent, Dipylon warriors much less so.⁷⁰ By analogy, Grunwald also draws similar conclusions for land and sea battles in Middle Geometric and Late Geometric I, only here the evidence is meager, because battle scenes are rarely combined with the prothesis. In fact, our krater seems to be the only certain example. The dearth of comparable material among the combats may be due to the very fragmentary condition of the preserved vases, and future excavations may contribute positive evidence. At present, I subscribe to Grunwald's idea that the Dipylon warriors on the New York krater belong to the side of the deceased.

Of considerable interest and importance is the figure sitting on the deck on Side B (Figure 12). Marwitz was the first to identify, somewhat tentatively, this figure as a woman,⁷¹ and he remarked that women and booty were already in the ship when the Kikones seized the companions of Odysseus.⁷² He did not, however, assign our scene a mythological subject. While there is certainly a heroic flavor to this scene, more evidence is needed to interpret it as an illustration of a specific moment in

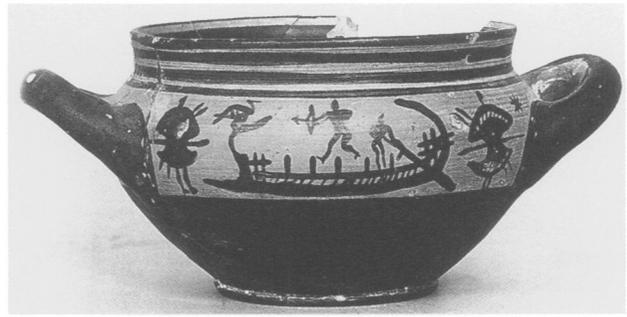


Figure 22. Middle Geometric skyphos showing a ship battle, ca. 800 B.C. H. 6.4 cm. Archaeological Museum, Eleusis, 910 (741) (photo: DAI, Athens)

myth.⁷³ Ahlberg also considers the figure a woman and notes that her position is unique; figures tend to be placed to one side of the sail, not beneath it.⁷⁴ She does not believe that the woman handles the sail but instead that she is tied to the brace as a captive; she also thinks that the Dipylon shields to either side of the sail yard are the spoils of war carried from the battlefield.⁷⁵ I do not share the latter view. Grunwald agrees that the figure is a woman, because of the hair, and thinks that she holds a spear,⁷⁶ a suggestion difficult to support by analogy with other female figures.

A brief digression will demonstrate how remarkable the figure of our woman is within the context of Geometric narrative. First of all, in Middle Geometric and Late Geometric I scenes, the roles of women are much more limited than those of men, which increases the importance of our woman many times over. Women appear only as corpses or mourners. Men may assume these roles, but they also fight each other with swords, spears, or bows and arrows, they sail ships and drive chariots, just to name some of the well-attested pursuits. By the Late Geometric II period, men ride horses, and both men and women appear as dancers.⁷⁷

Grunwald singles out two Geometric vase fragments on which she thinks a woman appears in a combat scene. Both are Late Geometric, thus later than our krater. Neither shows a captive and each presents problems of interpretation.

The first fragment, Louvre CA 3370, depicts parts of three, perhaps four, corpses (Figures 23, 24).⁷⁸ The corpse in question appears at the left: the head faces down; the torso is an inverted triangle; a bit of each arm remains. On the chest is a row of three reserved dots. Quite a discrepancy exists between the photograph (Figure 23) and Grunwald's drawing (Figure 24). The faint traces of glaze she believes are two breasts descending from one side of the chest are prob-

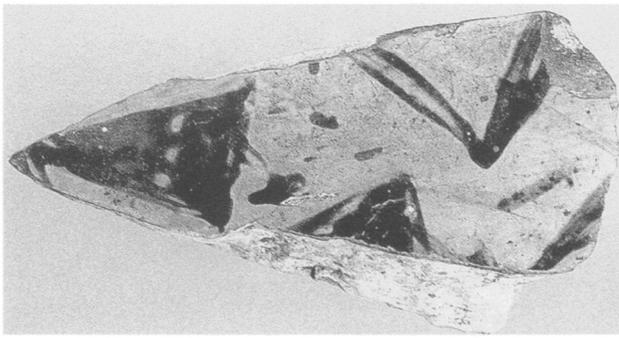


Figure 23. Fragment of a Late Geometric pedestaled krater showing part of a fight at sea, ca. 740–730 B.C. H. 5.5 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, CA 3370 (photo: Louvre)

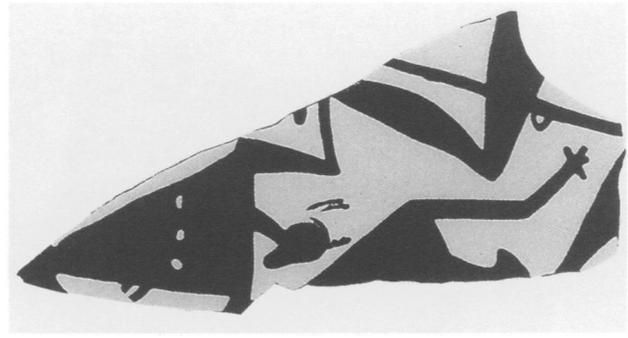


Figure 24. Drawing of the fragment of a Late Geometric pedestaled krater in Figure 23 (photo: after Christiane Grunwald, "Frühe attische Kampfdarstellungen," *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 15 [1983], p. 167, fig. 21)

ably placed too low to justify the interpretation; Grunwald's desire for the bits of glaze above the head to be long locks of hair may be wishful thinking. Problematic is the shaft (very faint) of a spear near the top of the fragment, which the figure could have held. Thus, the gender is not as certain as Grunwald would have us believe, and I am inclined to think the figure is male.

The second fragment on which a woman may appear in a combat, without actually fighting, occurs in a ship scene on Louvre A 530, which is by a painter from the Dipylon Workshop (Figures 25, 26).⁷⁹ The horizontal legs and vertical feet of a corpse at the right attest to a violent episode, which may still be going on in a part of the composition no longer preserved. At the left, a warrior armed with a spear tugs at a sail yard (the sail would have been to the right of the right break) while, in front of him, a figure seated on the deck also holds a sail yard, but not as tightly.⁸⁰ Grunwald identifies this figure as a woman and interprets the projection above the shoulders as hair. Again, there is a discrepancy between the photograph (Figure 25) and the drawing (Figure 26): the surface is abraded in the area where Grunwald restores hair. The main indication that this figure is a woman is the skirt she appears to wear; the legs of an oarsman seated in the galley below her are clearly separated.

The figure on the New York krater is undeniably a woman because of her short spiky hair. Long hair becomes standard for women only in Late Geometric II,⁸¹ prior to that, if hair is shown, it is spiky, the corpse on Athens N.M. 804 being a good Late Geometric I example.⁸² As mentioned above, there may have been a breast in the area now filled in with plaster. As for the woman's role on the New York vase, I think that she is a captive, for she really does seem to be fettered (Figure 12). In any case, she is markedly different from

other women in Middle and Late Geometric I painting who are corpses or mourners.

Examination of the two ship scenes reveals considerable differences between them. On Side A, the fight is in full swing and there is no helmsman; one assumes he fights along with his companions. Thucydides, writing in the fifth century B.C., tells us that in early times all men on board were both crew and fighters.⁸³ There seem to be four distinct parts to this battle (Figures 7, 13): (1) the fight in the prow with the enemy stepping on the ram and about to attack the archer; (2) the enemy spearman behind the archer whose opponent is lost; (3) the calf of one leg of a fighter to right and the ends of his two spears; (4) the fight in the stern. On Side B, the fighting seems almost at an end, and perhaps the ship is about to set off, which would explain the unfurled sail (Figures 8, 14).⁸⁴ That the ship on Side A is beached is clear, because the warrior standing on the prow seizing a ship's spear has presumably just leaped onto the ship from dry land. Whether the ship on Side B is sailing or beached and about to set sail (as I am inclined to think) is not as clear. The helmsman is situated in the stern and a duel takes place before him, perhaps one of the last skirmishes (Figure 11).⁸⁵ Next comes the fighter with the Dipylon shield who seems to have no opponent. Perhaps he guards the captive woman.⁸⁶ Near the prow are traces of warriors (just the lower legs of two to left remain). I think they may be allies not opponents, even though they move from right to left as the enemy does on Side A. The spear held by one of them was carried at waist level, not held poised for throwing (Figures 8, 14; compare the warrior behind the archer on Side A: Figures 9, 13). Also, since the battle seems to be winding down on this side, these men may be about to change from fighters to rowers. There are no pikes in the prow and there was no enemy standing



Figure 25. Fragment of a Late Geometric pedestaled krater showing part of a ship and its crew, ca. 730 B.C. H. 10.6 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, A 530 (photo: Louvre)

on the ram, for what remains of the area above it is unglazed.

The sail was about double its preserved width as indicated by the start of more crosshatching to the left of the mast and the diagonal line attached to the deck which is the end of the sail-yard brace. It would take a big sail as well as many oarsmen to power a ship this long.⁸⁷ Every author who has dealt with the ship on Side B of our krater has called the object above the woman a sail. However, there has been some oral discussion that instead of a sail, it might be a kind of

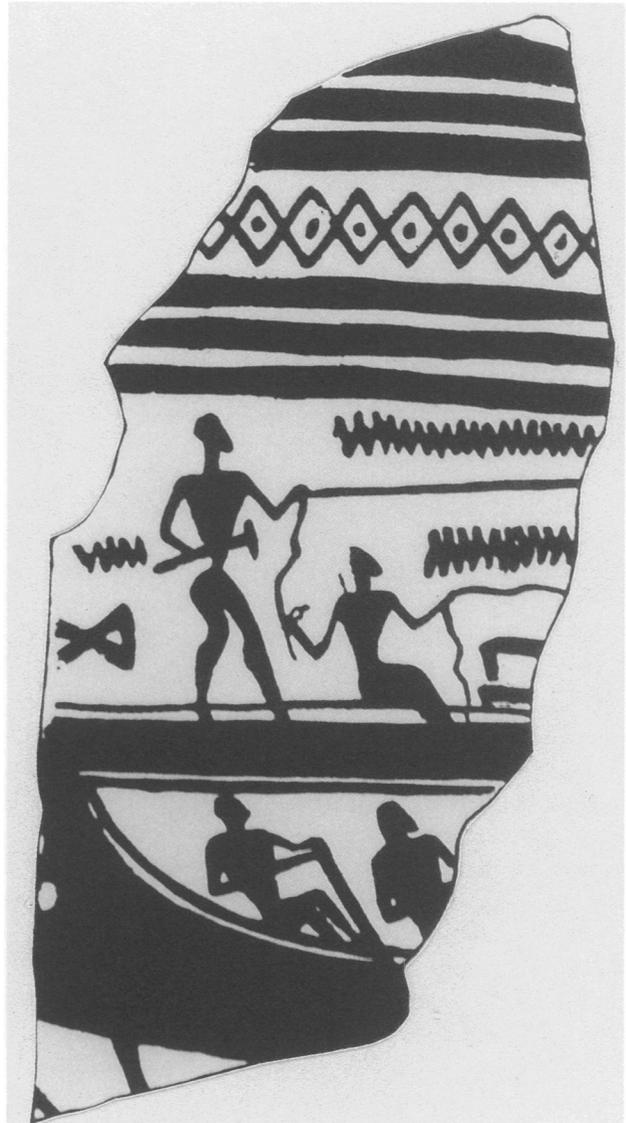


Figure 26. Drawing of the fragment of a Late Geometric pedestaled krater in Figure 25 (photo: after Grunwald, "Frühe attische Kampfdarstellungen," p. 164, fig. 20).

baldachin or canopy intended to shelter the captive woman from the intensely hot Mediterranean sun. I believe the object is a sail, but perhaps a short discussion would help to clarify the matter.

First of all, a baldachin or canopy is supported by poles attached to its four corners. A sail requires a central vertical mast and diagonal yards, stays, and braces that allow it to be maneuvered so it can catch favorable winds for propelling the ship. Flexibility of the sail also helps to steer the vessel. A canopy is stationary and requires none of the rigging a sail does. While there are quite a few ships in Geometric painting, there are not many with sails, a situation that perhaps reflects the fragmentary condition of so many of the

ship representations. So far, all of the Geometric ships with sails that I have been able to find have an arrangement similar to that of the sail on our ship. The mast is centered amidship and the yard is attached to it. The sail is horizontal, rectangular, stiff, and hatched. Sail-yard braces are in place.⁸⁸

One further point concerning the ship scenes. Almost thirty years ago, J. L. Benson published his study of Greek Geometric figural art and its possible Bronze Age antecedents. In it he pointed to many similarities between the birds, as well as some of the warriors on MMA 34.11.2, and specific Mycenaean and Minoan representations.⁸⁹ Later, he remarked somewhat plaintively, “that shipboard battles are not known to be a theme of Mycenaean visual art suggests that the Geometric painter was left on his own. . . .”⁹⁰ Now, literally, Benson’s ship has come in. An excavation at the coastal site of ancient Kynos (modern Pyrgos Livanaton), about sixty miles north of Athens, has radically changed the picture, for about a dozen fragments of Late Mycenaean III C (i.e., ca. 1200 B.C.) kraters were found that depict scenes of warriors at sea *and* on ships.⁹¹ They are not actually in combat, but one fragment depicts three warriors, one behind the other, facing the prow. The first seems to be armed with a bow and arrow; the second has a rectangular shield with incurving sides and holds his spear poised; the third wields a similar spear and has a round shield. A helmsman sits in the stern manning the steering oar. There is no sail.⁹²

The files of warriors between each ship on our krater do not take part in the combats, which are completely contained within the parameters of the ships (Figures 1–4, 10, 11). The warriors are schematic, stiff, and formal, especially with the star in front of the head of each, an observation already made by Marwitz.⁹³ Furthermore, the warriors are somewhat larger than the participants in the fights, a consideration very likely prompted by the height of the frieze. These Dipylon warriors represent a type, almost a symbol, which may account for why they are so different from the lively, individualized, energetic fighters on the ships. In many ways the two files of Dipylon warriors foreshadow Late Geometric rows of figures (Figure 20).⁹⁴

And, finally, the Dipylon shield. The literature on the Dipylon shield is vast and far-ranging, with quite differing thoughts about its relation to reality and to heroic representations. This is not the place to rehearse all of the opinions but merely to discuss the problem in general and to cite the more recent bibliography. Hurwit and Langdon have summarized the problem and cited the most pertinent discussions.⁹⁵ The basic questions are these: is the Dipylon shield an

artistic recollection of the old Mycenaean figure-of-eight shield; did the Dipylon shield exist in real life; or was the Dipylon shield invented by the Greek Geometric artist as an attribute of heroes? Since these shields, if they did exist, would very likely have been made of perishable materials—wood and hide—the answers to these questions may never be known. With regard to the Mycenaean figure-of-eight shield, it does not seem to me to be a precursor of the Dipylon shield because the configuration of each is quite different. The Mycenaean shield is basically two circles that overlap slightly, and it protected the warrior from shoulders to ankles; the Dipylon shield is a circle or an oval with two rather large incurving sections removed, and it extends only from shoulders to mid-thigh.⁹⁶ While it cannot be proven conclusively that the Dipylon shield did exist, the fact that it appears in scenes in which other warriors carry round and rectangular shields seems to support the opinion that such a shield was in use during the Geometric period.⁹⁷

THE WORKSHOP AND THE PAINTERS

In the scholarship of Geometric vase painting, the workshops and painters that have been distinguished thus far are all Late Geometric. In 1943, Gerda Nottbohm published a pioneering article on the Dipylon and, to a lesser extent, the Hirschfeld Workshops.⁹⁸ Two decades later, Davison concentrated on Late Geometric and Early Protoattic workshops and painters.⁹⁹ Coldstream identified new Late Geometric workshops and extended his study to include other geographical regions of Greece and to define local styles that are distinct from Attic.¹⁰⁰ For the Early and Middle Geometric periods in Attica, he enumerated significant well deposits and grave groups,¹⁰¹ and in his text he discussed the shapes and patterns important for each phase.

The general absence of figures in Early Geometric vase painting may account for the lack of attempts by scholars to try to identify workshops. In Middle Geometric, especially in the second phase, figures become not only more numerous but also quite individualized. The New York krater is the nucleus around which six more pieces, all fragments, may be grouped to establish a workshop.

We will never know or even be able to guess how many artists were active in the first half of the eighth century. Brann thought that Middle Geometric vases were decorated “by only a few painters, perhaps even by a single artisan,” and on the basis of “settings and make-up,” she grouped our krater with the following



Figure 27. Leg of a Middle Geometric fragmentary stand showing two warriors, ca. 760 B.C. National Archaeological Museum, Athens, N.M. 17384 (photo: TAP Service, Athens)



Figure 28. Leg of a Middle Geometric fragmentary stand showing two warriors, from the same stand as the one in Figure 27, ca. 760 B.C. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 957x245 (photo: courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum)

four pieces:¹⁰² Eleusis 910 (741), the skyphos with a ship fight (Figure 22); Athens N.M. 17384 and Toronto 957x245, two leg fragments that belong to the same stand and on each leg there is a duel (Figures 27, 28); Copenhagen N.M. inv. 1628, an oinochoe with a ship fight on its body; and Athens N.M. 194, an oinochoe with warriors on its body.¹⁰³ Brann based this grouping chiefly on the “the hose-like arms of some of the figures,”¹⁰⁴ but she stopped well short of attributing all four vases to a single hand or even to a workshop. In 1961, Marwitz saw that Kerameikos inv. 1254 (Figure 15) was closest in shape and decoration to MMA 34.11.2, but added Athens N.M. 806, which is probably transitional from Late Geometric I a to Late Geometric I b, thus later.¹⁰⁵ Coldstream attributed MMA 34.11.2 to the same hand as the Athens–Toronto stand,¹⁰⁶ and Ahlberg also linked our krater with this

stand on the basis of the similarity between the dueling warriors on each piece.¹⁰⁷ This attribution was accepted by Langdon, who judged the figures “ancestral to the great Dipylon workshop” for they “belong to a still exclusive club of Middle Geometric human figures.”¹⁰⁸

Of the vases mentioned above, four may be dissociated from the New York krater: Athens N.M. 194 and Copenhagen N.M. inv. 1628 because they are considerably later than MMA 34.11.2; the Eleusis skyphos; and Athens N.M. 806. Athens N.M. 194 is dated to Late Geometric II a by Coldstream and Ahlberg and the shapes of the figures are very different from those on MMA 34.11.2; Copenhagen N.M. inv. 1628 is also dated to Late Geometric II by these two scholars and the figures are much sketchier than they are on our krater.¹⁰⁹ The compositions on the Eleusis skyphos, although Middle Geometric, lack the true integration

of the figures, and the drawing is by a different hand. The fourth, Athens N.M. 806, a Late Geometric high pedestaled krater, is by another artist.¹¹⁰

Out of the group of vases linked with MMA 34.11.2 (Figures 1–14), there remain Kerameikos inv. 1254 (Figure 15) and the Athens–Toronto stand (Figures 27, 28). Kerameikos inv. 1254 shares the same precise, elegant ornamental patterns as well as the female mourner in the handle spandrel (Figure 6). Our woman is perhaps a little more robust, but this is not a significant difference. Each has a similar triangular torso, well-rounded thighs, and strong calves. The arms of the Kerameikos woman are bent sharply at the elbow instead of forming a continuous curve, and she has two breasts on one side of her chest instead of one on each side. These differences do not justify assigning the Kerameikos krater to a different workshop, just to a different painter within it. The dueling warriors on each leg of the stand look as if they might have stepped off one of the ships on our krater in order to fight somewhere on land: each has a triangular torso with slightly concave sides, curved arms without pronounced elbows, large buttocks, and strong calves; also a helmet with projections along the outer edge of the long crest and a sword with two crosspieces at the hilt; each grapples with his opponent.

Four more pieces may be added, each a high pedestaled krater. The first is Thorikos TC 65.666 discussed above (p. 19). On the body, in the handle zone, it has a metope-triglyph arrangement of the ornament and a figural metope (Figure 21), not a frieze as will be the case later (Figure 20). It also shares two very rare features with MMA 34.11.2: it depicts a prothesis on *each* side, not on just one, and the composition within the metope is set in friezes, one above the other, a row of mourners above and below the bier, each separated by a ground line. That our krater has two, not three, zones is a marginal difference. The idea is the same. Furthermore, the arms of these mourners form a semi-circle above their heads and the position of the feet of each is slightly ahead of the figure's center of gravity, other features the Thorikos krater shares with our mourners. A further link with the workshop is the presence of a horse in the partially preserved handle panel; a similar horse appears on Kerameikos inv. 1254 (Figure 15). The second vase is the fragmentary krater found at Trachones Tr. 37 (Figure 16). It has an elegant metope-triglyph configuration in the handle zone and mourners in both the spandrel and the panel of the handle. The preserved mourner is similar to the one on Kerameikos inv. 1254, for her arms are bent at the elbows and both breasts are on the right side.¹¹¹ The next piece that belongs to this workshop

is Agora P 8357, two non-joining fragments of a pedestaled krater (Figure 18). Here, there is less to go on because all that remains is part of the ornamental patterns. Yet, the hatched battlement, a rare ornament, finds a good parallel above and below the sunbursts in the lateral metopes of our krater and on the Kerameikos krater (Figures 1, 15). What remains of the other patterns on the Agora fragments are similar enough to the comparable ones on our krater to justify a workshop attribution. The last piece is Louvre CA 4606 (Figure 19). It shares the hatched battlement pattern with the three kraters just mentioned, and it has a multiple zigzag similar to the one below the hatched orthodox meander on Kerameikos inv. 1254.

If these six pedestaled kraters and one stand come from a single workshop, is it possible to discern the hands of individual artists? I think it is. In Attic black-figured and Attic red-figured vase painting, establishing hands within a single workshop is often not too difficult because the various personalities are quite distinct and the styles of drawing offer many criteria. In Geometric vase painting, detecting artists also ought to be possible, if one knows what to look for. The seven pieces discussed here are products of a Middle Geometric workshop active in the first four decades of the eighth century B.C. and perhaps slightly earlier, given the date preferred for Kerameikos inv. 1254.¹¹² They may be only a fraction of the workshop's total output during its floruit, and perhaps more vases may be added as time progresses. I believe MMA 34.11.2, the Thorikos krater, and the Athens–Toronto stand are by the same painter. Not only are the details of drawing alike, but they reveal a personality interested in human narrative in which the figures actively interact with one another. This painter stands at the threshold of the extended narratives produced by artists of the Dipylon and Hirschfeld Workshops. Of the four remaining kraters, Kerameikos inv. 1254 and the Trachones krater seem to have enough in common to be by the same hand. The Agora fragments do not yield enough criteria to place them in either group. Perhaps the presence of the hatched battlement indicates that it is a transitional piece from one to the other. The same probably holds true for Louvre CA 4606.¹¹³

In Greek vase studies, it is customary to give a name to pieces that may be grouped together as products of a workshop composed of several painters or produced by a single artist. In the archaic and classical periods, when potters and painters often signed their vases, the designated name is obvious. But when there is no signature, the choice of name has broader implications. For the Geometric period, the following examples indicate the options. The Dipylon Workshop gets its name from the cemetery discovered in

1871 near the Dipylon Gate in Athens that yielded the best vases. The Hirschfeld Workshop is called after Gustav Hirschfeld, who excavated the Dipylon cemetery in 1871–72. And the Workshop of Athens 894 owes its name to its eponymous vase, a Late Geometric II neck-amphora in the National Archaeological Museum. I should like to name this new workshop the Workshop of New York MMA 34.11.2 after our krater, which is the best-preserved piece. If the association of these vases is correct, this would be the earliest workshop yet recognized in Greek pottery.

The painters of the workshop were keen observers of life and very successful in representing it. The prothesis scenes on our krater and on the Thorikos fragments provide eloquent evidence. Not only do they stand at the head of a long and important series of funerary depictions, but also, even in this nascent stage of Greek picture-making, they contain all of the essential ingredients that will make up the prothesis for as long as it is represented in Greek art. The fierce duels on the Athens–Toronto stand and on our krater will not cease until the life of one participant ends. But it is the two ship scenes on our krater that sets the workshop apart from attempts at narrative by other Middle Geometric artists. These scenes are the earliest to offer a true pictorial context, and both ships have a fully integrated cast of characters. Details like the pikes in the prow of the ship on Side A and the Dipylon shields lying on the deck of the ship on Side B, as this ship gets ready to set sail, are remarkable observations. No less extraordinary is the figure of the captive woman sitting on the deck fettered to a sail-yard brace.

The Middle Geometric period is the true beginning of visual narrative in Greek art. While the number of different subjects is limited, the depictions display genuine spontaneity and bold expressiveness. The liveliness of these representations was quickly superseded by the restrictions of Late Geometric I, the phase dominated by the painters from the Dipylon and Hirschfeld Workshops. Elegance, restraint, and understatement characterize their notable achievements. It would be nearly a century before we see again in Greek art such innovative enthusiasm for depicting human narrative as we see in the Middle Geometric period. Painters of Protoattic pottery would take up the challenge, but that is another story.

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The quotation in the title is from Homer, *Odyssey* 2.418–20 (Loeb Classical Library [1995], p. 77): “. . . Athene sent them a favorable wind, a strong-blowing West Wind that sang over the wine-dark sea” (οὐνοπα πόντον).

ABBREVIATIONS

Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*

Gudrun Ahlberg. *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art*. Göteborg, 1971.

Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea*

Gudrun Ahlberg. *Fighting on Land and Sea in Greek Geometric Art*. Stockholm, 1971.

AJA

American Journal of Archaeology

AK

Antike Kunst

AM

Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung

Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*

Lionel Casson. *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*

J. Nicholas Coldstream. *Greek Geometric Pottery: A Survey of Ten Local Styles and Their Chronology*. London, 1968.

CVA

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum

Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*

Jean M. Davison. *Attic Geometric Workshops*. Yale Classical Studies, vol. 16. New Haven, 1961.

Grunwald, “Frühe attische Kampfdarstellungen”

Christiane Grunwald. “Frühe attische Kampfdarstellungen.” *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 15 (1983), pp. 155–203.

Hurwit, *Art and Culture*

Jeffrey M. Hurwit. *Art and Culture of Early Greece 1100–480 B.C.* Ithaca and London, 1985.

Kirk, “Ships on Geometric Vases”

Geoffrey S. Kirk. “Ships on Geometric Vases.” *The British School at Athens, Annual* 44 (1949), pp. 93–153.

Kübler, *Kerameikos V¹*

Karl Kübler. *Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen V¹. Die Nekropole des 10. bis 8. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin, 1954.

Morrison and Williams, *Greek Oared Ships*

John S. Morrison and Roderick T. Williams. *Greek Oared Ships: 900–322 B.C.* Cambridge, 1968.

Pasture to Polis

From Pasture to Polis: Art in the Age of Homer. Susan Langdon, ed. Exh. cat., Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia. Columbia, Mo., 1993.

Tzahou-Alexandri, *Tropis II*

Olga Tzahou-Alexandri. "Contribution to the Knowledge of 8th Century Ship Representations." In *Tropis II*, pp. 333–49. Proceedings of the 2nd International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity. Delphi, 1987.

Wachsmann, *Seagoing Ships*

Shelley Wachsmann. *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant.* College Station: Texas A&M University Press; London: Chatham Publishing, 1998.

NOTES

1. The comprehensive references for this period are: Bernhard Schweitzer, *Greek Geometric Art*, trans. Peter and Cornelia Osborne (London, 1969); J. Nicholas Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London, 1977); *Pasture to Polis*; and Hurwit, *Art and Culture*, chaps. 2 and 3.
2. The basic reference is Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*. Peter Kahane ("Die Entwicklungsphasen der attisch-geometrischen Keramik," *AJA* 44 [1940], pp. 464–82) was the first to divide Geometric pottery into chronological phases that today correspond to the terms: Early, Middle, and Late. Kahane's phases were: "früh" (ca. 900–850 B.C.); "streng" (ca. 850–800 B.C.); "reif" (800 to before 750 B.C.); and "spät" (before 750 and extending to ca. 700 B.C.). He subdivided "streng," "reif," and "spät" into two phases each. On pp. 481–82, Kahane gives a summary of his divisions and in each section includes a list of the vases mentioned or discussed in his text that come from known grave contexts.
Coldstream, in his monumental study *Greek Geometric Pottery*, refined these divisions (see p. 330 for his chart of absolute chronology and pp. 302–29 for the presentation of the evidence). The dates pertinent to this article are: Middle Geometric I = 850–800 B.C.; Middle Geometric II = 800–760 B.C.; Late Geometric I a = 760–750 B.C.; Late Geometric I b = 750–735; Late Geometric II = 735–700 B.C.
3. All of the Greek Geometric as well as the Protoattic pottery will be published by me in a forthcoming fascicule of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, an international publication of Greek and Roman vases in public museums and private collections.
4. MMA 34.11.2: H. 97.8–99 cm; Diam. at rim 80.4–81.5 cm; Diam. of body 85 cm; Diam. of base 36.3–36.5 cm. Broken and mended with missing pieces restored in plaster and painted, notable among them: much of the prothesis on Side B; part of the figures on each ship; the midsection and ram of the ship on Side A; bow screen on Side B; a few marching warriors; most of each handle and its panel. These are the basic bibliographic references: Gisela M. A. Richter, "A Colossal Dipylon Vase," *MMAB* 29 (1934), pp. 169–72; Paolo Arias, *A History of 1000 Years of Greek Vase Painting* (London, 1962),

- pp. 12, 268–69, pl. 7; Herbert Marwitz, "Ein attisch-geometrischer Krater in New York," *AK4* (1961), pp. 39–48, pls. 17, 18; Morrison and Williams, *Greek Oared Ships*, pp. 30–32, pls. 5, 6a–b; Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 23 and n. 7, pp. 26–28, and p. 349, n. 10; Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 25, cat. no. B 3, pp. 27–29; Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, p. 25, cat. no. 1 and *passim*; Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, figs. 65, 66.
5. For bull's-head handles, see Noel Oakeshott, "Horned-Head Vase Handles," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 86 (1966), pp. 114–32, esp. pp. 122–24 for Attic Geometric.
 6. This is Athens N.M. 806, a Late Geometric krater. See Alfred Brückner and Erich Pernice, "Ein attischer Friedhof," *AM* 18 (1893), pp. 92–94 for the excavation of it, p. 106 for a description, and p. 92, fig. 4 for a drawing of the krater in situ. This vase has now been augmented by four fragments in the Louvre CA 3272 a–d, and one fragment of Athens N.M. 802 in the National Archaeological Museum. See Aliko Kaufmann-Samaras, "La scène de prothésis 'disparue' sur le cratère 806 du Musée National d'Athènes," *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτικόν* 28 (1973), pp. 235–40, and esp. pl. 128, for a reconstruction drawing incorporating these fragments. For the Late Geometric date, see p. 239, n. 24, and note 105 below. See also Barbara Bohlen, "Aspects of Athenian Grave Cult in the Age of Homer," in *New Light on a Dark Age: Exploring the Culture of Geometric Greece*, ed. Susan Langdon (Columbia, Mo., 1997), pp. 49, 50, fig. 4, for a reconstruction drawing of kraters surmounting four graves in the Kerameikos.

Vases used as grave markers during the Middle and Late Geometric periods were restricted to two shapes. Belly-handled amphorae, such as Athens N.M. 804 by the Dipylon Master, stood above female burials; pedestaled kraters indicated male graves. For Geometric grave markers, see Donna C. Kurtz and John Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London, 1971), pp. 56–58; also, Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 39. For the Dipylon Master and his workshop, see note 31 below.

For pedestaled kraters as grave markers, see also the remark by Johannes M. Geroulanos, "Grabsitten des ausgehenden geometrischen Stils im Bereich des Gutes Trachones bei Athen," *AM* 88 (1973), p. 14. An undisturbed grave (A 34) on his property yielded, among other vases, fragments of a large pedestaled krater. It was not found in situ, like Athens 806, because the sides of the grave had collapsed. The collapse caused the krater to roll over on its side and break into fragments, some of which fell into the tomb. Others scattered and were found elsewhere in the excavation. Geroulanos concluded, however, that this krater marked Grave A 34 and thought it was decorated by the same artist who painted the small vases that furnished the tomb. For these and the krater, see *AM* 88 (1973), pp. 38–39 and pl. 6. This is a Late Geometric grave (p. 22).

Ahlberg (*Prothesis and Ekphora*, p. 33) sees things very differently. She admits that there was a clear distinction between the vase shape and the gender of the grave occupant in Proto-geometric, Early Geometric, and Middle Geometric, namely that neck-handled amphorae contained the ashes of men and belly-handled amphorae the ashes of women. She also agrees that in these three periods, the grave kraters were always found with neck-handled amphorae. But she concludes that "there seems to be no clear archaeological evidence that this trend continued in the Late Geometric period . . ." and does not "regard the vase types as *positive criteria* [her italics] in our discussion." She generally refutes Coldstream's belief in this distinction.

7. Agrapidochori, no no.: Arthur H. S. Megaw, "Archaeology in Greece, 1966–67," *Archaeological Reports*, no. 13 (1967), p. 11, fig. 16; Petros Themelis, *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 20 (1965), p. 218, fig. 4 and pl. 251 γ. Coldstream (*Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 231, n. 10, and p. 232, n. 1) dates this krater Late Geometric II. It came to his notice after the book went to press, and thus he was unable to include it in his text.
8. For a general discussion of the high pedestaled krater in both its Middle Geometric and Late Geometric phases, especially with regard to its ornamental and figural decoration, see Herbert Marwitz, "Kreis und Figur in der attisch-geometrischen Vasenmalerei," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 74 (1959), pp. 103–11. For brief discussions of the shape, see Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, pp. 111–14, and Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 17–18, 23, 26, who recognized two variants that existed side by side. MMA 34.11.2 is Type I, the more conservative type. Type II has bull's-head handles, but they are joined to the rim by a vertical member, the rim is very low, and the pedestal more flaring than Type I. For a good example, see Kerameikos inv. 1255 (Kübler, *Kerameikos V*¹, pl. 23; Davison, fig. 143).
- Ahlberg (*Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 67) suggests that the potters of these huge kraters did not stock them in their workshops but made them individually for each funeral. Like modern gravestones, they would be ordered and finished at some time after the burial.
9. Herbert Marwitz ("Das Bahrtuch. Homerischer Totenbrauch auf geometrischen Vasen," *Antike und Abendland* 10 [1961], p. 11), followed by Ahlberg (*Prothesis and Ekphora*, p. 40), thinks that the corpse may be clothed. But this is not the case as recent cleaning and new photography make clear. Furthermore, when a corpse is clothed, the garment extends from shoulders to feet; thus, the corpse here is not clothed. In her discussion of the funeral garment, Ahlberg lists the occurrences of draped and undraped male corpses (pp. 40–41). With only one exception, the draped male corpses are dated to Late Geometric II, i.e., between 730 and 700 B.C. The main exception is the deceased on Louvre A 547 (Ahlberg, p. 26, cat. no. 13, fig. 13), a Late Geometric I b krater by a member of the Dipylon Workshop. Also worth mentioning, because it seems to be a rare occurrence, is the *shrouded* figure on Athens N.M. 812, a fragment of a Late Geometric I krater by a painter contemporary with those of the Dipylon Workshop (Ahlberg, p. 26, cat. no. 18, fig. 18). That this figure is wrapped, not dressed, is clear because his arms and hands are not visible (compare the female corpse on Athens N.M. 804; see note 42 below). Ahlberg (p. 55) calls this "a sort of blanket." A further peculiarity on Athens N.M. 812 is that the corpse appears in strict profile view, not the composite view that is the customary one. Heide Mommsen (*Exekias I. Die Grabtafeln*, Kerameus 11 [Mainz, 1997], p. 18) points out that in representations of the prothesis, the feet of the deceased always point to the left, presumably towards the exit or door. This custom goes back to Homer (*Iliad* 19.212 [Loeb Classical Library (1976), p. 353]), Achilles speaking: ". . . my comrade [Patroklos] is dead, who in my hut lieth mangled by the sharp bronze, his feet turned toward the door. . ."
10. Mourners with both hands to their heads are female; those with one hand are male. The best discussion of this gesture as well as how Geometric painters distinguished males from females in other ways is Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, pp. 32–40 and 72–87, esp. 77–78, for the distribution of the two-hand gesture. Ahlberg (pp. 77–78) says that Athens N.M. 812 (her fig. 18), shows male mourners with two hands to their heads, but it is unclear from her text and the photograph which figures she means. Presumably they are the mourners who do not display breasts, as do two who stand to the right of the bier. But this could have been a detail unintentionally omitted by the artist. Ahlberg concludes (p. 78) that we are "entitled to regard the two-hand mourning gesture as a *characteristic female gesture*" (her italics). On p. 77, n. 2, she gives the history of the interpretation of the two-hand gesture. In her discussion, Ahlberg restricts herself to Late Geometric representations, even though on p. 74 she notes that females with "physical attributes" occur on MMA 34.11.2.
- For the Dipylon Workshop, see note 31 below.
11. For ships and the ship terminology used here, see Kirk, "Ships on Geometric Vases"; Morrison and Williams, *Greek Oared Ships*, pp. 12–42 for ships of the Geometric period, pp. 43–69 for the literary texts, and pp. 31–32 for MMA 34.11.2; Tzahou-Alexandri, *Tropis II*, pp. 333–49; Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, pp. 43–60, and 71–74 for the period under discussion in this article; Wachsmann, *Seagoing Ships*, chaps. 7 and 8, *passim*.
- For some of the problems in determining the terminology for Geometric ships, as well as the interpretation of various parts, see notes 17 and 21 below.
12. Casson (*Ships and Seamanship*, p. 45 and n. 15) suggests that the hulls were painted or smeared with pitch. The latter would make the craft more seaworthy. Homer mentions ships with black hulls; see the references cited by Casson in his n. 15. Casson (p. 49) also remarks that the invention of the ram had a revolutionary impact on sea warfare. Not only did the ships convey fighters, but the ram was also a powerful weapon used to smash the hull of the enemy's ship.
13. Kirk ("Ships on Geometric Vases," p. 132) remarks that the "eye" or star on the prow usually appears in a circular format. These are the bow patches mentioned by Homer who described them as vermilion, ruddy, or blue. See Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, p. 45 and n. 18.
- Wachsmann (*Seagoing Ships*, p. 186) thinks the horn piece is the beak and head of a bird shown very abstractly, presumably on the basis of their more realistic forms later on. On p. 188, fig. 8.50 C, he adds a bird's head and beak to a drawing of Side A of our krater. His drawing of our ship, made from the photograph in Casson (*Ships and Seamanship*, fig. 65) is not very accurate.
14. Ahlberg (*Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 27) has misunderstood this part and thinks it "is meant to be the support for the ships beached well upon the shore." The weight of the prow upon the sand would keep the ship beached; in the case of a big storm, different mooring would be required.
15. Wachsmann (*Seagoing Ships*, pp. 185 and 184, fig. 8.42 D) takes these birds to be ornaments.
16. Sometimes the tholepins are in the form of an upright hook. Here are three examples, all Late Geometric. Two are by close associates of the Dipylon Master: Louvre A 527+A 535 (Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 30, cat. no. 9; Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea*, pp. 25, 32–34, cat. no. B 7, figs. 36, 38); Louvre A 528 (Coldstream, p. 31, cat. no. 10; Ahlberg, pp. 25, 31, cat. no. B 5, fig. 34). A third example occurs on an unattributed fragment, Athens N.M. no no. (Ahlberg, pp. 26, 34, cat. no. B 8, fig. 39).
17. See Kirk ("Ships on Geometric Vases," pp. 127–29) for a discussion of the horizontal line and whether it represents a deck or a rail. He suggests (p. 127) that when no figures are present, a rail is what the artist probably intended (see, for example, his p. 96, fig. 1, Athens N.M. 18471, a Middle Geometric cup). But when

the figures stand or sit on the line, as on our krater, a deck is likely to be what the painter had in mind. Kirk (p. 129) also thinks that Geometric ships had side decks which were mainly used as fighting platforms and that the space between the decks could be used to store the mast and the sail. For this, see note 21 below.

Morrison and Williams (*Greek Oared Ships*, p. 31) remark that if Kirk is correct in interpreting the upper horizontal as a deck, the next horizontal line as the longitudinal beam, and the top of the thick line as presumably the top of the gunwale, then the superstructure of our ship is about twice as high as the hull. They conclude, somewhat uncharitably, that it will be “a quite unseaworthy ship” (p. 31). They think that the gunwale is the line above the hull, that the shorter vertical lines are for the tholepins, the taller ones supports for the rail, but admit that it is impossible to rule out that the depiction combines a profile and plan view. A few words here. The Greeks do not combine plan and profile views within *one and the same figure*. In Geometric compositions, some figures may be shown in plan and others in profile. A good example appears on Louvre A 527+A 535, a fragmentary Late Geometric I krater by a close associate of the Dipylon Master (see note 16 above). In this sea battle, the dead float in the water in plan view while the warriors on the ship appear in profile. Furthermore, “profile” and “plan” are not to be confused with the *composite* view of the figure which shows the head, arms, and legs in profile and the torso in front view. Thus, it would be most unusual if a Greek painter depicted part of a ship in profile view and part of the same ship in plan. For a combination of plan and profile views of the same object, see the chariot and team incised on an 8th-century B.C. Etruscan stele from Ategua now in Cordoba, 24.632 (see Fernando Quesada, in *Carri da guerra e principi etruschi*, exh. cat., ed. Adriana Emiliozzi [Rome, 1999], p. 54, fig. 1). There the vehicle appears in plan, the wheels and horses in profile.

Morrison and Williams (p. 14, fig. 1) offer a schematic drawing of the Geometric ship and discuss it on pp. 15–17. The only parts which they agree can be identified with certainty are the hull, gunwale, and tholepins. Our ship does not resemble their drawing which, with its thick black band between two lines well above the hull, corresponds to ships by Late Geometric painters (a good example is Louvre A 528; Morrison and Williams, pl. 2, a). Thus, their discussion of how to interpret this area is not pertinent to our ships.

Casson (*Ships and Seamanship*, p. 71) says that “the earliest representations [of ships], dated 850–750 B.C., show the deck as merely a thin horizontal line resting on slender vertical stanchions.” Casson (p. 51) also argues persuasively that the deck ran the length of the ship, but not the full width of the gunwale because it would be necessary for the oarsmen to be able to sit low in the hull along each side. See his suggested reconstruction of a ship (fig. 69), which is based on the Late Geometric I a representation on Louvre A 527+A 535 (see note 16 above). This reconstruction drawing does not make clear where the mast and sail would be stored if the deck ran the length of the ship down its center. Perhaps it is asking too much of the Geometric pictorial evidence to provide answers to such detailed questions. The essence of Geometric narrative is that everything, whether figure or object, is reduced to its essential ingredients.

For an example of a lowered mast, see the one in Theseus’ beached ship on the François Vase by Kleitias (John D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* [Oxford, 1956], p. 76, no. 1; *Paralipomena. Additions to ABV and ARV²* [Oxford, 1971], p. 29,

no. 1; Thomas H. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda. Additional References to ABV, ARV² and Paralipomena* [Oxford, 1989], p. 21). For an excellent illustration, see Arias, *1000 Years of Greek Vase Painting* (note 4 above), pl. 43, top.

18. Ahlberg (*Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 46) says that in all instances the ship’s pikes [ναύμαχα ξυστά] are used by enemies. If this is so, it presents a danger to the crew. This interpretation is all the more unlikely in view of what Homer has to say about them, namely that the Achaeans fought with them from their ships against the Trojans. For a discussion of the ship’s pikes and a list of where they occur, see note 64 below.

Richter (“A Colossal Dipylon Vase” [note 4 above], p. 170) thinks this warrior throws a pike. Morrison and Williams (*Greek Oared Ships*, p. 31) believe he throws his spear and will next throw a pike. They are followed by Ahlberg (p. 46), who suggests that two moments are combined into one: the attacker throwing his spear *and* taking a ναύμαχον. This seems to be correct because the object hurled by this warrior has an elongated triangular point and the pikes in the ship merely taper.

For a figure stepping on the ram, but without pikes, see Louvre A 527+A 535 (above note 16); and the fragment in the Louvre, no no., with the curved sail (see note 88 below). On Athens no no., a warrior seems to be stepping down from the ram onto land (Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 34, cat. no. B 9, fig. 40).

19. This action recalls the fight between Menelaos and Paris in book 3 of the *Iliad*, in which Menelaos, temporarily unarmed at the whim of the gods, springs upon Paris in angry frustration and seizes him by the helmet, presumably by the crest support (3.370–73 [Loeb (1965), p. 145]): “. . . he [Menelaos] sprang upon him [Paris], and seized him by the helmet with the thick crest of horse-hair, and whirling him about began to drag him towards the well-greaved Achaeans. . . .” With help from Aphrodite, Paris was saved, for not only did the goddess cut the chin strap of his helmet, but also she shrouded him in a thick mist and whisked him back to the safety of Troy. Our warrior is probably not destined to be so lucky.

20. Morrison and Williams (*Greek Oared Ships*, p. 32) have misunderstood this part of the composition. They think that the Dipylon shield lying on the deck belongs to a wounded opponent of the standing warrior with the Dipylon shield. They go on to say that the figure beneath the mast may be this wounded man, though they concede that the presence of hair on the head of this figure may indicate that it is a woman. Morrison and Williams may not have realized that warriors with Dipylon shields never fight opponents who are similarly armed. For this see p. 24 above. Ahlberg (*Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 27) thinks that the sail-yard brace is a spear.

21. For mast and sail, see Kirk, “Ships on Geometric Vases,” pp. 131–32. He points out that even if the painter did not include a sail in his representation, all Greek ships, whether warships or merchant vessels, were powered by both sail and oar. He goes on to say that the primary power for a warship would be supplied by the oarsmen, though with favorable winds, rowing would be a waste of manpower. Kirk also remarks that the warship of the Geometric period must have had a collapsible mast just as the Homeric ships did. See *Iliad* 1.432–35 (Loeb [1965], pp. 35, 37): “When they [the Achaeans] were now got within the deep harbour, they furled the sail, and stowed it in the black ship, and the mast they lowered by the forestays and brought it to the crutch with speed, and rowed her with oars to the place of

- anchorage." For the raising and lowering of the mast and sail, see Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, pp. 47–48 with further references to Homer. For a further discussion of the sail on our ship in relation to other sails, see pp. 26–27 above and note 88.
22. Kübler, *Kerameikos V*¹, pl. 22; Hurwit, *Art and Culture*, p. 64, figs. 29, 30. For the contents of this grave, see Kübler, pp. 238–39. For a brief discussion of its Middle Geometric I date, see Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 20, n. 7.
23. Marwitz, "Ein attisch-geometrischer Krater" (note 4 above), pp. 45–46.
24. This is not the earliest human figure in Greek art. On the shoulder of a Middle Protogeometric Euboean hydria found at Lefkandi, two archers take aim at each other (Hurwit, *Art and Culture*, p. 55, fig. 23, dated ca. 1000 B.C.). In Attic art, the earliest figure is not human, but equine. It appears on Kerameikos inv. 560, a slightly later Protogeometric amphora with wavy lines on the body in the handle zone and an elegant little horse below one of the waves on the far left. This amphora may be dated in the second quarter of the tenth century B.C. See Karl Kübler, *Kerameikos IV. Neufunde aus der Nekropole des 11. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1943), pl. 27; Christian Zervos, *La Civilisation hellénique*, vol. 1, XI^e–VIII^e siècle (Paris, 1969), pls. 16, 17; Hurwit, *Art and Culture*, p. 59, fig. 25, and p. 58, for a brief discussion of the aristocratic symbolism associated with the horse. Hurwit (p. 58) also points out that the Lefkandi archers do not begin a pictorial tradition that may be traced through the centuries; instead, they lead nowhere. The little horse, on the other hand, stands at the head of what will become a long and very important pictorial tradition.
25. See the reconstruction drawing of Kerameikos inv. 1149, a very fragmentary Middle Geometric I pedestaled krater (Bohen, "Aspects of Athenian Grave Cult" [note 6 above], p. 52, fig. 5). If the positioning of all the fragments in her fig. 5 is correct, the decoration on this krater was without human figures or animals. The small preserved area of one handle spandrel indicates that it too was undecorated.
26. Trachones Tr. 37: Geroulanos, "Grabsitten des ausgehenden geometrischen Stils" (note 6 above), p. 28, cat. no. A 5, pl. 52, 5. The material published in this article is now in the Piraeus Museum. I wish to thank Caroline M. Houser for providing me with this information.
27. Thorikos TC 65.666. See Marthe and Jean Bingen, "Le cratère 'géométrique récent' de Thorikos," in *Rayonnement Grec: Hommages à Charles Delvoye* (Brussels, 1982), pp. 77–90.
28. Bingen and Bingen, "Le cratère," pp. 85–88. For a drawing of the prothesis on Side B, see p. 87, fig. b.
29. For this krater, see note 34 below.
30. CVA, Louvre 18 (France 27), pl. 1 (1180), fig. 6.
31. These are the two most prominent Late Geometric workshops, and their output is consistently of the highest quality. The best discussion of each is still the one by Coldstream in *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 29–41 for the Dipylon Workshop, and pp. 41–44 for the Hirschfeld, both with bibliography.
32. New York MMA 14.130.14: Gisela M. A. Richter, "Department of Classical Art Accessions of 1914: Geometric Vases," *MMAB* 10 (1915), pp. 70–72, fig. 2; Richter, "Two Colossal Athenian Geometric or 'Dipylon' Vases in The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *AJA* 19 (1915), pp. 385–94, pls. 17–20 and 23, 1; Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, p. 36, fig. 26; Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, p. 27, cat. no. 25, fig. 25; *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Greece and Rome* (New York, 1987), pp. 22–23, fig. 7. New York MMA 14.130.15; Richter, "Department of Classical Art," pp. 70–72, fig. 1; Richter, "Two Colossal," pp. 385–97, esp. pp. 394–95, pls. 21–23, 2–3; Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, pp. 111 n. 42, 112, and fig. 139; John Boardman, "Attic Geometric Vase Scenes, Old and New," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 86 (1966), pp. 1–5, pls. 1–3; Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, p. 27, cat. no. 22, fig. 22, also pp. 250–52. Both of these pedestaled kraters will be presented in detail in the next Metropolitan Museum fascicule of the CVA.
33. For a general discussion of the high pedestaled krater, see note 8 above.
34. Rodney S. Young, *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora. Hesperia, Suppl. 2* (Athens, 1939), p. 172 sub cat. no. C 109: P 8357. Young does not really make a case for his late dating, but merely says (p. 207) that the Agora krater is Late Geometric and, thus by implication, so is our krater. The Agora well which produced this krater contained material going down to Early Protocorinthian (i.e., ca. 720–690 B.C.). It was not a stratified context, but was a well filled in at one time with material and debris that could have been lying around for quite a while (pp. 139–40). Eva Brann (*The Athenian Agora, VIII: Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery* [Princeton, 1962], p. 63, cat. no. 280) accepts the comparison with MMA 34.11.2 and dates the Agora krater fragments Middle Geometric.
35. Marwitz, "Ein attisch-geometrischer Krater" (note 4 above), p. 47. Marwitz avoids assigning a specific date to our krater and generally summarizes the later dates preferred by others (p. 47, n. 46). But he bases his reasons for a later date than the one preferred here because he sees contrasts and oddities throughout, such as the paucity of filling ornament, the lively figures on the ships compared with the stiff files of warriors, the steersman wearing a helmet, the breasts of the mourning women. These reasons serve just as well as an argument for an earlier date when the codified arrangement of figures and compositions that takes place in the Late Geometric I phase was but a few years away.
36. Morrison and Williams, *Greek Oared Ships*, p. 30: "The late date is accepted here because the ships show a more natural and developed perspective than those in the Dipylon Group itself. It is assumed that just as there was a development from the distorted perspective of chariots in the Dipylon Group to a more correct form in the latest Geometric and Protoattic, so, in the last half of the century or so of Geometric, ships in more or less correct perspective should follow those in a distorted perspective."
37. Arias, *1000 Years of Greek Vase Painting* (note 4 above), p. 268. He goes on to write (pp. 268–69): "It is one of the most notable and successful examples of a picture of human events conceived strictly in accordance with geometric principles and yet rendered with freshness and spontaneity."
38. José Dörig, in John Boardman et al., *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Greece* (London, 1967), p. 124.
39. Kirk, "Ships on Geometric Vases," p. 99.
40. Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*. The first day is the prothesis; the second is the ekphora or the journey to the cemetery. Besides the examples of the prothesis illustrated here, MMA 34.11.2 (Figures 3, 5) and MMA 14.130.14 (Figure 20), another good example is Athens N.M. 804 from the Dipylon Workshop (note 42 below). The ekphora appears much less frequently and all of the known representations are Late Geometric. These are two good examples: Athens N.M. 803 from the Dipylon Workshop (Ahlberg, fig. 53) and Athens N.M. 990 from the Hirschfeld Workshop (Ahlberg, fig. 54).

41. Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, p. 25, cat. no. 1. The other 48 prothesis scenes in her catalogue, with the exception of the Thorikos krater (Figure 17), are Late Geometric. It is very possible that the four other Middle Geometric kraters discussed above (pp. 18–20), Kerameikos inv. 1254 (Figure 15), Trachones Tr. 37 (Figure 16), Agora P 8357 (Figure 18), and Louvre CA 4606 (Figure 19) depicted the prothesis, but since none of them preserves the central metope, this can only be conjectured.
42. For Athens N.M. 804, see Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 29, cat. no. 1, pl. 6, or Arias, *1000 Years of Greek Vase Painting* (note 4 above), pl. 4. For New York MMA 14.130.14, see note 32 above. For the two workshops, see note 31 above.
- For a much more complicated arrangement of the figures, see Louvre A 517, a pedestaled krater by the Dipylon Master (Coldstream, p. 30, cat. no. 4; Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, p. 25, cat. no. 4, fig. 4 a–e). On this krater, the figures appear in different zones, one above the other, but the largest area and chief focus is the deceased on the bier with mourners, flanked by two large chariots, each drawn by two horses. For a rather lengthy discussion of Geometric pictorial space, see Sture Brunnsåker, “The Pithecusan Shipwreck: A Study of a Late Geometric Picture and Some Basic Aesthetic Concepts of the Geometric Figure-Style,” *Opuscula Romana* 4 (1962), pp. 165–242. In one section of his article (pp. 205–13), he focuses on Louvre A 517 and views the compartmentalized sections of the prothesis as “. . . reality reflected in the fragments of a broken mirror or, a jig-saw of which most of the pieces are missing” (p. 205).
43. Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, p. 27, cat. no. 30. For other bibliography for the krater, see note 27 above.
44. Herman Mussche et al., *Thorikos 1965: Rapport préliminaire sur la troisième campagne de fouilles* (Brussels, 1967), p. 43, fig. 49; Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, p. 27, cat. no. 30 and fig. 30.
45. Bingen and Bingen, “Le cratère” (note 27 above), p. 87, fig. b.
46. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pl. 7 a; Zervos, *La Civilisation hellénique* (note 24 above), fig. 57. See also note 42 above.
47. Kaufmann-Samaras, “La scène de prothésis ‘disparue,’” pl. 128. See note 6 above.
48. Ahlberg (*Prothesis and Ekphora*, p. 174) says that this composition is a rare exception.
49. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 46. See also note 105 below.
50. Helmut Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen. Studien zur Formgeschichte altorientalischer und griechischer Sitz- und Liegemöbel vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1969), p. 100.
51. Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, p. 47.
52. Herbert Marwitz, “Das Bahrtuch” (note 9 above), pp. 13–14 and n. 26, with a brief review of previous opinions. See also George M. A. Hanfmann (“Narrative in Greek Art,” *AJA* 61 [1957], p. 71, n. 4), who draws attention to Demosthenes’ quotation of Solon about where the prothesis took place. See Demosthenes, *Against Macartatus* 62 (Loeb Classical Library, vol. 2 [1939], p. 103): “The deceased shall be laid out in the house in any way one chooses, and they shall carry out the deceased on the day after that on which they lay him out, before the sun rises. And the men shall walk in front, when they carry him out, and the women behind. And no woman less than sixty years of age shall be permitted to enter the chamber of the deceased, or to follow the deceased when he is carried to the tomb, except those who are within the degree of children of cousins; nor shall any woman be permitted to enter the chamber of the deceased when the body is carried out, except those who are within the degree of children of cousins.” See also John Boardman, “Painted Funerary Plaques and Some Remarks on Prothesis,” *The British School at Athens, Annual* 50 (1955), pp. 55–56. He suggests that the prothesis could take place either indoors or outside in a sheltered courtyard. For the Demosthenes reference, see Boardman, p. 55, n. 28, and Mommsen, *Exekias I* (note 9 above), pp. 25–26, with recent bibliography. (Solon was tyrant of Athens in the first half of the 6th century B.C. His exact dates are not known, but he was chief archon of Athens in 594/93 B.C. The famous orator Demosthenes was born in 384 B.C. and died in 322, the year after the death of Alexander the Great.)
53. Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, pp. 292–98.
54. Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, p. 297.
55. For ships of the Geometric period, the most pertinent discussions are by Kirk, by Morrison and Williams, by Tzahou-Alexandri, and by Casson (see note 11 above). For the ships and participants, see Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea*, pp. 42–49 *passim*; Grunwald, “Frühe attische Kampfdarstellungen.”
56. Kirk, “Ships on Geometric Vases,” p. 144.
57. We know very little about the naucraries. See Kirk, “Ships on Geometric Vases,” p. 144, with bibliography; also, Anthony Andrewes, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 3, pt. 3, *The Expansion of the Greek World, Eighth to Sixth Centuries B.C.* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 365–66. “The root-word ναύκραρος means ‘ship-captain’ . . .” (Andrewes, p. 366), and in Solon’s time (the early 6th century B.C.), they controlled finances generally. It is often conjectured that they laid the foundation for the Athenian navy. According to Herodotus (*The Histories* 5.71), the naucraries existed in the time of Kylon, a tyrant of the mid-7th century B.C. (Loeb Classical Library, vol. 3 [1982], p. 79): “Then he [Kylon] and his men were brought away by the presidents of the naval boards [ναυκράρων] (who then ruled Athens), being held liable to any penalty save death. . . .” It is uncertain if the naucraries existed as early as the Geometric period.
58. Kirk, “Ships on Geometric Vases,” p. 145.
59. For the cup, see Kirk, “Ships on Geometric Vases,” p. 96, fig. 1; Tzahou-Alexandri (*Tropis* II, pp. 334–35) mentions this cup and says it is from the same tomb as the hydriskos and dates the two Middle Geometric. For the hydriskos, see Kahane, “Die Entwicklungsphasen der attisch-geometrischen Keramik” (note 2 above), pl. 22, 1. For the oinochoe, see Tzahou-Alexandri, pp. 333–34, and 352, fig. 2. For the Attic pyxis, see Hector W. Catling, “Archaeology in Greece, 1986–87,” *Archaeological Reports*, no. 33 (1987), p. 14, fig. 18.
60. See Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea*, pp. 34–35, cat. no. B 11, figs. 42, 43.
61. Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 34.
62. For a completely opposite reading of the fight side of the Eleusis skyphos, see Jörg Schäfer, “Steps toward Representational Art in 8th-Century Vase Painting,” in *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation*, Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1–5 June 1981, ed. Robin Hägg (Stockholm, 1983), p. 75. Schäfer writes: “This picture is coherent because of a number of components: (a) the contrast of the smooth, even surface with the figures, (b) the roughly rectangular delimitations of the field and (c) the loose symmetrical arrangement of the combatants within the field.”
63. Richter, “A Colossal Dipylon Vase” (note 4 above), pp. 169–72.
64. Richter, “A Colossal Dipylon Vase,” p. 171. Erich Pernice recognized that these poles were the ship’s pikes when he published his article on representations of ships on Dipylon vases (“Über

die Schiffsbilder auf den Dipylonvasen,” *AM* 17 [1892], pp. 285–306, and 300–301 for the pikes). The ship’s pikes are mentioned twice by Homer, and while both Pernice and Richter cite the passages, it is useful to have them here. *Iliad* 15.389–91 (Loeb [1976], p. 135): “. . . the Achaeans high up on the decks of their black ships to which they had climbed, fought therefrom with long pikes [ναύμαχα] that lay at hand for them upon the ships for sea-fighting, jointed pikes [ναύμαχα κολλήεντα], shod at the tip with bronze.” *Iliad* 15.676–78 (Loeb, p. 157): “Aias . . . wielded in his hands a long pike [μέγα ναύμαχον] for sea-fighting, a pike jointed with rings [κολλητὸν βλήτροισι], of a length of two and twenty cubits.” This negates Ahlberg’s opinion that “the ναύμαχα are in all instances used by the enemies of the ships . . .” (*Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 46).

Kirk (“Ships on Geometric Vases,” p. 132) lists six examples of ship’s pikes. In the bow: MMA 34.11.2; Athens N.M. no no. (Kirk, p. 101, cat. no. 11; Pernice, “Über die Schiffsbilder auf den Dipylonvasen,” p. 300, fig. 7); Athens N.M. no no. (Kirk, p. 104, cat. no. 15; Pernice, p. 289, fig. 1); Copenhagen N.M. inv. 1628 (Kirk, p. 110, cat. no. 36; Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 76, no. 5; Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 30, fig. 32). In the stern: Louvre A 537 (Kirk, “Ships on Geometric Vases,” p. 101, cat. no. 10; Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 31, fig. 35); Athens N.M. no no. (Kirk, p. 102, *sub* cat. no. 14; not from the same krater as Louvre A 526 as previously thought; see Morrison and Williams, *Greek Oared Ships*, p. 22, cat. no. 8 and pl. 2, d). Save for our krater, all of these examples are Late Geometric. The only other example I have been able to find occurs on the Middle Geometric Attic pyxis found at Lefkandi (see note 59 above). In the stern are three splendid pikes.

65. Grunwald, “Frühe attische Kampfdarstellungen,” pp. 168, 181.
 66. Grunwald, “Frühe attische Kampfdarstellungen,” p. 181.
 67. *Gnomon* (1974), p. 395.
 68. Grunwald, “Frühe attische Kampfdarstellungen,” p. 180.
 69. For example: MMA 14.130.14 (Figure 20 and note 32 above); Louvre A 517 (see note 42 above); or Athens N.M. 806 (see note 6 above).
 70. For an example where differently armed warriors appear in a procession below the prothesis scene, see Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 48.2231, from the Workshop of Athens 894 (Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, p. 28, cat. no. 37, fig. 37). One warrior has a Dipylon shield, the other a round one. On the amphora in Cleveland from the same workshop, 1927.6, all the warriors have round shields (Ahlberg, p. 28, cat. no. 36, fig. 36; CVA Cleveland 1 [USA 15], pl. 2 [682]).
 71. Marwitz, “Ein attisch-geometrischer Krater” (note 4 above), p. 43 and n. 26.
 72. *Odyssey* 9.41–43 (Loeb [1966], p. 305): “From Ilios the wind bore me and brought me to Cicones, and from the city we took their wives. . . .”
 73. On this point, see Schäfer, “Steps toward Representational Art” (note 62 above), pp. 75–83, but especially the remarks made during the discussion of this paper by various participants in the symposium (pp. 81–83). Following a response from Schäfer that focused on our krater, Walter Burkert asked: “Is the subject of the scene on the other side the abduction of Helen?” Schäfer’s response: “It is an abduction of some sort, Helen and Paris is the usual interpretation; it could also be Theseus and Ariadne” (p. 81). This exchange surely refers not to MMA 34.11.2, but to the famous late 8th-century ship krater in London B.M. 1899.2-19.1 (p. 78, fig. 5). There, a man boards

the ship at the stern and grasps a woman by the wrist. Whether this scene is an abduction or not is questionable, and the interpretation as Helen and Paris or Theseus and Ariadne even more suspect, since each woman went along with her man quite willingly. The woman on the London krater stands quietly. Given the evidence, I think the most one can say for certain is that the scene represents a departure.

As for the heroic flavor of our ship scenes, Marwitz (“Ein attisch-geometrischer Krater” [note 4 above], p. 43) discusses the fight in the prow of the ship on Side A where an enemy stealing one of the pikes faces an archer. He mentions the passage in *Iliad* 15 where Teucer, who is an archer and the half brother of Telamonian Ajax, nearly bests Hector, except that Zeus intervenes by snapping the string of Teucer’s bow, rendering it useless (*Iliad* 15.457–62 [Loeb (1976), p. 141]): “Then Teucer drew forth another arrow for Hector, harnessed in bronze, and would have made him cease from battle by the ships of the Achaeans, had he but smitten him while he was showing his prowess and taken away his life. But he was not unmarked of the wise mind of Zeus who guarded Hector, and took the glory from Teucer, the son of Telamon.” This is the part of the poem where the Trojans have beaten the Greeks back to their ships.

74. *Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 28. Ahlberg then cites Louvre CA 3359, a fragment that shows oarsmen beneath a sail (*Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 28, n. 72; CVA, Louvre 11 [France 18], pl. 7 [783], 4). Thus a figure beneath a sail is not unique, but it is unusual. See also the fragment from Argos where two oarsmen sit on the deck beneath the sail, the mast between them (Tzahou-Alexandri, *Tropis* II, pp. 339–40, 360–61, figs. 23, 24).
 75. Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 29.
 76. Grunwald, “Frühe attische Kampfdarstellungen,” p. 168.
 77. For dancers, see Renate Tölle, *Frühgriechische Reigentänze* (Waldsassen, 1964), *passim*. Oddly, perhaps, I have not been able to find examples of male mourners in Middle Geometric.
 78. Grunwald, “Frühe attische Kampfdarstellungen,” p. 167, fig. 21, and p. 168.
 79. Grunwald, “Frühe attische Kampfdarstellungen,” p. 164, fig. 13, and p. 165. For the attribution, see Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 31, cat. no. 12.
 80. See Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 28, n. 72, who says that Morrison and Williams (*Greek Oared Ships*, pp. 24–25, *sub* cat. no. 16, pl. 4 c) interpret this action as raising and lowering the mast.
 81. This may argue against Grunwald’s interpretation of hair on the two fragments just discussed. A good example of long hair is given by the women on the amphora in Cleveland by a painter from the Workshop of Athens 894, Cleveland 1927.6 (see note 70 above). Two or three long locks of hair adorn the head of each woman, in this case mourners. In addition, the skirt of each mourner is hatched, giving the effect of greater volume.
 The Workshop of Athens 894 is a Late Geometric II b group of painters active in the closing years of the 8th century B.C. Their drawing is often rather heavy and coarse, with thick filling ornament. See Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 58–64, with earlier bibliography.
 82. See note 42 above.
 83. Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.10.4 (Loeb Classical Library [1969], p. 21): “But that all on board [the ship] were at once rowers and fighting men he [Homer, *Iliad* 2.718–20] has shown in the case of the ships of Philoctetes; for he represents all the oarsmen as archers.” *Iliad* 2.718–20 (Loeb [1966], pp. 103, 105): “. . . these [men] with their seven ships were led

- by Philoctetes, well-skilled in archery, and on each ship embarked fifty oarsmen well-skilled to fight amain with the bow.”
84. Richter (“A Colossal Dipylon Vase” [note 4 above], p. 171) says that this ship “is at sea with spread sail; a helmsman is stationed at the rudder. . . .” Kirk (“Ships on Geometric Vases,” p. 99) thinks that the ships “are evidently regarded as being beached, although one has a sail hoisted.” Casson (*Ships and Seamanship*, p. 50) also recognized the differences between the two ships made here: “one of the pair depicts a beached galley, its sails stowed out of sight, beset by an attacking force; while the other shows the galley, its sail set and pulling, drawing away from or out of danger. . . .” Ahlberg (*Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 29) confidently states that both ships are beached without saying why. Presumably, it is because she has misunderstood the function of the steering oar and thinks it is a support for a beached ship (p. 27). Marwitz as well as Morrison and Williams are uncharacteristically silent about this matter.
85. Morrison and Williams (*Greek Oared Ships*, pp. 31–32 and n. † on p. 31), probably following Marwitz (“Ein attisch-geometrischer Krater” [note 4 above], p. 43 and n. 22), say that this figure in the stern cannot be a helmsman, “who would hardly be wearing a helmet.” But this is questionable in view of the remarks by Thucydides that all on board were both crew and fighters (see note 83 above). Since the fighting on our ship has not ceased completely, one would expect the helmsman to keep his helmet on until safely at sea, even if he has to lay down his spear and shield in order to take up his nautical responsibilities.
86. This area has perplexed those who have discussed it. Richter (“A Colossal Dipylon Vase” [note 4 above], p. 171) thought the partially preserved Dipylon shield on the deck belonged to an opponent, as did Marwitz (“Ein attisch-geometrischer Krater” [note 4 above], p. 43) and Morrison and Williams (*Greek Oared Ships*, p. 32). But, in view of Coldstream’s observation that opponents are not armed with the same kind of shield and Grunwald’s thesis that Dipylon shields are not used by both sides (see p. 24 and note 68 above), this interpretation will not work. In the area to the left of the sail, right in front of this warrior, there is no room for an opponent. It would be very odd if his opponent is the one whose leg appears far to the right of the sail. In Geometric painting, confrontations are very direct.
87. For the powering of a ship by sail and oars as well as steering it, see Kirk, “Ships on Geometric Vases,” pp. 129–32. For brief remarks on the size of ships in the Geometric period, see Morrison and Williams, *Greek Oared Ships*, pp. 40–41; also Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, pp. 54–56.
88. The earliest representation of a sail in Greek pottery is the one on an Attic Middle Geometric oinochoe found in a tomb at Agioi Theodoroi (see note 59 above). After the sail on the New York krater, the next are Late Geometric I a. Two by a close associate of the Dipylon Master: Athens, N.M. no no. (see note 64 above, and Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, fig. 61 b); Athens, N.M. no no. (see note 64 above; Tzahou-Alexandri, *Tropis* II, p. 354, fig. 6—probably incorrectly numbered Athens 802; see Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 31, cat. no. 18, where the illustrations in the bibliography cited do not match Tzahou-Alexandri’s fig. 6). Fragments of two more kraters with parts of similar sails and sail-yard braces, but no mast preserved: Louvre A 526 (Kirk, “Ships on Geometric Vases,” pl. 40, 1); Louvre A 539, A 546 (Kirk, pl. 39, 5, 6: no. 9 in this photograph probably does not join no. 6; for a second fragment of A 539, see *CVA*, Louvre 11 [France 18], pl. 7 [783], 10). An Argive fragment found at Argos, probably from an oinochoe, shows a ship with mast and braces; the sail is trapezoidal and hatched diagonally; dated Late Geometric II by Tzahou-Alexandri (see note 74 above). The krater fragment from Agrapidochori (see note 7 above), which is Late Geometric II (I am not sure if it is Attic or made in another region of Greece, probably the latter) has a sail composed of large checkerboard squares. That the sail on our ship is diagonally crosshatched, instead of horizontally and vertically like the Late Geometric ones, may be due to its early date.
- One more fragment deserves mention. It belongs to a pedestaled krater in the Louvre (no no.) that preserves half of a bull’s-head handle with one panel (Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 36, fig. 44, and p. 37, cat. no. B 12; Kirk, p. 110, cat. no. 35 a; Morrison and Williams, *Greek Oared Ships*, p. 33, cat. no. 30). The krater probably dates late in the third quarter of the 8th century, i.e., Late Geometric I b. For the first time the sail is curved, as though caught by the wind. In its very simple but direct manner, this sail foreshadows the splendid ships with billowing sails painted on Attic black-figured vases of the 6th century B.C. See the discussion by Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, pp. 60–65, and esp. figs. 81, 82, and 90.
89. Jack L. Benson, *Horse, Bird and Man: The Origins of Greek Painting* (Amherst, Mass., 1970), pp. 99–102.
90. Benson, *Horse, Bird and Man*, p. 102.
91. A brief notice of this find appeared in the London *Times* of November 25, 1996, p. 26. I wish to thank Joan R. Mertens for giving me a copy of this article. See also the mention in *’Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 43 (1988), p. 224 and pl. 125 β; most recently, the notice by David Blackman, “Archaeology in Greece, 1997–98,” *Archaeological Reports*, no. 44 (1998), p. 73, and the discussion by Wachsmann, *Seagoing Ships*, pp. 131–37, and 390 with bibliography, namely the brief articles by the excavator, Fanouria Dakoronia: “War-Ships on Sherds of LH III C Kraters from Kynos,” *Tropis* II (1990), pp. 117–22, and “Kynos . . . Fleet,” *Tropis* IV (1996), pp. 159–71. I wish to thank Elizabeth Angelicoussis for providing me with Xeroxes of these two articles.
- This might be the place to mention the now-famous Thera ship fresco that was discovered in 1972 in Room 5 of the West House, well after Benson’s book appeared. The fresco depicts a remarkable flotilla of seven ships, one propelled by a sail, the other six by oars. At the far right, four small fishing boats have reached the harbor. One of them is manned, the others are moored. In addition, there is a shipwreck with drowning or swimming figures. This unprecedented depiction provides valuable information about Aegean ships and seafaring. The most recent bibliography is: Lyvia Morgan, *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera: A Study in Aegean Culture and Iconography* (Cambridge, 1988), esp. chap. 9 for the ships (pp. 121–42, and 202–7 for the notes); Christos Doumas, *The Wall Paintings of Thera* (Athens, 1992), esp. pls. 26, 29, 36–40, and 43; Wachsmann, *Seagoing Ships*, pp. 86–99, and 352–53 for the notes.
92. For this fragment, see Wachsmann, *Seagoing Ships*, p. 135, fig. 7.16.
93. Marwitz, “Ein attisch-geometrischer Krater” (note 4 above), pp. 43–44.
94. A few examples: the mourners on Athens 804 (note 42 above), on Louvre A 517 (note 42 above), both from the Dipylon Workshop; the warriors on Louvre A 522 (Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 30, cat. no. 8; Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora*, fig. 5 c) and on Athens N.M. 802 (Coldstream, p. 31, cat. no. 18; Ahlberg, fig. 7 c), both by a Close Associate of the Dipylon Master.

95. Jeffrey M. Hurwit, "The Dipylon Shield Once More," *Classical Antiquity* 4 (1985), pp. 121–26; S. Langdon, in *Pasture to Polis*, pp. 69–70.
96. See Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea*, pp. 59–60, for the most concise summary.
97. See the discussion by John Boardman ("Symbol and Story in Geometric Art," in *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, ed. W. Moon [Madison, Wisc., 1983], pp. 15–36, esp. pp. 27–33), who argues strongly for the existence of the shield in reality. Hurwit ("The Dipylon Shield Once More" [note 95 above], p. 123) proposes that the inspiration for the Dipylon shield comes from the Minoan/Mycenaean double axe, a view that seems a bit forced, since the positions of all the variations of the axe on his pl. III are horizontal compared with the vertical position of the Dipylon shield; then on pp. 124–26 he argues that the shield was real.
98. Gerda Nottbohm, "Die Meister der grossen Dipylon-Amphora in Athen," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 58 (1943), pp. 1–31.
99. Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, *passim*.
100. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, *passim*.
101. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 8–28.
102. Eva Brann, "Late Geometric Well Groups from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 30 (1961), p. 97, n. 13. This view has changed considerably. See the remarks by Bohen, "Aspects of Athenian Grave Cult" (note 6 above), pp. 49–55, concerning unpublished material excavated in the Kerameikos, particularly the Hagia Triada burial mound (p. 45). She shows that the period designated as Middle Geometric was far richer and more productive than previously thought. She is preparing a monograph on the krater material from the Kerameikos (p. 48, n. 12).
103. Copenhagen N.M. inv. 1628: see note 64 above. Athens N.M. 194: Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 14, fig. 3.
104. Brann, "Late Geometric Well Groups" (note 102 above), p. 97, n. 13.
105. Marwitz, "Ein attisch-geometrischer Krater" (note 4 above), p. 45. Kerameikos inv. 1254: see note 22 above. Athens N.M. 806: see note 6 above. Coldstream (*Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 46) dates Athens N.M. 806 transitional from Late Geometric I a to I b, i.e., in the third quarter of the 8th century. Kaufmann-Samaras ("La scène de prothésis 'disparue'" [note 6 above], pp. 239–40) places the krater just before the middle of the 8th century, in the latest phase of Middle Geometric, but without compelling argument. The shape of Athens N.M. 806 is not as squat as that of MMA 34.11.2, there is filling ornament between the figures, and the figures themselves cover a far greater proportion of the surface of the vase (see Kaufmann-Samaras, pls. 125 and 128 [reconstruction drawing]). The figures are tall and lean; they lack the liveliness and sturdiness of those on our krater. The style of drawing differs greatly from that on MMA 34.11.2 and the two are not by the same artist. The entire character of Athens N.M. 806 looks Late Geometric to me.
106. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 28, n. 2.
107. Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 48.
108. *Pasture to Polis*, p. 120.
109. Athens N.M. 194: see note 103 above; Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 38, n. 4; and Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea*, p. 40. Copenhagen N.M. inv. 1628: see note 64 above, and Ahlberg, p. 40. On the body of Athens N.M. 194 there are running warriors, each separated by two thick horizontal zigzags. They do not form a narrative composition, for they do not fight each other. Neither do they look heraldic. Each has a tiny head atop massive shoulders, a tapering torso joined to huge thighs. They look rubbery and they lack the tension of our figures. On the Copenhagen oinochoe, there is a horse-tamer on the neck and a ship fight on the body. The drawing is rough and sketchy, and the figures do not relate to one another as they do in the scenes on our krater. Coldstream (*Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 76, cat. no. 5) attributed this vase to the Hunt Group, painters active in Late Geometric II a, i.e., late 8th century. On p. 77, he writes: "... for the ship scene ... our painter has either thrown care to the winds, or called in a colleague."
110. See notes 6 and 105 above. The ornament is coarser; the figures are not as surely drawn as they are on MMA 34.11.2.
111. This feature is best observed in Hurwit, *Art and Culture*, p. 64, fig. 30 (after Benson, *Horse, Bird and Man*, pl. 32, 4).
112. See note 22 above. The Kerameikos krater may be the latest of this grave group, since it was not in the grave, but stood atop it. Ahlberg believes that these large kraters were made after the burial—see note 8 above. Thus, there would be a time lapse between vases put in the grave and the vase placed above it.
113. One more piece should be mentioned, a belly-handled amphora, Kerameikos inv. 1256 (Kübler, *Kerameikos V¹*, pls. 47, 48). This is not from a tomb but is a single find, and it is dated Middle Geometric I by Coldstream (*Greek Geometric Pottery*, p. 20, n. 7). It shares many of the ornamental patterns seen on the pieces assigned to this workshop, especially the hatched battlement and the multiple zigzag, also the metope with the fringed starburst. The quality of drawing, however, is not equal to the vases presented here that I think belong to a single workshop.
- Recently, Nota Kourou assembled several Middle Geometric I vases that she believes come from a single workshop, and she includes Kerameikos inv. 1256 in her group: "A New Geometric Amphora in the Benaki Museum: The Internal Dynamics of an Attic Style," in *Greek Offerings: Essays on Greek Art in Honour of John Boardman*, ed. Olga Palagia (Oxford, 1997), pp. 43–53. The centerpiece of Kourou's group is a conservatively decorated amphora in the Benaki Museum in Athens, 32937. On the neck is a hatched meander pattern to left. Concentric circles with central crosses and chevrons set in metopes decorate the body. All of the vases Kourou attributed to this workshop, with one exception, are without figured decoration. The exception is Kerameikos inv. 1254 (Figure 15), which Kourou (p. 51) calls "the masterpiece of the class." It is very possible that the Benaki amphora (Kourou, pp. 44–47, figs. 1–6) and Athens N.M. 816 (Kourou, p. 48, fig. 7) are by the same hand as Kerameikos inv. 1254, and if so, it would add two more vases, albeit without figures, to our workshop. The other vases Kourou attributed to her workshop do not seem to be of as high quality as these or are very small fragments, and I am inclined to keep them apart.

A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

BARBARA DEPERT-LIPPITZ

IN 1995 THE METROPOLITAN Museum of Art acquired a gold brooch of a type generally known as the crossbow fibula (Figures 1, 2).¹ At 11.9 centimeters in length (about $4\frac{11}{16}$ in.), with a weight of 78.4 grams, it is a personal ornament of substantial size and value and of the highest technical and artistic quality. The object stands out both in art history and in a larger historical perspective. Dating to the late fifth or early sixth century, it evokes one of the most interesting epochs in antiquity, a period marked by the subtle, often elusive transition from Late Roman to Early Byzantine art. The strong religious elements in the decoration of this fibula, and of related pieces, allow us a glimpse into the iconographic language of Early Christian art. Perhaps even more fascinating than the art-historical, religious, and technical aspects, however, are the historical implications. Crossbow fibulae were first introduced about A.D. 200 as clasps for military cloaks but immediately became an official insignia of military and administrative rank. Thus, for more than three hundred years they were closely linked with leading historical figures and the history of the Late Roman world.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FIBULA

Named after the medieval weapon of somewhat similar shape, a crossbow fibula consists of a transverse bar, a bow, a pin, and the catch—in our example, the sinuously ornamented container, triangular in cross section, into which the pin is slipped (Figures 1, 2; see also Figures 1–13 in P. Dandridge, “Idiomatic and Mainstream: The Technical Vocabulary of a Late Roman Crossbow Fibula,” pp. 71–86, in this volume). The catch is sometimes called the foot of a fibula, terms that we will use interchangeably. The transverse bar of the Metropolitan’s gold fibula is a hollow tube with a hexagonal cross section. Each end terminates in separately made bulbous knobs with pointed tips and

circlets of beaded wire around the base. (These are at the bottom of Figure 1, with the front of the fibula and the bow facing us—oriented as it would be worn.) The six facets of these knobs, or finials, correspond to the hexagonal structure formed by the crossbar’s planes. On the right side of the fibula, the knob is attached permanently to the bar; on the left side, it forms the

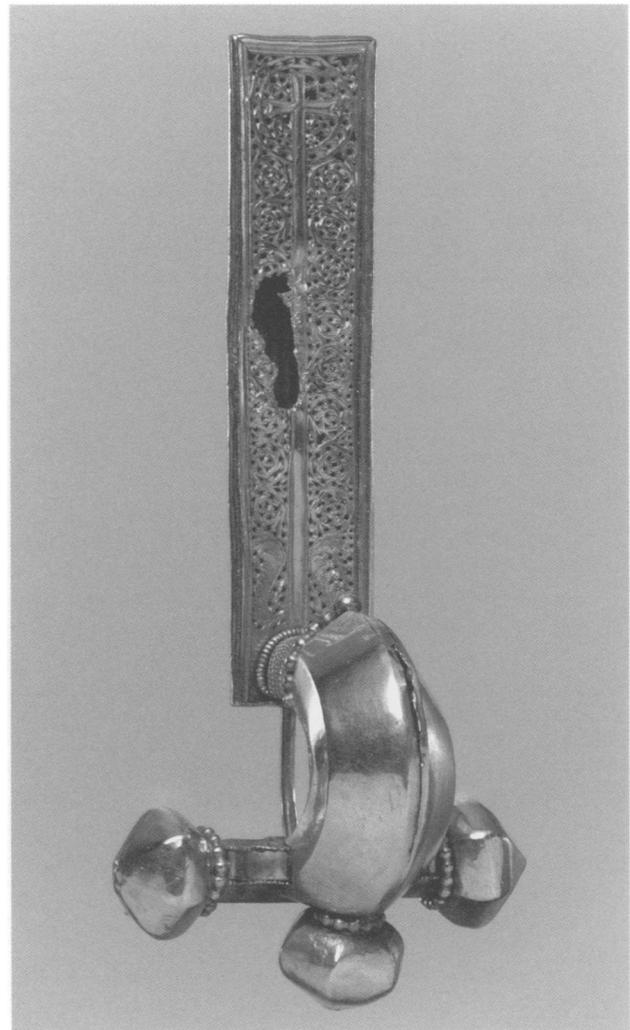


Figure 1. Crossbow fibula, ca. A.D. 450–ca. 558. Gold, L. 11.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1995 (1995.97). See also Colorplate 1

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The notes for this article begin on page 67.

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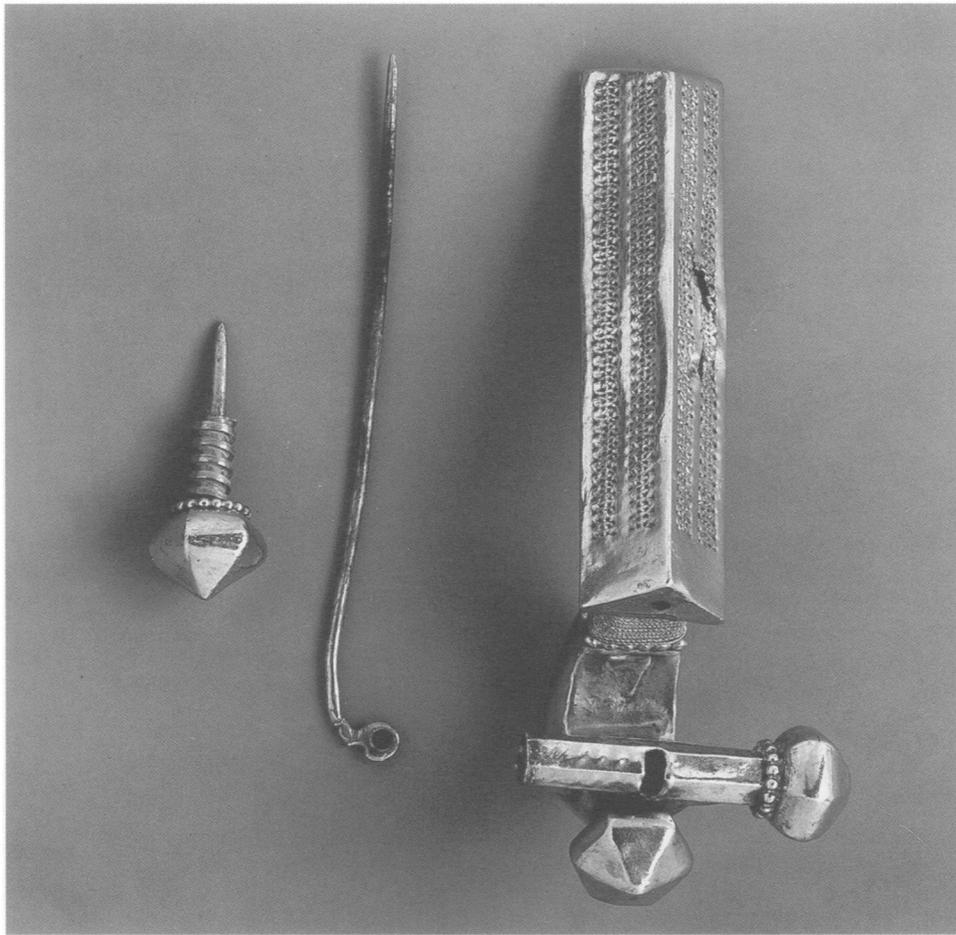


Figure 2. The screw, the pin, and the back of the fibula in Figure 1

head of a removable screw, the threads of which mate with a nut inside the bar. When inserted, the pointed end of the screw transects a slot cut in the underside of the bar (Figure 2). Once the fibula is assembled, the point of the screw passes through the pin's eyelet, which fits precisely into the slot (see Dandridge, Figure 8); the screw locks the pin in place and acts as a horizontal axis around which the pin could turn.

A third bulbous knob, identical in size and shape to the finials of the transverse bar, is attached at the center of the faceted crossbar. It is set at a right angle to its counterparts on the bar and marks the join between the bar and the bow; it seems to be an extension of the latter. On both sides of the bow and flanking it are small volutes with serrated edges set on the upper face of the bar.

The bow is pentagonal in cross section and—like the crossbar and the three knobs—is made of plain, polished gold sheet metal. A sharp, central ridge emphasizes its high arching outline. On each side, this line is repeated by an angle or bend in the metal, separating the top of the bow from its perpendicular sidewalls. A

rectangular strip of sheet gold forms the underside of the bow, where a small triangular opening, now closed with a sheet of gold, is apparent (Dandridge, Figure 8); this allowed for the introduction of a sulfur filling, which gave the elegantly shaped but hollow and therefore fragile object a necessary degree of solidity. The remarkable sculptural quality of the bow seems to have made any sort of additional ornament superfluous. Only the recessed terminus of the bow, landing on the catch like an arch on an impost, features decoration—here, of twisted gold wire. Even this, however, is primarily functional. Arranged in a herringbone pattern and framed by gold globules and granulation, it reinforces the base of the bow and its join with the catch (see Dandridge, Figure 9).

The catch or foot of the fibula is triangular in cross section. Seen from the front, with the bow facing outward toward the viewer, the flat, rectangular top panel is supported by a roof-shaped bottom. Both ends of the container are closed with small triangular panels—gablelike. In contrast to the plain, shiny curves and facets of the bow and transverse bar, the surface of the

catch facing us is textured with a dense openwork decoration. On this panel, a molded border frames an intricate latticework design dominated by a slender, elongated Latin cross. With its flaring arms and splayed ends, the cross forms a reserve in the trellislike background, which shows two symmetrically arranged floral arabesques.

The top end of the cross invites closer examination (at the top of Figure 1, and Dandridge, Figure 6). Together with the two side arms, it is circumscribed in a stylized wreath formed by two circles, one inside the other, with curled sprigs between them. Added to the right side of the shaft is a small circle that turns the top arm into the Greek letter rho and the cross itself into a *crux monogrammatica*, a combinatory image of the cross and the first two letters of the word “Christ,” the chi (formed by the cross shaft and crossarms) and the rho.² Directly underneath the side arms, the letters alpha and omega are integrated into the scrollwork, a further reference to Christ as “the beginning and the end,” according to the book of Revelation (1:8; 21:6; 22:13).

The cross emerges, at its base, from two large antithetically arranged acanthus leaves, which are also reserved in the pierced decoration. Chased lines, indicating the veins, are used to minimize shadow and to create a surprisingly natural, even lively impression. Flanking the cross, two symmetrically arranged floral scrolls grow out of these acanthus leaves. Each comprises eight strictly stylized whorls, animated by numerous filiform shoots.

The two back panels of the catch are decorated in the same openwork technique as the top plate but in a purely ornamental and rather cursory manner. Both panels feature ornamental bands of interlocked S-shaped volutes traversed lengthwise by a straight line of tiny quatrefoils. More attention was given to the small, sloping triangular wall at the far end of the catch (see Dandridge, Figure 4). Here, a large quatrefoil in a circular frame is set into the triangle with small floral shoots filling the interstices. In contrast, the corresponding wall at the bow end of the catch has only a small circular opening into which the pin is inserted. No decoration was deemed necessary here.

The simplest and most purely functional part of a fibula is the pin, but even this simple object, visible only when the fibula is being opened or closed, betrays the high standard of craftsmanship characteristic of all the parts. It is a long plain shaft with one end shaped as an eyelet, the other into a point. Immediately below the pierced opening of the eyelet, the shaft forms a small polygonal bead.

Except for the pin, the beaded circlets around the three bulbous knobs, and the beading, filigree, and

granulation encircling the catch end of the bow, all the parts of the Museum’s fibula were premanufactured from gold sheets, then assembled and joined.³ Altogether, eight separate elements were necessary to form the bow; the crossbar consists of twenty-two separate elements; and the catch is built up from eight individually made parts. Visible to the naked eye and confirmed by scientific analysis are variations in the thickness and alloy of the gold sheet used for the different parts. These differences are intentional. Harder alloys with a higher content of silver, which leads to a lighter shade of the gold, were necessary for parts that had to bear a certain physical stress, such as the bow and the pin, while the softness of a gold of higher purity facilitated the pierced decoration of the catch.

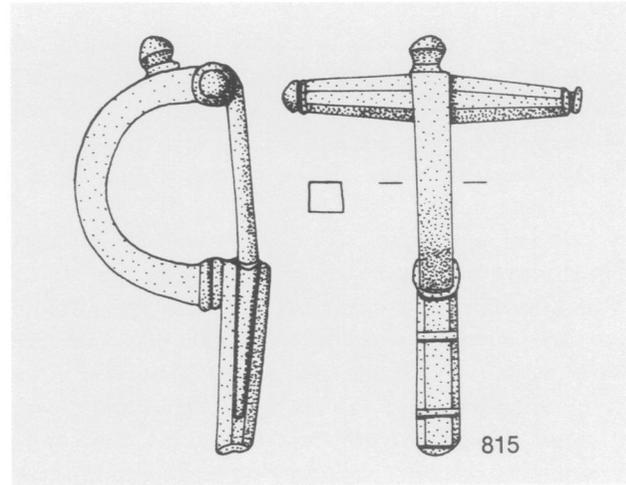
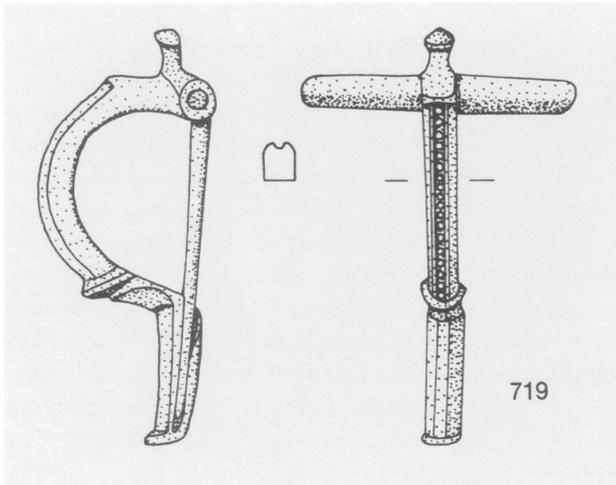
The fibula is in very good condition except for damage and loss on the catch or foot and the opened seam along the central ridge of the bow. Obviously, at one point in the history of the piece, it was exposed to vigorous pressure from above. The provenance is not known, but with a personal ornament in gold of the size, weight, and artistic quality of this fibula, a find spot is of secondary importance. The fibula does not give any indication of where it was made. In fact, such pieces cannot be linked to geographically distinct areas. Their owners belonged to the highest echelons of the Late Roman hierarchy, people known to have traveled extensively throughout the vast Roman empire and even beyond its frontiers.⁴

DEVELOPMENT OF CROSSBOW FIBULAE

It is the intention of this paper to place the Metropolitan’s gold fibula in its proper historical and art-historical context. An overview of the development of the crossbow fibula from the earliest beginnings to the fifth century, with particular interest in social and historical issues, will be followed by an analysis of the final stage in the history of crossbow fibulae, the period to which MMA 1995.97 belongs. This section is divided into three parts—a review of the small corpus of related fibulae, the historical background, and a stylistic and iconographic analysis.

FORM AND FUNCTION OF CROSSBOW FIBULAE

The fibula is a functional item, designed to fasten clothing. Though certain shapes were worn by women as well as men, the crossbow fibula was exclusively a male ornament, created to hold in place the heavy woolen cloak or cape that was the outer garment of a



Figures 3a, b. Hinged crossbow fibulae, ca. A.D. 200, found at the Limes castellum Zugmantel, Germany. Tin-plated bronze, both L. 5.6 cm. Saalburgmuseum, Bad Homburg (drawings: from A. Böhme, “Die Fibeln der Kastelle Saalburg und Zugmantel,” *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 29 [1972], pl. 17 no. 719, pl. 20 no. 815). Figure 3a has a single decorative knob, an ornamented bow, and a faceted catch; Figure 3b has a faceted crossbar, three decorative knobs, a filigree ring around the catch end of the bow, and an ornamented catch

Roman soldier. The *sagum*, or chlamys, as this cloak was called, depending on the length, was one piece of material that completely covered the left side of the body; the open ends were joined at the right shoulder. The right arm was therefore unencumbered. This was a practical garment, wide enough to be raised and draped over the elbow of the left arm, which could then move freely, and large enough to protect the wearer against inclement weather. The length varied, but, no matter if it was knee or ankle length, either fully covering the body or draped around the shoulders and loosely hanging down the back, such a cloak gave a certain dignity and even elegance to the man who wore it.

The simplest way of holding the ends of the cloak together was to tie them in a knot. Better befitting the social status of “our most noble soldiers”—as military men were officially referred to in the third century—was to fasten the garment with a clasp or metal brooch, the fibula. In its most basic form the fibula is a safety pin made from a single wire with a sharp point at one end and a hooked catch, designed to capture the point, at the other. Elaborate varieties, like the crossbow fibula, consisted of two pieces of metal: a bow and a pin, and these were joined either by a spring or by a hinge. From an early period, the development of Roman fibulae had been marked by a constant search for technical and visual improvements. As a result, the first and second centuries A.D. saw the emergence of a large number of shapes and types.⁵ This development came to a rather abrupt halt when, in the early decades of the third century, the crossbow fibula became the dominant type. The following survey traces chronologically the

significant trends of the crossbow fibula’s development. This outline is based on reliably dated examples that stand in contrast to the vast number of average bronze crossbow fibulae either because they are made of precious material or because of their aesthetic quality. The number of such pieces is limited, of course, but it suffices to create a solid typological and historical framework.⁶

THE EARLY STAGE, CA. A.D. 240–76

Present at the beginning of the crossbow fibula’s evolution are the same principal elements that characterize the gold fibula in the Metropolitan: a crossbar, a bow, a catch, and a pin (see Dandridge, Figure 3). The construction technique, however, is slightly different. The pin is not removable but is permanently hinged to the crossbar, to be secured in an open slot on one side of the catch. Typologically, the early crossbow fibula exemplifies this design, and judging by the large number of examples found in garrisons along the Roman frontiers, it was enormously popular in the late second century. The transitional stages between the earlier and later designs are quite fluid, and at the outset, the changes are hardly noticeable. Initially, the main decorative—as opposed to constructional—difference is that the crossbars of the conservative hinged fibulae are plain, while those of the crossbow fibulae terminate in tiny, slightly articulated knobs (Figures 3a, b).

The early crossbow fibulae are by no means spectacular. They would hardly have attracted any scholarly attention had there not appeared, for the first time in the history of Roman fibulae, a suddenly substantial

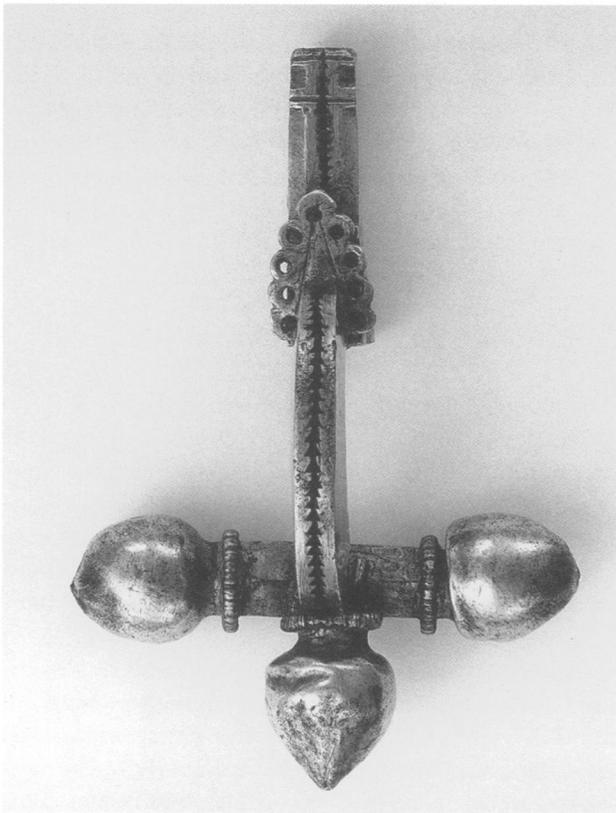


Figure 4. Crossbow fibula, ca. A.D. 250, found in Odiham, England. Gold, L. 7.7 cm. British Museum, London (photo: British Museum)

number of pieces made of precious metal. Gold and silver fibulae were far beyond the means of an ordinary soldier, who would have had to content himself with a bronze clasp to hold his cloak. If any could, only officers would have been able to afford precious metal. Though there is no literary evidence, we can assume, therefore, that the sudden appearance of fibulae made of precious metal and worn by officers is connected with military reforms undertaken by the Severan emperors (193–235).⁷ In a way—although not in the modern sense—the early gold and silver crossbow fibulae were an officer's badge. The later history of the crossbow fibula confirms their official nature.

The length of early crossbow fibulae varies between 5 and 6 centimeters, and the weight of those made in gold ranges between 18 and 42 grams. Even at this early stage, the bar is ordinarily hexagonal in cross section, and thus it remains until the last evolutionary stage. Tiny appliquéés, set against the bow, reinforce the join between crossbar and bow. The bow is remarkably small and, in comparison to later examples (when it is shaped like a horseshoe), only moderately arched. In cross section, the bow may be either rectangular or hexagonal; where the bow end meets the catch, it is

either encircled with wire, marked by small knoblike extensions, or fitted with a small decorative collar. The short catch is plain and semicircular in section; the flat face features simple gouged geometric ornaments.

A solid silver brooch, part of a coin-dated treasure that had been hidden in Causevo in modern Bulgaria before 244, is usually considered one of the earliest examples of the crossbow fibula.⁸ It combines all the features described above with barely defined knobs, a small, short catch, and three tiny globules attached to the foot end of the bow. Similar examples in silver, and less often in bronze, have turned up in Roman military camps in Germany, Austria, and Hungary; two unpublished examples in gold are said to be in the National Museum in Damascus.⁹

The Causevo type is immediately followed by a more elaborate version with now clearly defined globular or ovoid knobs, a hexagonal crossbar, and a still short but faceted catch. A brooch that was part of a coin and jewelry treasure buried soon after 248/49 in Nicolaevo, modern Bulgaria, offers a reliable date for this stage.¹⁰ It is made of silver with a partly gilt engraved decoration of superimposed triangles on both the crest of the bow and the catch or foot along with well-articulated knobs. Similar pieces have been found in nearly all parts of the Roman empire. Fibula design by the mid-third century may be represented by a gold example that was part of a large treasure discovered in 1821 in Parma, northern Italy.¹¹ Judging by the coins found with this piece and by historical events, the hoard was buried either in 268, just after the emperor Gallienus was murdered while laying siege to nearby Mediolanum (modern Milan), or in the course of Alemannic invasions in 271. The fibula, only 5 centimeters long and weighing 18 grams, is marked by a strong crossbar terminating in globular knobs, an ovoid head knob, a narrow bow, and an extremely short foot, the last two embellished by a line of gold globules applied along the center. Of similar shape, but otherwise plain, is a fibula that was found together with coins, mounted coins, and a spectacular gold bowl, in Rennes, France,¹² a treasure that most likely had been hidden in the course of Alemannic invasions in western France in 276.

While gold fibulae such as the pieces from Parma and Rennes impress more through the value of their medium than through fine craftsmanship or artistic ingenuity, there is evidence for the existence of more elaborate pieces. A gold fibula found in Odiham, England, holds our attention not only because of its remarkable length, of 7.7 centimeters, and weight, at 61.43 grams, but also because of an ornamental band of superimposed triangles inlaid in niello, a matte black compound of copper and silver sulfide (Figure 4).¹³ It features all the characteristics we find on mid-third-

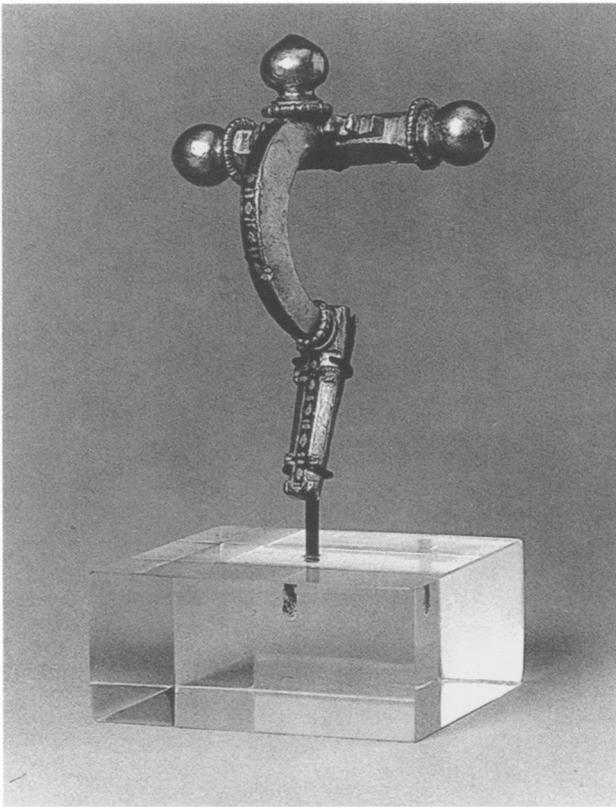


Figure 5. Crossbow fibula, 3rd quarter of the 3rd century A.D. Gold with niello decoration, L. 5.55 cm. The Collection of Shelby White and Leon Levy (photo: Sheldan Collins)

century fibulae: a combination of two ovoid and one pointed knob, the lack of appliqué, a slender bow, which is quadrangular in section, and a short catch, beveled off at the sides. Vegetal and geometric ornaments and a particular ornamental border of superimposed triangles along the crest of the bow and in the center of the foot are the favorite decorative devices found on the silver crossbow fibulae of this period.¹⁴ Two pieces from a coin-dated hoard from Szalacska (county Somogy)¹⁵ and a similar piece from a large coin treasure found in Balozsameggyes (county Vas),¹⁶ both in Hungary, reliably date the group to a period before 259/60.

By the second century, the use of a considerable variety of inscriptions had become a popular decorative device, and, well into the sixth century, artists continued to use this unusual but most impressive decorative feature.¹⁷ Wishes for good luck combined with personal names, as in *SEPTIMI VIVAS* (May Septimus live) or *CONSTANTINI VIVAS* (May Constantius live), are deployed as niello inlay on the two sides of the narrow bows of silver fibulae.¹⁸ *DEOMART UT[ERE] FELIX* (Deomart, use it happily) repeats a formula often inscribed on jewelry and *objets de luxe* of this period.

Less common is the inscription *VIATOR VIVAS* (Live long, traveler), which occurs on a gold fibula in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.¹⁹ The foot of this fibula is decorated with a combination of horizontal grooves and rhomboids, an ornament that is also the main decorative motif of a niello-inlaid gold fibula in a private collection in New York, one of the most elegant pieces of this period (Figure 5).²⁰

THE DYARCHY, CA. A.D. 285–86

Further evolutionary development is apparent in two gold fibulae, part of a coin and jewelry treasure discovered in 1805 in Petrijanec, Croatia,²¹ and by a gold fibula with a bronze core in the so-called Dyarchy Treasure, a coin and jewelry hoard of unspecified provenance from the Balkans.²² Both hoards coincide with the rise of Diocletian, a Dalmatian of low birth who was made emperor in November 284 after a successful career in the Roman army. In 286 he decided to share power with a former colleague, Maximian, like himself a successful general of humble Dalmatian origin. Maximian was appointed caesar and put in charge of the western part of the empire, while Diocletian remained in the east as augustus. This was the beginning of the “government of two,” or dyarchy.

The gold fibulae from Petrijanec and the Dyarchy hoard are closely linked with these events. In 285, the year of the Petrijanec hoard, Diocletian defeated his last serious competitor for the imperial purple, in the battle at Margus, modern Serbia; most likely the hoard represents the valuables of a fugitive officer of the defeated army whose subsequent fate prevented him from collecting them at a later time. The coins and the fibula from the Dyarchy Treasure, hidden shortly after 286, seem to have been part of a donative to a meritorious officer on the occasion of the appointment of Maximian. We know from written sources that such donations consisted of coined gold, silverware, official clothes, and, as an accessory to the chlamys, gold or silver fibulae.²³

The dyarchic gold fibulae are rather small, but heavier and thus more valuable than most earlier gold crossbow fibulae. The length varies from between 6 and 7.04 centimeters (Figures 6, 7). The Petrijanec fibulae weigh 41.4 and 54.7 grams respectively; the gilt-bronze fibula from the Dyarchy hoard is about 113 grams. The shape is still very much that of fibulae dating to the mid-third century, but the proportions have changed slightly and the details are clearly articulated.

On all three pieces the transverse bar is hexagonal with small stepped appliqué close to the bow. The

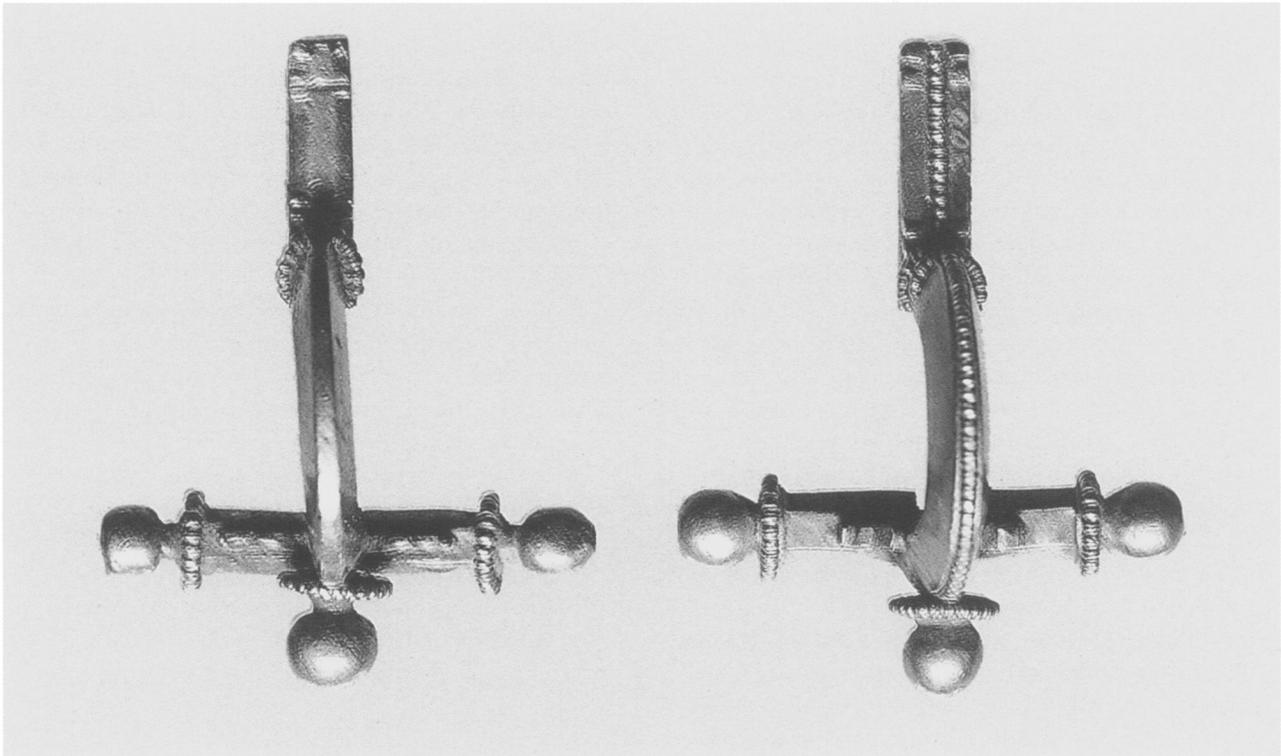


Figure 6. Crossbow fibulae from the Petrijanec Treasure, late 3rd century A.D. Gold, L. 6–7 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

globular knobs have increased in size and are supported by beaded collars. The narrow, high arching bow is flattened along the crest; the foot is considerably shorter than the bow and is decorated with ornamental grooves at both ends. The end of the bow, where it attaches to the catch, is surrounded by circlets of plain and beaded wire. On one of the two fibulae from Petrijanec a beaded line along both the crest of the bow and the center of the foot recalls the decoration of the gold fibula from Parma, made about twenty years earlier.

The most important evidence offered by the three dyarchic fibulae is that both hoards reflect the same social background. Gold fibulae, large numbers of gold coins, coins mounted as *phalerae*, bracelets, and pendants were military rewards or official gifts to high-ranking officers. This might explain why gold fibulae from this period occasionally were kept as heirlooms. A splendid piece, 8.4 centimeters in length, and of the most impressive weight of 167.5 grams, or half a Roman pound of gold, was found together with other gold objects and a gilt-bronze fibula of the later fourth century in a rich grave in Réka Devnia, Bulgaria. Most likely it belonged to the descendant of the original owner of the gold fibula, whose successful military career seems to have established the family fortune.²⁴

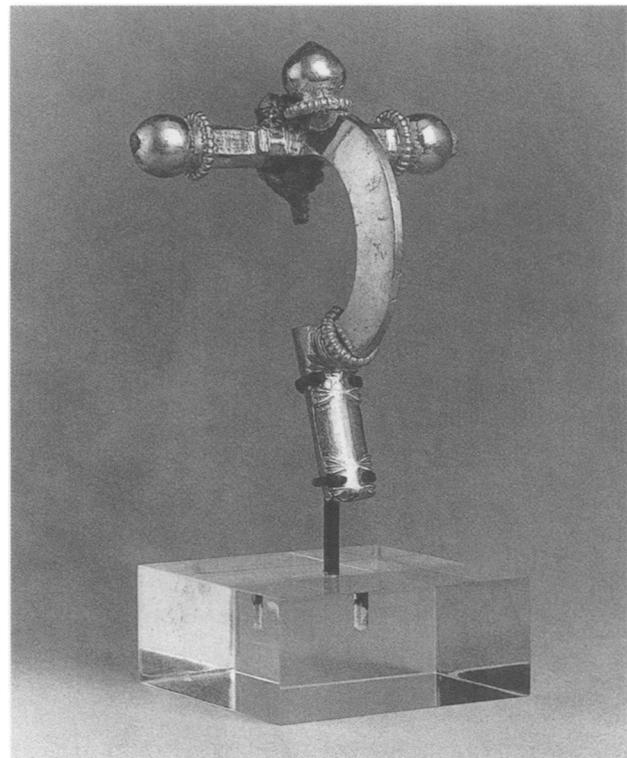


Figure 7. Crossbow fibula from the Dyarchy Treasure, late 3rd century A.D. Gold, bronze, L. 7.04 cm. The Collection of Shelby White and Leon Lewy (photo: Sheldan Collins)

On March 1, 293, the dyarchy was replaced by the first tetrarchy, or government of four, when the empire was divided into four different administrative units. Diocletian, the augustus of the east, shared his power with a new caesar and his future successor—Galerius—while Constantius Chlorus was assigned as caesar to the western emperor, Maximian, who had risen to the rank of augustus. Both caesars came from the same stock as the two augusti—of humble Dalmatian origin and with successful military records. The imperial house in the east was placed under the divine protection of Jove, so that Diocletian and Galerius thus became the Jovii or Joviani, while the west was governed by the Herculii, the protégés of Hercules.

The reason for delving into these historical details is that several gold crossbow fibulae, one of them in the Metropolitan Museum, are inscribed with the names or surnames and titles of the augusti and caesars of the first tetrarchy as well as those of their successors. In their own way, these pieces track the rise and decline of the tetrarchy, and at the same time, they document significant innovations in the development of the crossbow fibula, innovations that were imitated immediately by the makers of bronze fibulae. In most cases, the inscriptions allow precise dating, which makes this group a reliable landmark in the chronology of crossbow fibulae.

The group is by no means homogeneous, and this is not surprising. In Roman crafts, shifts in shape and style never come abruptly, and long-established forms tend to continue even as new trends appear. Typologically, the most obvious innovations are the stepped appliqué along the whole length of the crossbars. They replace the small supports that had reinforced the join between the crossbar and bow. Possibly even more significant are certain subtle changes, such as the tendency to longer and heavier fibulae and to an evolution in the proportions. In the course of the three decades of the tetrarchy, between 293 and 324, the bulbous knobs increase in size and the foot in length. Already at an early stage, under Diocletian, the gouged geometric ornaments on the foot are replaced by C-volutes rendered in relief along the edges of the catch. Although geometric decoration continues for a while, the new motif becomes standard. Until the third quarter of the fourth century we find pairs of C-volutes at each end of the foot; then the foot is edged on both sides by a series of C-volutes. A similar development is followed by contemporary crossbow fibulae made in bronze.

The use of inscriptions as a decorative device is not new. First on buildings, then later in applied art, they

are one of the most interesting forms of Roman decoration. On crossbow fibulae, decorative inscriptions, inlaid in niello, had already occurred in the mid-third century, though by now the contents and the meaning have changed. References to members of the imperial families have replaced ordinary personal names. On the finest examples of this group, clarity of form and spacing enhance the inscriptions, which are displayed on both sides of the bow. The crest and the center of the catch continue to be decorated with ornamental borders inlaid in niello, but the primary motifs are no longer a line of superimposed triangles or rhomboids. These have been replaced by an elegant guilloché reserved against a niello background.

The following catalogue of fibulae with imperial inscriptions is arranged chronologically:

1. A.D. 293, Bargone, Italy. Bronze, L. 5.2 cm. Inscribed: IOVIORUM/EHRCULIORU[M]. Museo d'Antichità, Parma, Italy.²⁵
2. November 20, 303, Erickstanebrae, Scotland. Gold, fragment, preserved L. 9.5 cm. Inscribed: IOVI[O] AUG[USTO] and VOT[IS] XX. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles (Figure 8).²⁶
3. April 286–ca. 306/7 or 308/9, Arezzo, Italy. Gold, niello, L. 7 cm, 52.6 g. Inscribed: HERCULI AUGUSTE/SEMPER VINCAS. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase by subscription, 1895 (95.15.113) (Figures 9a, b).²⁷
4. July 25, 306–March 31, 307, unknown provenance. Gold, niello, L. 8 cm, 50.4 g. Inscribed: CONSTANTINE CAES VIVAS/HERCULI CAES VINCAS. Museo d'Antichità, Turin (Figure 10).²⁸
5. April 20, 308–summer 309, “Caput Adriae” (Aquileia or Centur near Koper), Italy. Gold, niello, L. 5.3 cm, 46.9 g. Inscribed: MAXENTI VINCAS/ROMULE VIVAS. Prähistorische Staatssammlung, Munich (Figures 11a, b).²⁹
6. July 25, 315, unknown provenance. Gold, niello, fragment, preserved L. 4.5 cm. Inscribed: D N CONSTANTINI AUG/VOT X MULTIS XX. Musée du Louvre, Paris.³⁰
7. July 25, 315–November 11, 317, Niederemmel, Germany.³¹ Gold, niello, fragment, preserved L. 9.5 cm, 75.5 g. Inscribed: VOTIS X D N CONSTANTINI AUG/VOTIS X D N LICINI AUG. Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, Germany.
8. Ca. 317–24, Taraneš, former Yugoslavia. Gold, niello, L. 10.4 cm, 160.8 g. Inscribed: IOVI AUG VINCAS/IOVI CAES VIVAS. Location unknown (Figure 12).³²

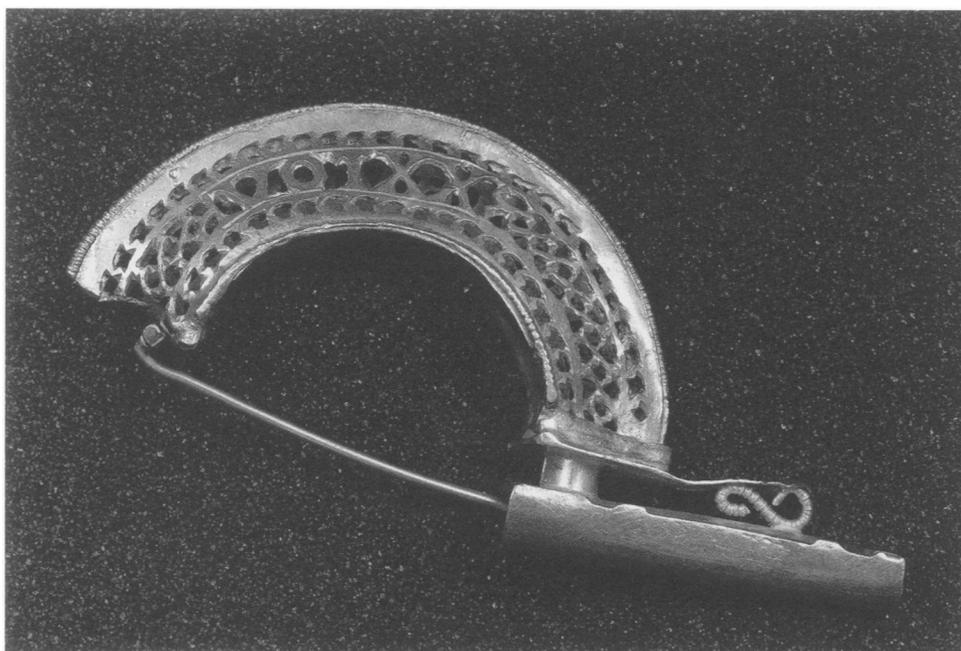


Figure 8. Fragment of a fibula, A.D. 303, found in Erickstanebrae, Scotland. Gold, L. 9.5 cm. The William Randolph Hearst Collection, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 50.22.14 (photo: Los Angeles County Museum of Art)

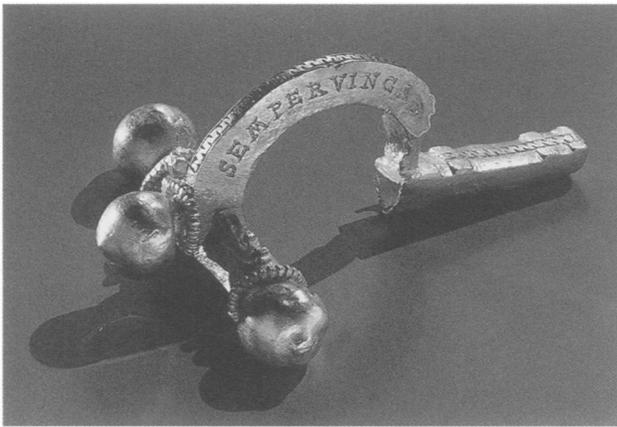
The inscriptions—IOVIORUM and EHRCULIORU[M]—on the silver-inlaid bronze fibula from Bargone (no. 1, in the list above), near Parma, refer to the Jovii and to the Herculii, that is, to the houses of the emperors Diocletian and Maximian, though the full meaning can be only be guessed. As the two words are given in the genitive case, one word has to be added, and “victoria,” say, or “gloria,” in combination with “ioviorem” and “herculiorum,” are likely interpretations. On March 1, 293, the two new caesars were inaugurated in simultaneous ceremonies in Milan and in Sirmium, and this could well have been the occasion the inscriptions refer to. Less likely is the inauguration of the second tetrarchy of the Jovii and Herculii in 305, when the first two augusti, Diocletian and Maximian, resigned; at that time, their caesars were raised to the ranks of augusti and two new caesars were appointed.

The fragment found in 1787 in the bog in Erickstanebrae (no. 2; Figure 8), not far from Moffat and close to a major Roman road north of Carlisle, Scotland, is the most spectacular piece in this group in spite of the missing crossbar. With a preserved length of 9.5 centimeters, to which the size of a bulbous knob of approximately one centimeter has to be added, it is about twice as long as the fibula from Bargone. The short foot still features the conventional geometric decoration, while both sides of the bow are decorated with a dense openwork design into which the inscriptions are integrated. Two outer registers feature a frieze of interlocked S-hooks; the central zones carry the inscriptions. A row of beaded wire, not unlike the additional decoration on one of the Petrijanec fibulae, empha-

sizes the curved outline of the bow. A noteworthy detail is a collar of plain gold sheet set around the foot end of the bow and supported by an S-shaped volute of beaded wire. A graffito PORTO or FORTO underneath the bow is most likely an owner’s inscription.

The inscriptions on this piece—IOVI[O] AUG[USTO] and VOT[IS] XX—can only be a reference to the vicennalia, or twentieth anniversary, of the reign of the augustus Diocletian, which he celebrated on November 20, 303. No other tetrarchic emperor ruled that long. The celebrations, which took place in Rome, would have a profound effect on future events. Diocletian used the opportunity to secure from his colleague Maximian—Maximianus Herculus—the promise of their simultaneous retirement.

How such an outstanding fibula found its way to Scotland can only be imagined. All we know is that in 303 the original owner must have been close to Diocletian, close enough either to receive a splendid and precious gift commemorating the event or to have it made in honor of the senior augustus. In addition, we may infer that in 306 he must have accompanied Constantius Chlorus, then augustus of the west, on his campaign against the Picts and the Scots. One possible choice for an owner is, for instance, the son of Constantius Chlorus, the future emperor Constantine the Great, who had spent many years at the court of Diocletian before he was allowed to join his father on the campaign to Britain in 305. Only a year later, on the sudden death of Constantius in York in 306, the Roman armies in Britain ignored Diocletian’s exclusion of Constantine from the second tetrarchy and



Figures 9a, b. Crossbow fibula, A.D. 286–ca. 306/7 or 308/9, from Arezzo, Italy. Gold with niello decoration, L. 7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase by subscription, 1895 (95.15.113)

proclaimed him augustus. This he refused, but he accepted the title and position of caesar.

In addition to its presumed historical importance, the fragment from Erickstanebrae is a valuable landmark for openwork-decorated Roman jewelry. The openwork technique applied here—conventionally called *opus interrasile*—was introduced by Roman goldsmiths in the late second century and became the hallmark of Late Roman gold work. The technical procedure is comparatively simple. The gold surface is pierced with small holes and then opened up to form the desired pattern. The particular skill of the Roman craftsmen lay not so much in the technical procedure as in the accommodation of design and decorative motifs to the technique. In the vast range of third-century Roman jewelry, decorated in openwork, the closest parallel to the *opus interrasile* of the Erickstanebrae fibula is the decorative framing of mounted coins in the treasure from Petrijanec of 285.³³ Here, we find similar ornaments and the same level of workmanship.

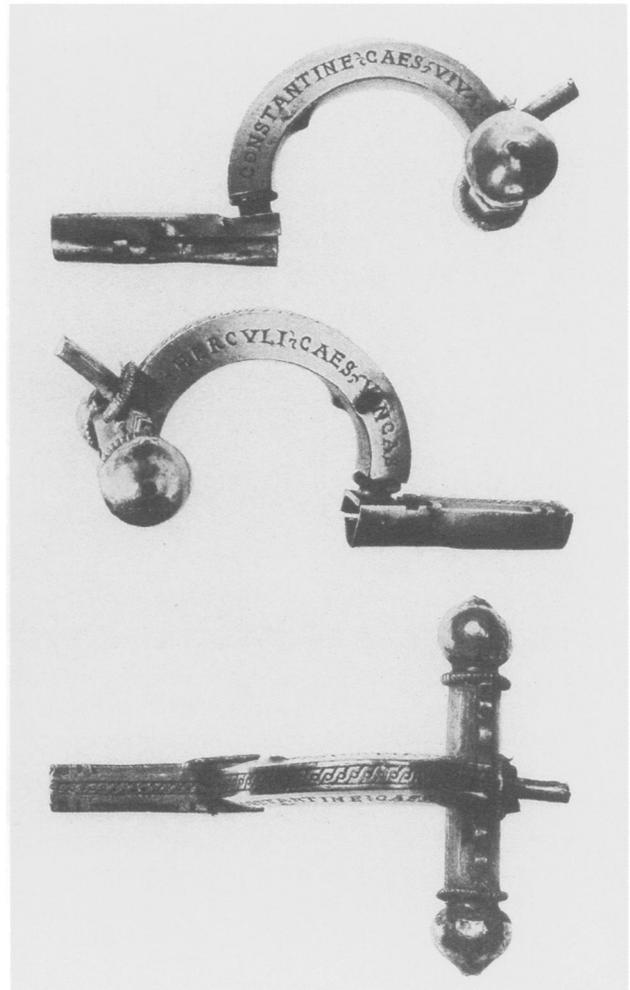


Figure 10. Crossbow fibula, A.D. 306–7. Gold with niello decoration, L. 8 cm. Museo d'Antichità, Turin (photo: after R. Knoll, "Eine goldene 'Kaiserfibel' aus Niederemmel vom Jahre 316," *Bonner Jahrbucher* 174 [1974], p. 235, figs. 16–18)

Also dating to the first tetrarchy is the fibula found in 1866 in Arezzo, Italy, now in the Metropolitan Museum (no. 3; Figures 9a, b). The shape is still in the mid-third-century tradition, and the weight of 52.6 grams—the equivalent of ten tetrarchic gold coins—relates it to the Petrijanec and Dyarchy Treasure fibulae. The knobs are still more globular than bulbous, but the appliqué on the transverse bar, in the shape of stylized dolphins, already cover the whole length of the arms. An ornamental border, reserved in gold against a niello background, follows the crest of the bow and continues on the foot, which is still short and decorated with horizontal grooves. The inscription *HERCVLI AVGVSTI / SEMPER VINCAS* refers to a western emperor, and the most likely candidate is the augustus Maximian, who was as well known as Hercules as he was by his proper name. This suggests a date either between April 286, when Maximian was



Figures 11 a, b. Crossbow fibula, A.D. 308–9, from “Caput Adriae,” Italy. Gold with niello decoration, L. 5.3 cm. Prähistorische Staatssammlung, Munich (photo: Prähistorische Staatssammlung)

promoted to augustus, and 305, when he and Diocletian resigned, or between 306/7 and 308/9, when he tried to regain power.

A less likely candidate is the second Herculus and, from 306, the western augustus, Constantius Chlorus. Because he died that same year, this would be a terminus ante quem. Also to be mentioned is Maxentius, the son of Maximian and unacknowledged emperor who seized power in Italy in 306 and held it until 312. Still, it is unlikely that he would have been praised as augustus. Even Constantine the Great, the son and successor of Constantius Chlorus, may be considered—for the period between 307 and 310—a Herculus, as the following fibula will demonstrate. Hercules, however, was never Constantine’s protective deity and, judging by the inscriptions on his coinage, he himself did not consider himself a Herculus.

The next two fibulae in our catalogue, one in Turin (no. 4; Figure 10), the other in Munich (no. 5; Figures 11 a, b), reflect the fate of the second and third tetrarchy. The first one bears the inscription, *CONSTANTINE CAES VIVAS* (May Constantine caesar live), which is an indis-

putable reference to the emperor who was going to have a greater impact on history than any other of the tetrarchs, the future augustus Constantine the Great. More difficult is the other part of the inscription, *HERCULI CAES VINCAS* (May Herculus caesar win). When in 305 the first two augusti were followed by Constantinius Chlorus in the west and Galerius in the east, Galerius had secured the appointment of men who were primarily obligated to him as the new caesar. Maxentius and Constantine, the sons respectively of the former augustus, Maximianus Herculus, and his successor, Constantius Chlorus, had been passed over in favor of a certain Flavius Valerius Severus as the western caesar and Maximinus Daza as his eastern counterpart. As a result, this second tetrarchy lasted only one year. In 306, at the death of Constantius Chlorus, the army raised his son Constantine to the purple, and Galerius accepted the fait accompli to avoid civil war. Constantius’s legal successor, Severus, was raised to the senior position of augustus and Constantine became the fourth member of the second tetrarchy as caesar in the western part of the empire. The inscription on the fibula is an interesting political

statement, attributing to Constantine's position as caesar a legitimacy which de jure it did not have.

Constantine remained the *Herculius caesar* for a very short period, from July 25, 306, to March 31, 307, before he assumed the title of *augustus*. If both parts of the inscription refer to Constantine, then the period during which the fibula in Turin was made is limited to less than a year. If the "*Herculi caes*" mentioned in the second part is a reference not to Constantine but to the legal caesar, Flavius Valerius Severus, it must have been made before Severus was proclaimed *augustus*.

The same year, on October 28, 306, Maxentius, the son of Maximianus *Herculius*, was acclaimed emperor by military and civil elements in a revolt in Rome. Unlike Constantine, he was never acknowledged by the tetrarchs, and in 308 he was officially declared public enemy. Nevertheless he was able to maintain control over Italy and, for a while, even Africa, until on October 28, 312, he was defeated by Constantine in the famous battle at the Milvian Bridge.

The splendid fibula allegedly found at "*Caput Adriae*" (no. 5; Figures 11a, b), or, to be more precise, in Aquileia or Centur near Koper, bears the names of Maxentius and his infant son Romulus. The inscription dates the piece to a period between April 20, 308, and the summer of 309. On April 20, 308, Maxentius and the child Romulus became consuls; Romulus died the following year. Although no title is given, the combination of the two names, the expressed wish ("*vincas*") that can refer only to someone struggling for power, and the repetition of the standard formula of "*vincas*" for the *augustus* and the "*vivas*" for the caesar can only refer to Maxentius and Romulus.

The fibula features a very individual decorative scheme. A broad band with a floral scroll against a niello background covers the crest of the bow and the center of the foot. The inscriptions, *MAXENTI VINCAS* on one side of the bow and *ROMULE VIVAS* on the other, are set in fine ornamental frames. Elaborate appliqués, which increase in height from the terminals toward the join with the bow, completely cover the top of the crossarms. The large, onion-shaped knobs are faceted and terminate in clearly defined pointed tips. Both sides of the foot are decorated in relief with pairs of *C*-volutes that are matched by a double *volute* at the far end of the foot.

In the early years of his rule, Maxentius himself carefully avoided the title of *augustus* or even of caesar in the vain effort to appease the tetrarchs. The "*vincas*" seems to express the hope of a supporter that Maxentius will win the recognition of the tetrarchs. Omitting the title was either a gesture of politeness toward them or simply of prudence. The exact find

spot is not known, but "*Caput Adriae*" might be an indication that the fibula was hidden or lost in 312 when Constantine, on his way to Rome and the battle at the Milvian Bridge, defeated the larger part of Maxentius's army at Verona.

On July 25, 315, Constantine the Great, who had in the meantime become well established as the sole ruler of the western part of the empire, celebrated his *decennalia*—the beginning of the tenth year of his rule—in the tetrarchic capital of Trier. Two gold fibulae with inscriptions referring to this event have been preserved from antiquity, both in a fragmentary state. One is of unknown provenance, now in Paris (no. 6); the other is a stray find from Niederemmel (no. 7), a small village in the vicinity of Trier, Germany. Of the piece in Paris only the bow, with a niello-inlaid guilloche on the crest, and the large, bulbous head knob have been preserved. The inscription, displayed in niello on both sides of the bow, is the usual official formula for the occasion: *D N CONSTANTINI AUG* and *VOT X MULTIS XX*. These phrases announce the fulfillment of vows made for the ruler's tenth anniversary and anticipation for the twentieth.

Measuring 9.5 centimeters, the fibula from Niederemmel is in the same class as the one from *Erickstanebrae*, and, judging by the present weight of 75.5 grams, originally it must have equaled about a third of a Roman pound or about twenty-five Constantinian *solidi*.³⁴ A graffito on the back of the bow—*SERVANDUS*—probably gives the name of a former owner. The crossbar is missing, but the quality of the workmanship is still overwhelming. The large, globular head knob, delicately shaped with an elongated point, as on the fragment in Paris, allows us to imagine how the terminals of the crossbar looked.

Both sides of the bow are inscribed with carefully spaced letters, and a precisely executed guilloche band embellishes the crest of the bow. The foot, with a slightly trapezoidal top plate, is dominated by a guilloche, so that the grooves on both sides play a small role decoratively. The niello inlays are less ornate than those on the Maxentius fibula (our fifth example in the catalogue above) but are of exquisite quality. The inscriptions, *VOTIS X D N CONSTANTINI AUG* and *VOTIS X D N LICINI AUG*, date the fibula to the years between 315 and 317. They refer to the only surviving members of the tetrarchy, Constantine and Licinius. In 310, Maximianus *Herculius* had been forced to commit suicide, Galerius had died in 311, and Maxentius drowned at the Milvian Bridge in 312. Valerius Licinianus Licinius or Jovius Licinius, a military colleague of the *augustus* Galerius, had been adopted by Diocletian and, on November 11, 308, raised to the rank of *augustus*, a year after

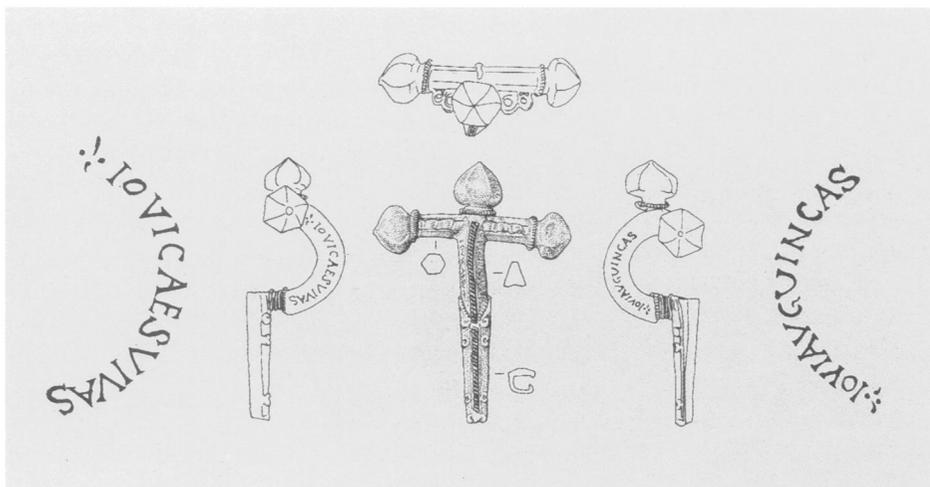


Figure 12. Crossbow fibula, ca. A.D. 317–24 from a grave in Taraneš, former Yugoslavia. Gold with niello decoration, L. 10.4 cm. Location unknown (drawing: M. Ivanovski, “The Grave of a Warrior from the Period of Licinius I Found at Taraneš,” *Archaeologia Jugoslavica* 24 [1987], p. 85, fig. 1)

Constantine had assumed that title. The relation between Constantine and Licinius was tense from the beginning. In 314, it culminated in a civil war. Constantine’s victory terminated the brief encounter and led to the reconciliation of the two augusti. Precisely these circumstances are reflected by the inscriptions on the fibula from Niederremmel. Constantine celebrated the tenth year of his reign on July 25, 315, and Licinius on November 11, 317. Either the fibula was made on the occasion of Constantine’s decennalia in 315 and—as a goodwill gesture—it announces the decennalia of Licinius, or, alternatively, it was made on the occasion of Licinius’s decennalia in 317, commemorating those of Constantine. The second date seems to be more likely, as it is the year in which the two eldest sons of Constantine and the son of Licinius were appointed consuls, like the inscription on the fibula an expression of the friendly terms between the reconciled emperors.

In shape and decoration close to the fragment from Niederremmel, our last example (no. 8; Figure 12) is the largest and heaviest of the gold fibulae; it bears an imperial inscription and was found in 1984 in a rich grave in Taraneš, a small hamlet on the Macedonian-Albanian frontier, in the region of Debar, near the river Drin. The main difference between these two is that on the Taraneš fibula two pairs of C-volutes edge the foot, while the piece from Niederremmel still features the conventional geometric design.

Nothing is known about the person buried in the solitary grave in Taraneš except what we can learn from the grave goods. The impressive weight of his fibula (160.8 g) equals a Roman half-pound. Displayed on both sides of the bow are the inscriptions IOVI AUG VINCAS (Jovius augustus you shall win) and IOVI CAES VIVAS (Jovius caesar you shall live). On both sides an ivy leaf is

set before the first letter. A dedication to the Jovii can only refer to an eastern augustus and to his caesar. Possible candidates are Diocletian and Galerius, which would suggest a date between 293 and 305; Galerius and his nephew Gaius Galerius Valerius Maximinus (originally Daia), between 305 and 308; and Licinius and his infant son and caesar, between 317 and 324. The similarity to the Niederremmel fragment, the elongated shape, and the volute decoration favor the last possibility.³⁵

THE OWNERS OF CROSSBOW FIBULAE WITH IMPERIAL INSCRIPTIONS

Two questions arise in connection with the gold fibulae bearing imperial inscriptions. Who was entitled to wear them, and where were they made? Written sources show that already in the second half of the third century, gold or silver fibulae were among the gifts army officers received as part of imperial donatives. And archaeological finds and pictorial representations confirm that at this time fibulae were worn by military officers.³⁶ Reliefs, wall paintings, and mosaics of the later third and the early fourth centuries show that the characteristic outfit of Roman officers throughout this period was the *pilleus Pannonicus*, a fur cap that had originated in the Danube area, and a cloak held at the right shoulder by a slender, medium-sized crossbow fibula, with the folds of the garment gathered underneath the bow, the crossbar resting on the shoulder, and the catch pointing upward. In shape and size these pieces resemble those from the Petrijanec and the Dyarchy hoards as well as those with imperial inscriptions. The “Great Hunt” mosaic in the corridor of the villa at Piazza Armerina, Sicily, which

dates to the second and third decades of the fourth century, confirms that officers, and only officers, wore cloaks secured with gold crossbow fibulae.³⁷

As for the fibulae with imperial inscriptions, it is reasonable to assume that they were given to high-ranking officers by the *augusti* or *caesars* mentioned on them. In fact, the similarity in shape and decoration of the fibulae in Paris and Turin (nos. 4 and 6, in the list above), as well as the example from Niederemmel (no. 7, above), betrays a certain standardization, and this in turn suggests that larger numbers of such fibulae were officially commissioned by the emperors and that they were part of the regular donatives characteristic for this period. Constantine's path to supremacy is said to have left "a glittering trail of gold," and some of this gold might have been in the shape of elegant crossbow fibulae with guilloche borders and inscriptions referring to the donor. In the east, Licinius obviously followed suit, but once the struggle for power between the two emperors had been decided in Constantine's favor and he had become the sole ruler of the Roman empire, public professions of loyalty were no longer necessary. No fibula with an imperial inscription dates to this period.

The other possibility regarding the origin of these fibulae is that those with imperial inscriptions were commissioned by loyal supporters of the rulers whose names they bear, and that the inscriptions served as public statements of their loyalty. The official nature of gold crossbow fibulae does not preclude this. If the right to wear such a piece had been granted, still, it might not always have been accompanied by the actual fibula but, rather, by the amount of gold necessary for having it made. The fibulae from Bargone and from "Caput Adriae," with their individual decoration, seem to belong to this category.

With the grave from Taraneš, we have our first indication that, from now on, gold crossbow fibulae can no longer be automatically associated with military officers. In addition to the largest and heaviest gold fibula with an imperial inscription, this grave contained a silver ewer, a niello-decorated silver plate, a silver spoon, precious glass vessels, a silver ring, a silver belt buckle and silver spur, an iron axe (most likely an *insignum* of the occupant's position), a large cylindrical tube in bronze of a type that was used for the storage of a stylus and parchment, an inkwell in bronze, a bronze *stilus*, and a silver eraser. These objects are characteristically those of a civil officer of some standing, not of a member of the army.³⁸ The portrait medallion from the base of a gold-glass vessel in the British Museum allows us, perhaps, to visualize the officer buried at Taraneš.³⁹ It shows a beardless, short-haired

man wearing a tunic embroidered with crosshatched patterns and a cloak fastened by a crossbow fibula. He is flanked by objects indicating his professional status, a *rotulus* and a case containing three styli, exactly the writing equipment found in the grave in Taraneš.

After Diocletian's reorganization of the Roman administration, the nomenclature and emoluments of the imperial service paralleled those of the army. Officeholders held titles of military equivalence and received military stipends. Literary sources do not say if this meant that the military uniform was adapted immediately, as the official attire of civil servants, but it seems likely, and the grave finds from Taraneš confirm that already before the exclusive rule of Constantine the Great there was no longer a difference between the garments of the *militia*, that is the administration, and of the *militia armata*, the army.

CONSTANTINIAN GOLD FIBULAE, CA. A.D. 313–50

Only a very few gold fibulae may be reliably dated to the period of Constantine the Great and his sons and successors. The few pieces extant confirm that the changes in shape and style, first noticed on the tetrarchic fibulae, had immediately established themselves as the norms in the decorative repertory of fibula makers. Two pieces found in a wooden coffin in Hirsova (Figure 13), or ancient Carsium, Romania, and reliably dated to about 318–20,⁴⁰ show that the elegant C-volutes on the sloping edges of the elongated foot have replaced the geometric ornaments characteristic of third-century crossbow fibulae. Elaborate appliqués diminishing in size from the center toward the terminals completely cover the crossbar. The bow is slender, with a flat crest set in a near right angle against the sides.

The standardization is obvious; more difficult to explain, however, are the differences in size and weight. These two pieces are 8 and 12 centimeters long and weigh 50.2 and 120.88 grams. If the right to wear the *chlamys* was granted officially, it may be that the fibulae were also presented, as medals and decorations are awarded now, and thus these differences might reflect different ranks and honors. However, it is also possible that it was a personal decision by a *chlamydatus*, as one who wore the *chlamys* was called, on how much to spend on this ornament and what it should look like. This assumption is supported by a gold fibula that was part of the treasure from Starcova, Serbia.⁴¹ The length is 8.8 centimeters, the weight 93 grams. The foot features the C-volutes arranged in pairs.

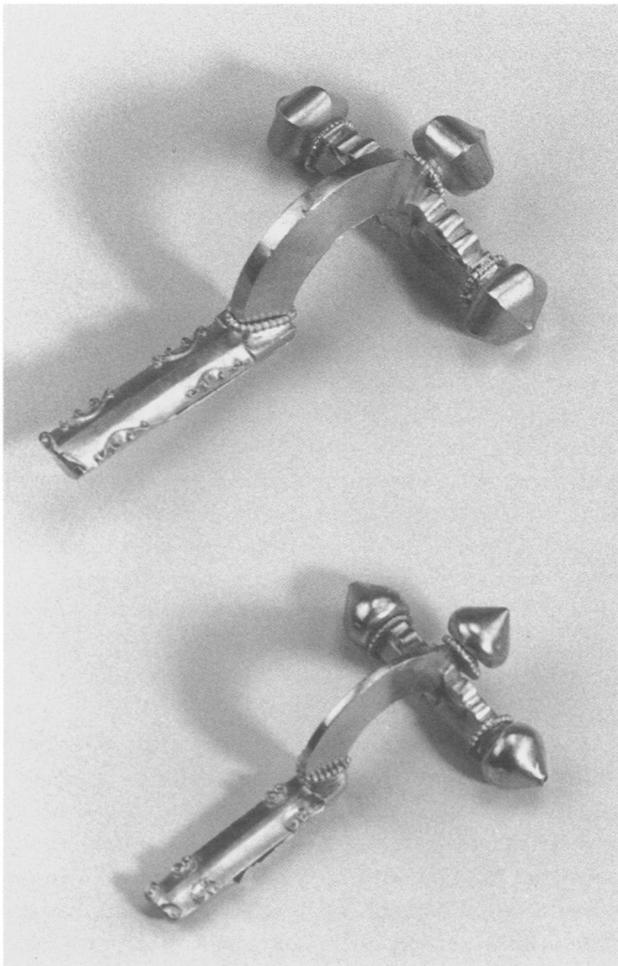


Figure 13. Two fibulae, ca. A.D. 318–20, from a grave in Hirsova, Romania. Gold, L. 12 and 8 cm. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, Bucharest (photo: Muzeul Național de Istorie a României)

Unusual are the small gold globules attached to both sides of the bow, either as an expression of the personal taste of the owner or as an artistic experiment on the part of the goldsmith to whom we owe this piece. Numismatic evidence suggests a date for the hoard of before 337.

An emergent stylistic change in the fibula's evolution becomes apparent in a gold example found in Lengerich, Lower Saxony, Germany, an area far beyond the borders of the Roman empire. Except for the fibula (Figure 14) and a number of Constantinian gold coins, which date the find to about 350, the context is purely Germanic.⁴² No doubt, this small treasure once belonged to a Germanic warrior who had served as an officer in the Roman army. With a length of 7.5 centimeters and a weight of 53.13 grams (one-sixth of a Roman pound), the fibula certainly belongs to the class of medium-size gold crossbow fibulae. At a first glance, it follows the conventional pattern, with the

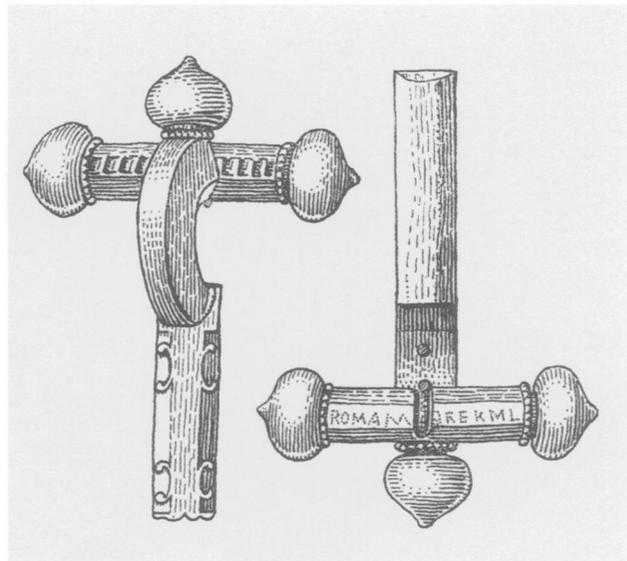


Figure 14. Crossbow fibula, ca. A.D. 350, found in Lengerich, Germany. Gold, L. 7.5 cm. Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover (drawing: from G. Behrens, "Römische Fibeln mit Inschrift," in *Reinecke Festschrift zum 75. Geburtstag von Paul Reinecke am 25. September 1947* [Mainz, 1950], p. 11, fig. 14.3)

now-established C-volutes arranged in pairs on the foot. But the knobs are larger than before, heavy appliqués are attached to the top of the crossbar, and the flattened ridge along the crest of the bow as well as the foot are slightly broader. In contrast to the slender tetrarchic or earlier Constantinian pieces, the fibula from Lengerich looks sturdy and heavy. Heaviness and a certain angularity become even more prominent in a group of extraordinary gilt-bronze fibulae with silver and niello inlays dating to approximately the same period.

GILT FIBULAE WITH SILVER AND NIELLO INLAYS, CA. A.D. 350–90

Not one gold fibula reliably dated to the third and early fourth quarter of the fourth century is known. It is difficult to decide whether this is due to the lack of archaeological evidence or whether there are other reasons. It looks as if, during this period, the majority of those who were entitled to wear a gold fibula either did not have the means or were not willing to expend the necessary amount of gold for this purpose. In shape, there is no difference between bronze and gold, and a gilt-bronze fibula was as impressive as one entirely in gold.

Among the vast body of gilt-bronze fibulae dating to the mid-fourth century, the superior quality of one small group of pieces attracts particular attention. Unlike the ordinary bronze crossbow fibulae, which

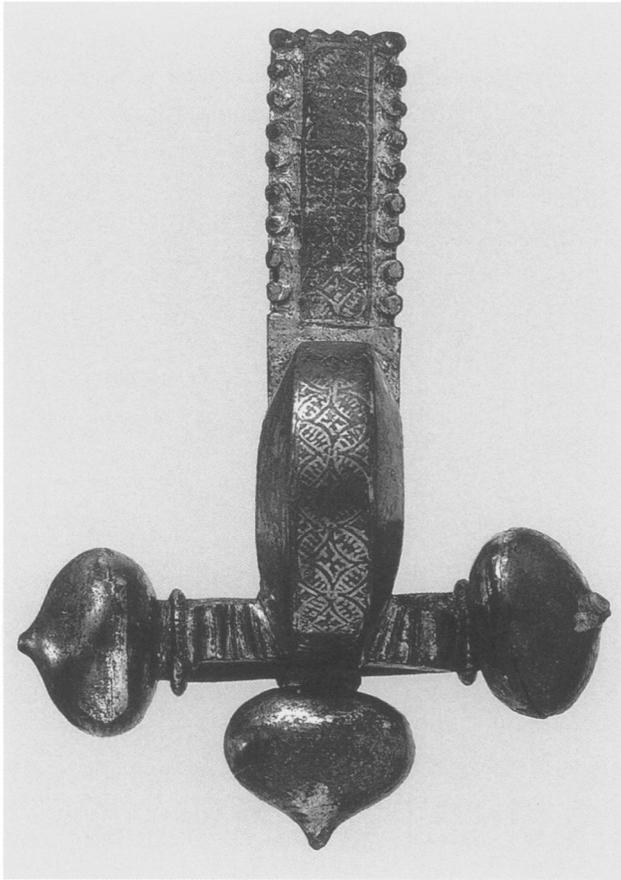


Figure 15. Crossbow fibula, mid-4th century A.D. Gilt bronze with niello inlay, L. 8.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1999 (1999.42)

are made from cast elements, these are manufactured exactly as gold fibulae are, and although none of the prototypes has survived, we can assume that gold fibulae provided the models.

The single elements are fabricated from sheet metal, and since hammered bronze sheet is much more easily corroded than cast bronze, in most cases the bronze fibulae made according to this technique are today in a rather poor state of preservation. Only a few pieces, such as an unusually well preserved fibula in the Metropolitan Museum, allow us to imagine the original beauty and splendor of these works (Figure 15, and Dandridge, Figure 15).⁴³

These fibulae are not very large. The average length is only seven to eight centimeters, but a certain angularity to the single forms and their overall sculptural quality are very impressive. The most important innovation is that the crest of the bow as well as the catch are now much broader than before.

The broad, flat crest is set almost at a right angle to the sidewalls of the bow, which makes it quite volumi-

nous. The catch is either semicircular or triangular in cross section, its broad, flat top plate edged by sturdy C-volutes. Large appliqué on the transverse bar and voluminous bulbous knobs add up to a rather heavy appearance. From the very beginning, Roman fibula makers endeavored to embellish crossbow fibulae with additional decoration. The crest of the bow, narrow as it was, offered space for ornamental bands, the sidewalls for inscriptions. By enlarging the crest of the bow and the catch top plate, the artists created additional flat surfaces, and they certainly knew how to exploit the decorative potential. A dense, carpetlike pattern of squares, octagons, rhomboids, or rosettes, formed by white, silver, and black niello inlays, has replaced the earlier bands. In most cases, the decoration is strictly ornamental, but occasionally small roundels with the engraved portrait busts or heads of male youths in three-quarter view are integrated into the geometric design.⁴⁴ Sometimes even a Christogram—the Greek initials of the name of Jesus Christ—appears on such fibulae, one of the first public statements of Christian convictions on a personal ornament.⁴⁵

Coin-dated finds suggest that the type was popular in the middle to the third quarter of the fourth century,⁴⁶ and in fact, the decoration does reflect the aesthetic ideas and concepts of this period. Similar ornamental patterns occur on mosaics and silver plate of the Constantinian period. Various finds and pictorial representations show that the same social groups as before were still entitled to wear such fibulae, namely, the elite soldiery and officeholders, and no doubt there were proud Christians among them. Due to a change in funeral customs—the dead are no longer buried with their personal belongings—fibulae essentially cease to be found within the empire. Along the frontiers, many military officers (an estimated 80 percent of them of barbarian origin) continued to be buried with their military fittings in accordance with Germanic traditions. One of the finest fibulae of this type, similar in shape and decoration to the piece in the Metropolitan, was found among the grave goods in the sarcophagus of a Roman officer, most likely of Germanic origin, in Bonn, Germany.⁴⁷ Less elaborate versions occur in military cemeteries⁴⁸ and in the graves of civil officers along the frontiers of the Roman empire.⁴⁹ Pictorial representations attest to the popularity that fibulae of this type seem to have enjoyed for a short period. For instance, on a gold-glass medallion from Strbinici, in the former Yugoslavia,⁵⁰ the fibula holding the chlamys of an elegant young official is not only the point of focus of the whole representation but it also shows, in considerable detail, the extremely large knobs, the steep short bow, and the broad foot.

THE LATE FOURTH AND FIRST HALF OF THE FIFTH CENTURY A.D.

Over the course of the last decades of the fourth century, the fibula with angular bow and broad foot went out of fashion. The heavy, angular shape was replaced by a slender, elongated type with filigree-like C-volutes along the edges of the catch top plate (Figure 16). The length of this new variety averages between 7.5 and 10.5 centimeters, and the steep bow is arched like a horseshoe. The sidewalls are elegantly curved, and there is a very narrow ridge along the crest, inlaid once again with a small ornamental niello band. The appliqués on the crossbar are rather discreet, and the elegantly shaped knobs, neither too big nor too small, are now regularly faceted. The catch is reduced to an angular tube, just wide enough to hold the pin; freestanding C-volutes with disk-shaped terminals are aligned along the sloping sides of this tube. A small rectangular extension at one end of the tube allows the bow to rest on it.

Stylistically, the change in concept is most remarkable. The C-volutes are no longer integrated parts but dominate both the catch, which is reduced to a small tube, and the fibula itself. This design was possible only because of a fascinating technical innovation—the use of a screw mechanism to hold the pin of the fibula in place.⁵¹ Since the early third century, the pin had been permanently attached to a rivet inside the crossbar; the rivet served as a pivot for the pin. At some point, in the late fourth century, the rivet was replaced by a removable screw, with a spindle slightly longer than half the length of the crossbar. One of the side knobs was used as a decorative screw head. Inside the crossbar, a threaded nut corresponds to the threading on the spindle. Once the pointed end of the pin is inserted into a channel in the center of the tubular catch and the eyelet placed into an opening in the crossbar, underneath its join with the bow, the tapered end of the screw can be pushed through the eyelet and rotated, thus holding the pin firmly in place (see Dandridge, Figures 3, 8).

The system is simple and safer than the original slot system used since the introduction of the crossbow fibula; still, the everyday use of the screw seems to have been considered a nuisance. The representation of a servant carrying his master's chlamys with the fibula already attached to it (on a wall painting in the tomb of a Roman official in the Balkans) suggests that it was considered easier to pull the cloak over one's head with the fibula already in place than it was to repeatedly go through the procedure of opening and closing the catch mechanism.⁵²

Apparently, it was the introduction of the screw mechanism, allowing designers to minimize the width



Figure 16. Crossbow fibula with freestanding C-volutes, late 4th–first half of 5th century A.D. Gold, L. 6.07 cm. Burton Y. Berry Collection, Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington, IUAM 76.75.23 (photo: Michael Cavanagh and Kevin Montague)

of the catch, that led to the rather abrupt end of the angular type. This technical innovation permitted a sensationally light and elegant reinterpretation of the basic shape.

Well-dated examples in gold, as well as in gilt bronze, are rare.⁵³ In 1866, the catch of just such a gold fibula was found, together with twenty-eight gold coins and two medallions, in the Poitou region of France.⁵⁴ The most recent coin, a solidus issued not later than 398,⁵⁵ suggests that the small hoard was buried around the turn of the century. A similar, or slightly later date, can be assumed for a gold fibula, 10.5 centimeters long and with a weight of 81.5 grams, in the Ténès treasure, a jewelry group⁵⁶ that was most likely hidden in 429 when the Vandals, under their king Geiseric, invaded northern Africa. Two gilt-bronze fibulae, with freestanding C-volutes, found in the Late Roman *castellum* Sucidava in Romania (destroyed in the course of Hunnish invasions either in 442 or at the latest in 447), seem to be the latest examples.⁵⁷

Pictorial representations suggest a wider chronological spread. Images of fibulae with clearly defined C-volutes occur on the obelisk base of the Hippodrome in Constantinople, finished before 392;⁵⁸ on the Stilicho diptych in the cathedral treasury from Monza, Italy, dated to 395;⁵⁹ and on a late-fourth- or early-fifth-century wall painting in the hypogeum of Santa Maria in Stelle, Verona.⁶⁰ The latest evidence is a wall painting in the catacombs of San Gennaro in Naples, for which an early-sixth-century



Figure 17. Wall painting in the catacombs of San Gennaro, Naples, ca. A.D. 500 (photo: Museum Würth and Archäologisches Landesmuseum Baden-Württemberg)

date is generally assumed (Figure 17).⁶¹ The deceased, identified by an inscription as an otherwise unknown Theotecnus, hardly a military man but a high-ranking and obviously wealthy officeholder, is depicted in an embroidered chlamys held by a gold fibula with C-volutes.

The social background of the gold crossbow fibula and its use has not changed, but never before was the wide range of those who were entitled to wear the chlamys better illustrated than by the diptych from Monza, referred to above. Represented are a military officer, with sword and shield, in a belted tunic and a richly embroidered ankle-length chlamys, and a young boy, dressed in the same way but without arms. In both cases the chlamys is held by a crossbow fibula with freestanding C-volutes, which the artist considered necessary to indicate in detail. Most likely these are the images of the “magister utriusque militiae,” Stilicho, and his son Eucherius, great-nephew of the emperor Theodosius, who was appointed tribunos and notarius in 395, an occasion which would have justified such a diptych.

Even more interesting than the haughtiness of these two *chlamydatis* is the fact that the highest-ranking and most powerful man of the Roman empire, the head of the army as well as of the administration, wears exactly the same fibula as the holder of a comparatively low administrative position. At this period the cloak and the chlamys signaled not rank but government employment.

THE FINAL STAGE, CA. A.D. 450–CA. 558

Eight gold fibulae, one of them the piece in the Metropolitan Museum described at the beginning of this paper, illustrate the final stage of the crossbow fibula’s development.⁶² The transverse bar and bow of these pieces are very much like those of the fibulae with freestanding C-volutes, with which they also share the screw mechanism. The crossbar is slightly shorter than before, and the knobs are faceted. The hollow bow, shaped like a horseshoe, has gently curved sidewalls that expand from a narrow ridge and are flattened toward the underside. The catch has undergone a major change. Delicate construction, with a C-volute edging, has been replaced by a more solid construction that is triangular or semi-circular in cross section and has a rectangular top plate firmly encased in a molded frame. With one exception—a small fibula of unknown provenance in Stockholm (no. 1 in the list below)—the top plate always features pierced decoration. On the following list, this is the first piece cited, since it represents the basic shape. The next three fibulae, which have dated contexts, are presented in chronological order. For the fifth piece, the find spot is known and a likely date can be assumed. The last three pieces, among them the gold fibula in the Metropolitan, are presented in a tentative chronological order.

1. Unknown date and provenance. Gold, L. 4.9 cm, 14 g. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. Unpublished (Figure 18).
2. Ca. 454–ca. 473, Apahida, Romania. Gold, L. 11.5 cm, 54.29 g. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, Bucharest (Figures 19a, b).⁶³
3. Ca. 464–before 482, Tournai, Belgium (17th-century copy).⁶⁴ Gold, L. 6.2 cm, ca. 28 g. Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck (Figure 20).
4. Before ca. 476/77 or 493, Reggio Emilia, Italy. Gold, L. 8 cm, 31.87 g. Museo Chierici di Paletnologia, Reggio Emilia (Figure 21).⁶⁵
5. Ca. 410–ca. 472, Palatine Hill, Rome. Gold, L. 7.6 cm, 32 g. Museo dell’Alto Medioevo, Rome (Figure 22).⁶⁶
6. Unknown date, Asia Minor. Gold, L. 6.1 cm, 9.33 g. Burton Y. Berry Collection, Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington (Figure 23).⁶⁷
7. Unknown date and provenance. Gold, L. 11.9 cm, 78.4 g. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1995 (1995-97) (Figures 1, 2).
8. Unknown date and provenance. Gold, L. 6.62 cm, 20 g. Musée du Louvre, Paris (Figure 24).⁶⁸

The Apahida Fibula

The Germanic chieftain who was buried with his gold fibula (no. 2; Figures 19a, b) in a wooden coffin, near the small village of Apahida in Transylvania, Romania, did not leave a particularly large mark on history. Historical sources do not mention him, and nothing is known about him apart from what we learn from the possessions that accompanied him in death. His name, inscribed on one of the finger rings found in the grave, was Omharus.⁶⁹ He was a Christian and had received precious gifts from the administration in Constantinople in the form of silver and glass vessels and gold jewelry. The exact nature of his connection with the Roman empire is not known, but the fact that he owned a gold crossbow fibula leaves no doubt that he had held some Roman rank and title.

The history of Transylvania in the fifth century is not very well documented. Until 454 the region was under the control of the Huns, and when they were defeated by a Germanic coalition, the Gothic tribes, the Gepidae and the Ostrogoths, took over.⁷⁰ In 473 the majority of the Goths left for Italy. For a short while, between 454 and 473, the Apahida region must have been the seat of powerful Germanic chieftains, either Ostrogoths or Gepidae, and Omharus must have been one of them.

With a length of 11.5 centimeters and a weight of 54.29 grams (two Roman ounces), the Apahida fibula is a splendid gold object, more than twice the size of the fibula in Stockholm and nearly four times its weight. But the basic shape and main decorative motif, a Latin cross, are the same. In both cases, an elegantly shaped bow is combined with a triangular catch, and on both pieces the rectangular top panel is set in a beveled frame. On the fibula in Stockholm a plain cross, cut out from gold sheet, is set on an equally plain background, also made from gold sheet; on the Apahida fibula, the cross is part of an open-work design. It is reserved as a silhouette in a lattice-work formed by two elaborate meanders and a guilloche border.

By splaying the ends of the arms of the cross as they extend into the outer border and by ignoring the fine line that separates the outer border from the inner field, the artist has achieved the illusion of three layers of decoration. Thus, the fine guilloche border represents the basic layer supporting the larger meanders on which the silhouette of the cross seems to be imposed. A comparison with the meander bands in the mosaic decoration of the mausoleum of the empress Galla Placidia in Ravenna, built during the second quarter of the fifth century, allows us to understand the

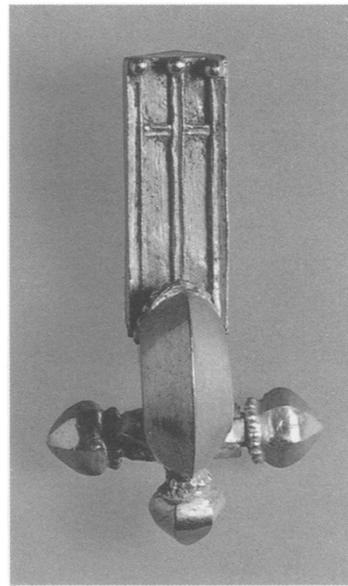


Figure 18. Crossbow fibula, ca. A.D. 450–ca. 558. Gold, L. 4.9 cm. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm (photo: Medelhavsmuseet)

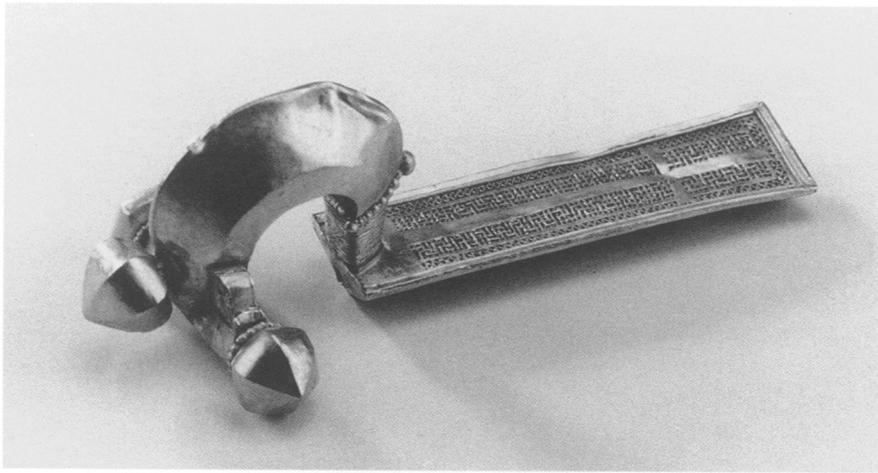
particular form of the meander on the Apahida fibula.⁷¹ In effect, the artist tried to depict a three-dimensional ornament in a two-dimensional medium.

Like those of the gold fibula in the Metropolitan, the two back panels of the Apahida fibula's catch are decorated with pierced decoration. In both cases, this is remarkable, as the back of the catch was hardly visible when the fibula was worn. Each panel of the Apahida fibula features a vivid acanthus scroll, which, if seen in connection with the Latin cross on the front panel, might also have a symbolic meaning as a tree of life.

The Fibula from Tournai and the Fibula in the Burton Y. Berry Collection

The Frankish king Childeric was buried in 482 in Tournai, Belgium, in full regalia according to pagan Germanic traditions (accompanied even by the bodies of several horses) and with the insignia of a Roman official, a purple chlamys, a gold crossbow fibula, garnet-inlaid jewelry originating in a Roman workshop, and about one pound of gold in the shape of Roman coins in his purse. He wore a gold finger ring with his portrait and engraved in Latin with his name and title: *CHILDERICUS REX*. He was a Germanic king as well as an ally of the Roman empire. Most likely he held the position of a protector of the Roman province *Belgica Secunda*.⁷²

King Childeric's fibula is small and modest (no. 3; Figure 20). The length is 6.2 centimeters, the weight, which can only be guessed at since the original no longer exists, might be 28 grams, about a Roman ounce. The shape varies slightly from that of other



Figures 1ga, b. Crossbow fibula found in Apahida, Transylvania, Romania, 3rd quarter of 5th century A.D. Gold, L. 11.5 cm. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, Bucharest (photo: Muzeul Național de Istorie a României)



crossbow fibulae of this period. The catch is not triangular but semicircular in cross section, and it is completely covered by an allover design—a diamond pattern executed in openwork. It is a monotonous ornamental figure that betrays little imagination, used only to give texture to the otherwise plain surfaces of secondary elements. The straps of a diadem,⁷³ the hoop of a bracelet,⁷⁴ and the underside of the catch of the gold crossbow fibula from Asia Minor in the Burton Y. Berry Collection (no. 6; Figure 23) all feature the same ornamentation.

In size and shape, the fibula in the Burton Y. Berry Collection represents the closest parallel to the Childeric fibula, although the workmanship and the artistic quality of the Berry piece are much better. It is 6.1 centimeters long and weighs 9.33 grams. A carefully organized pierced decoration, with a guilloche band as an outer border and a Latin cross with heart-shaped ornaments in the center embellish, the rectangular top panel of the catch. The bottom, semicircular in cross section like the Childeric fibula, repeats the guil-

loche border, which now frames an allover pattern of rhomboids like the one on the Childeric fibula.

The king must have worn his gold-embroidered purple chlamys and gold crossbow fibula with pride. Otherwise, he would hardly have been buried wearing the fibula. Obviously he was not aware of the mediocrity of his piece, suggesting that there were not many people in his part of the world entitled to such insignia.

The Fibula from Reggio Emilia

The Gothic treasure of Roman and Germanic jewelry and gold coins hidden in Reggio Emilia, northern Italy, either after 476/77 or soon after 493 at the latest,⁷⁵ gives us a glimpse into the situation in Italy immediately after the fall of the western part of the Roman empire. On September 4, 476, the last western emperor, who bore the significant name Romulus Augustulus, abdicated, and the Germanic *magister militum* Odoacer took over the administration of Italy. He made no claim to sovereignty. All he asked from the emperor in

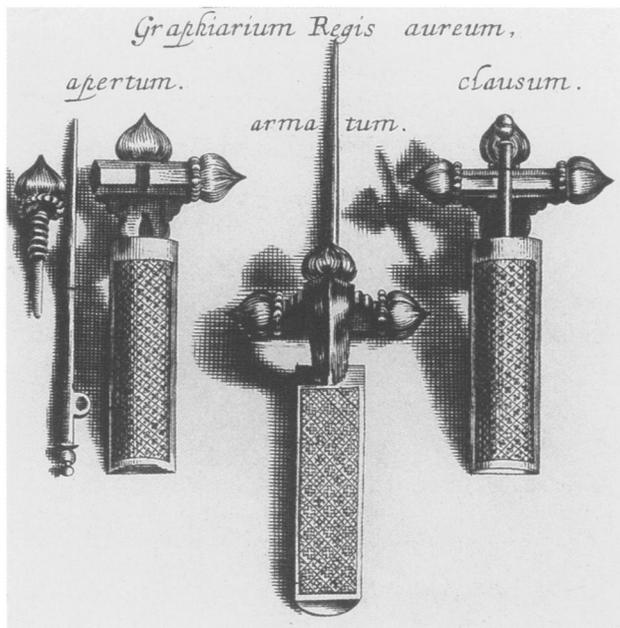


Figure 20. The Childeric fibula, ca. A.D. 464–before 482, found in Tournai, Belgium. Gold, L. 6.2 cm. 17th-century copy, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck (drawing: from J. J. Chiflet, *Anastasi Childerici I* [Antwerp, 1655], p. 182)

Constantinople was the rank of patrician; as such, he was entitled to wear the chlamys and fibula, a right he already enjoyed, of course, as a *magister militum*.

About ten years later, in 488, the Ostrogothic king Theodoric, known to posterity as the Great, led his people into Italy with the concurrence of the Byzantine government and with the intention of overthrowing Odoacer and establishing his own kingdom; it took him five years to achieve that goal. On March 15, 493, at a banquet in the palace of Ravenna, King Theodoric, also a Roman patrician and *magister militum*, killed Odoacer in person with a single stroke of his sword. Our sources do not tell us if, on this occasion, the two patricians and *magistres militum* of the Roman empire wore gold crossbow fibulae, but it is possible.

These events are the historical background for the treasure from Reggio Emilia. This locality, situated on the Via Aurelia halfway between Ravenna (the seat, successively, of the western imperial court and of the Germanic kings of Italy) and Pavia, might well have been the refuge for a wealthy Germanic family. It was here, in 490, that Odoacer had besieged Theodoric. In addition to the fibula and fifty-five gold coins, the hoard, carefully hidden in a Late Roman building, consisted of a pair of Germanic fibulae of a type exclusively worn by women; a set of the finest Late Roman jewelry; and two silver vessels. The Germanic man's name Etila and the female name Stafara are inscribed on a gold wedding

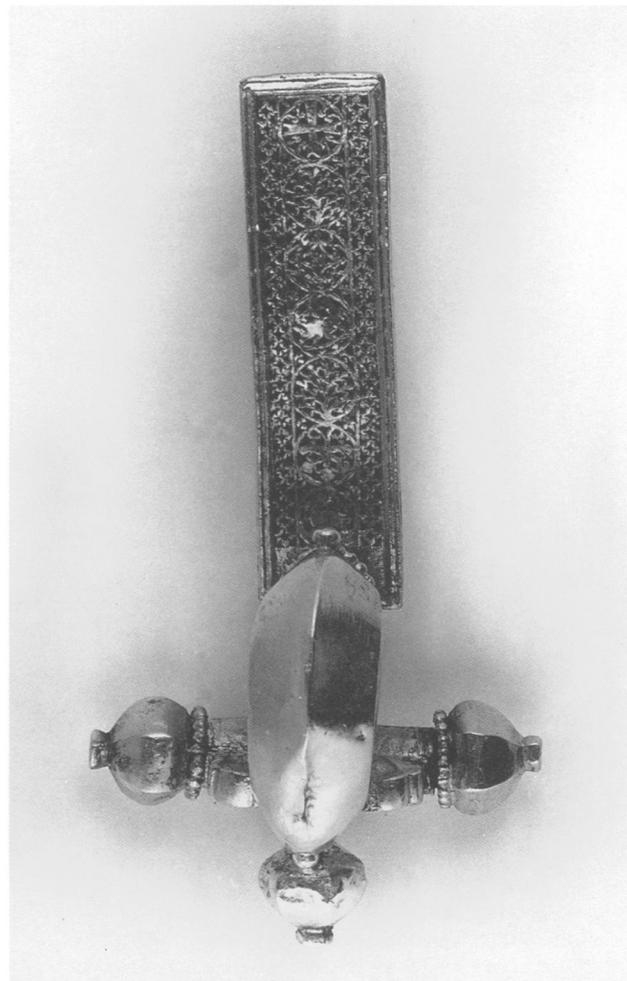


Figure 21. Crossbow fibula, before ca. A.D. 476/77 or 493, found in Reggio Emilia, Italy. Gold, L. 8 cm. Museo Chierici di Paletnologia, Reggio Emilia (photo: Museo Chierici di Paletnologia)

ring. We can well imagine the original owners of the treasure: a Romanized officer of Germanic origin who—most likely in the course of a successful military career—had received Roman rank, entitling him to wear a crossbow fibula, and his wife, who continued to wear a Germanic costume and Roman jewelry, a cultural mix often encountered in this period.

With a length of 8 centimeters and a weight of 31.87 grams, the fibula from Reggio Emilia (no. 4; Figure 21) falls, in weight and size, between the Omharus and the Childeric fibulae. The two lower panels of the catch, which is triangular in cross section, are left undecorated; the top panel, set in a beveled frame, features a dense design rendered in *opus interrasile*. An outer border of tiny cross-shaped motifs, a common *opus interrasile* ornament since the third century,⁷⁶ frames the central area filled with seven contiguous roundels. Each of them encircles a figural motif. From the bow to the end of the catch, these are a dove, five differently

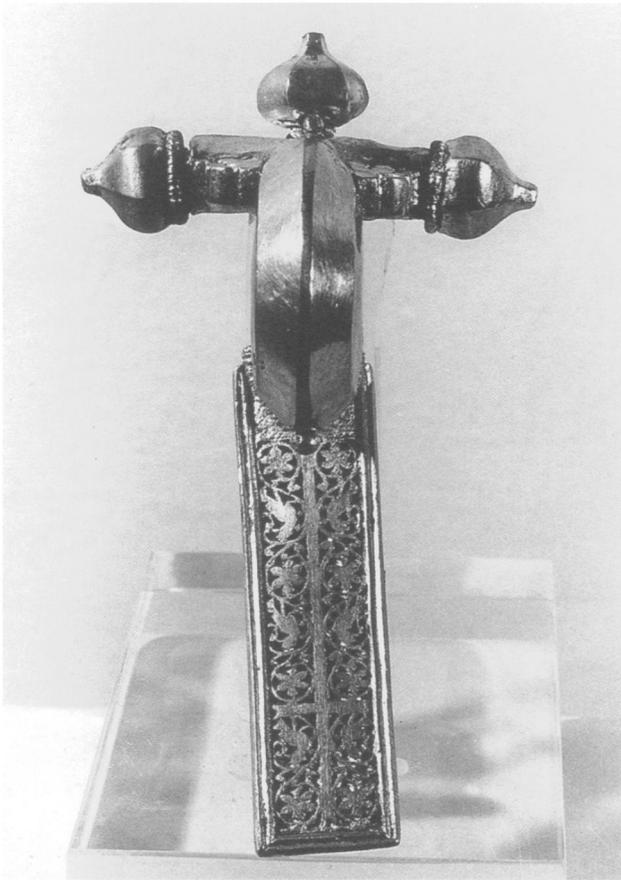


Figure 22. Crossbow fibula, ca. A.D. 410–ca. 472, from the Palatine Hill, Rome. Gold, L. 7.6 cm. Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome (photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica di Ostia, Museo dell'Alto Medioevo)

shaped leaves, and a Greek cross. When the fibula is worn and the foot points upward, the Greek cross is in the dominant position.

The Fibula from the Palatine Hill in Rome

In 1895 a gold crossbow fibula was discovered on the Palatine Hill (no. 5; Figure 22), a stray find brought to the surface by heavy rains. No other objects were found in the vicinity, and we will never know if the fibula had been deliberately hidden or if it had got lost. The sacking of Rome in 410 by the Goths, in 455 by the Vandals, and in 472 in the course of a civil war offer possible dates for hiding such an object. We know next to nothing of the original owner; whether, for example, he was of Roman or barbarian origin. The letters A and G (?), engraved underneath the central knob and at its join with the bow, might be an abbreviation of the name of the original owner.

The fibula from the Palatine Hill—7.6 centimeters long, with a weight of 32 grams—is one of the small-

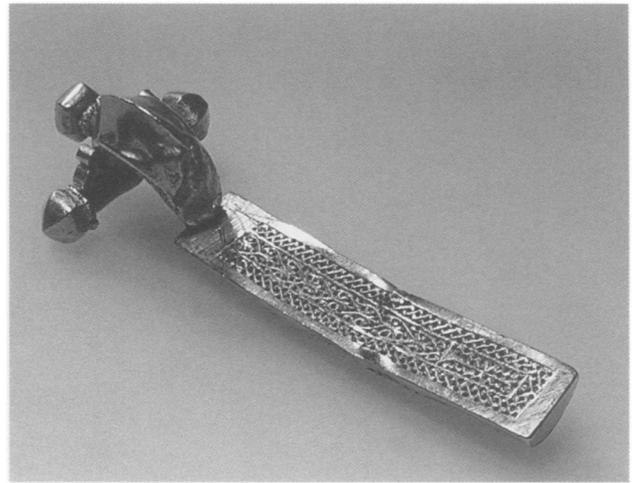


Figure 23. Crossbow fibula, unknown date, Asia Minor. Gold, L. 6.1 cm. Burton Y. Berry Collection, Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington, IUAM 76.75.27 (photo: Indiana University Art Museum)

er pieces. The shape is very reminiscent of both the Apahida fibula and the Metropolitan Museum's. Like those pieces, the foot is triangular, but only the top panel, set in a molded frame, is decorated in *opus interrasile*. A Latin cross determines the design. It is flanked by vine scrolls animated by antithetically arranged doves, which, their heads turned backward, are pecking at imaginary fruit. Visually and symbolically, the cross and the scrolls form a unit, like the stem and the branches of a tree. One pair of doves is even comfortably perched on the crossarms as if they were larger branches.

The Fibula in the Musée du Louvre

The fibula in the Louvre (no. 8; Figure 24) is one of the smaller pieces on our list (6.62 cm in length)—hardly longer than the Childeric fibula and about half the length of the fibula in the Metropolitan. Nothing is known of its provenance. The shape is very much like that of the other gold fibulae in this group, but the openwork decoration of the catch top plate differs fundamentally both in concept and in execution.

The design consists of nine horizontal registers, each one containing two antithetically arranged birds—more chicken than dove, although the latter was probably intended. From one register to the next, the birds are alternately facing and turned away from each other, an arrangement which creates a pleasant rhythm. The figures are reserved silhouettes with a few openings between them.

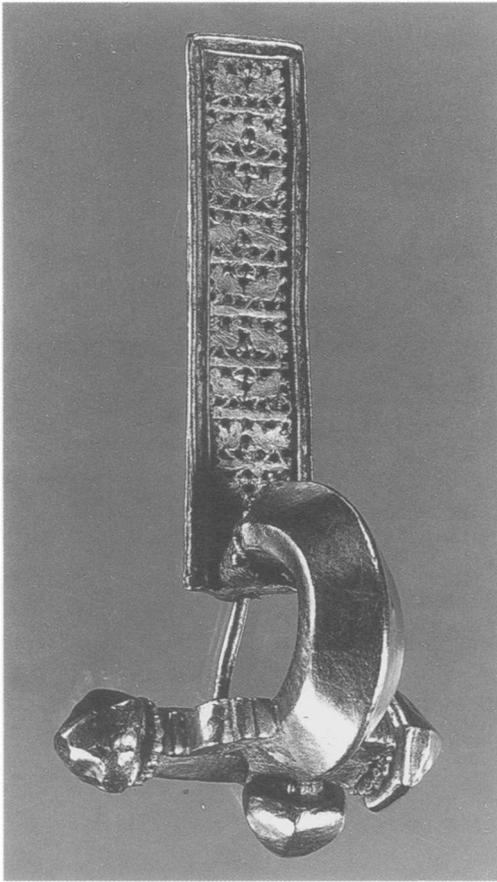


Figure 24. Crossbow fibula, ca. A.D. 450–ca. 558. Gold, L. 6.62 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris (photo: Louvre)

THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

One of the persons depicted on a missorium celebrating the decennalia of the emperor Theodosius in 388 is an official formally dressed in a *chlamys*.⁷⁷ The details of his fibula are so carefully indicated that the rectangular foot is clearly visible. Belonging to about this same period is an ivory diptych announcing the term of a certain Rufius Probianus as vicarius of the city of Rome.⁷⁸ It dates to about 400 and shows the vicarius, as well as two secretaries, all in the same outfit and with fibulae of the same shape (Figure 25). At this period, the *chlamys* is obviously still the official uniform of government employees, regardless of the person's actual position. This seems to have changed in the course of the fifth century.⁷⁹ According to archaeological and pictorial evidence, the *chlamys* and fibula apparently became the outward signs of honorary titles, such as *patricius* or *clarissimus*, meaning they were exclusively associated with the highest echelons of Roman society. This may be why there are no longer any bronze or gilt-bronze crossbow fibulae, and why



Figure 25. Detail of diptych of the Vicarius Rufius Probianus, ca. A.D. 400. Ivory, each leaf of diptych, 31.8 x 13 cm overall. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (photo: Staatsbibliothek)

the latest representations of *chlamydati* evoke imperial connections. The finest example is that of Saint Theodore on the apse mosaic of the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano in Rome, which dates to about 526–30 (Figure 26). His *chlamys* and fibula indicate his status as a Roman military officer who suffered martyrdom during the reign of the emperor Diocletian; at the same time, his posture and the elegance of his attire express the splendor and magnificence of a wealthy patrician and *spectabilis*, a member of the highest-ranking social class. In fact, the representation of Saint Theodore reflects a style and ambience similar to the slightly later mosaic panels of the emperor Justinian (Figure 27) and the empress Theodora accompanied by their closest entourage, in San Vitale in Ravenna.⁸⁰ On these mosaics, the courtiers feature *chlamydes* and large fibulae with rectangular catch top plates, while the clergy and the imperial guards wear their own characteristic outfits.

In sum, then, during the fifth and sixth centuries, the crossbow fibula was an *insignum* designed for Roman dignitaries, and if found in a Germanic context,



Figure 26. Detail of mosaic of Saint Theodore, A.D. 526–30. Santi Cosma e Damiano, Rome (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut)

it indicates that the original owner had held some Roman rank. Of the eight gold fibulae in this group, three are associated definitely with Germanic owners, two of them even having been found beyond the borders of the Roman empire. These pieces throw an interesting light on Late Roman policies dealing with barbarians as well as on barbarian attitudes toward Roman honors and privileges.

In late antiquity, there were several groups of barbarians entitled to privileges similar to those of officers of the Roman *militia* or *militia armata*. Romanized barbarians, in the service of the Roman empire, often held the highest office. Federate barbarian troops constituted a large element in Roman military organization, and their leaders, though not Roman citizens, enjoyed Roman honors and privileges. The owner of the Reggio Emilia treasure belonged to one of these two groups. Barbarians, whom the government tried to keep beyond the border of the empire or at least away from Constantinople, received huge sums of coined gold and precious gifts, as well as official ranks and titles.⁸¹ Apparently this was met with much approval by the recipients. In 396, for instance, a clause in the peace treaty with the Goths made sure that their king

Alaric, who at this time had already spread terror in the empire and who was about to besiege and sack Rome, was invested with the title of *magister militum per Illyricum*. About a hundred years later, in 508, after his victory over the Visigoths, the Frankish king Clovis, son of Childeric, was granted the title of a consul. According to Gregory of Tours, he donned, on the occasion of celebrating this honor, a purple tunic and a chlamys as well as a diadem, obviously unaware that this was not exactly adequate attire for that position.

The Frankish king Childeric and the chieftain buried in Apahida are representative of the group of Roman allies who were bribed with gold, gifts, ranks, and titles either to stay out of the empire or to help it against other enemies. It is tempting to assume that the differences in size, weight, and design of their fibulae reflect how important or dangerous the Roman administration took them to be. Obviously, each case was treated individually. Omharus, quite close to the borders of the eastern part of the empire and a possible threat to Constantinople, might have been an actual danger and thus had to be pacified with a larger fibula than the distant Frankish king Childeric on the periphery of the empire.

STYLE AND ICONOGRAPHY

Unlike many other times and periods, the fifth and six centuries lack a clear art-historical profile. Unable to follow a comprehensible evolution in matters of form and style, achieved gradually over the course of time, the modern eye is confronted, rather, with an irritating variety of diverse, even contrasting styles. The striking differences in the decoration of the gold crossbow fibula, dating to this period, reflect the general diversity apparent in the jewelry of these times. Scholars have explained this, understandably enough, by the multiplicity of different regional traditions. A short analysis of the geographic distribution of the fibulae with known provenance and of a few related objects suffices, however, to prove that geographic factors do not offer a satisfying explanation for the remarkable heterogeneity.

The Childeric fibula, for instance, was buried on the western periphery of the empire, while its closest parallel, the fibula acquired by Burton Y. Berry in Asia Minor, comes from quite the opposite region. The diamond pattern used for both pieces also occurs on a diadem found in Varna in Bulgaria.⁸² The Omharus fibula, buried in central Europe, relates to bracelets found in Egypt,⁸³ as well as—though vaguely—to the gold fibula from the Palatine Hill in Rome and, stylis-

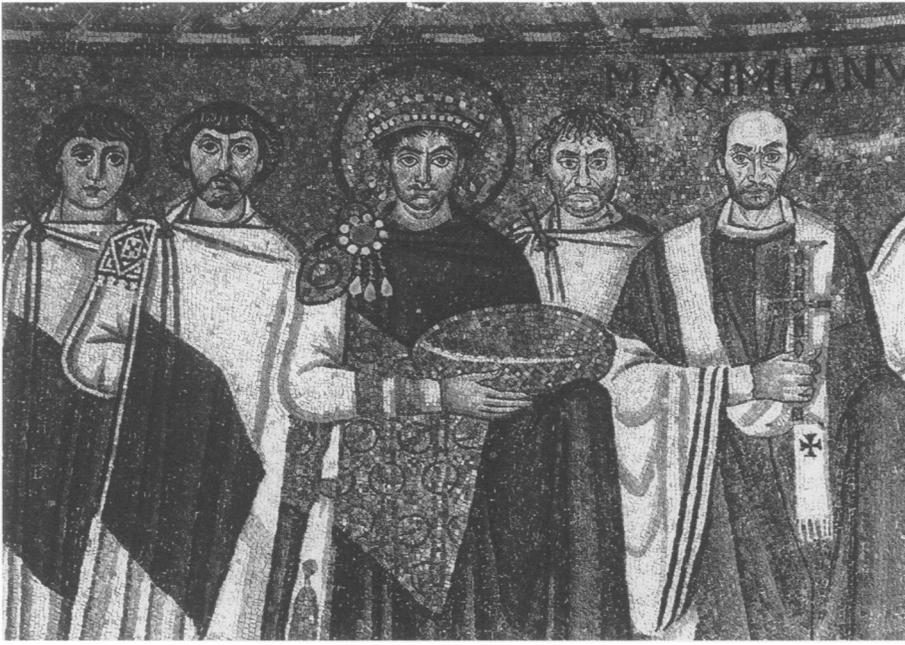


Figure 27. Detail of mosaic panel of Justinian and his retinue, mid-6th century A.D. San Vitale, Ravenna (photo: Hirmer Fotoarchiv)

tically, both to a rare and unusual meander border in the mosaic decoration of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna in northern Italy,⁸⁴ and to an architectural frieze in Qal'at Sim'an in Syria.⁸⁵ Moreover, the fibula from the Palatine Hill can be linked to a belt appliqué found in Ténès in northern Africa. In style and execution, a gold plaque from Asia Minor⁸⁶ parallels the gold fibula found in Reggio Emilia, northern Italy, and, to a certain degree, a bracelet from Ténès.⁸⁷

There is no hard information on where the eight gold fibulae were made. Even when the provenance is known, the location of the workshop from which a piece originated remains unknown. The owners of such fibulae were mobile and covered enormous distances, either privately, to visit their various estates in different parts of the empire—from Asia Minor to Spain or from the northern parts of France to Africa—or in an administrative or military capacity.⁸⁸ Moreover, the fibulae themselves had covered great distances before reaching future owners, like Childeric in Belgium or Omharus in Transylvania.

The centers of power, Constantinople and Ravenna with their imperial courts, are the likely candidates for workshops producing luxurious objects serving to express the official position and standing of those entitled to own them. But, with the exception of the Childeric fibula and possibly the fibula in Stockholm, all the other pieces are individually commissioned works. As long as we do not know if the right to wear such a fibula was always accompanied by the bestowal of an actual piece or if it was up to the appointee to

have a fibula made according to his own tastes and ideas, then they could have been made even in minor local centers.

The diversity of styles in the applied arts of the fifth and sixth centuries has other-than-geographic reasons. The complex historical and social transitions of this period, during which Roman society underwent profound alterations, necessarily affected both the state and the individual. Nevertheless, in matters of art at least, the classical traditions and a long-established repertory of motifs continued to live on, having an enormous effect even on minor arts. Types and shapes, designs and ornaments, artistic conventions and decorative techniques introduced in the first half of the third century, if not before, continued to enjoy an unbroken popularity. Artists were able to draw on traditional motifs and familiar images as long as these could be adapted to new, that is, Christian meanings. At the same time, changes in artistic concepts—sometimes hardly noticeable, sometimes boldly moving forward—announce the beginning of new aesthetic ideas and concepts. Innovations, even fundamental ones, do not come abruptly, and their development is hardly ever straightforward. All this explains the stylistic discrepancies in the design and execution of the eight gold fibulae. During the fifth century and into the sixth, different trends existed side by side; some of them followed conventional traditions, others announced future aesthetic principles. And often traditional and advanced ideas were combined in one and the same piece.

With the exception of the Childeric fibula, the

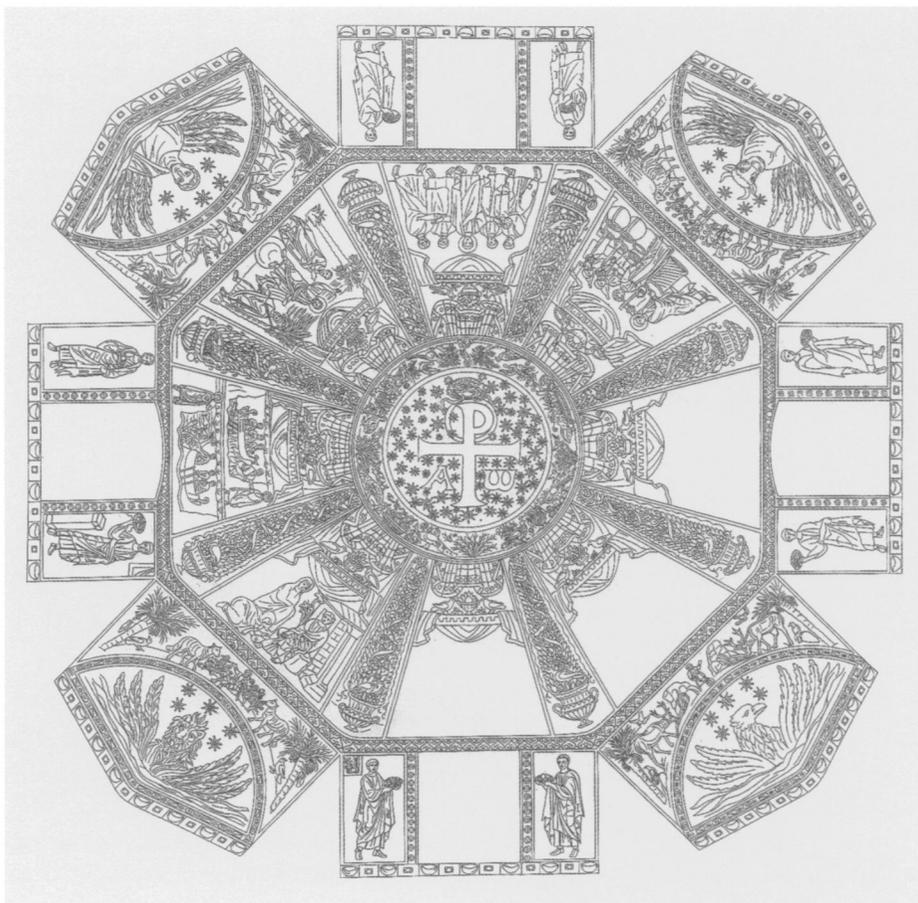


Figure 28. Mosaic ceiling, ca. A.D. 400. Baptistery, Santa Restituta, Naples (drawing: from J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malerien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert* [Freiburg im Breisgau, 1917], vol. 1, p. 216, fig. 68)

imagery of all the other pieces has one aspect in common. Christian symbolism dominates. In a basic form, Christian beliefs are expressed in the plain, Latin cross, with flaring arms, that adorns the fibulae in Stockholm and from Apahida; more complex ideas are presented on the fibulae from the Palatine, in the Metropolitan Museum, and on the fibula from Reggio Emilia.

The raised cross (i.e., erected on Golgotha) without any additional symbols is primarily a straightforward reference to Christ; in fact, that is only one aspect. The inscription on a gold pectoral cross found in a grave in Rome—*MORS INIMICE TIBI* (Death is the enemy for you) and *CRUX EST VITAM MIHI* (The cross is life for me)⁸⁹—illustrates that the cross also symbolizes the triumph of Christ over death, and thus, it is also a shorthand reference to the subject of resurrection. With this aspect in mind, the acanthus scrolls on the back of the Apahida fibula suddenly appear in a different light. Their function is no longer purely decorative. In connection with the cross, they can also symbolize paradise, not unlike the floral scrolls on the top plate of the catch of the fibula in the Metropolitan.

No other fibula has such a complex Christian content as this piece in the Metropolitan, with its skillfully

arranged composition of a monogrammatic cross, emerging from acanthus leaves; apocalyptic letters attached to the crossbar; a top encircled by a wreath; and flanking floral scrolls. The meaning of the monogrammatic cross is self-evident; it is the symbol of Christ. However, in combination with the large acanthus leaves it becomes synonymous with the tree of life or, to be more precise, the “tree,” or cross, on Golgotha: that is, the tree that brings everlasting life in contrast to the tree of the knowledge of good and evil in the Garden of Eden that brought mortality to mankind.⁹⁰ The apocalyptic letters attached to the crossarms symbolize Christ as “the beginning and the end,” according to the book of Revelation in which this is mentioned three times: “I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty” (1:8); “I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely” (21:6); and “I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last” (22:13). The wreath, which encircles the top, is the symbol of victory; in this context, of course, it is the victory of Christ, meaning the victory of life over

death—the resurrection. To this are added the flanking floral scrolls. They indicate that the cross is to be imagined as being in paradise.

Of the numerous examples of Christian symbols dating to this period, mention of just one will suffice to emphasize the enormous amount of Christian ideology embedded in the decoration of this fibula. What we see on this object, in an abbreviated, codified language, is displayed in the ceiling mosaic of the baptistry of Santa Restituta in Naples, dating to about 400 (Figure 28).⁹¹ A *crux monogrammatica*, with apocalyptic letters attached to the crossarms, is set in the summit of the cupola of the baptistry. It is surrounded by a circle and crowned by a golden wreath—both embodied on the fibula in the wreath around the top of the cross. Paradisiacal scenes encircle the cross and tree of life—the spiritual equivalent of the floral scrolls that support it on the fibula.

The fibula from the Palatine Hill in Rome (Figure 22) partly repeats one of the motifs of the Metropolitan's fibula—the cross of life—but with an amazingly different interpretation. A Latin cross is surrounded by vine scrolls, like the stem and the branches of a tree, and doves are symmetrically arranged in the branches. In this context, the cross out of which the vine grows is the life-giving cross that nourishes purified souls, symbolized by the doves, of the blessed in paradise.

On the fibula from Reggio Emilia (Figure 21), the single dove set in a roundel at the bow end of the catch has a different meaning. In relation to the Greek cross at the opposite end of the catch, it symbolizes the Holy Spirit. The leaves in the roundels in between can be either a reference to paradise or an abbreviated image of the tree of life. Like the floral ornament combined with a Latin cross on the fibula in the Burton Y. Berry Collection (Figure 23), they are most likely a reference to paradise. Whether this is also the meaning of the doves on the fibula of unknown provenance in the Louvre (Figure 24) is difficult to say, but it is possible.

This brief analysis of the symbolism and the meaning of the decoration of the gold fibulae leaves no doubt that they are very much in the spirit of their time. Contemporaries immediately understood the messages conveyed by the imagery of the fibulae. Most likely they were not aware that these pieces also illustrate fundamental artistic changes and the transition from Late Roman to Early Byzantine gold work.

Technically and stylistically, the fibula from Reggio Emilia is the most conservative one, with close parallels in fourth-century *opus interrasile*, which is still very much in the Roman tradition. The piece in the Metropolitan combines traditional motifs with remarkable innovations. The Apahida fibula, the fibula from

the Palatine, and, even more so, the piece in the Louvre represent various stages of the transition from Roman *opus interrasile* to Early Byzantine openwork.

The decoration of the fibula from Reggio Emilia consists of a dense grid formed by fine piercing and narrow ridges. The design is geometrically organized. A central area is filled by seven contiguous circles and is framed by two rectangular outer borders. Tiny crosses that repeat an *opus interrasile* motif (already developed in the first half of the third century) fill these borders, while figural elements rendered as delicate silhouettes are set in the circles. The compositional scheme and the dense, filigree-like pierced work, with narrow lines separating or framing the different areas, relate the Reggio Emilia fibula to a variety of pieces: a gold bracelet in the above-mentioned Ténès treasure;⁹² a bracelet belonging to a Constantinian jewelry group;⁹³ a possibly Constantinian gold plaque from Asia Minor in the British Museum;⁹⁴ and the silver lock plate on the *lipsanotek* in the Museo dell'Età Christiano in Brescia.⁹⁵ On the other hand, a Greek cross or a dove representing the Holy Spirit would be unthinkable before the fifth century.

On the gold fibula in the Metropolitan, the compositional scheme is based on the division of the catch's top plate into two symmetrical zones, each as mirror images of the other. The straight lines of the cross's shaft in the center and of the beveled frame on both sides counterbalance the rather restless texture of the pierced areas, with their dense pattern of curved and curled narrow lines and tiny openings. At the same time, they lead the eye to the encircled top of the cross, with the pendant alpha and omega. The openwork is very much in the tradition of Roman *opus interrasile*. The floral scrolls, in particular, are a decorative device especially popular in *opus interrasile*.

The main motif, a splendid example of the theme of "nature captured by art" so appreciated by Hellenistic and Roman artists, already looked back on a long tradition that began when, in the early third century, Roman goldsmiths discovered that floral scrolls were ideal for rendering in *opus interrasile*. The curves and the filiform sprigs growing out of the main stem of a floral scroll allowed the artist to lay out an intriguing yet still-solid lacelike pattern of pierced holes and small ridges.⁹⁶

Unknown in Early Roman *opus interrasile*, however, is the use of figural elements reserved as silhouettes and in combination with openwork, as exemplified here by the acanthus leaves. In a very tentative way, silhouettes first occur in *opus interrasile*—decorated gold work dating to the fourth century.⁹⁷ On the bracelet from the Ténès treasure, as well as on bracelets from an early-

fifth-century treasure found in Hoxne, England, they are already an important element, though not as explicit as here.⁹⁸ There are two types of silhouettes, plain ones and those enlivened by engraved details such as the acanthus leaves on the fibula in the Metropolitan Museum.

On the Apahida fibula, a plain silhouette in the shape of a Latin cross dominates an openwork decoration that is otherwise still conventional. It is not integrated into the pierced work but, visually, seems imposed on it. The artist achieved this by ignoring the outer line around the central field, which encloses the central area, and by having the splayed ends of the crossarms extending into an outer border.

The bold design of the Apahida fibula is unique. There are, however, stylistic relations between this piece and a pair of bracelets in the Metropolitan that were part of the Assiût Treasure.⁹⁹ Here, we find similar decorative motifs—the guilloche and the meander—a similar organization of the different patterns, and the similar overall effect of a solid structure and firm lines. These common traits betray a shared taste and set of artistic ideas; they do not suffice, however, to make the Apahida fibula and the Morgan bracelets attributable to the same workshop.¹⁰⁰

Only vaguely reminiscent of traditional Roman *opus interrasile* is the fibula from the Palatine Hill in Rome. The silhouettes are no longer integrated into a lacelike grid but form it. Technically, a flat, stable pattern of dense areas and spatial recession has replaced the Roman pierced work. There are still a few space fillers in the shape of short, curled shoots, but they are no longer essential. They do not have to hold the single parts of the ornament together. This is no longer the traditional Roman *opus interrasile*; it anticipates a new type of openwork—the Early Byzantine silhouette style—destined to become the hallmark of gold jewelry in the sixth to seventh centuries.

The Palatine fibula is not the only forerunner of this new style. Also to be mentioned in this connection is a gold belt buckle and a set of belt ornaments in the Ténès treasure.¹⁰¹ Again there is a trellis of antithetically organized vine scrolls, animated by doves pecking at grapes, and compact areas set against an opened-up background. The only difference is that on the Ténès gold work, the figures are not left as plain silhouettes, as on the Palatine fibula. Stippled dots indicate the grapes and the feathers of the doves, and engraved lines the veins of the leaves.

An even more advanced stage in the transition from Roman to Early Byzantine openwork is exemplified by the fibula of unknown provenance in the Louvre. Its design is based on the silhouettes of antithetically

arranged doves. The recesses between them are no longer an integral part of the decoration but a background of secondary importance. Space fillers are reduced to a minimum, since they are no longer really necessary. The decorative elements already cover enough space so that there is no need for additional links.

The change in the stylistic concept is accompanied by a change in technique. In Roman *opus interrasile*, the decoration is built up from small pierced or punched holes that were made according to the intended design.¹⁰² This process results in the dense linear ornaments of lacelike appearance that are characteristic of Roman *opus interrasile*. The openwork design of the Early Byzantine goldsmith is determined by the contrast of positive areas of remaining metal and areas where the material is completely removed.¹⁰³ The ornamentation is no longer linear but consists of silhouettes with comparatively large openings between them. The gold fibula in the Louvre is an early example of the openwork technique found on a number of gold ornaments in the Assiût and Lambousa hoards,¹⁰⁴ or the so-called peacock earrings of the sixth and seventh centuries,¹⁰⁵ which are usually considered the most characteristic examples of Early Byzantine gold work.

CONCLUSION

The crossbow fibula owed its enduring success primarily to the fact that it was not merely a fastening device but also part of an official attire characteristic of a distinctive social position. But it would not have lasted as long as it did if its nature and shape had not allowed it to adjust to changing aesthetic and religious ideas.

Under the tetrarchs, gold crossbow fibulae were decorated with political statements beautifully inscribed and inlaid in niello. The mid-fourth century saw splendid, multicolored designs and the very beginning of the use of religious symbols integrated in ornamental decoration. The elongated, elegantly shaped gold fibulae of the last stage, exemplified by MMA 1995.97, with their exquisite design full of religious symbols, suited the needs of a society that was, at one and the same time, deeply religious while having an enormous sense of and feel for splendor and magnificence. Once this society was firmly established, and the traditional dress code could be changed safely, there was no longer any need for the traditional crossbow fibula.

The amount of art-historical information offered by the last group of gold fibulae is enormous. In applied art, a clear line between a series of objects that still can be termed “Late Roman” and others

that are already “Early Byzantine” is usually not easy to draw. The transition is fluid; fourth-century objects might already betray a Byzantine spirit, and later ones are sometimes so deeply embedded in classical traditions that they suggest an earlier origin. The small corpus of late antique gold fibulae, which covers exactly this period of transition, offers a rare if not unique opportunity to determine the fundamental changes in aesthetic concept and techniques from Late Roman to Early Byzantine openwork-decorated gold work.

ABBREVIATIONS

Age of Spirituality

Kurt Weitzmann, ed. *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*. Exh. cat., MMA. New York, 1977.

Buckton, “Beauty of Holiness”

D. Buckton. “The Beauty of Holiness: *Opus interrasile* from a Late Antique Workshop.” *Jewellery Studies* 1 (1983–84), pp. 15–19.

Dalton, *Catalogue*

O. M. Dalton. *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography of the British Museum*. London, 1901.

Dennison, *Gold Treasure*

W. Dennison. *A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period*. New York and London, 1918.

Deppert-Lippitz, “Schmuck”

B. Deppert-Lippitz. “Goldener Schmuck der Spätantike.” In *Die Schraube zwischen Macht und Pracht: Das Gewinde in der Antike*. Exh. cat., Museum Würth and Archäologisches Landesmuseum Baden-Württemberg. Sigmaringen, 1995.

Heurgon, *Ténès*

J. Heurgon. *Le Trésor de Ténès*. Paris, 1958.

Keller, *Grabfunde*

E. Keller. *Die spätrömischen Grabfunde in Südbayern*. Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 14. Munich, 1971.

Noll, “Kaiserfibel”

R. Noll. “Eine goldene ‘Kaiserfibel’ aus Niederemmel vom Jahre 316.” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 174 (1974), pp. 221–43.

Painter, “Silver Hoards”

K. S. Painter. “Roman Silver Hoards: Ownership and Status.” In *Argenterie romaine et byzantine: Actes de la table ronde, Paris, 11–13 octobre 1983*, ed. F. Baratte, pp. 98–111. Paris, 1988.

Theune-Grosskopf, “Zwiebelknopffibeln”

B. Theune-Grosskopf. “Zwiebelknopffibeln und ihre Träger-Schmuck und Rangabzeichen.” In *Die Schraube zwischen Macht und Pracht: Das Gewinde in der Antike*. Exh. cat., Museum Würth and Archäologisches Landesmuseum Baden-Württemberg. Sigmaringen, 1995.

NOTES

1. Acc. no. 1995-97. K. R. B[rown], “Medieval Europe: Crossbow Fibula,” *Recent Acquisitions, A Selection: 1994–1995*, *MMAB* 53, no. 2 (Fall 1995), p. 22.
2. A. Frantz, “The Provenance of the Open Rho in the Christian Monograms,” *American Journal of Archaeology*, 2nd ser., 33 (1929), pp. 10–26.
3. For a more detailed explanation, see P. Dandridge’s companion essay, pp. 71–86.
4. Painter, “Silver Hoards,” pp. 98–111.
5. For a general survey, see R. Hattatt, *Ancient and Romano-British Brooches* (Sherborne, 1982); R. Hattatt, *Iron Age and Roman Brooches* (Oxford, 1985); R. Hattatt, *Brooches of Antiquity* (Oxford, 1987); and R. Hattatt, *Ancient Brooches and Other Artefacts* (Oxford, 1989).
6. The development of crossbow fibulae and their dating, based on grave finds, has been reconstructed by Keller, *Grabfunde*, pp. 26–53, and, also relying on grave as well as hoard finds, by H. J. H. van Buchem, “Bemerkungen zu den Dreiknopffibeln des vierten Jahrhunderts,” *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving te 's-Gravenhage* (Leiden) 48 (1973), pp. 143–57. Keller’s typology has not proved satisfying but, for reasons of convenience, is generally cited. For more recent studies, see E. Tóth, “Zur Datierung der Zwiebelknopffibeln,” *Folia Archaeologica* 31 (1980), pp. 146–54; and P. M. Pröttel, “Zur Chronologie der Zwiebelknopffibeln,” *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 35, no. 1 (1988), pp. 347–72.
7. A. Bütner, “Untersuchung über Ursprung und Entwicklung von Auszeichnungen im römischen Heer,” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 157 (1957), pp. 127ff.; H. J. Ubl, “Waffen und Uniformen des römischen Heeres der Prinzipatsepoche nach den Grabreliefs Norikums und Pannoniens,” diss., Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 1969, p. 238; V. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (London, 1981), passim; J. Garbsch, “Donatus torquibus armillis phaleris: Römische Orden in Raetien,” *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 51 (1986), pp. 333ff.
8. I. Welkow, “Ein Silberschatz des 3. Jahrhunderts aus Causewo, Nordbulgarien,” *Germania* 22 (1938), pp. 105–7, pl. 24.
9. T. Fischer, “Zur römischen Offiziersausrüstung im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.,” *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 53 (1988), p. 174 n. 27.
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Idiomatic and Mainstream: The Technical Vocabulary of a Late Roman Crossbow Fibula

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THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM of Art recently acquired a Late Roman–Early Christian crossbow fibula (acc. no. 1995.97)—the traditional clasp used to pin the fabric of a chlamys where it is gathered at the shoulder (Figures 1, 2). The object is immediately impressive for the elegant proportions of its multiple forms, the richness of the gold surfaces, and the quality of the light as it plays across the broad, unadorned planes of the bow and the elaborately ornamented foot. The latter, also called a catch (the elongated container in which the pin is safely encased), is elaborately incised and punched to create an openwork design in a technique known as *opus interrasile*. That the fibula is a visual tour de force is hardly surprising; such works are thought to have been commissioned by the emperor, members of the court, or civil servants of high rank.¹ Given these imperial associations, such fibulae testify to the prowess of those who must have been the period's finest goldsmiths.²

This study will focus on the identification of the specific techniques and materials utilized to create the fibula's numerous components and unifying structure, and it will end with a brief consideration of fibulae in different media. Not only can the articulation of the work's technical details characterize the working practices of an individual goldsmith, but quite possibly, it may provide another means of elucidating provenance as well as the object's relationship to other fibulae of similar typology.

The workshop practices of Late Roman and Early Christian goldsmiths were distilled from traditions active since ancient times, which would remain substantially unchanged until the early Middle Ages. Such homogeneity of tools and techniques in the period notwithstanding, a complex object, such as the Metropolitan's fibula, can reveal an individual or local approach to the fabrication of a particular element or to the resolution of a specific structural problem. If such idiosyncrasies of technique exist, they should be

useful in evaluating the fibula's relationship to the small group of extant gold and silver crossbow fibulae that also have rectangular feet, either ornamented with *opus interrasile* or adorned with S- or C-shaped volutes. Similarly, it may be possible technically to associate the fibula with other kinds of jewelry in precious metal, bracelets for instance, which incorporate comparable elements, such as the screw mechanism or *opus interrasile* panels.³ Of equal interest is the relationship between those who fabricated objects in precious metal and those who produced stylistically related pieces in baser materials.

Previous technical studies of these objects either have discussed the fabrication of specific crossbow fibulae, produced in copper or its alloys, or have described the physical aspects of a distinct element of a fibula produced either in precious or in base metal.⁴ Replication experiments have reproduced the tools and the exact sequence of steps used to create the *opus interrasile* work found on a specific object, and descriptions of *opus interrasile* have either documented the associated tool marks or advanced a probable sequence of steps and tools.⁵ While these efforts have substantially broadened our understanding of fabrication techniques, no systematic and complete technical study of an individual gold crossbow fibula has been undertaken that might be used for comparative purposes. It is my hope, in the pages to follow, that this description—first structural and formal, and then material—will provide an account that could prove useful in the identification and understanding of other works both more and less obviously related.

FORM AND STRUCTURE

The Metropolitan's gold fibula is one of eight, displaying similar forms and decorative techniques, that have been grouped together stylistically.⁶ Each has a rectangular foot or catch, either triangular or semi-circular in section, the top plate of which is decorated in *opus interrasile* (Figure 3). One end of the foot is

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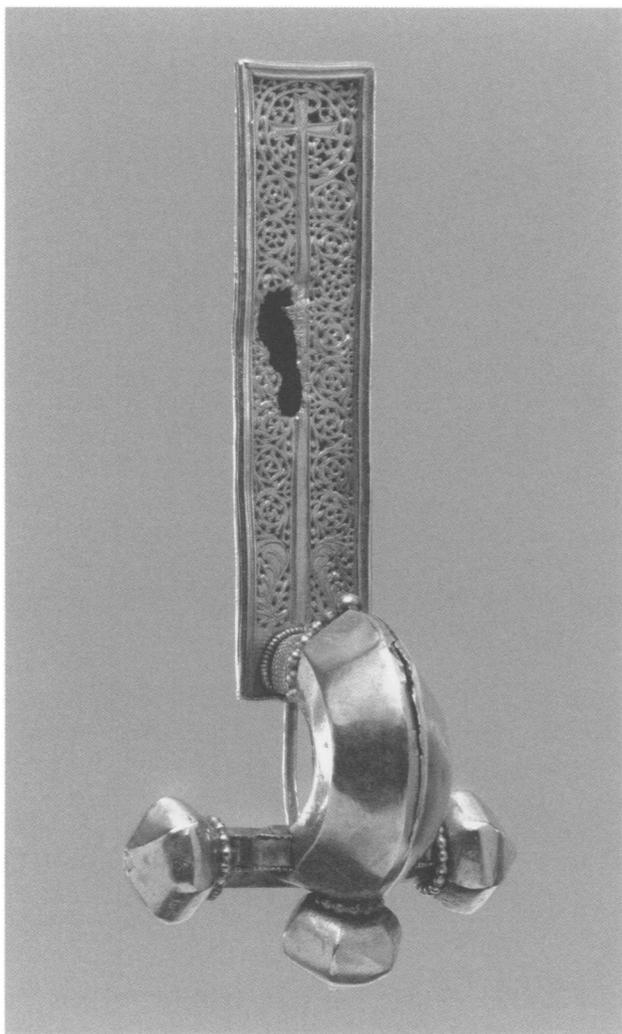


Figure 1. Crossbow fibula, ca. A.D. 450–ca. 558. Gold, L. 11.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1995 (1995.97). See also Colorplate 1

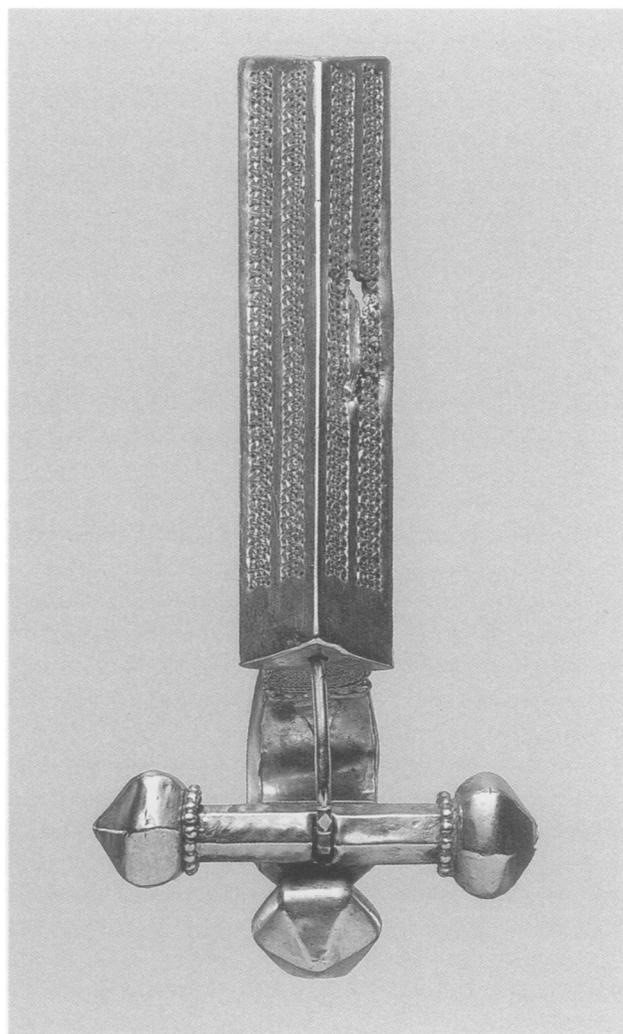


Figure 2. Back of the fibula in Figure 1

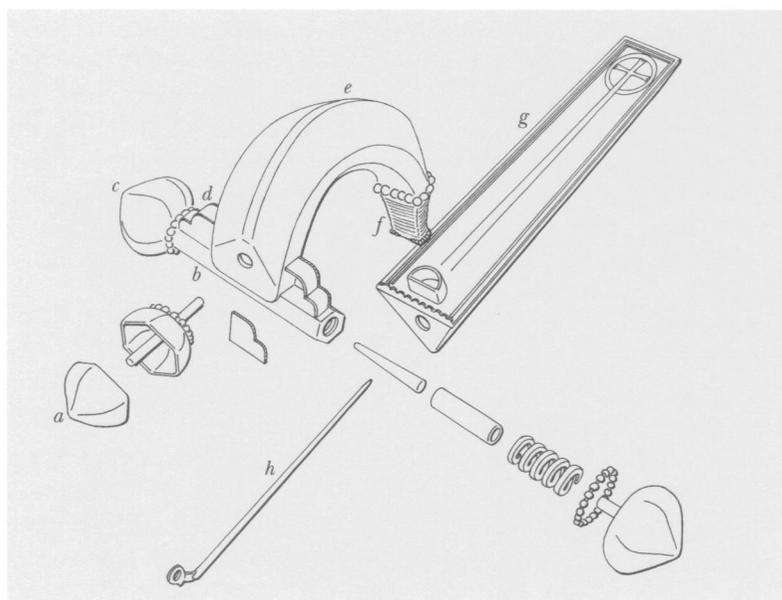


Figure 3. Drawing of the Metropolitan's gold fibula, with exploded views of the screw mechanism, head knob, and appliqués. Dimensions of the fibula: foot, L. 8.23 cm, W. 1.95 cm, D. 1.10 cm; crossbar, L. 5.53 cm (to the end of the knobs), W. 0.73 cm; knobs, H. 1.23 cm, W. 1.45 cm; screw mechanism (finial, threading, tip), L. 4.07 cm; pin, L. 9.83 cm, D. 0.19 cm (drawing: Daniel Kershaw). Parts of a fibula: (a) head knob or finial, (b) crossbar, (c) knob or finial, (d) appliqué, (e) bow, (f) filigree collar, (g) foot or catch, (h) pin

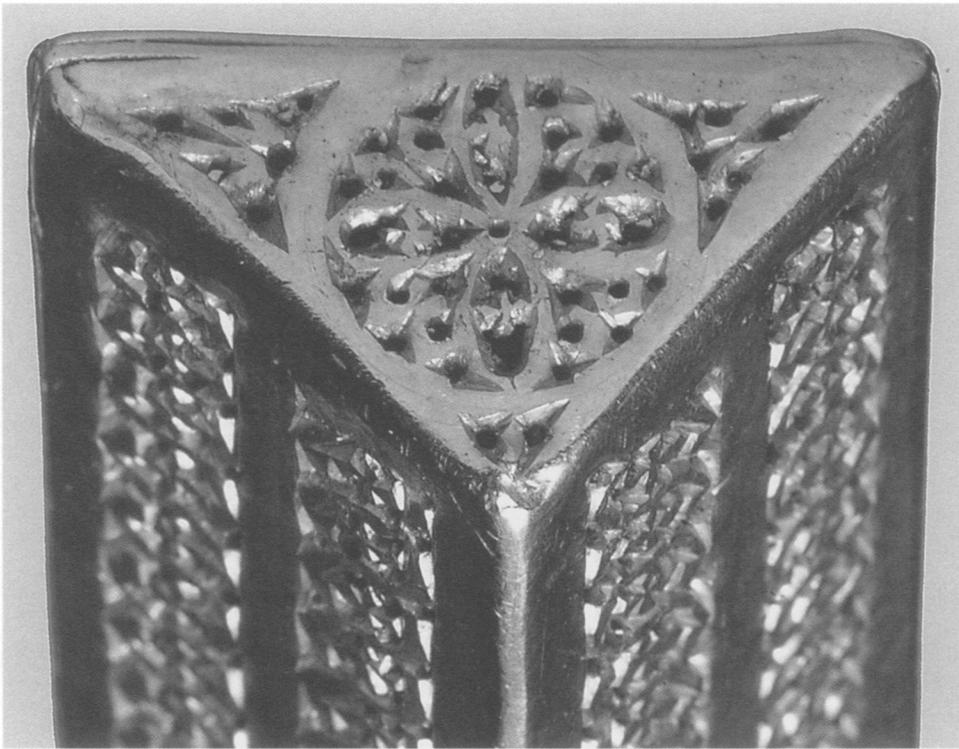


Figure 4. Detail of the end of the catch; the solder lines clarify the placement of the triangular cap with the sides, subsequently overlaid by the top plate and its molding. Scribed compass lines are apparent in the reserved border of the circular design

attached to a hollow bow, pentagonal in section. The opposite end of the bow—the head end—is soldered to a hollow, transverse crossbar. Onion-shaped knobs are attached to either end of the crossbar, with a third where it is joined to the bow; crossbar and finials are hexagonal in section. A length of beading encircles the base of each knob, while beading, beaded wire, granules, and strip-twisted wire is used selectively at the junction of bow and foot. Overlaying the top facet of the crossbar, on either side of the bow, are appliqué.

To function, the fibula's pin was pushed through a gather of cloth with the pointed end inserted into a hole at the end of the catch. The head of the pin rested in a slot cut out of the center of the crossbar (Figure 2). The pin was then secured by a screw mechanism attached to one of the lateral finials, which threads into the transverse arm and through the loop at the head of the pin.

The triangularly sectioned foot of the Metropolitan's fibula is fabricated from several elements of gold sheet soldered together. The side panels are shaped from a single piece bent along its previously incised, longitudinal axis. The foot or catch is capped at either end by a triangular piece inserted between the side panels at the bow end but both over and between those same panels at the opposite end (Figure 4). The top is a single sheet that overlays the edges of both side and end panels. Lengths of shaped molding, mitered at the corners, encircle three sides of the top plate. The end behind the bow, however, is surmounted by a

rectangular strip whose top edge has been serrated to create a beaded profile.

Prior to assembly, the foot's top, side, and front panels were all decorated with *opus interrasile* designs. The method by which these designs were executed—the tools used, their shape, and the exact sequence of the steps—has been reconstructed from microscopic examination of the tool marks and replication in silver blanks of the technique by the author. In several instances, the individual steps described here parallel those postulated in earlier studies. For example, the separate elements of sheet gold were fixed to a yielding layer of waxlike material rolled out over a more solid support.⁷ The design was then scribed lightly into the gold using both a rule and a compass. Indeed, the marks of the compass are still apparent in the center of the whorls along each side of the top plate. Traces of the scribed lines are visible in scattered locations on all the panels (Figure 5). Following this procedure, an awl, a round-sectioned tool tapering to a point, was used both to mark each of the spots where the design would pierce the sheet and to initiate the perforation of the gold.⁸ The very fine taper of these holes suggests the awl was struck with a mallet, since hand pressure alone would rock the tool slightly, broadening the circumference of the hole. A tapered, triangular-sectioned tool—a graver, such as that described by Ogden and Schmidt in their replication experiments—articulated the incised lines radiating out from the

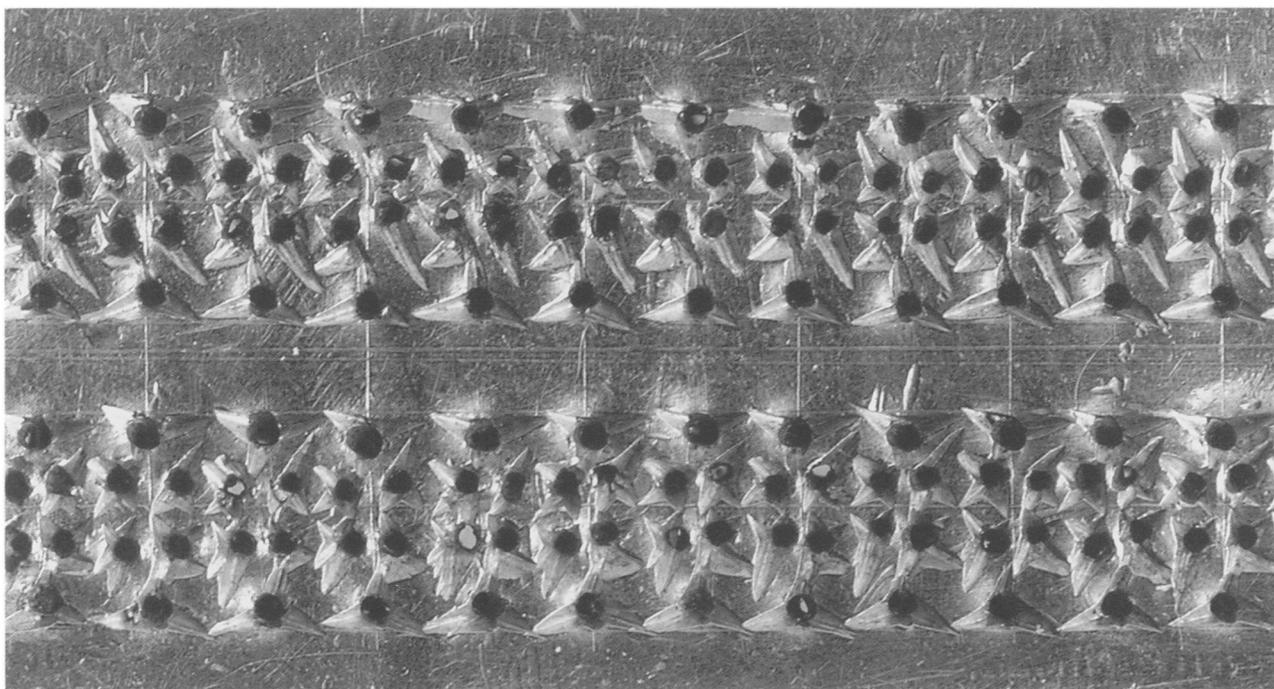


Figure 5. Detail of the *opus interrasile* decoration on the side of the foot. The scribed lines block out the pattern, with punched holes and engraved lines articulating the design

perimeter of the punched holes (Figures 5, 6).⁹ The graver was held at an acute angle to the surface and pushed across the lip of the punched hole. The natural resistance of the gold to the cutting action of the graver was reduced substantially by the apogee of the cut occurring within the void of the punched hole.¹⁰ The curls of metal, pushed up in front of the tool, were released as the point of the graver passed over the edge of the punched hole. The substantial negative space in the openwork design in the triangular plate (enclosing the end of the foot away from the bow) and around the pendant Greek letters on the cross on the top plate required successive cuts to enlarge the initial opening (Figure 6). (For the significance of these letters, see Deppert-Lippitz, on the *crux monogrammatica*, page 41 in this volume.) However, the more systematic, less complex designs on the side panels and the top may have been executed with a single pass of the graver.

Before removing the sheets from their support, the awl was used again. This additional step served several purposes. It removed any curls of metal still lodged in the initial punched hole; it confirmed that the hole pierced the entire depth of the sheet; and it allowed the goldsmith to clarify or add additional weight to the negative space of the design.¹¹ An occasional mis-strike occurred during the second punching, and the initial mark can be seen immediately adjacent to it,

not always having pierced the sheet (Figures 5–7). The largely vertical orientation of the awl, as it moved through the plaque, displaced metal both in advance of its point and perpendicular to its shaft. As the gold was pushed out, parallel to the surface of the sheet, it formed burrs, still present and visible under the microscope, along the front edges of the planes defining the V-shaped channels radiating out from the holes.

The top sheet also exhibits a more traditional use of the graver. The veins of the two acanthus leaves at the base of the cross (Figure 1) have been accentuated by rocking the head of the tool as it was pushed through the metal. The faceted quality of the stepped line creates a textural variant to help distinguish the form and enliven the surface (Figure 7).

The pressures exerted on the thin gold sheet during the engraving and punching process resulted in substantial distortions in the horizontal plane of the metal, further exacerbated by its attachment to a forgiving surface. With each strike of the awl that pierced the depth of the plaque, a cone-shaped projection with ragged edges was produced on the reverse encircling each hole. When the panels were removed from the wax, the goldsmith was able to reduce such distortions and flatten the sheet by applying moderate force across the backs of the plates with a burnisher or similar



Figure 6. Detail of the *opus interrasile* decoration on the top face of the foot, with enlarged openings on either side of the crossarms; burrs along the front edges of the V-shaped channels radiating out from the punched holes; and occasional misstrikes between the first and second stage of punch work

smooth-surfaced tool.¹² The raised metal of the cones would be compressed into a flat-surfaced annulus and the jagged edges reduced. The burnishing action also reduced the diameter of the holes, occasionally closing them entirely, and pushed fragments of the torn edge back into the base of the circular opening. There is no evidence indicating that the fronts of the panels were burnished.

The transition from the foot to the head of the fibula is made by the bow, whose broad forms have been shaped from three sheets of thin gold joined with

solder. Two of the sheets were seamed along the top ridge and then worked to form the top angled faces and the perpendicular sides. The strip forming the underside of the bow constitutes the third element. The use of thin sheet allowed the goldsmith both to shape the forms more easily and to be conservative in his use of precious material; however, the lightness of the construction meant that the bow needed to be reinforced to withstand compressive and shear forces. To that end, the goldsmith introduced a filling material into the interior of the bow. A triangular opening



Figure 7. Detail of the *opus interrasile* decoration at the bow end of the foot, with the engraved rocking line articulating the acanthus leaves visible in the bottom quarter of the detail, the scattered misstrikes, and the burrs of metal along the front edges of the V-channels

on the underside (visible in Figure 8) allowed powdered sulfur to be poured into the interior of the form, which when warmed would adhere to the metal and form a solid mass.¹³ Since the melting point of sulfur is well below that of solder, the filling of the bow would have been one of the last steps in the fibula's overall manufacture.

Where the bow intersects the catch, its profile was stepped back, and its shape, in cross section, changed from pentagonal to semicircular (Figure 9). The narrowed end fits, sleeve-like, over a collar of sheet gold, nearly identical in outline (see Figure 3), soldered to the top of the foot at the base of the acanthus leaves. The additional surface provided by the collar creates a large area of contact for the solder joint, substantially increasing its strength.¹⁴ The top edge of the step-back in the bow was worked further to create a semicircular channel, into which three lengths of beaded wire were set.¹⁵ Individual granules were placed in each corner, with the large granule in the front serving a decorative function and those in

the corners maintaining the rhythmic pattern of the beaded wire while filling a slightly constricted space; one of the granules is now lost. By recessing the wire, its projection above the surrounding surfaces was minimized, and thus susceptibility to dislocation was reduced. Another length of beaded wire of smaller diameter was set around the semicircular section at the base of the bow, where it attaches to the foot, with the ends of the wire cut into thin tapers and tucked into the narrow space between the back of the bow and the serrated strip of molding. The area between the beaded wires was wrapped with two lengths of strip-twisted wire, oriented to one another to form a herringbone pattern.¹⁶ Because the top edge of the step-back was not parallel to the surface of the foot, the goldsmith threaded the upper strands of the wire in and out of the underlying sheet to accommodate the variable height of the space. One end of a length of wire is visible in the X-rays above the top of the recess where it was stitched into the interior of the bow (Figure 10).

Figure 8. Detail of the underside of the bow and the triangular opening for the insertion of the sulfur packing

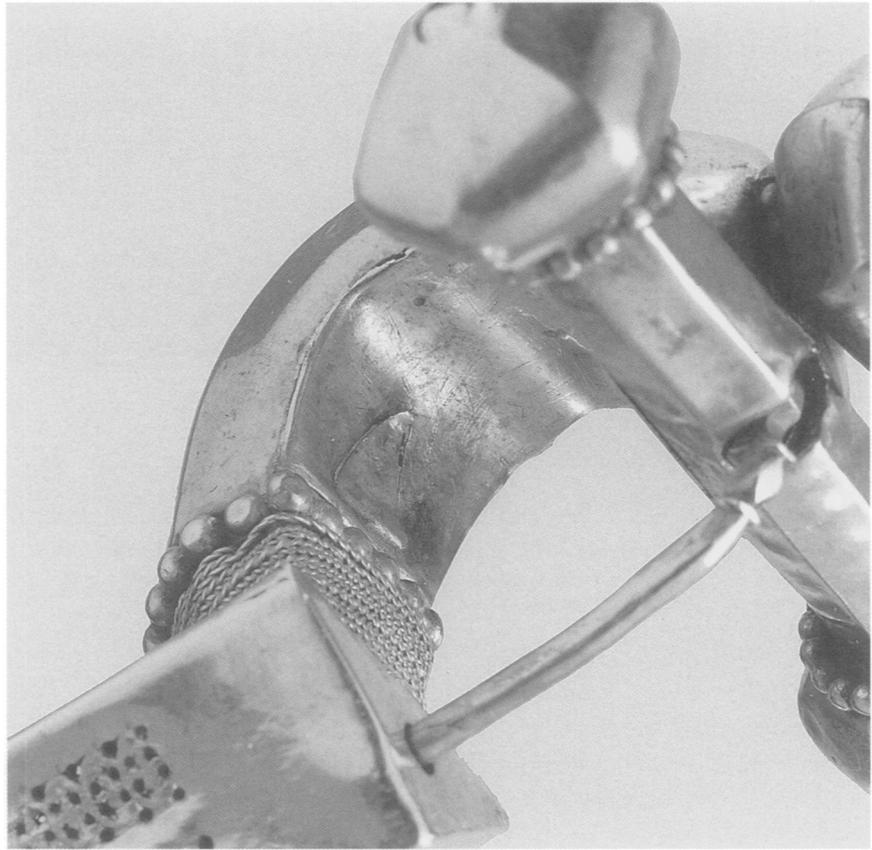


Figure 9. Detail of the foot end of the bow, with beaded wire around the top and bottom of the recess and lengths of strip-twisted wire in a herringbone pattern filling the space in between. The upper strands of wire are stitched into the interior of the bow



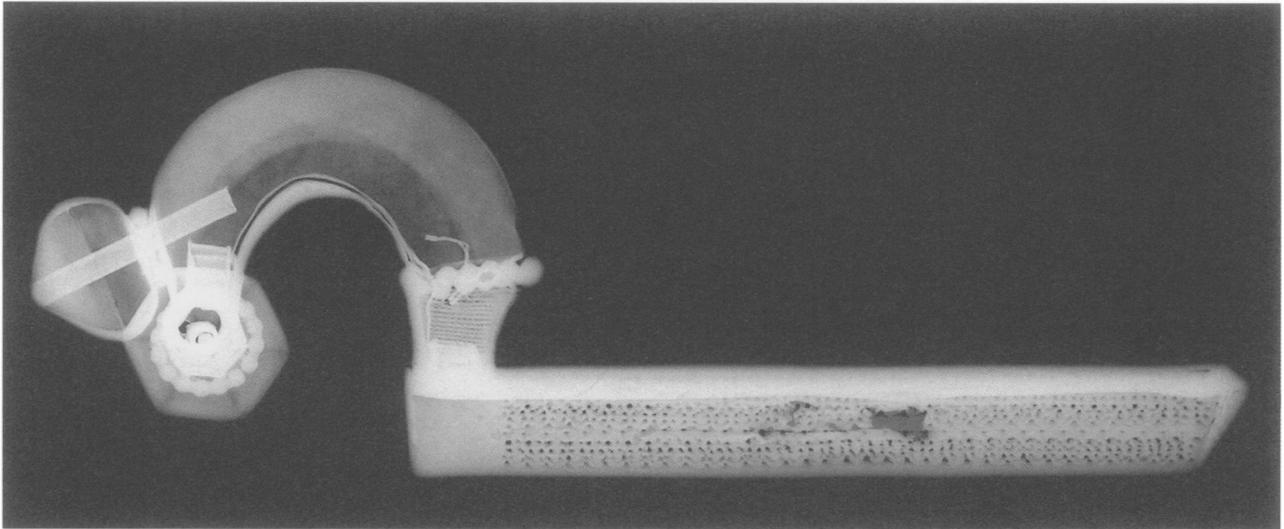


Figure 10. Radiograph revealing the supporting tube in the interior of the head finial, the horizontal solder seam around the finial, the collar at the head end of the foot (over which the bow is set), and a length of the strip-twisted wire stitched into the interior of the bow (radiograph: P. Dandridge)

At a right angle to the head of the bow is the transverse crossbar shaped from a single sheet of gold and worked into hexagonal form, with the overlapping ends soldered together. The end of the bow was then cut and shaped so as to intersect with the crossbar and to provide maximum surface contact for the solder join. The edges of the bow's two parallel, flat sides were set across and perpendicular to the upper facet of the crossbar, while the flattened top and the underside of the bow covered each adjoining face, straddling the bar. Stepped appliquéés were now attached to the upper facet of the crossbar on either side of the bow; these appliquéés were made up from four pieces of sheet—two sides and two curved strips each defining a step. The open end and base of the appliquéés were set against the side of the bow and on the top of the crossbar, respectively (as shown in Figure 3). The sides of the appliquéés projected above the top of the steps and were shaped with a chisel to form a beaded pattern. The chisel marks carried over onto the top strip in a manner that indicates the pattern was cut in after assembly. These appliquéés served several functions: they covered the lap join on the top facet of the crossbar, gave additional strength and rigidity to the juncture of crossbar and bow, and disguised the pattern of the screw threads that would show through the thin sheet of the crossbar.

Each end of the crossbar terminates with an onion-shaped finial faceted on six sides. An identical finial was placed just above the point where the bow joins with the crossbar, effectively hiding the flattened section of the bow made to accommodate its junction with

the transverse arm. The base of each finial is encircled by a length of beaded wire slightly smaller in diameter than that decorating the catch end of the bow. The triangular, tripodlike arrangement of the finials provides a stable base for the fibula when it is at rest across the collarbone of the wearer, allowing it to maintain its vertical orientation.

Microscopic examination and X-rays show that each finial was fabricated from two domes formed from thin sheet and soldered together along a horizontal seam. The close correspondence in the dimensions of all the finials suggests they were made with a matrix or a die.¹⁷ While it appears that both halves were formed in a similar fashion, the bottom half was subsequently reshaped. In order to create a flatter surface for attachment, cuts were made from its tip down along the ridges of each side with the flaps then bent inward, perpendicular to the sides; the resultant overlapping metal was then cut away. To mitigate against the potential compressive forces placed on the finials, a tube of thin gold sheet, lap joined, was inserted through a hole in the bottom of each finial and pushed up until it came to rest against the top. The tube was soldered in position at its juncture with the top and with the base.¹⁸ The distance the tube extended beyond the base of the finial varied depending on its position. The head knob bore the greatest shear stress, and in an attempt to counteract those forces, the tube continues well into the body of the bow (Figure 10) and thus was anchored in the sulfur filling. The proper right finial was soldered directly to the end of the crossbar with the tube extending just beyond the join.¹⁹

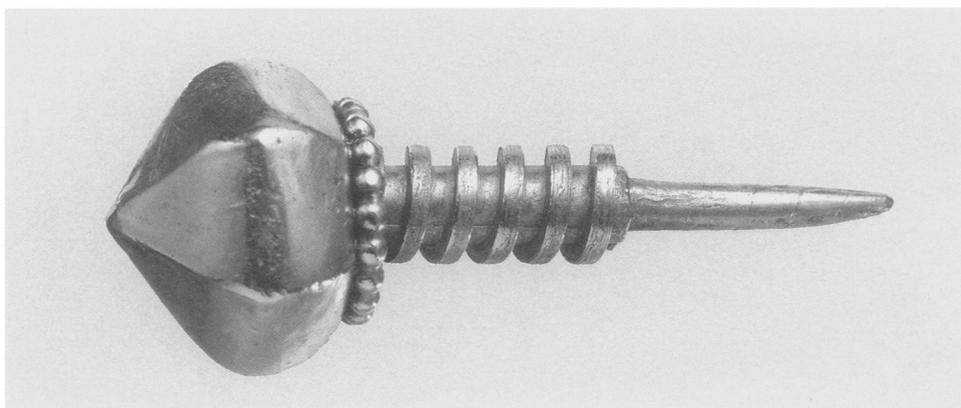


Figure 11. Detail of the screw mechanism—finial, beaded wire, threading, hollow shaft, and tip. Note the spiral groove along the tip that was scratched into the surface by a sharp edge or point within the head loop of the pin. Dimensions: finial, H. 1.23 cm, W. 1.45 cm; beading, D. 0.15 cm; threading, L. 1.50 cm; tip, L. 1.41 cm

The third finial, at the opposite end of the transverse bar, was not attached directly to the crossbar but, rather, was soldered to the shaft of an elaborate screw mechanism that served both to secure the finial to the transverse bar and to lock the pin within the crossbar (Figure 11). These different functions required that the various elements making up the whole have different physical properties, and in its fabrication the goldsmith created the fibula's most complex component. The tip of the screw mechanism is a solid piece of gold tapered to a dull point that would ease through the loop in the head of the pin as it sat in a slot cut in the underside of the crossbar (Figure 8). The weight of the fabric pulling against the pin required that the loop be held securely by a strong piece of solid gold. The opposite end of the screw tip is blunt and is inserted into a hollow shaft of equal length to the tip (Figure 12). The wall of this cylindrical shaft is of substantial thickness—greater than that of the supporting tubes for the finials—and was butt joined along its longitudinal axis with hard solder. To create the male and female threads for the screw, and to assure their alignment, two identical pieces of wire, square in section, were wrapped spirally around the shaft in six convolutions.²⁰ By wrapping both threads around the screw shaft simultaneously,

and then removing the length to be soldered to the interior of the crossbar, the accuracy of the pitch was secured. The tip of the male thread was cut at an angle to ease its entry into the female-threaded crossbar and was soldered in position along the hollow shaft. The female thread was cut down in length to two and one-half convolutions and was soldered into the interior of the crossbar.²¹ The modest number of convolutions of the female, or nut, thread inside the bar made soldering easier; it also allowed for some play in the mechanism, facilitating the movement of the screw tip through the head of the pin. The male thread and its supporting hollow shaft were soldered to the base of the finial with the tube in the interior of the knob sleeved into the end of the screw shaft.²² By using a hollow shaft for the center of the screw, as a cylindrical bridge or collar uniting extremities, the goldsmith was conservative in his use of metal and provided a clever means of structurally linking all three elements of the mechanism—tip, shaft, and finial.²³

The most straightforward element for the goldsmith to produce, finally, was the fibula's pin. A thick, rectangular strip of gold was cut from a sheet, twisted, rolled smooth between two flat surfaces, and shaved down with a scraper along its length to refine the shape

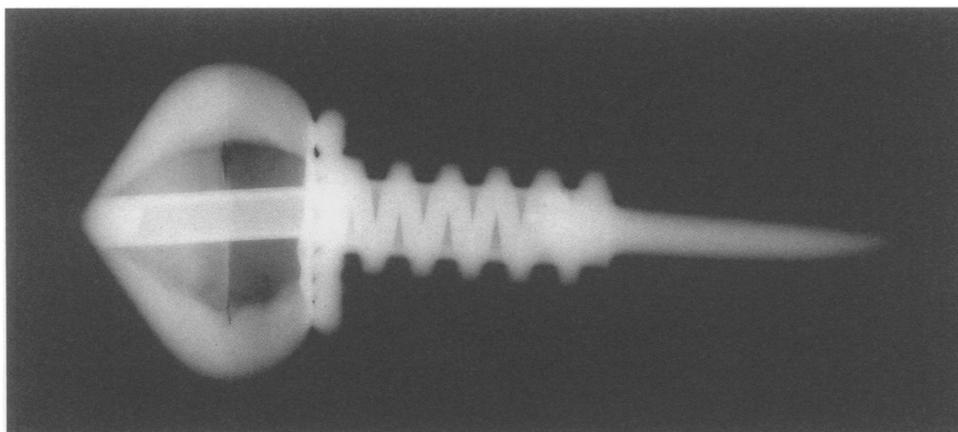


Figure 12. Radiograph of the screw showing the interior tube in the finial and the hollow shaft encircled by the spiral threading (radiograph: P. Dandridge)



Figure 13. Detail of the top of the pin, with the helical creases and the parallel, longitudinal lines along the shaft left by the scraper

and add the taper (Figure 13). The two helical creases indicative of block-twisted wire and the parallel marks of the scraper are visible to the naked eye and under the microscope. The absence of a solder seam at the head of the pin suggests that it was formed by heating the end of the pin to form a globule which was hammered flat and shaped and faceted to fix into the slot in the crossbar. The tip of the screw mechanism would have marked the position of the hole.²⁴

MATERIAL ANALYSIS

Various gold coins—the solidus, semmissis, and tremissis—have been suggested as the raw material for the fabrication of gold crossbow fibulae during the time they were in fashion, between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D.²⁵ Supplies of gold were strictly controlled during all stages of its extraction, refining, and minting, and it is unlikely that a goldsmith would have had either the access or the means to accumulate such a valuable resource. Such constraints were easily overcome and controlled if those who commissioned the work also supplied gold of a known weight and purity.

The primary sources of gold during this period were placer deposits, with inclusions of platinoid grains a diagnostic feature of this alluvial gold.²⁶ These gray-white alloys of the platinum-group metals are insoluble in gold at its usual melting point and were ordinarily retained with the gold during its refining and working. It would not be surprising, therefore, to find platinoid inclusions in jewelry produced from coins or other secondary sources,²⁷ and, in fact, platinoid grains are apparent in the triangular plate that encloses the end of the fibula's foot, as well as near the head of its pin. The clustering of inclusions is not unusual, given that platinoid grains have a higher specific gravity than gold

and would collect at the bottom of a crucible during melting, with the segregation continuing throughout the pour and subsequent working.²⁸ The inclusion in the pin was analyzed using energy-dispersive X-ray spectroscopy (EDS) and was found to be Osmiridium, the cubic form of the osmium-iridium-platinum alloy.²⁹

In the east, the solidus and the other gold coins were an integral element of the circulating currency. While less common in the west, substantial supplies of solidi existed there as well, though primarily in the form of tribute paid out by the emperors to protect the borders of the empire. Undoubtedly, the recipients of this largesse were among those who were the goldsmith's patrons.³⁰ Analyses of gold coins dating from the period of the fibula's fabrication indicate that their composition remained extremely consistent, with a purity of between 96% and 97%.³¹ Studies of gold jewelry of the same general date show that if goldsmiths were using coins as their source, they generally debased their supply by adding variable amounts of silver and copper as a way of adjusting the physical properties of their alloy.³²

Analyses by EDS of multiple points on the fibula's surface, as well as on extracted samples, indicate two different alloys were used to fabricate the various elements. The data may be seen in Table 1. In evaluating the results of these analyses, several variants need to be kept in mind. Surface analyses of gold alloys can be affected by preferential corrosion and leaching away of the less noble elements—silver and copper—that can occur naturally during burial or in post-excavation treatment. Such an enriched surface would have a greater percentage of gold than a similarly analyzed sample of the original bulk metal. Even in the analyses of the samples, instrumental variabilities can introduce discrepancies in the reported values of the elements. With these provisos in mind, it appears that the analyses sort themselves into three different composi-

TABLE 1. EDS ANALYSES OF THE GOLD CROSSBOW FIBULA (MMA 1995.97)

Sample analyses are given in roman type, surface analyses in *italics*

Group	I									II		III		IV
	Foot			Crossbar	Screw Mechanism					Bow		Pin		Solder
	Side	Top	Side		Finial		Thread	Shaft	Head			Shaft		
Gold (Au)	89.2	87.9	87.2	87.0	88.5	90.3	89.0	87.0	84.8	80.0	80.6	81.5	81.8	61.2
Silver (Ag)	9.7	9.8	10.7	10.2	9.2	8.3	8.6	11.2	13.1	18.1	18.4	15.2	15.8	35.1
Copper (Cu)	0.7	2.0	1.9	1.2	1.9	1.3	2.0	0.8	0.8	1.5	0.8	0.8	2.0	1.2
Iron (Fe)	0.4	0.2	0.2	1.6	0.3	0.1	0.5	1.1	1.3	0.5	0.1	2.2	0.4	2.6

tional groups, segregated by their silver content—of roughly 9%, 18%, and 36%, respectively—with the most debased alloy being the solder. The three different compositional groups are identified in Table 1 as I, II, and IV. The copper content remains consistent at 1.5%. The variation in the percentage of silver among the three groups implies that the goldsmith was adjusting the alloy incrementally; it also shows that if coins were the goldsmith's raw material, then silver was the sole debasing agent.

Since pure gold is extremely soft, the very fineness of gold coinage in the Late Roman period made it impractical for use in those elements of jewelry subject to stress or wear. By increasing the amount of silver and/or copper alloyed with the gold, the mechanical properties of the metal could be altered so as to become successively harder, better able to withstand stress without deforming, and more elastic, that is, able to reconfigure itself after stressing.³³ These inherent characteristics can be amplified further during the fabrication process by cold-working the metal; however, a significant portion of this increase in mechanical strength will be negated by the application of heat during soldering or annealing.

The artisan responsible for the Museum's fibula was aware of the advantages to be gained in altering the purity of his primary gold source and in varying his methodology. In the group of components alloyed with 9% silver—the top and sides of the foot, the transverse crossbar, the finials, and the screw mechanism (Group I in Table 1)—different working methods have been used to affect its properties in other ways. For example, softening the metal to the extent the alloy permits would have facilitated the extensive engraving required for the creation of the *opus interrasile* design on the panels of the foot. To that end, the gold would have been fully annealed before incising in order to minimize the influence of the initial hammering, when the sheet was reduced to its requisite

thickness. Conversely, the other elements in the group would have benefited from the residual effects of work-hardening, and to that end the goldsmith may have minimized their exposure to heat after their shaping.

For the creation of the bow, the choice of alloy and technique would follow the same principles described above. In the main, stresses placed on the foot or the crossbar would have been transferred to their points of attachment with the bow. The ability of the bow to absorb these forces without distorting or tearing was reinforced by strengthening its attachment to the foot with a collar and using an elaborate lap joint at the crossbar and by doubling the amount of silver in the alloy (Table 1, Group II). The tensile strength and hardness were substantially improved by increasing the silver content in the alloy, and even though successive solderings were required to join the elements of the bow to itself and the other components of the fibula, some residual benefit was retained from its cold-working. Aesthetic consideration may have played a part in the choice of alloy for the bow as well. With the addition of more silver, the color would have been made cooler, or less yellow, and would enhance the contrast of form and texture between the bow and the foot.

Data from the surface analyses of the pin do not fall within either of the two alloy groups (Table 1, Group III). Whether the compositional variation in these results represents a separate melt or is the effect of the vagaries of surface analysis is unclear. Given the stresses placed on the pin, it would seem logical that the goldsmith would have tried to maximize the strength of the pin and to fabricate it from the same alloy used for the bow.

The most significant debasement occurs in the composition of the solder, where 36% silver was added to the gold (Table 1, Group IV). For a hard solder to be efficient, it is necessary that it have a liquidus temperature, or melting point, below that of the elements being joined, yet close enough to their melting point



Figure 14. Crossbow fibula, 5th century A.D. Gilt-copper alloy, L. 6.82 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.191.189)

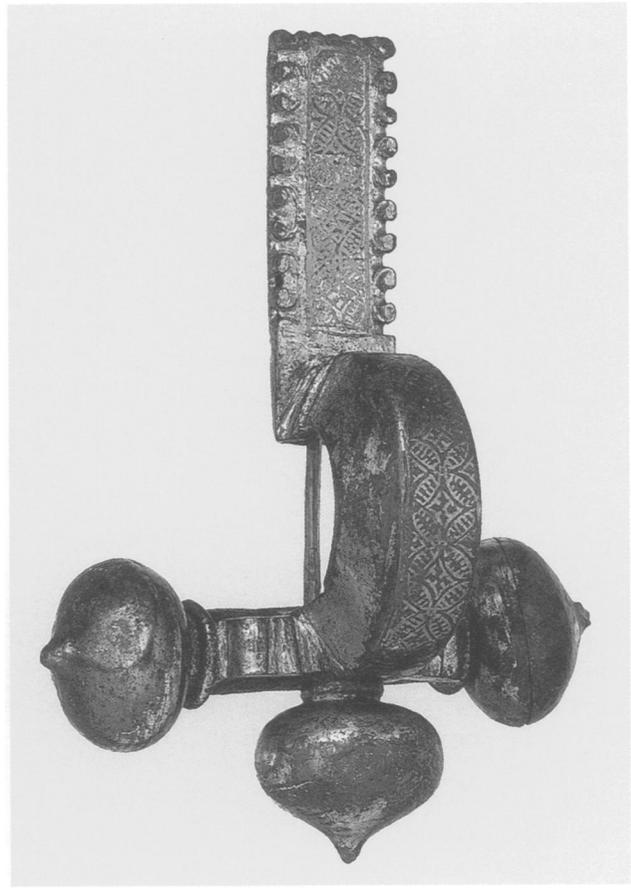


Figure 15. Crossbow fibula, 5th century A.D. Gilt copper and niello, L. 8.79 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1999 (1999.42)

for the solder to effectively flow and wet their surfaces. The melting points for the two alloy groups are approximately 1045° and 1035° Celsius for the least and most debased, respectively, while the melting point for the solder is around 1015° Celsius.³⁴ An effective difference of 20° represents a very fine margin of error and is a further indication of the goldsmith's control and skill.

COMPARATIVE STUDIES

Since most of our understanding of the workshop practices of Late Roman and Early Christian goldsmiths is derived from information extrapolated from their creations, any systematic technical study may have potential benefits. Once objects of similar typology and materials are analyzed and compared, then the possibility exists of discovering if a particular object, such as the Metropolitan's fibula, represents a largely idiomatic and local solution to a range of technical problems. This would be in contrast to the possibility

that the goldsmith's methodology reflects a technical approach growing out of an undifferentiated tradition of artisanal procedures. If an idiosyncratic method can be identified, it could be useful in isolating a group of objects as belonging to a specific craftsman or workshop. While such complete specificity is not possible, here, a close "reading" of our object and of kindred objects does create a basis for useful future extrapolations.

The possibility of associating objects of a related typology but of dissimilar materials may prove difficult; indeed, it may not be possible without the benefit of archaeological evidence. The economics associated with the supply of and demand for copper, gold, and silver, as well as the variations in their working properties, meant that copper and its alloys were used less conservatively and with less facility, thus limiting our ability to make one-to-one comparisons. For instance, the signature elements of the gold fibulae under discussion (in this essay and that of Barbara Deppert-Lippitz)—the screw mechanisms and the *opus interrasile* panels—cannot be used to establish a correspondence. The screw



Figure 16. Detail of niello decoration across the ridge of the gilt-copper fibula in Figure 15

mechanisms, as they occur in copper or copper-alloy fibulae, are made in part or in whole in a subtractive process, by means of engraving and/or filing, and not in the additive process common to gold examples;³⁵ and *opus interrasile*, as a technique, did not translate into the baser medium. However, other technical features found in the Metropolitan's gold fibula are commonly encountered in fibulae created in base metal and, in some instances, exhibit a technical mastery and decora-

tive sophistication commensurate with the nobler examples. The identification of these common patterns in technique may not provide enough evidence, by itself, to establish a specific relationship among fibulae in different media; however, it might provide some insight into the connection between those artisans working in copper and those working in precious metals.

Two gilt-copper fibulae in the Metropolitan's collection, somewhat earlier in date than the gold fibula, incorporate forms and technical approaches common to the gold fibulae.³⁶ The fibula from the Morgan collection is characterized by a series of tightly formed C-shaped volutes visible along either side of the catch (Figure 14).³⁷ A recently acquired example is detailed with similar volutes along its foot (Figure 15); however, it is distinguished by an elaborate pattern of circles and lozenges engraved across the top of the bow and over the foot and inlaid with niello (Figure 16).³⁸ Each was made entirely from sheet with its multiple elements soldered to one another.³⁹ The bows are pentagonal with the profiles of the foot ends cut back and articulated with a single length of wire applied around the top edge of the semicircular indentation. At the head end, the bows are attached to their transverse crossbars by means of elaborate lap joints. The finials are hollow, formed from two domes joined horizontally and soldered in position. Only the head finial on the recently acquired fibula is extant, possibly due to the additional security of a rivet (Figure 17) inserted through its tip and out the opposite side of the bow. The rivet serves the same function as the interior tube in the head finial of the Museum's gold fibula.⁴⁰ On both copper fibulae, along the sides of the catches' top plates are C-volutes that emulate the delicacy of *opus interrasile*. In the case of the Morgan fibula, the volutes are engraved separately and soldered in position, while

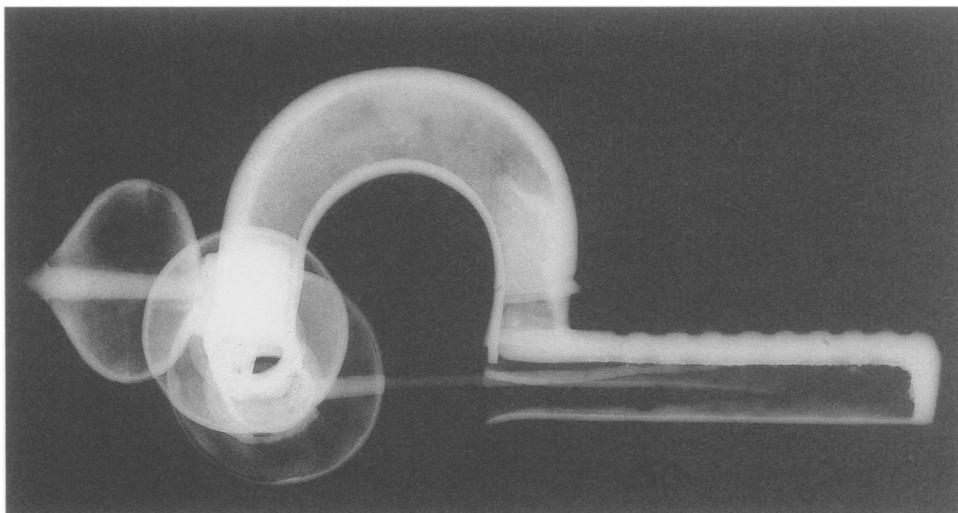


Figure 17. Radiograph of gilt-copper and niello fibula (MMA 1999.42), featuring many of the same characteristics as the Metropolitan's gold fibula (MMA 1995.97)—hollow bow, hollow finials formed from two domes joined along a horizontal seam, head finial secured with a rivet through its length and the width of the bow (radiograph: P. Dandridge)

those on the recently acquired fibula are carved out of the sheets defining the foot.⁴¹ Both fibulae were mercury gilt.

Although the condition of the gilt-copper fibulae has deteriorated, it is still possible to imagine them with their surfaces intact and thus imbued with a striking visual presence. While they are accomplished pieces, compared to other copper fibulae of their type, they are neither remarkable nor unusual examples. They were intended to supply the needs of a less elevated clientele than those receiving or commissioning gold fibulae, and so were made with baser materials; however, in an attempt to achieve visual parity, they were enhanced with gilding, niello, and applied decorations. Interestingly, it is only in the respective value of their materials that the copper-alloy fibulae are wanting, for the time and skills required for their creation are identical to those needed to execute the gold fibulae. From a technical point of view, there is no reason to believe that the same individual could not have fabricated both types. Perhaps the term goldsmith should not have a strictly material connotation but should apply to those who created works of beauty and technical sophistication in gold, silver, and copper.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Catherine Metzger of the Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines, Musée du Louvre, for allowing me access to the Louvre's gold crossbow fibula; and Barbara Deppert-Lippitz, for her collaboration. My thanks, as well, to colleagues at The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Katharine Brown, Department of Medieval Art, for editorial comments; Anna-Marie Kellen, Photograph Studio, for all the photographic images; Daniel Kershaw, Design Department, for the exploded drawing; and, in the Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, Mark Wypyski for the SEM analyses, and, especially, James H. Frantz and Richard Stone for their expertise and editorial assistance.

NOTES

1. For a thorough discussion of the stylistic evolution of the crossbow fibula and its place in the Late Roman world, see Barbara Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula in The Metropolitan Museum of Art," in this volume, pp. 39–70.
2. Claude Lepage, "Les Bracelets de luxe romains et byzantins du II au VI siècle: Étude de la forme et de la structure," *Cahiers*

Archéologiques 21 (1971), pp. 1–23; Barbara Deppert-Lippitz, "A Group of Late Antique Jewelry in the Getty Museum," *Studia Varia from the J. Paul Getty Museum* 1 (1993), p. 136; Barbara Deppert-Lippitz, "Goldener Schmuck der Spätantike," in *Die Schraube zwischen Macht und Pracht: Das Gewinde in der Antike*, exh. cat., Museum Würth and Archäologisches Landesmuseum Baden-Württemberg (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1995), p. 113; Barbara Deppert-Lippitz, "Late Roman Splendor: Jewelry from the Age of Constantine," *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art* 1 (1996), pp. 59–60.

3. Numerous authors have used stylistic comparisons to relate the different types of jewelry incorporating either the screw mechanism or *opus interrasile*. See, for instance, Katharine Brown, "The Morgan Bracelets Reconsidered: A propos of the Screw Mechanism as Used in the Production of Early Christian Bracelets, 400–600 A.D.," in *Outils et ateliers d'orfèvres des temps anciens*, Antiquités Nationales, Mémoire 2, Musées des Antiquités Nationales et du Château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye (Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1993), pp. 85–92; David Buckton, "The Beauty of Holiness: *Opus interrasile* from a Late Antique Workshop," *Jewellery Studies* 1 (1983–84), pp. 15–19; Catherine Metzger, "Un Bracelet byzantin en or au Louvre," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 1 (1990), pp. 7–11; Deppert-Lippitz, "A Group of Late Antique Jewelry," pp. 107–40; Deppert-Lippitz, "Late Roman Splendor," pp. 30–71.
4. Hans von Drescher, "Ein Beitrag zur Technik römischer Zwiebelknopffibeln," *Germania* 37 (1959), pp. 170–79; Aldo Candusso, "Considerazioni sulla tecnica di fabbricazione delle fibule a ballestra nel IV secolo," *Memorie Storiche Forogiuliasi* 65 (1985), pp. 23–26. Drescher also discusses the techniques used to create a gold crossbow fibula in the same article; however, some of his conclusions may need to be reevaluated, for instance, that the bow and foot are cast in one piece (pp. 177–78). Aspects of the manufacture of various gold, copper, and copper-alloy screws have been addressed, but most of these descriptions are limited to how the threads were applied or cut in, the number of convolutions of the threads, and the direction of the screws' threading; Hugo Mötefindt, "Zur Geschichte der Löttechnik in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 123 (1916), pp. 151–57; Hugo Mötefindt, "Zur Geschichte der Schraube," in *Studien zur Vorgeschichtlichen Archäologie* (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 199–206; and, generally, *Die Schraube zwischen Macht und Pracht* (see note 2, above).
5. Buckton, "The Beauty of Holiness," p. 17; Barbara Deppert-Lippitz, "L'*opus interrasile* des orfèvres romains," in *Outils et ateliers*, pp. 69–72; Deppert-Lippitz, "A Group of Late Antique Jewelry," p. 111; Deppert-Lippitz, "Late Roman Splendor," pp. 34–35, 45; Anton Kisa, "Römische Ausgrabungen an der Luxemburgerstrasse in Köln," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 99 (1896), p. 47; Barbara Niemeyer, "A Byzantine Gold Collar from Assiüt: A Technical Study," *Jewellery Studies* 8 (1998), pp. 87–96; B. Niemeyer, "Der lunulaförmige Halsschmuck aus Assiüt in der Berliner Antikensammlung: Eine goldschmiedetechnische Untersuchung," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 39 (1997), pp. 191–206; Jack M. Ogden, *Jewellery of the Ancient World* (New York: Rizzoli, 1982), pp. 43–44; Jack M. Ogden and Simon Schmidt, "Late Antique Jewellery: Pierced Work and Hollow Bead Wire," *Jewellery Studies* 4 (1990), pp. 5–12; R. Zahn, review in *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen* 38, no. 1 (1916), p. 15.
6. For a formal description of each of the eight, see, in this volume, Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late-Antique Crossbow Fibula."

7. Ogden and Schmidt, "Late Antique Jewellery," p. 6.
8. Drills have been suggested as a means of opening the initial hole; Kisa, "Römische Ausgrabungen," p. 47; Ogden, *Jewellery*, p. 43; Deppert-Lippitz, "A Group of Late Antique Jewelry," p. 111. Zahn, in his review of the techniques postulated for the working of *opus interrasile*, thought the use of a drill unlikely; I also found the technique to be time-consuming and awkward compared with the use of a punch or awl; Zahn, in *Amtliche Berichte*, p. 15.
9. Ogden and Schmidt, "Late Antique Jewellery," pp. 6–8. Chisels and files have been suggested as the tools used to open out the design after the initial punching; Buckton, "The Beauty of Holiness," p. 17; Kisa, "Römische Ausgrabungen," p. 47; Ogden, *Jewellery*, p. 43; Deppert-Lippitz, "L'opus interrasile," p. 70; Zahn, in *Amtliche Berichte*, p. 15. It has been suggested the chisel was used more commonly in the third and fourth centuries A.D. with thin gold sheet, while the graver became the standard later when designs were more intricate and the gold sheet thicker; Ogden and Schmidt, "Late Antique Jewellery," p. 6.
10. Ogden and Schmidt, "Late Antique Jewellery," p. 7.
11. In the *opus interrasile* decoration, on the side panels of the catch, the quatrefoils are bordered on either side by a cable pattern whose negative spaces are of a consistently larger diameter than those defining the quatrefoils.
12. A scraper has been suggested as the tool used to remove the burrs on the underside of the objects worked in thin gold sheet or on those objects that would be in contact with the wearer; Ogden and Schmidt, "Late Antique Jewellery," p. 7.
13. The sulfur is still retained in the interior of the bow, a small amount of which was extracted through an opening in the solder join along the ridge and analyzed using the Debye-Scherrer camera with a Phillips 1840 X-ray generator and a copper tube at 37Kv and 20Ma for two hours. Patterns were identified with the Fein-Marcourt Search-Match Program using a PDSM database. The extent to which hollow elements on gold crossbow fibulae were filled is unclear, but photographic evidence indicates that the head knob on the fibula from Apahida (Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, Bucharest, inv. no. MNIR 54256) has a triangular opening on its underside that could have served only as a point of access for filling; *Die Schraube*, p. 117. Certainly, any filling material would preclude comparisons made of the weights of the fibulae and those of contemporary gold coinage.
Sources for sulfur are known to have existed south of the Alps, and its usage is reported to have been common during the Roman period; Birgit Arrhenius, *Merovingian Garnet Jewellery: Emergence and Social Implications* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1985), p. 88. Sulfur has been documented in the Late Roman Thetford Treasure both as a backing paste in settings and as a filling material for a hollow ring hoop (M. R. Cowell, Susan La Niece, and Nigel D. Meeks, "The Scientific Investigation of the Thetford Treasure," *The Thetford Treasure: Roman Jewellery and Silver*, ed. Catherine Johns and Timothy Porter [London: British Museum Publications, 1983], p. 60); in an earring from Roman Britain in the British Museum (Catherine Johns, "Some Unpublished Jewellery from Roman Britain," *Jewellery Studies* 5 [1991], p. 55); in the terminals on the sixth- or seventh-century A.D. Byzantine torque in the British Museum (reg. no. M&LA 1984, 5-2, 1) thought to be from the southeastern Mediterranean (Marilyn Hockey, "The Composition and Structure of a Byzantine Torc," *Jewellery Studies* 3 [1989], p. 36); and in the saddle mounts from Apahida II, in Arrhenius, *Merovingian Garnet Jewellery*, p. 36.
14. The vulnerability of this particular join is apparent, for example, in the condition of the crossbow fibula from Vienna, where the bow has separated cleanly along the point of attachment from the now-lost foot (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. no. VII B 299; illustrated in Môtefindt, "Zur Geschichte der Löttechnik," p. 154, fig. 16).
15. For a thorough discussion of the forming and shaping of wire, see Niamh Whitfield, "The Manufacture of Ancient Beaded Wire: Experiments and Observations," *Jewellery Studies* 8 (1998), pp. 57–86.
16. Initially, in the backward-turned feet of European P-shaped fibulae, the wrapping served as a structural element. See, for instance, Richard Hattatt, *Iron Age and Roman Brooches* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1985), p. 126, no. 487; however, as it appears on crossbow fibulae, the wrapping is purely decorative.
17. The widths of the finials are all 1.45 cm.
18. The X-ray of the screw mechanism (Figure 12) shows an opaque material with a meniscus at the top of the tube within the finial which can be interpreted as solder.
19. Without X-rays, it can be difficult to determine whether there is any structural support in the interior of the finials; however, many of the finials exhibit stress-tearing at their tips, with a circular outline possibly induced by a rigid tube beneath the surface of the gold. See, for instance, the head knob on the fibula from Vienna referred to in note 14 above. A gap on the underside of the head knob on the gold crossbow fibula in the Louvre (inv. no. Bj 947) allowed for the identification of a hollow tube in the finial's interior extending upward only a third of its height.
20. Rüdiger Krause, "Das Gewinde in der Antike," in *Die Schraube*, p. 48.
21. Outer diameter of nut thread is 0.65 cm; inner diameter of nut thread, 0.43 cm.
22. The screw is a left-hand thread. The dimensions for the screw are: threads, 0.11 cm square; the flute width is 0.13 cm; the diameter of thread, 0.61 cm; the diameter of shaft, 0.38 cm.
23. The loss of tips from a number of different screws for various gold crossbow fibulae suggests that tubular shafts were used. While a tip and shaft shaped from a single piece of gold would be unlikely to shear, the join between a hollow shaft and a solid tip would be susceptible to separation. See illustrations of the screws from the following fibulae: Apahida (Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, inv. no. MNIR 54256), in Môtefindt, "Zur Geschichte der Schraube," p. 200, fig. 1; Degoj (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. no. VII B 299), in *Die Schraube*, p. 155, fig. 116; Desana (Museo d'Arte Antica, Turin, inv. no. 12/ORI), in *Die Schraube*, p. 82, fig. 54, pp. 153–54, fig. 115; Indiana (Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington, inv. no. BYB 76.75.23), in *Die Schraube*, p. 26, fig. 3; Palatine (Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome), in *Die Schraube*, pp. 81, 152, figs. 53, 113; Reggio Emilia (Museo Chierici di Paleontologia), in Brown, "The Morgan Bracelets," p. 85, fig. 2.
24. Suggested by Robert Baines of the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology in an oral communication.
25. The relationship between coinage and jewelry both within and outside the empire is discussed in Jan Iluk, "The Export of Gold from the Roman Empire to Barbarian Countries from the 4th to the 6th Centuries," *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 4, no. 1 (1985), p. 99; Andrew Oddy and Susan La Niece, "Byzantine Gold Coins and Jewellery: A Study of Gold Contents," *Gold Bulletin* 19, no. 1 (1986), pp. 19–27.

26. Nigel D. Meeks and M. S. Tite, "The Analysis of Platinum-Group Element Inclusions in Gold Antiquities," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 7 (1980), pp. 267–75; Jack M. Ogden, "Platinum Group Metal Inclusions in Ancient Gold Artifacts," *Journal of the Historical Metallurgical Society* 11 (1977), pp. 53–72.
27. Ogden, "Platinum Group," p. 53.
28. Ibid.
29. Osmiridium has been reported as frequently occurring in ancient gold work; Ogden, "Platinum Group," p. 57. In situ elemental analysis was carried out using a Kevex Delta IV energy-dispersive X-ray spectrometer coupled to a modified Amray 1100 scanning electron microscope. The data was quantified using MAGIC IV ZAF corrections:
- | weight % of | osmium
(Os) | iridium
(Ir) | platinum
(Pt) | gold
(Au) |
|-------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------|
| | 33.3 | 55.7 | 7.3 | 3.7 |
30. Philip Grierson and Mark Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 6–16; Iluk, "The Export of Gold," pp. 79–103; see also Joachim Werner, "Zu den auf Öland und Gotland gefundenen byzantinischen Goldmuenzen," *Fornvännen* 44 (1949), pp. 257–86.
31. E. R. Caley, "Fineness of Gold Coins of the Roman Empire," *The Numismatist* 63, ser. 2 (1950), pp. 66–70; Cowell, La Niece, and Meeks, "The Scientific Investigation," p. 59; Grierson and Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. 1, pp. 422, 430, 432, 436, 438, 441; D. M. Metcalf, "Metal Contents of Medieval Coins," *Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Investigation of Ancient Coinage*, ed. E. T. Hall and D. M. Metcalf, RNS Special Publications 8 (London, 1972), p. 429; Andrew Oddy and F. Schweizer, "A Comparative Analysis of Some Gold Coins," *Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Investigation*, pp. 171–82; Andrew Oddy, "The Analysis of Four Hoards of Merovingian Gold Coins," *Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Investigation*, p. 116; Oddy and La Niece, "Byzantine Gold Coins," p. 20.
32. Donald Bailey, "Some Classical Gold Finger-Rings in the British Museum," *Jewellery Studies* 5 (1991), pp. 33–41; Lawrence Becker, Deborah Schorsch, Jane L. Williams, and Mark T. Wypyski, "Technical Entries" and "Appendix 1—Technical and Material Studies: Gold Jewelry," *Art of Late Rome and Byzantium in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, ed. A. Gonosová and C. Kondoleon (Richmond, 1994), pp. 406–9; Cowell, La Niece, and Meeks, "The Scientific Examination," pp. 56–59; Hockey, "The Composition and Structure," pp. 33–39; Iluk, "The Export of Gold," p. 99; Bruno Vorstz, "Analytische Untersuchungen archäologischer Goldfunde," in Ilona Kovrig, "Das Diadem von Csorna," *Folia Archaeologica* 36 (1985), pp. 146–47; Johns, "Some Unpublished Jewellery," pp. 55–64; Metzger, "Un Bracelet," p. 11 n. 3; Oddy and La Niece, "Byzantine Gold," pp. 19–20; Niemeyer, "A Byzantine Gold Collar," p. 90.
33. When the gold has been debased with 20% silver and/or copper, the increase in tensile strength and hardness thereby achieved

begins to level off and then to decrease. For a discussion of the mechanical properties of gold and its alloys, see *Precious Metals: Science and Technology*, ed. Dr. Linda S. Benner, Dr. T. Suzuki, Dr. K. Meguro, and S. Tanaka (Allentown, Pa.: International Precious Metals Institute, 1991), pp. 430–38.

34. Melting points were extrapolated from the phase diagrams for the binary alloys of gold-silver and gold-copper reproduced in David A. Scott, *Metallography and Microstructure of Ancient and Historic Metals* (Marina del Rey: Getty Conservation Institute in association with Archetype Books, 1991), pp. 127, 134.
35. Krause, "Das Gewinde," p. 50. The screw mechanisms—finial, threading, and tip—in copper and its alloys appear both as homogeneous elements, carved from a single blank of metal, and as composite objects, where the screw—threading and tip—is soldered to the finial, and the finial itself is assembled from two domes soldered together (as seen in many of the gold examples).
36. MMA 17.191.189, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917; MMA 1999.42, Rogers Fund, 1999.
37. A nearly identical fibula (from a private collection) with all its finials intact is illustrated in *Rom und Byzanz: Archäologische Kostbarkeiten aus Bayern* (Munich: Himmer Verlag, 1998), p. 175, no. 231.
38. A sample of the niello was identified as chalcocite, a copper sulfide, by X-ray diffraction (under conditions identical to those outlined in note 13). Copper sulfides have also been identified by La Niece on Roman metalwork fabricated from copper and its alloys; Susan La Niece, "Niello before the Romans," *Jewellery Studies* 8 (1998), p. 50. The identical design in an expanded form appears on the bow and foot of a gilt-copper-alloy crossbow fibula in the collection of the Rheinische Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 72.315, illustrated in Dorothea Haupt, "Spät Römisches Grab mit Waffenbeigabe aus Bonn," *Archéologie en Historie* (Brunsting-Festschrift, 1973), pp. 315–26.
39. EDS analysis of several points on the Morgan fibula indicate that it was formed from a brass with only minor amounts of tin and lead, while the recently acquired fibula was shaped from nearly pure copper. These analyses were performed under the same conditions outlined in note 29. Nd = not detected.
- | weight % of | iron
(Fe) | nickel
(Ni) | copper
(Cu) | zinc
(Zn) | arsenic
(As) | tin
(Sn) | lead
(Pb) |
|----------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|
| MMA 17.191.189 | | | | | | | |
| crossbar | 0.3 | nd | 91.7 | 6.8 | nd | 0.5 | 0.7 |
| bow | 0.4 | nd | 91.8 | 6.7 | nd | 0.3 | 0.8 |
| foot | 0.4 | nd | 91.4 | 6.9 | nd | 0.4 | 0.8 |
| MMA 1999.42 | | | | | | | |
| crossbar | 0.4 | nd | 98.1 | nd | 0.7 | 0.5 | nd |
| foot | 0.2 | nd | 97.7 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.7 |
40. The use of a rivet to secure either a solid or a hollow composite head finial is not uncommon on crossbow fibulae in precious and base metal.
41. The volutes bear a close resemblance to those on the gold crossbow fibula from Desana (Museo d'Arte Antica, Turin, inv. no. 12/ORI), in *Die Schraube*, p. 82, fig. 54, pp. 154–54, fig. 115.

Guo Xi's Intimate Landscapes and the Case of *Old Trees, Level Distance*

PING FOONG

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IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM of Art is an enigmatic painting named *Old Trees, Level Distance* attributed to Guo Xi 郭熙 (b. after 1000, d. ca. 1090), who is unanimously considered to be one of the greatest painters in the history of China (Figure 1).¹ The present article attempts to elucidate the historical context of this painting with textual documentation, which consists of a group of poems written by Guo's contemporaries about his intimate landscape handscrolls. The poets found, as do we, that these small handscrolls differed from the large-format works that Guo, in his role as a court painter, designed to fit into an architectural, and therefore public, context. Of such monumental ink landscapes by Guo, only the spectacular *Early Spring* in the collection of the National Palace Museum of Taiwan survives today (Figure 2).

As the literature suggests, the intimate landscapes Guo Xi painted were considered new and original in his own time. In describing this facet of Guo's production, and in identifying *Old Trees, Level Distance* as a painting

in kind, we will begin by demonstrating the stylistic affinities between *Old Trees, Level Distance* and *Early Spring*, in order to establish the former as a work by Guo. In this connection, the second section will trace the provenance of *Old Trees, Level Distance*, based on an analysis of an important seal and some of its colophons. In order to characterize Guo's intimate landscapes and to surmise a date for these paintings, the third, fourth, and fifth sections will then present the evidence from the written record of the eleventh century, namely, poems by Guo's contemporaries. With the deeper understanding of the historical position and the private function of Guo's intimate landscapes provided by these poems, a new interpretation of the subject matter of *Old Trees, Level Distance* becomes possible. This interpretation will be considered in the concluding sections.

OLD TREES, LEVEL DISTANCE AND EARLY SPRING: STYLISTIC AFFINITIES

Old Trees, Level Distance is a short handscroll executed in ink on silk and now considerably darkened with age. Two fishing boats appear in the still, low-tide waters of a chilly, autumnal river at the beginning of the painting, at right. Not far from the boats, along the river-

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The notes for this article begin on page 113.



Figure 1. Guo Xi (b. after 1000, d. ca. 1090), *Old Trees, Level Distance*. Handscroll, ink and light color on silk, 35.9 x 104.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John M. Crawford Jr., in honor of Douglas Dillon, 1981 (1981.276)



Figure 2. Guo Xi, *Early Spring*. Signed and dated 1072. Hanging scroll, ink and light color on silk, 158.3 x 108.1 cm. Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, Republic of China (photo: courtesy Taipei National Palace Museum)

bank, are two half-withered, fernlike trees with hanging vines (Figure 4). Almost disappearing into the light mist is a pair of tiny, forlorn birds flying across the river (Figure 5). Looking across a level plain delineated with layers of carefully gradated light ink wash, the viewer encounters a group of low-lying mountains beyond the river's far shore (Figure 6). Traveling toward these mountains are two woodcutters with their pack donkey, themselves fading away into the misty mountains as they cross the bridge toward home (Figure 5).

The gray lowlands are accented here and there with wet, slightly darker dabs of ink, representing scrubby brushwood on the riverbank and scattered trees along the hilly terrain (Figure 6). If it were not for these indications of foliage, it would be hard to tell the difference between land and water, mountain and mist, solid and ephemeral. We read these amorphous shapes both as an atmospheric depiction of a misty autumn evening landscape and as a suggestion of spatial recession in a level distance view.

A distinct change occurs halfway along the handscroll, where the viewer encounters large, old, withered trees (Figure 7a). As with the first pair, the trunks curve toward each other as if in conversation, but, in contrast to their wan relatives by the riverbank at the beginning

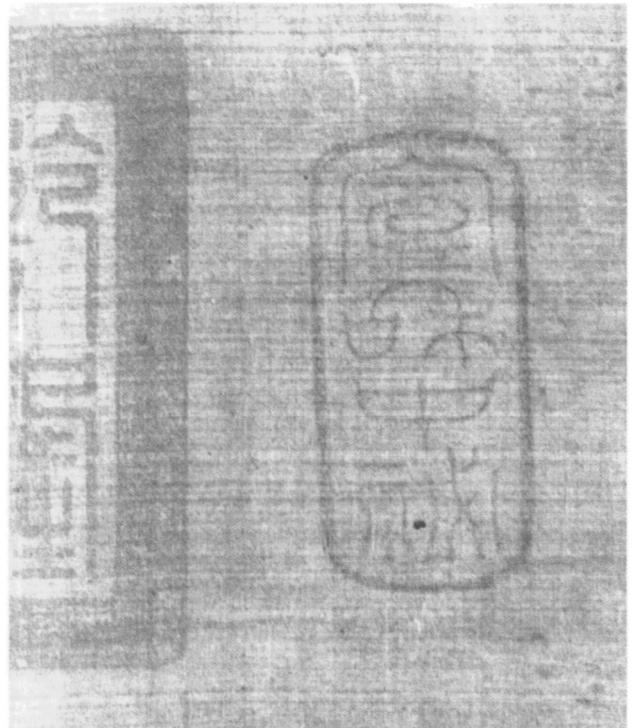


Figure 3. Detail of Figure 1, *Old Trees, Level Distance*, Xuanhe zhongbi seal

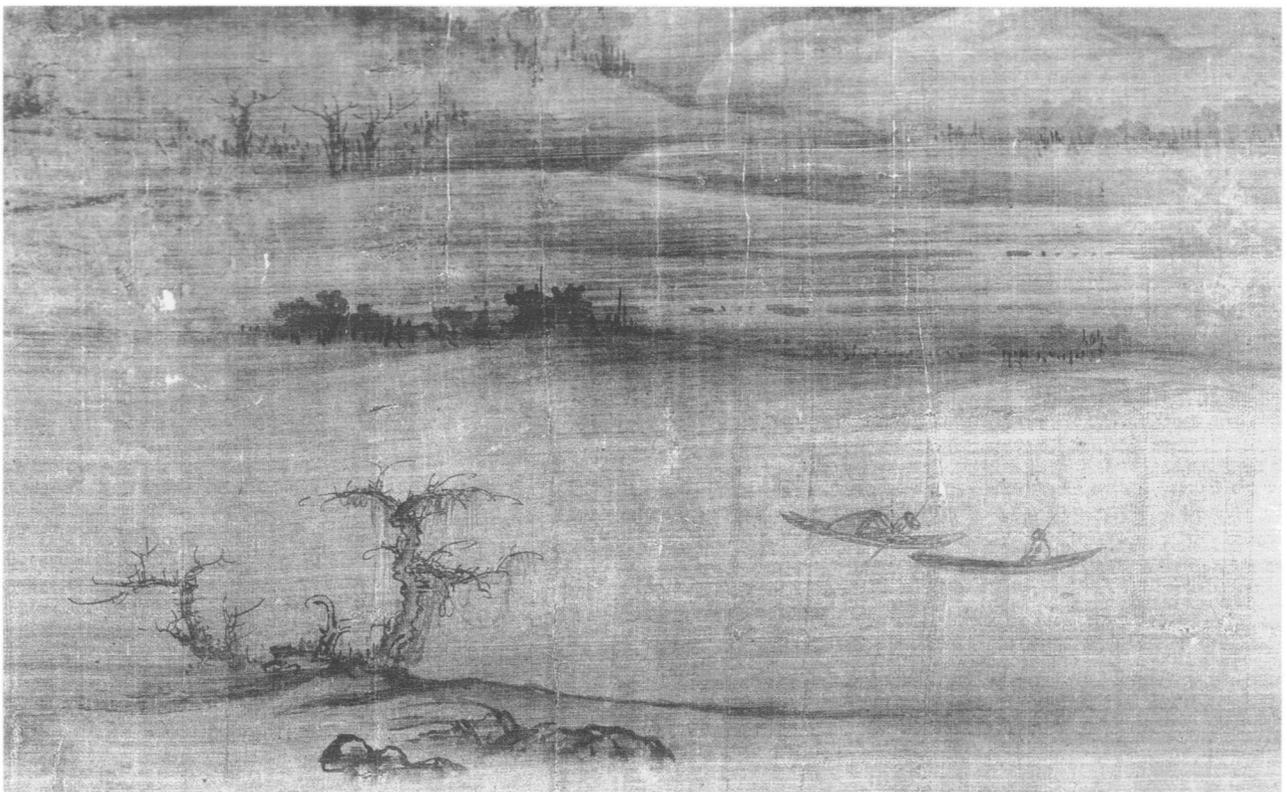


Figure 4. Detail of Figure 1, *Old Trees, Level Distance*, fishermen and small trees

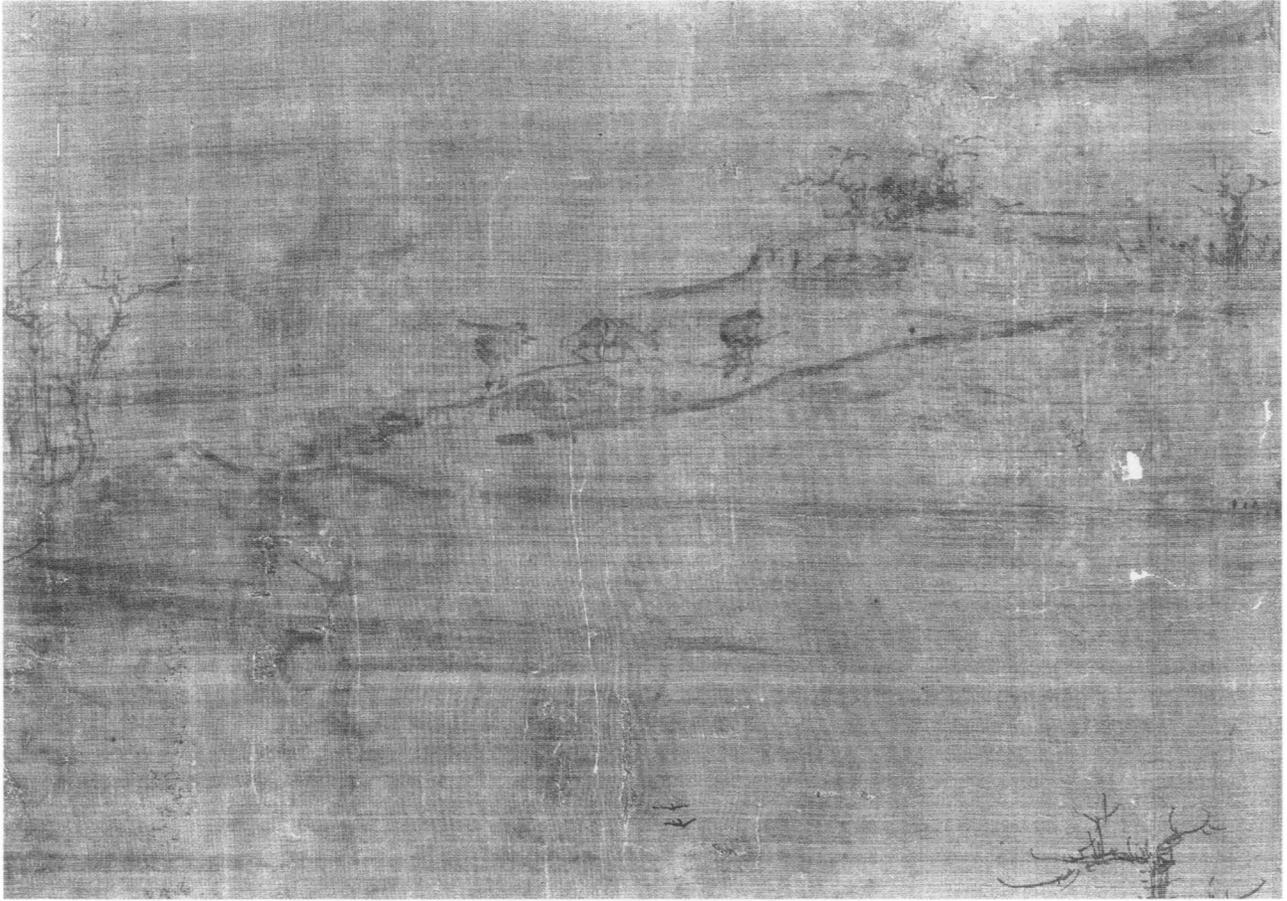


Figure 5. Detail of Figure 1, *Old Trees, Level Distance*, woodcutters and birds

of the scroll, these are presented forcefully. They are outlined in jet-black ink, as is the bulbous rock in front (Figure 9a). A main motif, the two figures located at the end of the scroll, is also sharply rendered (Figure 8). The two old men walk slowly toward the rustic pavilion overlooking the river. Five servant boys attend them at their picnic: one has gone ahead to prepare the pavilion, two accompany their masters, and two more help carry boxes. One box is probably a multitiered food carrier, and the other contains a *qin* (lute) for musical entertainment. These boldly delineated motifs (Figure 1, left) contrast with the delicate, silvery forms found at the beginning of the painting (Figure 1, right).

After having so quickly reached the end of the scroll, the viewer's eyes are drawn back along the plane of the painting, a diagonal initiated at the left by the bridge to the pavilion, continuing with the woodcutters' path, and ending with the low-lying mountains (Figure 1). An adjacent diagonal, forming another side of the trapezoidal composition, is provided by the path sandwiched between the large pair of trees and the bulbous rock. The fishermen, the woodcutters, and the smaller pair of trees are located along the remaining two sides.

This method of organization not only gives the composition a sense of containment, but also enhances the distance between objects in the long but narrow handscroll format.

The contrast of light and dark ink in the main motifs in the earlier and later sections of the scroll alters the viewer's relative sense of distance from them, giving an impression of receding distance across the lowlands. By placing these motifs along diagonals, the artist leads the viewer's eyes into the landscape without actually presenting a painting organized by a unified ground plane. This treatment is consistent with our understanding of how an artist of this period might approach the problem of space and spatial recession.²

These features of Guo Xi's style in *Old Trees, Level Distance* are also found in *Early Spring*, a hanging scroll that is ascribed with certainty to his hand, reliably signed, sealed, and dated by the artist to 1072 (Figure 2). At first glance, the two paintings seem to be contrasting works, differing in format and subject matter: the former is a handscroll depicting the autumn season, the latter a hanging scroll of early spring. Upon closer inspection, they have much in common in terms

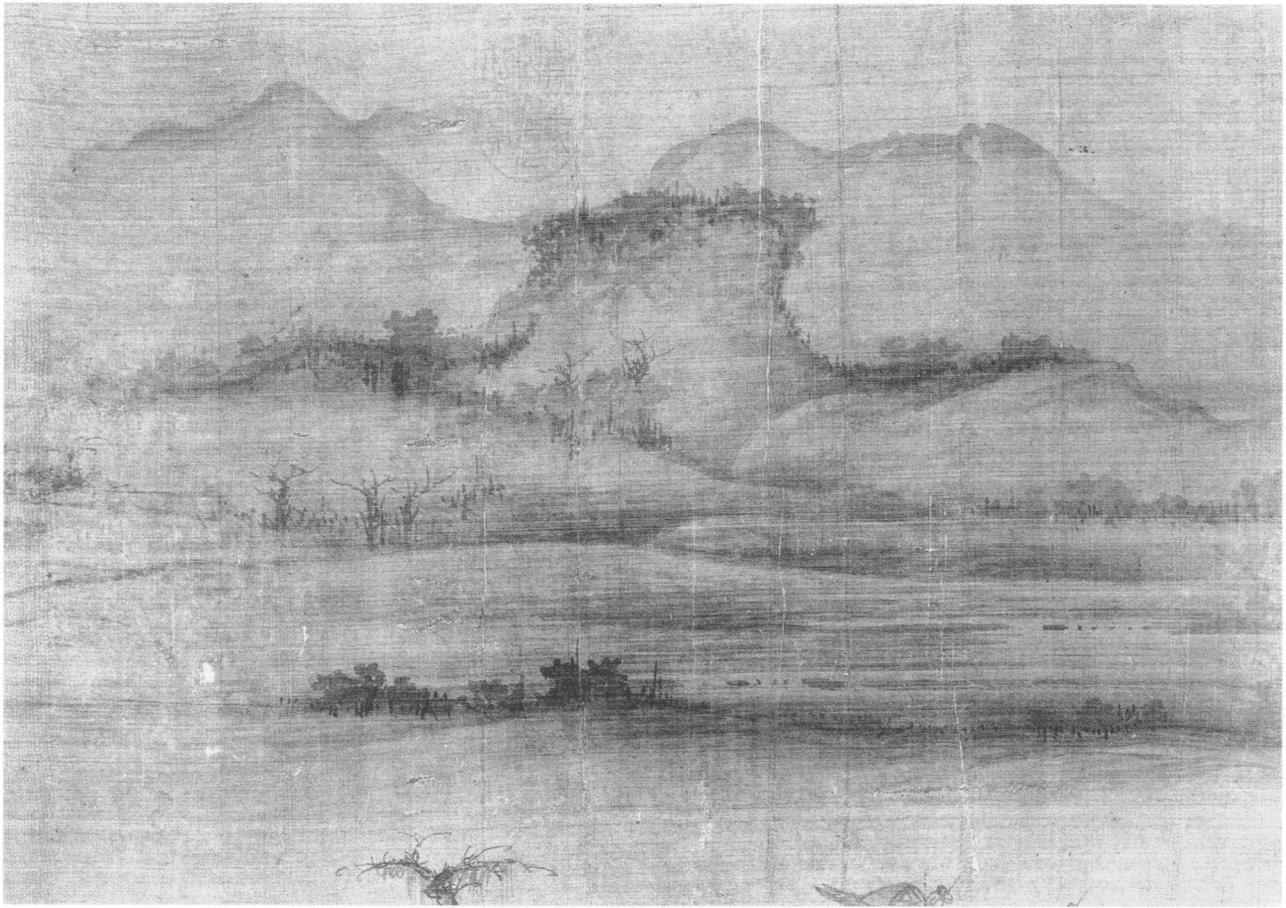


Figure 6. Detail of Figure 1, *Old Trees, Level Distance*, distant mountains

of composition and in employment of ink and line.

Although the massive central mountain formation in *Early Spring* almost moves like a living organism, as if along a random path, the underlying composition is lucidly planned. As in *Old Trees, Level Distance*, the main motifs are plotted along a trapezoidal framework. The foot of the mountain, beginning at the lower left corner of the hanging scroll, demarcates one side of the frame. Parallel to this is a wide band of glowing mist that reaches from the center of the scroll to the upper right, implying another edge. Leading our eyes in the opposite direction are similar structural devices, such as the tunnel-like recession of land in the level distance at the left edge of the scroll, the line of leafy shrubbery dotting the mountain ridge near its uppermost peak, or the multitiered waterfall, which cascades along the same axis. The alignment of the major features—the mountain ridges, the mist, the level distance, the waterfall—along this framework leads the viewer's eyes in a zigzag, ascending path up the scroll. As in *Old Trees, Level Distance*, this composition creates the perception of a progressively remote landscape, without the need to ground the forms along any single baseline.

The impression of far distance in *Early Spring* is also enhanced by juxtaposing light and dark ink. Overall, the bottom half of the mountain is heavily inked in a roughly hewn manner. In contrast, the less distinct top half is painted with smaller, layered, rubbed brush strokes, done with relatively lighter ink. Following the changes in tonality along the winding spine of the mountain, the viewer also feels that this mass recedes backward, in the same way that an object that is farther away is less visible to the eye.

This careful deployment of ink is manifest in both paintings at a local level as well. For example, clearly differentiated tonalities of ink distinguish tree from shrub, front from back. The large deciduous trees in *Old Trees, Level Distance* are depicted with a bold, sure brush and thick, black ink (Figure 7a). The leafy shrubs growing underneath them are done with dark, watery, though solid strokes, creating a soft-edged foil to hoary trunks and spiky branches. Farther in the background are two other trees in lighter gray ink, again one soft and the other spiny. Such layered tree vignettes appear in a number of places in *Early Spring*, for instance in the center of the scroll (Figure 7b). Judiciously applied



Figure 7a. Detail of Figure 1, *Old Trees, Level Distance*, large trees

wash, from the layers of which discrete forms and textures emerge, is evident in both paintings.

With apparent ease, the artist also utilizes tightly controlled ink gradations to build up a sense of plasticity in the rock formations of both paintings. Layers of restless line and fluid wash fuse to form bulging rocks. On top of the layered wash, a few selectively placed dabs of ink call attention to the pitted texture of the rock in *Old Trees, Level Distance* (Figure 9a), a technique applied with a slightly dryer brush in *Early Spring* (Figure 9b). Here and there, inky outlines are added to suggest rugged edges. In *Old Trees, Level Distance*, such dark highlights give substantial definition to the cloudlike rock. At the same time, the artist literally undercuts this solidity by allowing the base of the rock to fade away

into the silk. The base of the rock in *Early Spring* also disappears (into water), and from afar it almost seems to float. A distinctive feature of Guo Xi's landscapes is this delight in the contradiction presented by baseless mountains and weightless rock.

Guo Xi employs line masterfully. Here, we might point out three uses common to *Old Trees, Level Distance* and *Early Spring*. The first has already been mentioned—the way in which line is used to transform an area of layered wash into substantial rock. In addition, this line sometimes defines a place behind which figures can appear. In *Old Trees, Level Distance*, the rock, edged with a fluctuating, charcoal-black line, acts as a window through which we glimpse two servant boys with their loads approaching the pavilion (Figure 10a). This fea-



Figure 7b. Detail of Figure 2, *Early Spring*, trees and shrubs in mid-ground (photo: from *Guo Xi Zaochun tu* 郭熙早春圖 [Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1979], p. 47)

ture appears in *Early Spring* (Figure 10b). Although the spatial relationship between the rocky overhang and the travelers is more ambiguous in *Early Spring*, the dark line also denotes space below and behind.

A second use of line occurs in the rendering of figures. While the relative sizes of the figures in the two works differ, the depiction is quite similar, in demeanor and arrangement. For instance, the hunched figures in both paintings are comparable: in *Old Trees, Level Distance*, he is curved with age (Figure 11a); in *Early Spring*, she is bent under her load (Figure 11c). Both seem to have the heel of the forward foot off the ground, as if stepping out toe first. Their respective companions turn their heads, as if to suggest they are courteously waiting for them (Figures 11b and 11d).

Travelers depicted in three-quarter view from the back have V-shaped feet (Figures 11f, 11h, and 11i) and carry packs that are practically indistinguishable from their bodies since they are meant to be moving away from the audience into the distance. Guo Xi depicts these human figures with the same quivering, rounded line as that found on the edges of his rocks. He favors outlines broken into plump dashes and dots, delineating both clothing and body, as in the uneven sleeves of the scholars in *Old Trees, Level Distance* (Figures 11a and 11b) and in the jagged arms of the fishermen in *Early Spring* (Figure 11e).

A final use of line to be noted seems to be a habit born of a nimble brush. In *Early Spring*, we find a number of instances where a single stroke depicts multiple

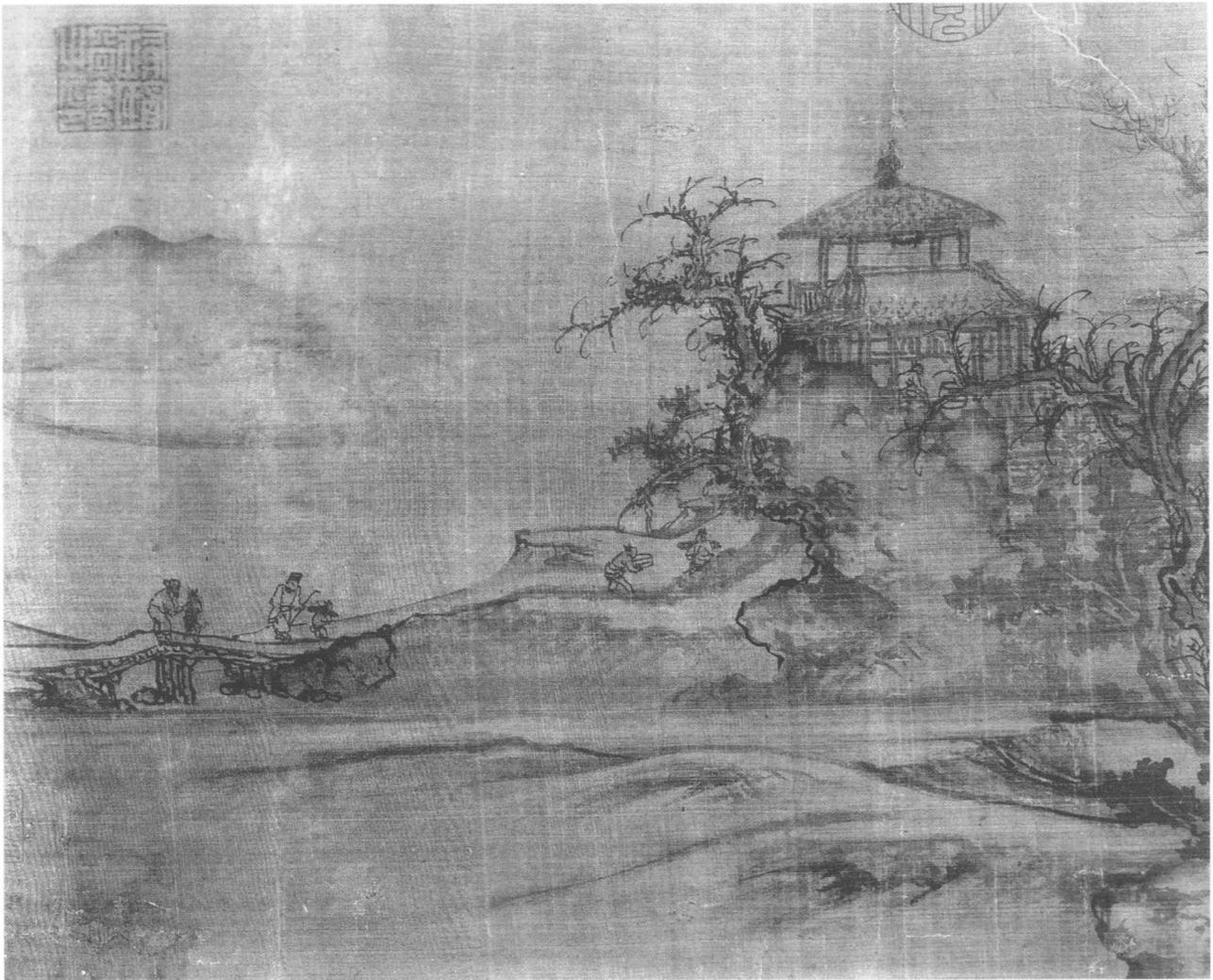


Figure 8. Detail of Figure 1, *Old Trees, Level Distance*, pair of old men and pavilion

parts of the tree. In one example, the line begins as the hollow in a tree branch, is transformed into an edge, and ends as a flicking twig (Figure 12b). The fernlike stump in *Old Trees, Level Distance* is an abbreviated manifestation of this mannerism (Figure 12a). Also in a kind of shorthand is the way the taller tree next to the stump is outlined. The same witty technique is used in *Early Spring* to describe the bumpy edge of a gnarled tree trunk (Figure 12c). In *Early Spring*, the brushwork is still relatively naturalistic; in *Old Trees, Level Distance*, it has been distilled into a whimsically curling outline, executed with speed that might come from years of repetition and practice of the same brush idiom.

This comparison of composition, ink, and line in *Old Trees, Level Distance* and *Early Spring* has sought to establish the similarity of the two works in these three respects. The variations described above may be

accounted for by their different dates of execution. It will be shown that *Old Trees, Level Distance* was painted about a decade after *Early Spring*. The two paintings were created for different purposes and at two separate stages in Guo Xi's career at court, which lasted from 1068 to the time of his death around the 1090s.

A SEAL AND SOME COLOPHONS

Seals and colophons are important aids in authenticating a painting by provenance. The earliest identifiable seal found on *Old Trees, Level Distance*, impressed at the top edge, midway along the scroll, is important physical evidence of the early date of the painting. It is the rare and important *Xuanhe zhongbi* 宣和中秘, or seal of "The Xuanhe Era Imperial Archives of the Inner



Figure 9a. Detail of Figure 1, *Old Trees, Level Distance*, rock and path

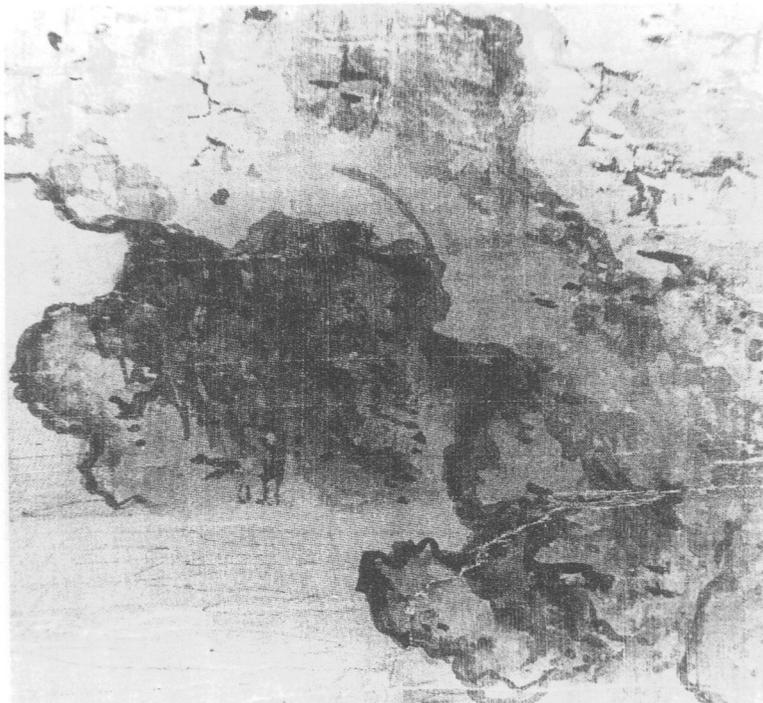
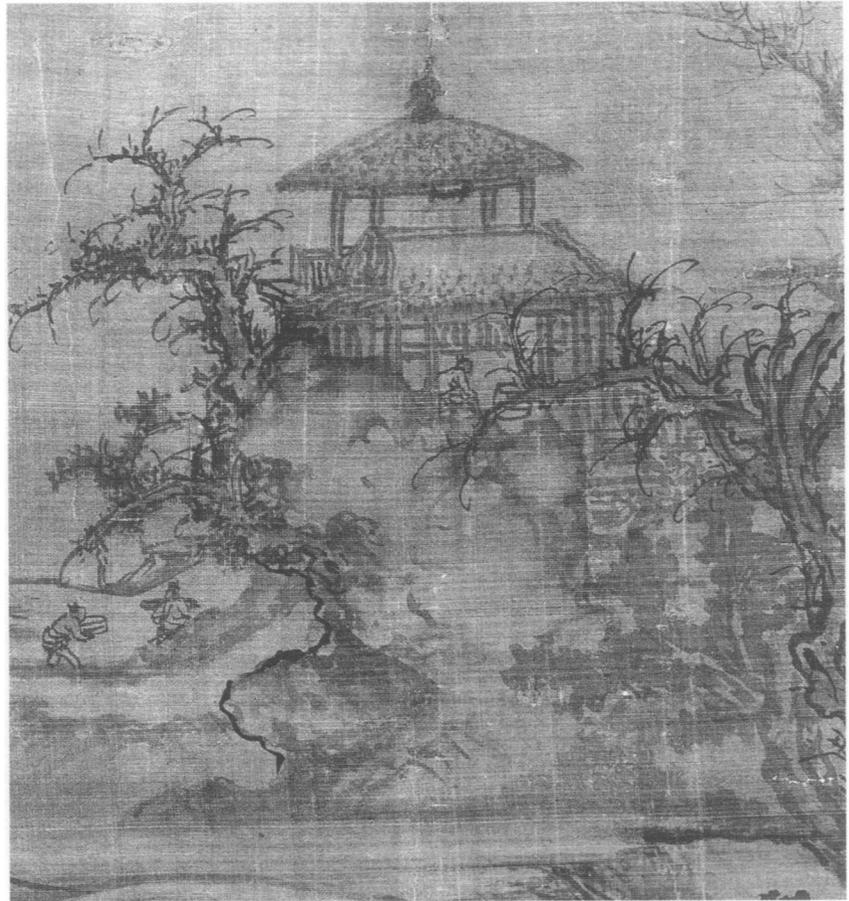


Figure 9b. Detail of Figure 2, *Early Spring*, rock in left mid-ground (photo: from *Guo Xi Zaochuntu*, p. 45)

Figure 10a. Detail of Figure 1, *Old Trees, Level Distance*, large rock with servant boys



Palace Library” (Figure 3). The four characters done in relief (*yangwen* 陽文), that is, with a red outline on white ground, are composed in a vertical oblong shape. The presence of this seal indicates that *Old Trees, Level Distance* was part of Emperor Huizong’s 宋徽宗 (1082–1135, r. 1101–25) imperial collection of painting, during the Xuanhe era (1119–25) of his reign, and that it was once kept in the Imperial Archives (*Bige* 秘閣), a known repository of art in the palace precincts.

Emperor Huizong’s famous cataloguing method, known as the “seven-seal” system, is thought to have been systematically used to document the imperial collection during the Xuanhe era. The *Xuanhe zhongbi* seal here is possibly a remnant of a pattern of mounting used before the Xuanhe seven-seal suite was standardized.³ Since *Old Trees, Level Distance* was not catalogued with the seven-seal system, the painting may have left the imperial collection before the standard was implemented, sometime during the first quarter of the twelfth century.

The colophons on paper mounted following the image give us a picture of who owned and viewed *Old Trees, Level Distance* during the following decades. In

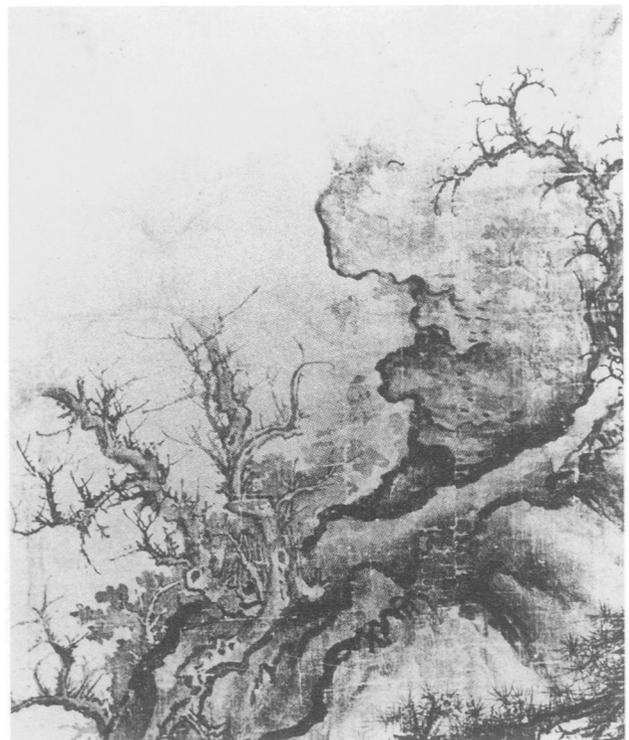


Figure 10b. Detail of Figure 2, *Early Spring*, rocky overhang with travelers (photo: from *Guo Xi Zaochun tu*, p. 46)



Figures 11a, 11b. Details of Figure 1, *Old Trees, Level Distance*, old men and servant boys



Figures 11c, 11d. Details of Figure 2, *Early Spring*, fisherwomen (photos: from *Guo Xi Zaochun tu*, p. 71)

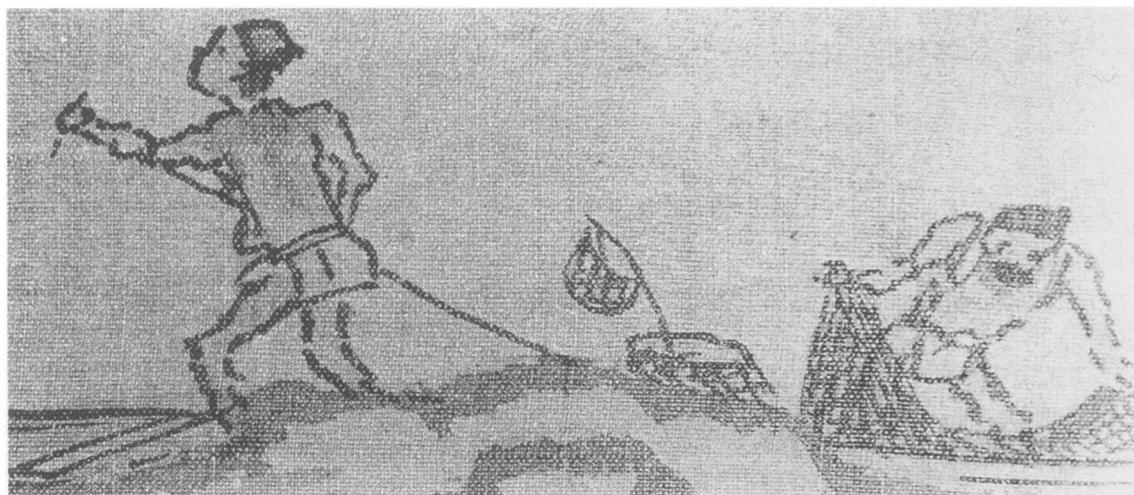
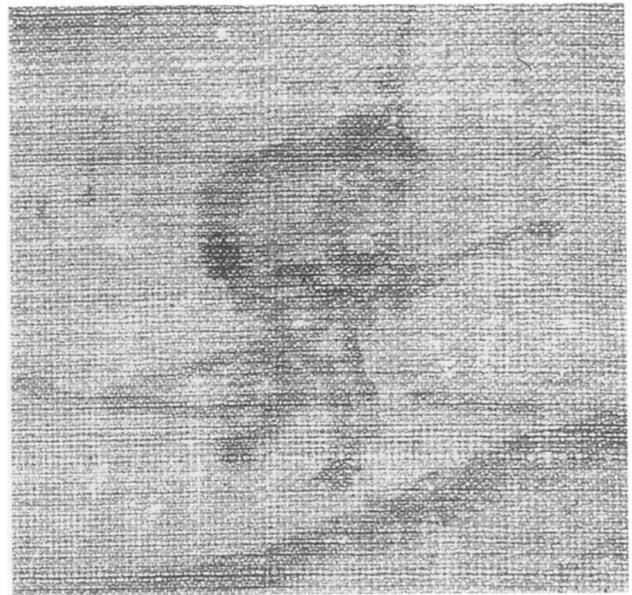


Figure 11e. Detail of Figure 2, *Early Spring*, fishermen (photo: from *Guo Xi Zaochun tu*, p. 63)



Figures 11f, 11g. Details of Figure 1, *Old Trees, Level Distance*, travelers



Figures 11h, 11i. Details of Figure 2, *Early Spring*, travelers
(photos: from *Guo Xi Zaochun tu*, p. 49)

the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368), the poet-official Feng Zizhen 馮子振 (1257–after 1327) inscribed a poem, important in its own right as a calligraphic masterwork (Figure 13, right). The great painter and calligrapher Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322) also wrote a few lines to the left of Feng’s colophon after he saw *Old Trees, Level Distance* (Figure 13, left). These are the earliest colophons still attached to the handscroll.⁴ Zhao

Mengfu’s possibly dates to the late thirteenth century or the first decade of the fourteenth, when he was at the Mongol capital at Dadu 大都 (modern-day Beijing), during which time he gained access to paintings from collections in north China.

By the early fourteenth century, the scroll was acquired by the private collector Shi Donggao (unidentified, active 14th century). Little is known of Shi, but his name appears in the colophon added to the scroll by the scholar-official Yu Ji 虞集 (1271–1348). Yu Ji, an intimate of the Mongol ruler Tugh Temür (Wenzong 文宗, r. 1328–29/2, 1329/9–1332) and a

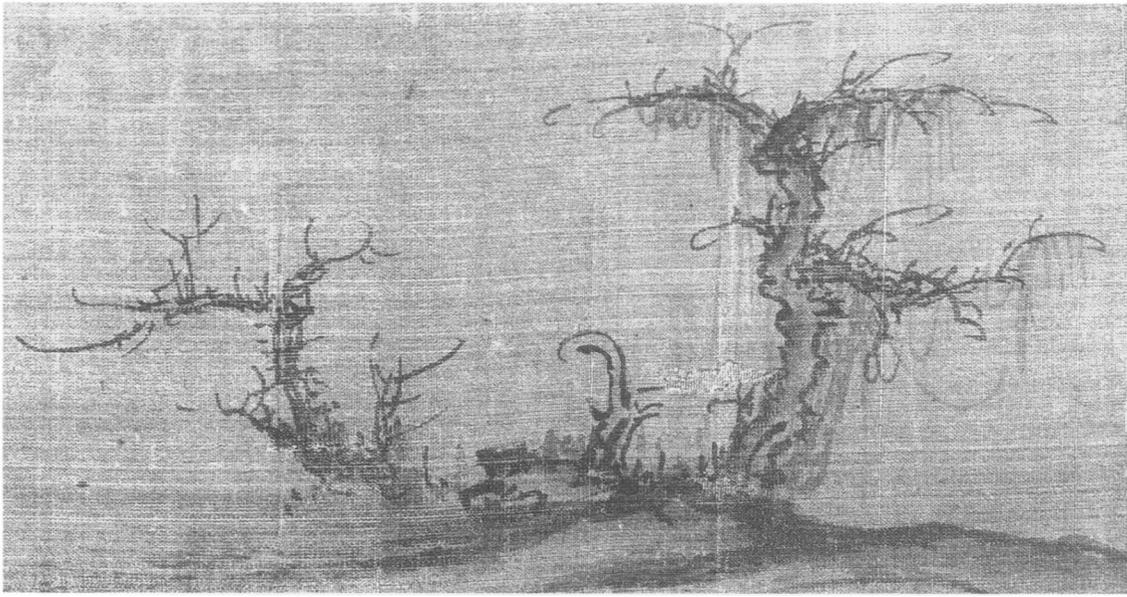


Figure 12a. Detail of Figure 1, *Old Trees, Level Distance*, pair of small trees and stump



Figure 12b. Detail of Figure 2, *Early Spring*, tree branch (see Figure 7b)

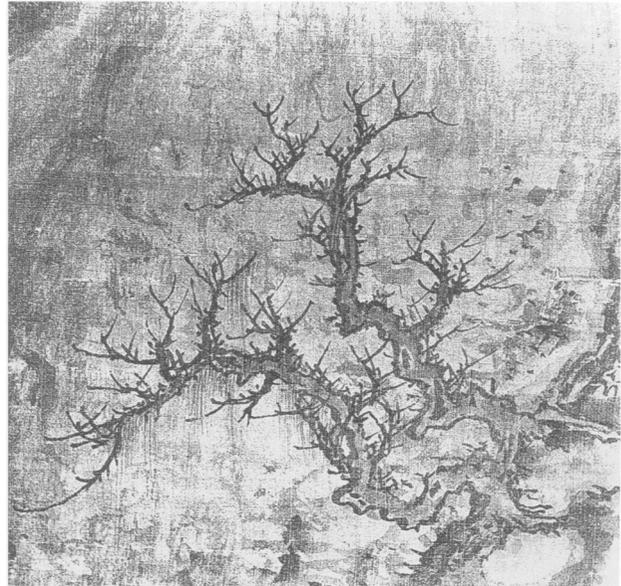


Figure 12c. Detail of Figure 2, *Early Spring*, pair of trees at right mid-ground (photo: from *Guo Xi Zaochun tu*, p. 59)

trusted appraiser of the imperial art collection held at the Star of Literature Pavilion (Kuizhang ge 奎章閣), probably wrote his colophon while serving at the capital, since the inscriptions following his were made by two officers of the Pavilion, the well-known connoisseur Ke Jiushi 柯九思 (1290–1343) and the Hanlin Academician Liu Guan 柳貫 (1270–1342). Therefore, Yu Ji's colophon dates to before 1333, when he left the capital of Dadu and retired.

Shi Donggao, a Route Commander (*zongguan* 總管), possibly near Dadu in north China, also showed his scroll to another Yuan-period man, one Yan Yaohuan 顏堯煥

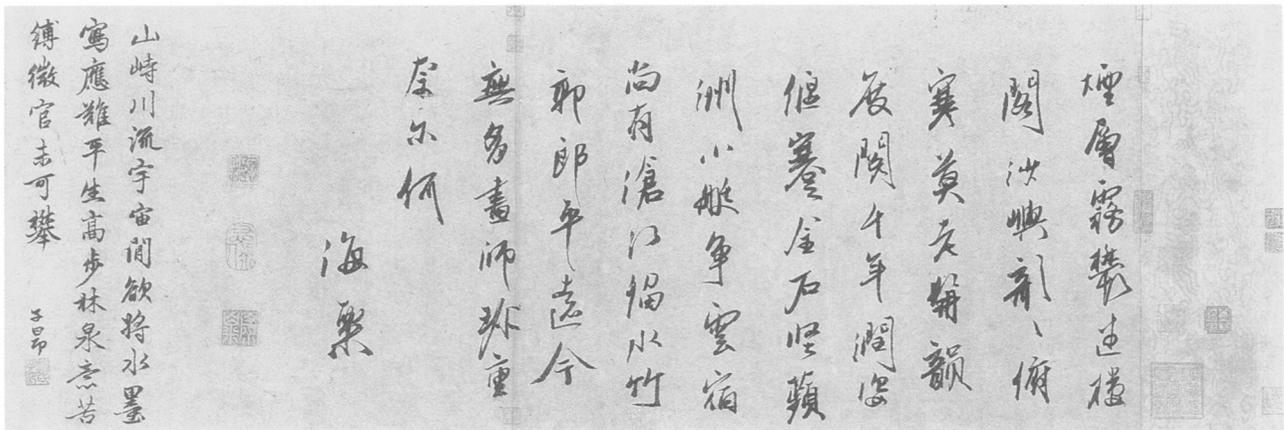


Figure 13. Colophons to *Old Trees, Level Distance* (Figure 1), late 13th or early 14th century. Right colophon by Feng Zizhen (1257–after 1327); left colophon by Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322). Section of a handscroll, ink on paper

(unidentified, active 14th century). Yan described the viewing session in an inscription (Figure 14), in which he commented in jest that this rare scroll had now encountered a person as rare as itself, its current owner, Shi Donggao. His comments and poem on the precious work, written to remember this special occasion and to preserve his opinion that the handscroll he inscribed was a genuine Guo Xi, may be translated as follows:⁵

Su Shi once wrote the poem:

*In Jade Hall, dawn is shaded even on an idle spring day,
within there is Guo Xi's painting of spring mountains.*

Now Wen Yanbo, the Duke of Lu, had written a colophon on a painting by Guo Xi, and then Old Su Shi had composed a poem after this colophon. These two gentlemen were brilliant and famous officials of their time, but to be able to see such inscriptions nowadays—it is no longer possible! More than one painting by Guo Xi exists, however: take time to examine this *Autumn Trees in a Level Distance* [as he called *Old Trees, Level Distance*]. Its materials are from between the Baoyuan [1038–39] and the Yuanyou [1086–93] eras, now returned to the Route Commander Old Shi Donggao's writing table after three hundred years. Old Dong has obtained that which is rarely obtained; this painting has also encountered that which is rarely encountered; I too am able to see that which is rarely seen. For this reason I write him this poem in remembrance:

*The fascination of Guo Xi's painting lies not in its colors,
white rocks, withered rafts pillowed by the currents.
This level distance contains sentiments in its illusory lands,
its inscriptions enhance our distance from the past.*

*On a single layer of white silk, clouds astir and flowing,
for three hundred years and more, the stars have made
several revolutions.*

*Holding [the scroll] with Donggao, we often spread it out in
appreciation,
together with our lutes and books, we happily roam.*

[Signed] Yan Yaohuan.

According to Yan Yaohuan's connoisseurship of the "materials" 料 of the scroll—presumably including the silk, the brushwork, and so on—the painting in his opinion could be dated to "between the Baoyuan and the Yuanyou eras," or about the 1040s to the 1090s. Since Yan also tells us that the scroll reappeared after three hundred years, his inscription on *Old Trees, Level Distance* dates to sometime around the 1340s to the 1390s. The colophon immediately following, by the Buddhist monk Zuming 祖銘 (active mid-14th century), is dated 1350, which makes it likely that Yan's colophon dates closer to that time. In addition, Zuming signed his colophon with the sobriquet "Old Man Ding of Mount Jing" (Jingshan dingweng 徑山鼎翁), a name he first took when he went south to Mount Jing (Lin'an 臨安, Zhejiang Province) in the Zhizheng 至正 era (1341–67). Thus, Zuming, and maybe Yan Yaohuan as well, saw and inscribed *Old Trees, Level Distance* while in the south.

From the above evidence, the early provenance of *Old Trees, Level Distance* can be surmised to be as follows: after the handscroll left the Northern Song (960–1127) imperial collection in the early twelfth century, it disappeared into private hands for over a century and a half. It resurfaced in the late thirteenth century and was seen by men who served the Mongol court at Dadu. The painting remained in

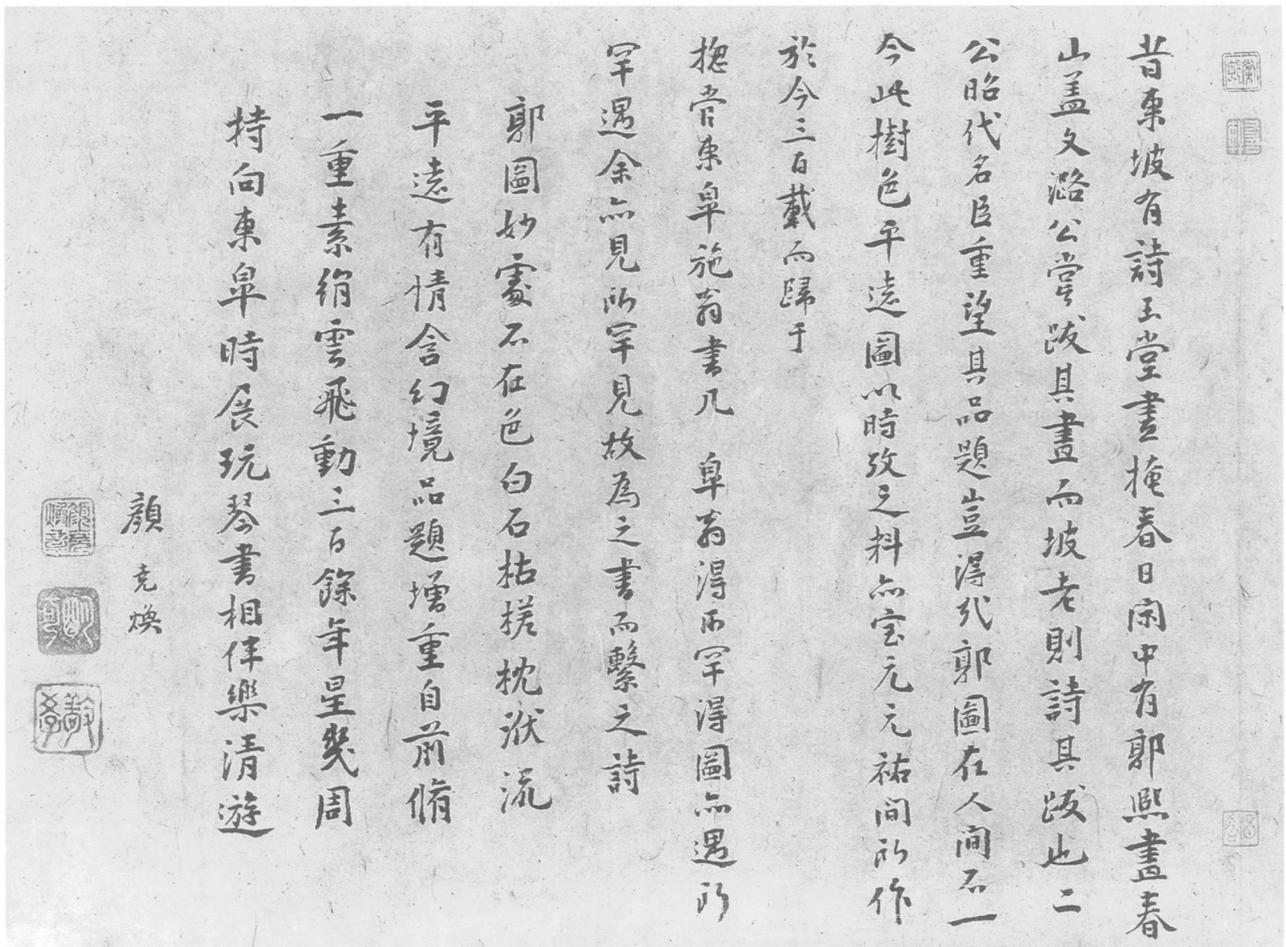


Figure 14. Colophon to *Old Trees, Level Distance* (Figure 1), ca. 1340–50, by Yan Yaohuan (active 14th century). Section of a handscroll, ink on paper

north China at least up to the early fourteenth century, which was the time when Shi Donggao owned it. However, the painting traveled south (possibly still with Shi) sometime in the mid-fourteenth century, since Zuming saw it after he reached Mount Jing. Thereafter, *Old Trees, Level Distance* remained in southern collections until it entered the Qing dynasty imperial collection from the eighteenth to the early nineteenth century.

Yan Yaohuan's inscription is also significant because it preserves a clue to the origins of *Old Trees, Level Distance*. It begins with a couplet from a well-known poem by the literary giant Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), in praise of a painting by Guo Xi that decorated the Jade Hall 玉堂 of the Hanlin Academy 翰林學士院. Yan goes on to say that the conservative statesman and powerful former Grand Councilor Wen Yanbo 文彥博, the Duke of Lu 潞公 (1006–1097), had once written a colophon on another painting by Guo Xi, about which Su Shi also wrote a poem. By the time Yan Yaohuan saw *Old*

Trees, Level Distance, no poems or colophons by Su Shi or Wen Yanbo were attached to this scroll. However, Yan was clearly aware that, three hundred years earlier, Wen Yanbo, Su Shi, and their friends also gathered around a handscroll by Guo Xi, an occasion they had recorded in the colophons and poems Yan mentions. By drawing a parallel between his rendezvous with Shi Donggao and the get-together three centuries earlier of Wen Yanbo, Su Shi, and friends, Yan Yaohuan places Shi Donggao and himself in a lineage of erudite connoisseurs commenting on Guo Xi's handscrolls.

The two Su Shi poems mentioned by Yan Yaohuan survive in Su's collected works. Following social and poetic convention, a number of men from Su's circle composed matching poems for both. The first poem by Su Shi was matched by his friend the official and great calligrapher Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105). The second poem was matched by Su Shi's brother Su Che 蘇轍 (1039–1112), by Su's disciple, the statesman

Chao Buzhi 晁補之 (1053–1110), and by a new acquaintance Bi Zhongyou 畢仲游 (1047–1121). These follow the rhyme words initiated by Su and therefore can be grouped together with his poems to form two sets.⁶ The first set of poems was composed during the Yuanyou 元祐 era (1086–93) and the second set sometime between the Yuanyou to the mid-Shaosheng 紹聖 eras (1094–97). Both sets describe a Guo Xi handscroll depicting the autumn season in a level distance view. The poems make clear that, besides monumental works under imperial commission, Guo also privately created small, intimate paintings for his literati patrons. The poems of Su Shi and his friends are of great importance for what they can tell us about Guo Xi's private handscrolls, and are thus invaluable for the light they shed upon *Old Trees, Level Distance*.

The following discussion attempts, by dating the poems themselves, to provide a terminus ante quem for the two handscrolls described in the poems. The surprise expressed by Guo Xi's viewers at how different these scrolls were from his "typical" paintings—that is, his imperially commissioned works—indicates that Guo began making such paintings, seen by this group of literati friends, during the same period their poems were composed. We will suggest a time frame during which Guo was actively making these works, specifically the last ten years of his life.

Reading the poems as sets will also allow us to characterize their contextual and thematic variations. While the two poem sets contain similar autumnal imagery to describe two Guo Xi handscrolls of like subject matter, their underlying themes differ, one concerning farewell offered on retirement, the other being a protest against exile. The author will suggest that *Old Trees, Level Distance* may be the handscroll described in the former poem set, for its theme is also one of retirement and farewell.

The wider goal of examining the literary evidence in depth is to characterize the nature of Guo Xi's level distance landscape handscrolls. It will be shown that—in contrast to his large, public works—Guo intended them for his personal patrons, who appreciated the handscrolls on private occasions with friends. This intimate function of Guo's paintings can be seen to be an important aspect of his late career.

THE FIRST POEM SET: SU SHI AND HUANG TINGJIAN

After the death of Emperor Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1068–85), Su Shi and his coterie were reunited in the capital of Kaifeng for the first time in many years. They frequently visited each other or exchanged poems by

courier in a friendly competition of wit and erudition. Often, they wrote their opinions and evaluations of various paintings that they saw, ancient and contemporary, in the form of poetry. On one occasion, the topic was a landscape painting in handscroll format by the favorite painter of Emperor Shenzong, Guo Xi. The handscroll belonged to Wen Yanbo, who had written a colophon to the painting. This is the colophon mentioned by Yan Yaohuan, which unfortunately is not preserved in Wen's collected works and is lost to us today.⁷ Wen showed Su Shi the painting, and, in the expected gesture of thanks for that honor, Su composed a poem in praise of the painting. Responding to Su's poem, Huang Tingjian composed one with a matching rhyme pattern.

The title of Su Shi's poem is "Guo Xi's Painting *Autumn Mountains, Level Distance*, to Which Wen Yanbo Added a Colophon" 郭熙畫秋山平遠澗公爲跋尾.⁸ The first two couplets of this eight-couplet poem can be translated as follows:

*In Jade Hall, dawn is shaded even on an idle spring day,
within there is Guo Xi's painting of spring mountains.
Cooing pigeons and nestling swallows just awakened,
its white breakers and verdant ranges are not of this world.*

These couplets are quoted by Guo Xi's son, Guo Si 郭思 (ca. 1050–after 1130), in a supplement to his edition of *Linquan gaozhi* 林泉高致 (The lofty message of forests and streams), his father's art theoretical treatise and painting manual.⁹ Though they describe a multi-paneled screen painting of springtime by Guo Xi in the Jade Hall, the central building of the Hanlin Academy, the rest of Su Shi's poem concerns a painting quite unlike the monumental Jade Hall screen by which Guo Si wanted posterity to remember his father:

*So far away, a level distance unfolds in this short scroll,
so vast, an autumn evening is lodged within its sparse
grove.
Just as when I bid my guest farewell in Jiangnan,
in mid-stream, he turned his head to gaze at the cloudy
peaks.*

*Old recluse of River Yi, his graying temples like the frost,¹⁰
leisurely viewing these autumn mountains, he thinks of
Luoyang.
I inscribe this for you at the end in running cursive script,
as clearly as [this vision of] Mount Song and River Luo,
adrift in an autumn glow.*

*Only a day has passed, it seems, since I roamed the world
with you,
not realizing our yellowed hair now reflects dark mountains.
Paint me a picture of Longmen's Eight-Armed Shoals,
while I wait to purchase springs and stones from River Yi.*

Su Shi's evocation of the large Jade Hall screen in the opening couplets serves as a foil to introduce another work by Guo Xi, a short handscroll, which Su characterizes as an "autumn evening" landscape in a level distance view. He tells us about his immediate response to the painting: it reminded him of a scene in which he said farewell to a friend in Jiangnan. He then describes the reaction of the "Old recluse of River Yi," that is, Wen Yanbo. Su informs us that Wen is reminded of Luoyang upon viewing the handscroll, presumably referring to the content of Wen's lost colophon. Perhaps Su is likening the blurry visual effects he sees depicted in Guo Xi's painting to Wen's own nostalgic memory of Luoyang and its famous sites, River Yi, Mount Song, and River Luo.¹¹ Finally, Su expresses a wish that someone paint him a picture of Longmen's "Eight-Armed Shoals," a scenic spot on River Yi, south of the city of Luoyang. This is a request to Guo Xi for a painting: Su says it will sustain him until he can buy a plot of land there for retirement, close to Wen.¹²

Su Shi's composition is an appropriate if conventional response to a request from an important acquaintance for a poem and a piece of his calligraphy. Even though the topic at hand is ostensibly Guo Xi's handscroll, the real subject of Su's melancholy poem is actually Wen Yanbo and his memories of Luoyang. In essence, Su is saying farewell to Wen upon Wen's imminent journey to retirement, in the context of commenting upon a work of art belonging to him. We can guess from Su's response that Wen's own colophon to his Guo Xi handscroll also featured his longing for retirement to Luoyang.

Wen Yanbo's active career spanned over fifty years. He served a total of four different emperors during his lifetime and was one of the most senior and revered officials of his time.¹³ Wen formally retired to Luoyang twice. The first time was at age seventy-seven, in the eleventh month of 1083.¹⁴ However, after the death of Emperor Shenzong in the third month of 1085, he was persuaded by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) to return to the capital in mid-1086. As a prominent member of the Conservative party who had been sent away from the capital by Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086) during the 1070s, Wen's presence added great prestige to the new government organized by the regent, Empress Dowager Gao 高, whose husband (Shenzong's father, Emperor Yingzong 英宗, r. 1063–67) had opposed Wang Anshi's reform-minded New Policies. We know from the numerous requests Wen Yanbo submitted for permission to re-retire that he no longer had any desire to participate actively in government. However, it was not until 1090, at age eighty-four, that he was finally granted his second retirement.¹⁵ Considering these circumstances, Wen's

strong sense of longing for Luoyang and Su Shi's sympathetic response are perfectly understandable.

At this point, it is possible to suggest that Guo Xi painted the handscroll owned by Wen Yanbo, *Autumn Mountains, Level Distance*, in order to wish Wen farewell while he was still at the capital of Kaifeng waiting for permission to retire. Since Wen was in Kaifeng and longed to retire to Luoyang during two periods, about 1080, and between mid-1086 and 1090, Guo could have presented the handscroll to Wen during either of these two periods. The earliest possible date for the handscroll, however, is about 1080, after which Wen added his colophon.

When Wen Yanbo showed Su Shi the handscroll, Huang Tingjian was probably present, since he provided a poem matching Su's. The time of this get-together, and thus the terminus ante quem for *Autumn Mountains, Level Distance*, can be inferred from a dating of Su's and Huang's poems. Here, we will present internal evidence in Huang's poem that allows us to estimate when the gathering occurred.

Huang Tingjian titled his poem for the occasion "Matching the Rhyme of Su Shi Inscribing Guo Xi's Painting, *Autumn Mountains*" 次韻子瞻題郭熙畫秋山:¹⁶

*Before the banished one of Huangzhou received his pardon,
he had his fill of mountain viewing in Jiangnan and
Jiangbei.*

*In Jade Hall as we leisurely face Guo Xi's painting,
with swelling joy, [he is] now within its Green Grove.*

*Guo Xi's official paintings are only of barren and distant
views,
but on this short scroll, twists and turns open a vista of
an autumn evening.*

*A river village beyond the mist, rain drops glistening,
returning geese travel side by side, beyond are layered
peaks.*

*Seated thinking of yellow oranges and frost over Lake
Dongting,
I regret I am not like the geese who follow the sun.
Guo Xi now has a head of white hair but still has good eyes,
still able to wield his brush in the reflected window light.*

*Perhaps a painting of Jiangnan on a fine, windy day,
to comfort this old man, my [white] hair reflected in the
mirror.*

*If only Guo Xi is willing to paint—take time in your "journey,"
spend five days on each stream, ten days on each rock.¹⁷*

This poem, closely based on Su Shi's, borrows much of its structure and imagery. Shaping his poem like Su's, Huang first mentions viewing Guo Xi's *Spring Mountains* screen in the Jade Hall of the Hanlin

Academy. In the couplets that follow, he contrasts the fresh, new vision of the handscroll before him with Guo's imperially commissioned works, which he dismisses as all depicting "barren and distant views." One has the sense that Huang composed his matching poem while looking back and forth between the Jade Hall screen and Wen Yanbo's handscroll. In taking up Su's juxtaposition of the screen with the handscroll, Huang further emphasizes the contrast by stressing that *Autumn Mountains, Level Distance* is entirely different in flavor from Guo's public paintings.

Like Su Shi, who thought of saying farewell to a departing friend in Jiangnan, Huang Tingjian is reminded by the handscroll of his memories of the south. Huang mentions frosty Lake Dongting, his answer to Su's Eight-Armed Shoals and Wen Yanbo's Luoyang. Thinking of Dongting, Huang wishes to be like geese flying home toward the sun, invoking a well-known analogy for retirement.¹⁸ Like Su, Huang also ends his poem by coyly asking a white-haired Guo Xi to make him a painting, maybe a scene of Jiangnan on a windy day to comfort him in his old age. What is new in Huang's poem is the addition of Guo Xi himself. Indeed, the portrayal of the painter as having a "head of white hair" is one of the few indications we have of Guo's age at this time.

Su Shi had been banished from 1079 to 1084 to Huangzhou, an obscure mid-Yangzi prefecture, where he held the unpaid office of assistant militia commandant. Huang Tingjian's angry reference to Su's predicament in the first line of this poem seems at first to indicate that he was writing during Su's exile. However, there are two reasons why this is not possible. First, Guo Xi finished his enormous paneled screen for the Jade Hall of the Hanlin Academy by 1083, in time to furnish the new offices of the recently formed central bureaucracy.¹⁹ According to Guo Xi's son Guo Si, Emperor Shenzong himself had sent a high official, Palace Messenger Zhang Shiliang, to transmit his imperial commission for the Jade Hall screen:

"The Hanlin Academy is a place of literary brilliance. You, sir, have a son who is studying books. You should both put your ideas into a painting." My father retired to his study for several days, and then in one sweep completed [the screen]: its scenery was of spring mountains. Infused with the feelings of spring, the attitudes of all beings were joyful, and onlookers were as pleased as if in the realm of the Siming and Tianmu [mountains of Zhejiang].²⁰

Huang Tingjian could not have seen Guo Xi's new Jade Hall screen until the sixth month of 1085, when he arrived at the capital after some years "in the field" in

Jiangxi and Shandong. Similarly, Su Shi also could not have seen the Jade Hall painting, which he refers to as *Spring Mountains* in his poem, until his arrival at the capital in the twelfth month of 1085, in other words, after exile.

Second, Huang's description of the viewers—that is, Su Shi and himself—as being "within the Green Grove" 青林間 of the Jade Hall screen echoes Guo Xi's words: the purpose of viewing landscape was so that "without leaving your room, you may sit to your heart's content among streams and valleys." The screen may have pictured a green grove of trees, either with figures literally painted within it, or with viewers figuratively absorbed in the scene, but "Green Grove" is a classical allusion to the Imperial Park, a place where the emperor hunts. To be within the park is to serve him and be within his sphere of influence, a certain reference to Su's current tenure in office. "Green Grove" is also a pun referring to the Hanlin Academy, literally the "Grove of Brushes" 翰林 Academy, undoubtedly Huang's way of referring to Su's appointment to the Hanlin Academy in the ninth month of 1086.²¹ From this we infer that the earliest possible dating for Su Shi's and Huang Tingjian's eight-couplet poems, written when they were gathered at the Jade Hall, was late 1086 or (early) 1087, as given in traditional sources.²² This is therefore also the latest possible date for the *Autumn Mountains, Level Distance* by Guo Xi described in their poems.

The poems suggest that Su Shi and Huang Tingjian went together to the Jade Hall during this time. Wen Yanbo, who had arrived at Kaifeng in the fourth month of 1086, recalled from Luoyang and retirement after the death of Emperor Shenzong, may have been present as well. One might imagine Wen bringing along his Guo Xi handscroll to join these other men at the Jade Hall in viewing Guo's screen painting. This multi-paneled screen, ten feet tall and sixty feet wide, was probably installed in front of the four columns behind the emperor's throne area.²³ It was monumental in size, as befitting the grander and larger office spaces of the new central bureaucracy. Huang's poem notes that Wen's "short scroll" starkly contrasted with the enormous screen, which must have practically immersed its audience in its landscape. Though Su and Huang wrote about Wen's handscroll, their poems really referred to their friendship and to this bittersweet occasion of awaiting Wen's retirement. After ten years of separation, the reunion of the friends was truly joyous; however, they were also together to commiserate with their friend Wen, who, at age eighty, was longing to return to his retirement at Luoyang.

The above reading of Su Shi's and Huang Tingjian's

eight-couplet poems also makes clear that the men distinguished *Autumn Mountains, Level Distance* from the imperially commissioned paintings that formed the majority of Guo Xi's oeuvre. Su juxtaposed Guo's awe-inspiring spring screen with the moving autumn handscroll and contrasted their subject matters and their formats. Huang made the contrast explicit, both dismissing Guo's public works and implying that this handscroll altered his expectations of Guo. Guo's lonely autumn mountains clearly struck a chord in his audience, evoking nostalgic longing in Wen Yanbo, Su Shi, and Huang Tingjian, who all wrote about their wish to retire to such a place as was depicted in the painting. However, it seems to have been the small handscroll format and the shared intimacy it allowed a group of like-minded friends that also elicited their praise. It appealed because it was a work accessible only under private circumstances, while its choice of subject matter resonated with the preoccupations of its viewers.

THE SECOND SET OF POEMS: SU SHI AND SU CHE

It is possible that Guo Xi painted intimate landscape handscrolls like the one described by Su Shi and Huang Tingjian throughout his career, but the surviving evidence indicates only a limited number of such paintings in the 1080s, during the last decade of his life. Besides *Autumn Mountains, Level Distance* from the period of about 1080 to late 1086 or early 1087, a second handscroll is referred to in a twelve-couplet poem by Su Shi's younger brother, Su Che, with whom he was very close. This poem, datable to about mid-1086, is entitled "Writing about Guo Xi's Handscroll" 書郭熙橫卷. In it, Su Che describes the precipitous cliffs and splashing waterfalls of two twelve-panel Guo Xi screens in buildings neighboring the Hanlin Academy. Just as Su Shi and Huang Tingjian juxtaposed the Jade Hall screen with Wen Yanbo's handscroll, so Su Che contrasts Guo Xi's large-scale screens with a handscroll he describes as small enough to keep within his sleeve, one that depicts a "hundred miles of calm and melancholy, level mountains and rivers." Just as in Su Shi's and Huang Tingjian's poems, Su Che asks Guo Xi for a painting at the end of his poem: he wants it to depict a place of which he dreamed, one in which he is free from his official duties and is no longer "enwrapped by temples and towers, encircled by layers of walls." Guo may have obliged the requests of Su Shi, Huang Tingjian, and Su Che with more intimate handscrolls.²⁴

Another poem by Su Shi, written about 1087, responds to a third Guo Xi handscroll. Su Che

matched this poem, as did their friends Chao Buzhi and Bi Zhongyou. Su Shi's poem is titled, "Two Quatrains on Guo Xi's *Autumn Mountains, Level Distance*" 郭熙秋山平遠二首²⁵ This painting must have been rather similar to the one belonging to Wen Yanbo, since Su gives it the same title. The two quatrains may be translated as follows:

*At vision's end, the lone goose descends beside setting light,
from afar I know the wind and rain [fall on] different
rivers.*

*Herein are verses none recognize,
present it to Meng Haoran of Xiangyang.*

*When trees shed leaves, the poet already regrets autumn,
and cannot bear the level distance emanating poetic
sorrow.*

*If he wants to see where "torrents vie in myriad ravines,"
he'll have to impose on Tiger-head Gu another day.*

The quatrains express an interesting conceit, namely, that the Tang dynasty poet Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (ca. 689–740) and the Eastern Jin dynasty painter (Tiger-head) Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (b. ca. 344, d. ca. 406) can be resurrected to create works to accompany Guo Xi's painting. In the first quatrain, Su Shi playfully recommends that the unspoken words expressed in the painting be articulated by Meng Haoran. Here, Su Shi intimates that only a poet of Meng's stature would understand the meaning of Guo's painted image and be able to bring out the words from within it.

Su Shi extends this observation in the following quatrain. He writes that "poetic sorrow" is evoked by the level distance landscape, compounding the poet's (Su's) melancholic mood upon seeing an image of the onset of autumn. For an uplifting scene of precipitous mountains with splashing waterfalls to counter this overwhelming sorrow, one had better ask Gu Kaizhi, an artist known for his portraits, figures, and landscapes. Su Shi borrowed the phrase "torrents vie in myriad ravines" from a quatrain by Gu, describing the landscape of the Kuaiji 會稽 area near Gu's home in the mountainous area of Wuxi (Jinling, Jiangsu Province).²⁶ However, Su will ask this of Gu another time: for now, there is no antidote to Su's sadness.

This amusing poetic construction is the main theme of Su Shi's social poem. However, he also hints at what provokes his "poetic sorrow." The imagery Su presents in the first lines of each quatrain—a lone goose descending at sunset, tree leaves falling in autumn—seem to be specific descriptions of this Guo Xi handscroll. However, the image of the lone goose separated from its flock also refers to a wild creature's loss of companionship in a hostile world, which puts its survival at

risk. It is a metaphor for the poet who has to exist in dejected isolation, disassociated from society and stripped of the status conferred upon him by his peers. Du Fu's 杜甫 (712–770) ominous poem “Lone Wild Goose” 孤雁 presents the single silhouette of a goose lost in clouds, “not drinking or pecking for food, / it cries out in flight, voice yearns for the flock. / . . . The crows on the moors pay it no heed, / cawing and squawking in chaotic multitudes.”²⁷ Even the lowly crows do not pity the goose; only poets like Du Fu and Su Shi, finding themselves in the same predicament, empathize with it.

Su Shi's bitterness at his recent exclusion from the court hierarchy is made even clearer in the next image, that of autumn trees: Su writes that he cannot bear looking at the level distance painting that depicts the leafless trees of the autumn season. He identifies with the helpless leaves that are blown in all directions by chilly winds, utilizing another metaphor for the vicissitudes of exiled officials. Those fallen leaves symbolize scholars who were cast away and whose talents were unappreciated even as they grew old with grief.²⁸

These quatrain pairs deepen our understanding of what Su Shi approved of in Guo Xi's autumn level distance scrolls and found to be so different from his monumental works: they lent themselves to private and poetic readings. For Su, the innocuous activity of viewing Guo's autumn landscape presented an occasion to lodge a complaint concerning his banishment. Thus this poem is very different in flavor compared to the eight-couplet poem discussed previously. That poem links Guo's level distance landscape with thoughts of bittersweet retirement, while the theme of this poem is exile. It is an important distinction with regard to an analysis of *Old Trees, Level Distance* that will be presented in the final section of this article, since the subject matter of the Metropolitan painting corresponds more closely to the former theme.

Following Su Shi's lead, other members of his circle also associated this second *Autumn Mountains, Level Distance* with the theme of disaffection and exile, while uttering unanimous praise for its moving autumn melancholia. Su Che's poem is entitled “Two Stanzas Matching the Rhyme of Su Shi Inscribing Guo Xi's *Level Distance*” 次韻子瞻題郭熙平遠二絕.²⁹ While a matching poem does not necessarily have to be written in the presence of the originating author, in this case it is probable that Su Che wrote it in the company of his brother, since he uses “we” in the second couplet of the first quatrain:

*Scattered mountains without limit, rivers without end,
farm houses, fishing families share a single stream.*

*Traveling everywhere in Jiangnan we know of Heaven's
feats,
but going to the window to unroll this scroll, we are
both elated.*

*Dispersed clouds cast in slanted light cannot equal autumn,
entrust this to the poet whose eyes are filled with sorrow.
Even now the old gentlemen [in the painting] retain their
abilities,
against wind and rain in grass raincoats, they fish at
raft's fore.*

Su Che writes that Guo Xi has achieved something in his painting that is comparable to “Heaven's feats,” or nature itself. The images of “scattered mountains” 亂山 and “dispersed clouds” 斷雲, describing Guo's plaintive autumn scene, ring with poignancy given Su Shi's above expression of banishment. However, Su Che counters his brother's assertion that “wind and rain [fall on] different rivers,” by saying that they had the good company of farmers and fishermen, who share the same stream with those in exile. He ends this poem optimistically, by pointing out that the old gentlemen fishermen in the painting “retain their abilities,” even as they brave the elements in grass raincoats.

Su Che's literary interpretation of the fishermen in the painting introduces the age-old affectation of the gentleman as angler, engaging in the vocation most removed from his official duties at court. In general, the imagery expresses a gentleman's desire for an eremitic existence, which sometimes justifies a retreat from society after dismissal from office or during times of political chaos.³⁰ Su Che is saying that, like the fishermen depicted in Guo Xi's painting, he and his brother would always survive political adversity with dignity; out of favor and banished from the court hierarchy, they would retreat from society and enjoy a simple life in the company of fishermen. Su Che thus attempts to turn Su Shi's theme of exile back into a more hopeful discussion of retirement. In contrast, the poems matching Su Shi's quatrain pairs by two other members of his circle, by the scholar and renowned poet Chao Buzhi and by Su's new acquaintance Bi Zhongyou, adhere to the theme of unjust banishment.

THE SECOND GENERATION

Bi Zhongyou and Chao Buzhi wrote their poems some years after Su Shi and Su Che composed theirs, dedicating them to Wen Yanbo's sixth son, Wen Jifu 文及甫 (d. after 1099). These poems may refer to the same Guo Xi painting that Su Shi and Su Che saw and of which Wen Jifu was presumably the owner, although it

is possible that Bi and Chao merely borrowed the rhyme to refer to yet another autumn handscroll by Guo that eventually turned up in the hands of the Wen family.³¹

When Wen Yanbo retired in 1090, Wen Jifu went to Heyang (a city not far from Luoyang, probably to accompany his father) bearing the title “Chamberlain for the Imperial Stud” 太僕卿, with the power of an “Attending Officer of the Ministry of Works” 工部侍郎. Since Chao Buzhi’s poem refers to Wen Jifu by that title, it was composed, at the earliest, after 1090. In any case, the poems were likely to have been written sometime after Su Shi was forced from the capital in 1093 but before Wen Jifu was implicated in a factionally motivated scandal in the eighth month of 1097, during which he was incarcerated and almost executed.³² Wen Jifu may have thought it fitting to gather Su Shi’s younger associates around his painting, reproducing the gathering at Jade Hall with members of their generation. Just as Wen Yanbo had invited Su Shi and Huang Tingjian to write about his Guo Xi handscroll, Wen Jifu called upon Bi Zhongyou and Chao Buzhi to do the same.

The title of Bi Zhongyou’s poem is “Matching the Rhyme of Su Shi Inscribing Guo Xi’s *Autumn Mountains Painting*, [owned by] Wen Jifu, Two Poems” 次韻子瞻題文周翰郭熙平遠圖二首:³³

*In a distance small as a window, it resembles heaven’s edge,
if you knew not this place, you would say it is Small
Wangchuan.*

*I’ve heard it said customarily, when your heart and eyes are
weary,
in the short time to unroll this yellow scroll, you will be
revived.*

*Falling leaves and peaceful mountains, the ninth month of
autumn,
painting the season, one hopes to depict the banished
man’s sorrow.*

*It brings thoughts of the Meng Marsh, and places passed
through,³⁴
the last twenty years have gone as quickly as I turn my
head.*

Bi Zhongyou imagines the pavilion in the painting to be a miniature version of a famous villa where the Tang period poet and painter Wang Wei 王維 (ca. 699–761) held literary gatherings, on his Wangchuan estate in Shaanxi Province. Bi claims that the “yellow scroll” has a reviving effect, comparing the experience to a state induced by reading a Buddhist sutra, sometimes referred to as a “Yellow Scroll with Crimson Knobs” 黃卷赤軸. As did Su Shi, Bi Zhongyou evokes the image of falling

leaves in autumn twilight. Even though Bi describes the mountains as “peaceful,” rather than deluged by wind and rain, as portrayed in his predecessors’ poetry, he explicitly associates the leaves and the autumn season with the “banished man’s sorrow.”

Indeed, the mere mention of falling leaves induces the same feeling in Chao Buzhi and his fellow “southerners.” In his poem titled “Inscribing Guo Xi’s *Level Distance* [owned by] the Attending Officer of the Ministry of Works, Wen Jifu, Two Poems” 題工部文侍郎周翰郭熙平遠二首, Chao writes:³⁵

*Fishing village half concealed, beside River Chu,
beyond the grove an autumn wilderness, beyond rain the
heavens.*

*Who leans against the bamboo pavilion, to meet the large
ship,
glimmering twilight at the horizon, already turned ashen.*

*Falling leaves on Dongting Lake, its countless waves in
autumn,
speaking of this with other southerners, I too feel sorrow.
I wish to point out the place River Wusong flows,
where there is a row of traveling geese, above the ocean.*

Chao Buzhi mentions the names of two southern rivers, the Chu and the Wusong. River Chu begins at the western tip of Sichuan Province and feeds into the Yangzi as one of its major tributaries. The fishing village beside River Chu refers to the view looking in a westerly direction from Dongting Lake, toward Sichuan. River Wusong is in the Suzhou area, the source of which is Taihu Lake. It flows in an easterly direction toward Shanghai, where it meets the ocean. Referring to the Wusong encourages the reader to look east from Taihu Lake, toward the ocean. In Chao’s imagination, an area stretching a thousand miles from Sichuan to the ocean is contained within this short handscroll.

Chao Buzhi explains the allusion to falling leaves in his “Preface to Picture of Catching Fish” 捕魚圖序, composed in 1086.³⁶ It reads:

Wang Wei was a superbly subtle poet, so his paintings have an abundance of ideas. People today who try and emulate him in writing or in painting do not succeed. This [painting] leads me to think of the words of the man of Chu:

*The daughters of emperor [Yao] descend the northern bank,
Their eyes turn on me dark with anxiety.
Wavering, ah, the autumn wind;
Dongting’s waves, ah! Tree leaves fall.*

Thinking of this, like the painting, its words seem to bring Dongting and the Xiang River before my eyes.

Chao Buzhi's preface on the painting called *Catching Fish*, attributed to Wang Wei, associates the depiction of fishermen to the theme of exile. Specifically, the picture makes Chao recall an ancient poem by "the man of Chu," or the most famous of scholars unfairly banished, Qu Yuan 屈原 (ca. 340–278 B.C.E.). Chao quotes four lines from that poem called "Ladies of the Xiang" 湘夫人, one of the famous *Nine Songs* 九歌. It expressed Qu Yuan's grief upon seeing the autumn wind cause trees to shed their leaves and waves to appear on Dongting Lake, for these were reminders that the year was at its end, just as he was getting old. For Chao, autumn leaves stood for talented men like Qu Yuan or his mentor Su Shi, who were cast aside by unappreciative rulers.

POLITICAL CONTEXT OF WRITING POEMS ON GUO XI

A close reading of the two sets of poems—the eight-couplet poems by Su Shi and Huang Tingjian of late 1086 or early 1087 and the quatrains by Su Shi, Su Che, Bi Zhongyou, and Chao Buzhi of about 1087 to the 1090s—makes clear that Guo Xi's level distance autumn landscapes elicited two kinds of responses that in turn reflected changed political circumstances. In their eight-couplet poems, Su Shi and Huang Tingjian empathize with Wen Yanbo about waiting for retirement. Written upon seeing Wen's Guo Xi handscroll, the poems voice the collective desire to retire from officialdom.

While Huang Tingjian explicitly refers to Su Shi's Huangzhou exile with unveiled indignation, his comment serves further to augment the optimism of Su's current situation, as a newly appointed officer of the Hanlin Academy. Huang's poem concentrates on the joy of Su's return to the capital, where he has the leisure to view Guo Xi's painted landscapes. The tone of Su's and Huang's eight-couplet poems reflects the optimism of the early Yuanyou period, when Su and his friends enjoyed rapid promotion and unprecedented political power. They were the returning heroes of the Conservative party (known as the Yuanyou faction 元祐黨) who had opposed Wang Anshi's radical reforms during Emperor Shenzong's rule. While Su's recent exile would have been on their minds, they could now talk of retirement with honor in this genteel poetry-writing session at the Jade Hall.

Su Shi's and Su Che's quatrain pairs of a few months later continue this bittersweet banter. However, there appear more pessimistic signs, Su's playful invocations to Meng Haoran and Gu Kaizhi notwithstanding.

Here, the close friends of wind and rain are separated and fall on different rivers; the solitary goose is dejected and alone; the falling leaves cause resentment and the level distance view elicits sorrow. Similarly, Guo Xi's mountains and clouds are described as "scattered" and "dispersed" in Su Che's quatrains. Su Che comforts his brother with assurances that, even as old men, they still retain their abilities and that, even in exile, they will share a single stream with other worthy men. Their preoccupations became reality in the following years, as Su Shi applied by early 1088 to step down as Hanlin Academician and was granted his wish the next year with an assignment to Hangzhou 杭州. He was exiled again, this time to Dingzhou 定州 at the end of 1093.

Bi Zhongyou and Chao Buzhi chose to match Su Shi's rhyme during the height of Emperor Zhezong's 哲宗 (r. 1086–1100) purge of the Conservatives and dedicated their poems to Wen Jifu in a time of increasing pressure from their enemies. In this political climate, even the most innocuous words, interpreted as criticism, warranted exile; in fact, many men of Su Shi's circle were, like him, sent far south. In this context, Bi's and Chao's allusions to falling leaves, to sorrowful southerners, and to symbolic destinations in the south, such as Dongting Lake, veil their criticism of contemporary events in the innocent activity of admiring Wen Jifu's Guo Xi painting, while expressing their desire to follow their mentor to exile in the south. Bi's association of the autumn season depicted in the painting with the "banished man's sorrow" directly refers to the plight of many Conservatives. Chao's "glimmering twilight" that has now "turned ashen" refers to their extinguished hope. Just as the retirement of Wen Yanbo is the focus of the eight-couplet poems about Guo Xi's landscape, this atmosphere of persecution is the shared sorrow of the later quatrains.

At the center of these poetic responses were the level distance landscapes painted by Guo Xi, who was also the favorite painter of the source of their troubles, Emperor Shenzong. Sometime after 1080, and certainly after the death of his imperial patron in 1085, Guo Xi must have made quite a few paintings that featured autumnal level distance landscapes in the intimate handscroll format. Wen Yanbo and his son Wen Jifu both owned one. Su Che wrote about another in his twelve-couplet poem. Su Shi, Huang Tingjian, and Su Che all requested one of their own, and Guo Xi may have answered these requests with more handscrolls. The paintings clearly appealed to the "literary" tastes of these important scholar-officials: Su Shi found unspoken words in Guo Xi's autumn scene and called upon Meng Haoran to articulate them even as he did so himself; Su Che saw his brother and himself depict-

ed in the painting as old and tenacious gentlemen anglers of the poetic tradition; Bi Zhongyou imagined the scene to be a literary gathering at Wang Wei's Wangchuan Villa.

The melancholy subject matter of the handscrolls also lent itself to personal interpretation: Su Shi's and Huang Tingjian's poems, with their empathetic wish for retirement to a place like that depicted in Wen Yanbo's handscroll, also served to bid farewell to Wen; Su Che's request for a dream landscape into which he could retreat likewise expressed his desire for freedom from his responsibilities, a freedom, he notes ironically, that he and his brother enjoyed when they were sent away from court. The size and format of the handscrolls, merely the width of a window, or small enough to hide in a sleeve, added to their sense of privacy. Guo Xi's level distance landscapes enabled private communication between friends and elicited from viewers the expression of their intimate preoccupations.

The capacity to inspire such intimate and private associations was initially what Guo Xi's contemporaries admired in these small works, so different from his usual grand and uplifting paintings, public works produced to decorate imperial building walls, and which were by definition representative of state rather than individual interests. As the political climate worsened, however, Guo's intimate handscrolls came to mean much more to viewers like Su Shi, Su Che, and his friends Bi Zhongyou and Chao Buzhi. Conducive to interpretations of retirement and exile, Guo's autumn level distance paintings may have been from then on linked to the Conservative point of view.

AGAIN OLD TREES. LEVEL DISTANCE

The poems of Su Shi, Su Che, Huang Tingjian, Bi Zhongyou, and Chao Buzhi are a response to the issues of retirement and exile evoked by the paintings of Guo Xi. In displays of discriminating taste and knowledge, and in individual and elegant interpretations of Guo's handscrolls, these highly literate men thereby imbued the level distance autumn landscapes with poetic, personal, and even political meaning. With the above characterization of Guo Xi's intimate handscrolls that these poems provide us, we are now in a position to interpret *Old Trees, Level Distance* in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 1).

It has been shown that *Autumn Mountains, Level Distance* in the eight-couplet poems of Su Shi and Huang Tingjian is datable to between 1080 and late 1086 or early 1087. The terminus ante quem of the handscroll described in Su Che's twelve-couplet poem

is mid-1086. The latest possible date of another handscroll also named *Autumn Mountains, Level Distance* in the quatrain pairs of Su Shi and Su Che is 1087. From this, we can suggest that Guo Xi made quite a few such paintings in the 1080s, conceivably among them *Old Trees, Level Distance*, a handscroll also depicting a level distance view of the autumn season. Guo may have painted *Old Trees, Level Distance* about a decade after the monumental work *Early Spring*, of 1072.

Furthermore, it was posited that one of these poem sets refers to *Old Trees, Level Distance*. Certainly it is not possible to make an explicit connection between the generic poetic imagery employed in both the eight-couplet poems and the quatrains—autumn evening, autumn mountains, autumn glow, ninth month of autumn, etc.—and the present handscroll. All these poems describe the level distance as vast and faraway, as a twisting and turning vista. It is difficult to link word to image even in terms of specific motifs. For instance, Su Shi's eight-couplet poem mentions a sparsely wooded grove and cloudy peaks; Huang Tingjian's adds a river village, layered peaks, and returning geese traveling side by side. Su Shi's quatrains mention a lone goose and leafless trees; Su Che's matching quatrains describe gentlemen fishing on rafts, and add farm houses and fishing families (maybe a reference to the returning travelers and fishermen in Figures 5 and 4?); Chao Buzhi points out a bamboo pavilion and asks about the person inside it. All of these motifs are found in *Old Trees, Level Distance*, or at least might be imagined by poets to exist within its blurry forms.

How then can we compare the literary evidence of the two sets of poems with the visual? First, we notice that the main difference between the eight-couplet poems and the quatrain pairs lies in the description of weather. The quality of light described in the poems of Su Shi and Huang Tingjian is consistent with the season and the time of day. The poets write that the woods and hills are enveloped in a humid blanket of clouds and mist of the early evening, glistening with rain drops. To Su, this landscape looks like Mount Song and River Luo, "adrift in an autumn glow." Su Shi's and Su Che's quatrains, though referring to a similar time of day, describe the landscape as inundated by wind and rain against which fishermen protect themselves with "grass raincoats." In the Su brothers' estimation, the inclement weather caused not only the trees to shed leaves, but also the clouds to disperse and even the mountains to scatter. Their quatrains thus describe a landscape in the grip of unpredictable autumn weather.

With only this comparative evidence, surely the eight-couplet poems are a closer match to the still, quiet landscape of *Old Trees, Level Distance*. In addition,

one particular image in the fourth couplet of Su Shi's poem is worth further consideration. Su states that Guo Xi's landscape reminded him of a time when he bid farewell to a guest because his departing friend turned his head in order to view the cloudy mountain peaks of the retreating landscape. The image of turning back one's head to view the scenery, oftentimes far-off mountains or clouds, is very common in Chinese poetry. Suggesting distance, in both time and space, the image is expressive of the poignant parting of friends, past and present.³⁷

The gesture is performed by two figures in *Old Trees, Level Distance*. The old but sprightly man with a staff (Figure 11b) turns backward as if to encourage his friend who is bent over (Figure 11a), both with age and with the exhaustion of making it up the rise to their rest stop (Figure 8). The servant boy carrying the lute echoes this action, looking back toward his friend with a double-chignon hairstyle (Figure 10a). While it is certainly possible that the artist simply intended to depict a courteous gesture toward a friend who has fallen a step behind, it is also indicative of the subject matter of this painting. More than celebrating a picnic, *Old Trees, Level Distance* is a picture of parting and farewell. The joyful mood evident in the outing is tempered by the misty, melancholic view from the bamboo pavilion. Perhaps the old men, in the autumn of their careers, are meeting for a final time to say good-bye. Such a mood of farewell is quite similar to the bitter-sweet air found in the eight-couplet poems of Su Shi and Huang Tingjian, the theme of which is also retirement and farewell.

With this understanding of *Old Trees, Level Distance*, the further significance of its iconographic program can be examined, a key to which lies in the distinctive image of a pair of barely visible birds, flying low above the riverbank. While the motif of returning birds is commonplace in paintings of cold, autumn landscapes, the birds are, following observable nature, always depicted in a flock. The restriction in this picture to two birds is more readily comprehended when considered in sum with similar elements in the painting (Figure 5).³⁸

The two fishermen in *Old Trees, Level Distance*, each in his own boat, are also a pair (Figure 4). These anglers are differentiated from the fishing folk in the lower left (Figures 11c and 11d) and right of *Early Spring* (Figure 11e) by the absence of fishing nets or poles. In Su Che's quatrains on *Autumn Mountains, Level Distance*, they are really recluse gentlemen having a scholarly chat on the river. The two woodcutters half hidden in the mist are also a pair (Figure 5). The small, withered trees along the bank are a duo (Figure 4), as

are the larger trees farther along the scroll (Figure 7a). Even the rocks, one in front of the large trees, and the other partly obscuring the pavilion, are a pair. Last, the now familiar old men at the end of the scroll are a pair (Figures 8, 11a, and 11b). The old man leading the way wears a scholar-official hat, while the second man, who seems almost doubled over with exertion, wears a hat with two stiff flaps on either side of the head, probably indicating his different station in life.

The birds, the old trees, the recluse fishermen, and the woodcutters in pairs are not merely inhabitants of the landscape. Two by two, they are active accessories to the artist's clever flattery: one bird flies behind, the other leads; one withered tree is smaller and looks up, literally and figuratively, to its taller friend; one fisherman punts toward his friend, while the other sits in calm repose; one woodcutter packs the heavier load on his back, while the other walks ahead. Thus the program of pairs found in *Old Trees, Level Distance* is also a depiction of hierarchical position, according to which one element assumes the role of leader, the other that of follower.

We might borrow Su Shi's eight-couplet poem to add support to this interpretation of the iconography. Just as Su's poem was shown to refer to the life and character of Wen Yanbo, Guo Xi's painting can also be read as such. Thus, the old man with his official's hat in *Old Trees, Level Distance* may be considered to be Guo's portrait of his patron, and a very flattering picture at that: although eighty years of age, Wen Yanbo walks without the aid of his servant. He vigorously uses his staff and entirely outpaces his companion.

The artist augments his portrait by association with four motifs—the leading bird, the taller tree, the peaceful angler, and the first woodcutter. Like the fisherman and woodcutter, Wen Yanbo holds to the gentleman's desire for an eremitic existence; like the battered, old tree that refuses to die, surviving under the most difficult conditions, so too do Wen's high moral principles remain constant throughout his life; like the bird that seeks to return home, he too longs for retirement. Conversely, the second bird, the smaller tree, the exerting fisherman, and the heavily laden woodcutter correspond to the second old man. The second man is an image embodying deference, and thus can be read as an equivalent of Guo Xi himself. He is not only curved over in old age and exhaustion, but also bowing deeply in respect to Wen Yanbo, with his hands clasped in front.

While Guo Xi might seem presumptuous in depicting himself in an intimate portrait of his patron, here taken to be the great statesman Wen Yanbo, there are reasons for suggesting a close relationship between

the two men. Wen, after all, had more than passing contact with the artist—he was quite an admirer of Guo Xi's paintings, viewed Guo's works while living in Luoyang, and collected them with some regularity.³⁹ Other than the two handscrolls belonging to Wen Yanbo and his son Wen Jifu described above, the elder Wen also owned or inscribed at least two other Guo Xi paintings.

The first of these is a painting on which Wen Yanbo wrote the poem "Inscribing Guo Xi's *Woodcutter Crossing the River* Screen" 題郭熙樵夫渡水扇, which might have belonged to him or was in a friend's collection. Wen may have been living in Luoyang at this time, which would put the inscription to around the first few years of the 1080s:⁴⁰

*Shallow waters, deep mountains, a single path passes
through,
woodcutter crossing the river, emerges within a grove.
Sorrowful for this painting brush, so full of emotion,
I write upon this single leaf screen, its frosty white silk.*

Guo Xi could have painted this single-leafed screen (*yi shan feng* 一扇風) for a patron in Luoyang before he was recruited to court. However, it seems more likely that *Woodcutter Crossing the River* was done while he was on a leave of absence from the Imperial City to about 1082, during which time he visited his hometown of Wenxian and maybe nearby Luoyang as well, when he could have met Wen Yanbo.⁴¹

Guo Xi also gave Wen Yanbo a painting for his eightieth birthday in 1086. His son Guo Si recorded its title as *Pines in a Single View* 一望松 and described it as a work on a small piece of silk, only two feet and a few inches wide. It depicted an old man leaning on a staff—maybe similar to the figure in *Old Trees, Level Distance* (Figure 11b)—in front of a cliff and under a large pine tree, behind which were innumerable pines large and small, and in a gorge were yet more in "a single, uninterrupted view." Pine trees, a symbol of longevity, are a subject appropriate for a birthday. However, according to Guo Si, Guo Xi's idea was to present Wen Yanbo with a wish that his sons and grandsons be like the pines in this painting, and become dukes and ministers in unbroken succession.⁴²

Wen Yanbo inscribed (possibly owned) Guo Xi's *Woodcutter Crossing the River* screen in the early 1080s, when he was in Luoyang; he wrote a colophon on the handscroll *Autumn Mountains, Level Distance* after 1080 while in Kaifeng, which he later showed to Su Shi and Huang Tingjian; he may even have originally owned the other Guo Xi handscroll of the same name about which Su Shi and Su Che wrote poems in 1087 and which eventually belonged to his son Wen Jifu in the

1090s; he received Guo Xi's gift of *Pines in a Single View* for his birthday in 1086. Wen Yanbo seems to have become an enthusiast of Guo Xi's paintings upon meeting Guo sometime in the early 1080s, often viewing and collecting them during his first retirement in Luoyang from late 1083, and after his return to the capital upon Emperor Shenzong's death in mid-1086.

In fact, Wen Yanbo not only was Guo Xi's patron, but also shared common ground with the court painter. At about eighty years of age in the 1080s, he and Guo Xi were approximately the same age. They had common friends of the same generation, for example, Fu Bi 富弼 (1004–1083), who, when he was a magistrate in Heyang 河陽 (Henan), had recruited Guo Xi to serve at the capital, and Wu Chong 吳充 (1021–1080), who was one of Guo Xi's most influential patrons in his first few years at Kaifeng.⁴³ Both Wen and Guo had connections to Luoyang, since Guo's hometown was in Wenxian 溫縣, just northeast of the city. Reading the two old men depicted in the Metropolitan's *Old Trees, Level Distance* as an image of Wen Yanbo and Guo Xi is further persuasive given that both men had been brought close together by common acquaintances and similar concerns of retirement to Luoyang in their old age.

On one level, we can interpret *Old Trees, Level Distance* to be a picture of Wen Yanbo at leisure. On another level, the succinct choice of motifs hints at more than representations of forms in nature. They might signify Wen as poised angler and intrepid woodcutter, as tenacious old tree, as patient returning bird, and as himself, a moral statesman and stalwart leader. Orchestrating a range of formal and conceptual tools with precision and economy, the old master painter was not only able to present a thoughtful and scholarly farewell painting to his patron, appropriate to the occasion of retirement, but also to record their friendship by evoking a real or imagined time when they picnicked together in Luoyang. While the litany of literary tropes presented here may be rather too obvious for those familiar with the poetic tradition from which the imagery is drawn, the clever deployment of these verbal devices in a visual medium certainly deepens our understanding of Guo's endeavor and endows the painting with a gratifying freshness.

Art historians have long suspected that something of great significance happened to the Chinese landscape at the end of the Northern Song period. Monumental landscape painting of this time, having reached its greatest height and pervasiveness, was soon to decline. This period marked the emergence of a contrasting mode of landscape, one that was to establish the intimate scene (*xiaojing* 小景) as a new category. Level

distance landscapes, executed primarily in the handscroll format, formed a part of this new group. For members of the imperial family, such as Wang Shen 王誥 (ca. 1048–after 1104) or Zhao Lingrang 趙令穰 (active ca. 1080–1100), officials at court, such as Song Di 宋迪 (ca. 1015–ca. 1080), or professional painters, such as Guo Xi or Li Gongnian 李公年 (late 11th century), the intimate level distance landscape came to have great appeal.

In conclusion, the handscrolls executed late in Guo

Xi's career in this landscape mode can be understood as a prominent part of a greater movement that had gained momentum by the end of the eleventh century. *Old Trees, Level Distance* in The Metropolitan Museum of Art is the only known surviving example of Guo Xi's intimate mode. Besides taking its place next to *Early Spring* as representing an important aspect of Guo's oeuvre, it is also a monument of late Northern Song landscape painting at a crucial juncture in its development.

APPENDIX: COLOPHON AND POEMS

顏堯煥跋

昔東坡有詩，玉堂畫掩春日閑，中有郭熙畫春山，蓋文潞公嘗跋其畫，而坡老則詩其跋也。二公昭代名臣，重望其品題，豈得哉。郭圖在人間不一，今此樹色平遠圖，以時考之，料亦寶元元祐間所作，於今三百載而歸于總管東舉施翁書几。舉翁所得所罕得，圖亦遇所罕遇，余亦見所罕見，故爲之書而繫之詩，郭圖妙處不在色，白石枯槎枕狀流，平遠有情含幻境，品題增重自前脩，一重素絹雲飛動，三百餘年星幾周，持向東舉時展玩，琴書相伴樂清遊。顏堯煥。

蘇軾〈郭熙畫秋山平遠潞公爲跋尾〉

玉堂畫掩春日閑，中有郭熙畫春山；
鳴鳩乳燕初睡起，白波青嶂非人間。
離離短幅開平遠，漠漠疏林寄秋晚；
恰似江南送客時，中流回頭望雲巘。
伊川佚老鬢如霜，臥看秋山思洛陽；
爲君紙尾作行草，炯如嵩洛浮秋光。
我從公游如一日，不覺青山映黃髮；
爲畫龍門八節灘，待向伊川買泉石。

黃庭堅〈次韻子瞻題郭熙畫秋山〉

黃州逐客未賜環，江南江北飽看山；
玉堂臥對郭熙畫，發興已在青林間。
郭熙官畫但荒遠，短紙曲折開秋晚；
江村煙外雨腳明，歸雁行邊餘疊巘。
坐思黃柑洞庭霜，恨身不如雁隨陽；
熙今頭白有眼力，尙能弄筆映窗光。
畫取江南好風日，慰此將老鏡中髮；
但熙肯畫寬作程，五日十日一水石。

蘇軾〈郭熙秋山平遠二首〉

目盡孤鴻落照邊，遙知風雨不同川；
此間有句無人識，送與襄陽孟浩然。
木落騷人已怨秋，不堪平遠發詩愁；
要看萬壑爭流處，他日終煩顧虎頭。

蘇轍〈和子瞻題郭熙平遠二絕〉

亂山無盡水無邊，田舍漁家共一川；
行遍江南識天巧，臨窗開卷兩茫然。
斷雲斜日不勝秋，付與騷人滿目愁；
父老如今亦才思，一蓑風雨釣槎頭。

畢仲游〈次韻子瞻題文周翰郭熙平遠圖二首〉

窗間咫尺似天邊，不識應言小輞川；
聞說平居心日倦，暫開黃卷即醒然。
木落山空九月秋，畫時應欲遣人愁；
因思夢澤經由處，二十年間若轉頭。

晁補之〈題工部文侍郎周翰郭熙平遠二首〉

漁村半落楚江邊，林外秋原雨外天；
誰倚竹樓邀大輻，天涯暮色已蒼然。
洞庭木落萬波秋，說與南人亦自愁；
欲指吳松何處是，一行征雁海上頭。

文彥博〈題郭熙樵夫渡水扇〉

淺水深山一徑通，樵夫涉水出林中；
可憐畫筆多情思，寫在霜紈一扇風。

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NOTES

* The format for all dates is year/lunar month.

1. Guo Xi's exact birth and death dates are unknown. For the approximate dates given here, see Suzuki Kei 鈴木敬, "Rinsen kō chi shu no Gaki to Kaku Ki ni tsuite" 林泉高致の畫記と 郭熙について [Kuo Hsi and the *Huaji in Linquan gaozhi*], *Bijutsushi* 美術史 30 (1981), pt. 5, p. 8. This article is translated into Chinese by Wang Weiming 王衛明, *Meishu yanjiu* 美術研究 4 (1982), pp. 70–76. Also see Weng Tongwen 翁同文, "Huaren shengzu nian kao" 畫人生卒年考 [Study of birth and death dates of painters], *Gugong jikan* 故宮季刊 4/3 (January 1970), pt. 2, pp. 48–51.
2. See Wen C. Fong, "Pictorial Representation in Chinese Landscape Painting," in Wen C. Fong et al., *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting at The Art Museum, Princeton University* (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1984), pp. 20–73.
3. Richard M. Barnhart credits the late Jiang Zhaoshen, former Curator of Calligraphy and Painting and Deputy Director of the National Palace Museum, for the initial idea. See Barnhart, "Three Song Landscape Paintings," *Orientalis* 29 (February 1998), pp. 54–61, which lists three other paintings that carry the *Xuanhe zhongbi* seal. Wang Shen's 王誥 (b. ca. 1048, d. after 1104) *Misty River and Layered Hills*, in the collection of the Shanghai Museum, has both the *Xuanhe zhongbi* and all seven seals of the *Xuanhe* suite.
4. Discussed in Shen C. Y. Fu et al., *Traces of the Brush: Studies in Chinese Calligraphy*, exh. cat. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), cat. no. 19. For colophon writers not mentioned here, see *Chinese Calligraphy and Painting in the Collection of John M. Crawford, Jr.*, exh. cat., ed. Laurence Sickman (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1962), pp. 59–61.
5. Chinese for this colophon and poems translated by the author in this article are in the Appendix.
6. The poems are found in Chen Gaohua, *Song Liao Jin huajia shiliao* 宋遼金畫家史料 [Historical materials for painters of the Song, Liao, and Jin dynasties] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1984), pp. 341–57.
7. Not found in *Lugong wenji* 潞公文集 [Collected works of Wen Yanbo], *Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), vol. 1100.
8. In *Su Shi shiji* 蘇軾詩集 [The collected poetry of Su Shi], *juan* 28, commentaries collected by Wang Wengao 王文誥 (b. 1764), ed. Kong Fanli 孔繁禮, *Basic Classical Literary Series* 中國古典文學基本叢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), vol. 5, pp. 1509–10. Hereafter SSSJ. For other translations, see Ronald C. Egan, "Poems on Paintings: Su Shih and Huang T'ing-chien," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 43, no. 2 (1983), pp. 431–33; and David Palumbo-Liu, *The Poetics of Appropriation: The Literary Theory and Practice of Huang Tingjian* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 98–104.
9. *Linquan gaozhi* 林泉高致, sec. 6, *Huaji* 畫記 [Notes on paintings], in which Guo Si describes various famous public works by his father, including the screen in the Jade Hall. In Lu Fusheng 盧輔聖 et al., *Zhongguo shuhua quanji* 中國書畫全集 [Complete collected writings on Chinese calligraphy and painting] (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1993) vol. 1, pp. 503–4. Translated by Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, eds., in *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 188–90. Also see Scarlett Jang, "Realm of the Immortals: Paintings Decorating the Jade Hall of the Northern Song," *Arts Orientalis* 22 (1992), pp. 81–96.
10. Zhao Cigong 趙次公 (12th century) gives "Old recluse of River Yi" as Wen Yanbo; see SSSJ, *juan* 28, vol. 5, p. 1510.
11. Wen Yanbo wrote many poems about the area, which he visited while living in Luoyang. For a selection, see Li Xianqi 李獻奇 *Luoyang Longmen shi xuan* 洛陽龍門詩選 [Collected poems on Luoyang and Longmen] (Beijing: Zhongguo luyou chubanshe, 1986), pp. 70–78.
12. Wang Shipeng 王十朋 (1112–1171) notes that the great Tang poet Bo Juyi 白居易 (772–846) visited the Eight-Armed Shoals after his retirement to the Stone Pavilion in Fragrant Mountain 香山石樓; see SSSJ, *juan* 28, vol. 5, p. 1510. It is unclear if Su Shi actually had Bo's poem in mind, although the reference to retirement is fitting.
13. For a biography of Wen Yanbo, see Wang Cheng 王偁, *Dongdu shihue* 東都事略 [Résumé of events in the Eastern Capital], published 1186, *juan* 67, *Liezhuan* 列傳 50; *Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, vol. 382, pp. 428–34. Also see *Songshi* 宋史, *juan* 313, *Liezhuan* 72 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), vol. 29, pp. 10258–65.
14. See Li Tao 李燾 (1114–1183), *Xu zizhi tongjian chang bian* 續資治通鑑長編 [Collected data for a continuation of the *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*], published 1183, *juan* 341 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), vol. 23, p. 8197. Ye Mengde 葉夢德 (1077–1148) confirms this, saying that Wen retired at nearly age eighty at the end of the Yuanfeng era (1078–85): *Shilin yanyu* 石林燕語 [Miscellaneous notes by Stone Forest], completed 1136, *juan* 3, Hou Zhongyi 侯忠義, ed., *Tang Song shiliao biji congkan* 唐宋史料筆記叢刊 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), p. 41.
15. See *Lugong wenji*, *juan* 34, vol. 1100, pp. 768–72, for Wen Yanbo's many petitions to re-retire after being recalled to Kaifeng.
16. *Shangu shiji zhu* 山谷詩集注 [An annotated collection of Huang Tingjian's poems], *juan* 7, commentaries by Ren Yuan 任淵 (?–after 1114), Shi Rong 史容 (?–after 1201), and Shi Jiwen 史季溫 (?–after 1254) (Shanghai: Yiwu yinshuguan, 1919), vol. 1, p. 45 for title and comment, pp. 466–69 for poem and annotation. Hereafter SGSJ.
17. A reference to Guo Xi's quotation of a poem by the great Tang poet Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770) titled "Playfully Inscribing Wang Zai's Painting *Landscape*" 戲題王宰畫山水圖詩, in *Linquan gaozhi*, sec. 3, *Huajue* 畫訣 [The secrets of painting], *Zhongguo shuhua quanji*, vol. 1, p. 501, translated in Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts*, p. 180. Du Fu described the laborious nature of Wang Zai's (late 8th–early 9th century) skill: "Ten days to paint a rock, five days to paint a stone." Wang was from western Shu (Sichuan) and made landscape paintings of trees and rocks.

18. Ren Yuan notes the analogy as employed by Du Fu, who wrote, "When you look at geese heading for the sun, / you too will plan to return to the rice paddies and millet fields," SGSJ, vol. 1, p. 468.
19. See Ogawa Hiromitsu 小川裕充, "Inchū no meiga" 院中の名畫 [Famous paintings in the academy], *Chūgoku kaigashi ronshu: Suzuki Kei Sensei Kanreiki-kinen* 中國繪畫史論集:鈴木敬先生選曆紀念 [Essays on Chinese painting in honor of Prof. Suzuki Kei's sixtieth birthday] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1981), pp. 45–46, esp. fig. 14. Ogawa reconstructs the size (quoted here) and number of panels of Guo Xi's Jade Hall screen based on the dimensions of the new office buildings of the central bureaucracy formed in the Yuanfeng era 元豐 (1078–85).
20. *Linquan gaozhi*, sec. 6, *Huaji* 畫記 [Notes on paintings], in *Zhongguo shuhua quanji*, vol. 1, pp. 503–4. Translation by Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 189–90.
21. SGSJ, vol. 1, p. 466, also links this to Su Shi's 1086 appointment to the Hanlin Academy and refers to Ouyang Xiu's 歐陽修 (1007–1072) use of the term in a similar context: "Singing and walking, I beckon the rustic old man, / together we stroll within the Green Grove."
22. *Zengbu zuben Shi Gu zhu Shi shi* 增補足本施顯註蘇詩 [The revised and complete edition of the Shi Yuanzhi and Gu Jingfan commentaries on Su Shi's poetry], edited and collated by Zheng Qian 鄭騫 and Yan Yiping 嚴一萍 (Shanghai: Yiwu yinshu, 1983), vol. 1, p. 67, lists Su Shi's poem as datable to 1087. Ren Yuan comments that Huang Tingjian wrote this poem after those titled "Su Shi and Su Che Following Each Other Entering Service to Proximate the Emperor," which he composed when Su Shi and his brother Su Che 蘇轍 (1039–1112) received appointments to the same official positions in 1086/9 and 1086/11. Huang's poem discussed here is thus datable to after 1086/11. See SGSJ, vol. 1, p. 45. This collection is chronological where possible.
23. Size of the Jade Hall screen approximated by Ogawa, "Inchū no meiga," p. 46; for a discussion of its format, see Ping Foong, "From Architectural Decoration to Art: Landscape by Guo Xi in Transition" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, forthcoming), chap. 1.
24. In *Luanchengji* 樂城集 [The collected works of Su Che], *juan* 15, Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊 and Ma Defu 馬德富, comps., *Classical Literary Series* 中國古典文學叢書 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), vol. 1, p. 364. See the author's dissertation for an annotated translation, dating, and interpretation of this important poem. Chen Zongmin 陳宗敏 considers both this and Su Che's quatrain pair to be from 1087, in *Su Ziyou nianpu* 蘇子由年譜 [Chronological biography of Su Che] (Taiwan: s.n., 1978), p. 124.
25. SSSJ, *juan* 29, vol. 5, p. 1540. Since SSSJ arranges poems in chronological sequence where possible, this poem (listed in *juan* 29) probably postdates Su Shi's eight-couplet poem (listed in *juan* 28). It may date to mid-1087, since the poems listed before and after in *juan* 29 date to early and late 1087, respectively. Also translated in Stuart Sargent, "Colophons in Countermotion: Poems by Su Shih and Huang T'ing-chien on Paintings," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 52, no. 1 (June 1992), pp. 274–76.
26. For Gu Kaizhi's poem, see *Biography of Gu Kaizhi*, translated and annotated by Chen Shih-hsiang, *Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations*, vol. 2 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1953), p. 13. See Sargent, "Colophons in Countermotion," p. 276; the phrase "torrents vie in myriad ravines" is his rendition.
27. See Gao Buying 高步瀛, ed. and annot., *Tang Song shi juyao* 唐宋詩舉要 [Renowned poetry of the Tang and Song] (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), vol. 2, p. 489, translated by Stephen Owen, ed., *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Co., 1996), p. 379.
28. This analysis of the "tree leaves fall" 木葉下 image is Alfreda Murck's; see *Painting and Poetry in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, forthcoming), chap. 5. The allusion is taken up by Chao Buzhi in his poem matching Su Shi's quatrain pairs.
29. *Luanchengji*, *juan* 15, vol. 1, p. 366.
30. For the ideal of the angler in painting, see John Hay, "Along the River during Winter's First Snow: A Tenth-Century Handscroll and Early Chinese Narrative," *Burlington Magazine* 114, no. 830 (May 1972), pp. 294–304.
31. Also see the matching poem by the poet and essayist Zhang Lei 張耒 (1054–1114 or 1052–1112), entitled "Inscribing Guo Xi's Landscape [owned by] Zhou Wenhan, Two Poems" 題周文翰郭熙山水二首 In *Zhang Youshi wenji* 張右史文集 [Collected works of Zhang Lei], *juan* 31, *Sibu congkan chubian suoben* 四部叢刊初編縮本 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1967), vol. 55, p. 243. This poem is essentially the same as Chao Buzhi's. It is not clear which version is corrupted, but Zhang Lei's title spells Wen Jifu's sobriquet incorrectly. No relevant poetry is listed in the lyric poet Qin Guan's 秦觀 (1049–1100) collected works.
32. The incident is discussed in a statement appended to Wen Yanbo's biography. Also see Li Tao, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* *juan* 490, vol. 33 (1993), nos. 16 and 22, pp. 11625–27 and 11628–37; *juan* 493, no. 6, p. 11709. For a discussion of the case and its ramifications, see Jin Zhongshu 金中樞, ed., *Songdai xueshu sixiang yanjiu* 宋代學術思想研究 [Study of academic thought of the Song dynasty] (Taipei: Youshi wenhua shiye gongsi, 1989), chap. 6, *Chegai ting shian yanjiu* 車蓋亭詩案研究 [Study of the Carriage-Cover Pavilion poem case], pp. 387–408.
33. *Xitai ji* 西臺集 [Undertakings at the Western Court], *juan* 20, Wang Yunwu, chief ed., *First Anthologies Series* 叢書集成初編 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), p. 314. Cited in SSSJ, *juan* 29, vol. 5, p. 1540 note.
34. Probably referring to the Yunmeng Marsh 雲夢澤 in Hubei Province, southern part of Anlu county 安陸縣. Yunmeng county is just northwest of present-day Wuhan city. This is a way to refer to the south, to places where Bi Zhongyou had traveled as a young man.
35. *Jile ji* 雞肋集 [Records of chicken ribs], *juan* 20, *Sibu congkan chubian suoben*, vol. 56, p. 121.
36. In *Jile ji*, *juan* 34, vol. 56, pp. 240–41. Translation and interpretation by Murck, *Painting and Poetry in Song China*, chap. 5; see also Hay, "Along the River," p. 294 for Chao Buzhi's poem, p. 297 for his colophon to the poem.
37. An example of another Song-period farewell poem 送行詩 that employs this poetic image is one by Cai Jing 蔡京 (1046–1126), entitled "For the Guest Circuit General" 鈴轄客. The poem is dated 1089, and the last line reads, ". . . sadly I gazed at Wolf Mountain, repeatedly turning my head." See Kang Dewu 康德武, "Cai Jing songxing shi bei jixi" 蔡京送行詩碑析 [An analysis of Cai Jing's farewell poem on a stele], *Wenwu chungqiu* 文物春秋 3 (1996), pp. 54–57. Kang Dewu interprets the line to mean Cai Jing turns his head, rather than the recipient of the poem. The author is grateful to Elizabeth Brotherton for sharing this reference.
38. For example, flocks of returning birds are found in renditions of the distinctive "Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar" view of the

- Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang theme; see Murck, *Painting and Poetry in Song China*. Assuming the obvious, namely, that paintings of mandarin ducks or other auspicious animal pairs are not relevant to a study of this handscroll, this author has so far located few other paintings with only *two* returning birds of the sort appropriate to the type, e.g., wild geese, crows, jackdaws, swallows, etc. The closest comparison is in a painting attributed to Li Gonglin, *Mountain Villa*, in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing, illustrated in Robert E. Harrist, Jr., *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-Century China: Mountain Villa by Li Gonglin* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), fig. 1.11. In contrast, the imagery of a pair of birds is very common in poetry.
39. Wen Yanbo's use of the phrase Li-Guo in poems from Luoyang may be in reference to the paintings of Li Cheng 李成 (919–967) and Guo Xi, *Lugong wenji*, *juan* 7, vol. 1100, pp. 638 and 636; see Foong, "Landscape by Guo Xi in Transition."
40. *Lugong wenji*, *juan* 7, vol. 1100, p. 636. The poem might also be from when Wen Yanbo was still in residence at Damingfu in the late Xining era (1068–77). If this is the case, then Wen was reviewing a work by Guo Xi that he painted for a patron in Damingfu before recruited to court. Guo Si's note indicates that Guo Xi was once in Xingzhou 邢州 (Hebei)—just one hundred kilometers northwest of Damingfu—where he gave his son a painting titled *Riders in West Mountain* 西山走馬圖. From *Linquan gaozhi*, sec. 5, *Huage shiyi* 畫格拾遺 [Additional notes on exemplar paintings], in *Zhongguo shuhua quanji*, vol. 1, p. 502, translated in Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts*, p. 154.
41. For Guo Xi's leave of absence, see Foong, "Landscape by Guo Xi in Transition," chap. 2.
42. In *Linquan gaozhi*, sec. 5, *Huage shiyi*, *Zhongguo shuhua quanji*, vol. 1, p. 502, translated in Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 154–55. Guo Si does not specify which of Wen Yanbo's major birthdays this painting was for. Bush and Shih give either his sixtieth or eightieth birthday, dating it to 1066 or 1086. Suzuki Kei proposes the sixtieth or seventieth birthday but suggests the former is more likely because Guo Xi would have had less freedom after entering court to paint a work displaying such literati flavor; see "Rinsen kōchi shu no Gaki," pp. 7–8. However, since Guo Xi probably did not meet Wen Yanbo until the early 1080s, this author believes the date of 1086 is most likely.
43. For Guo Xi's recruitment, see *Linquan gaozhi*, sec. 6, *Huaji*, *Zhongguo shuhua quanji*, vol. 1, p. 503, translated in Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts*, p. 187. For Wu Chong as the figure responsible for Guo Xi's rise in the court art scene, see Suzuki Kei, "Rinsen kōchi shu no Gaki," pp. 4–5, 9–10.

A Note on the Iconography of the Sangemini Doorway

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FOR WILLIAM H. FORSYTH

IN 1965 A ROMANESQUE marble portal was installed at the far end of the gallery to the left of the main staircase, as an appropriate entrance to the Medieval Galleries beyond (Figure 1). Acquired in 1947, the portal came originally from the ruined abbey church of San Nicolò, just outside the city gates of the small Umbrian hill town of Sangemini.

This doorway looks strangely composite, with mismatched jambs that had been parts of an earlier, Roman structure—apparently elements of the base of a statue—but were completely reworked to fit into the totally different concept of the doorway. Even their bases with sculpted lions are of unequal sizes and shapes.

To mark the installation in the Museum, William Forsyth wrote an essay, “The Sangemini Doorway,” for the Museum’s *Bulletin* (June 1965, pp. 373–80), in which he traced the somewhat convoluted history of the doorway but did not go too deeply into unraveling the rather puzzling iconographical details of its decoration.

Once, during the preparation of this essay, Bill asked me whether I had any ideas about the little man squatting in the vines on the left-hand doorjamb (Figure 2). He is simultaneously blowing a horn and sticking a rod into a vessel before him. At that time, intrigued by the scene directly below, showing three hounds attacking a boar, I could think of nothing better than that the man might be a hunter who had caught some of the prey’s blood and was stirring it to prevent clotting. With due caution, Bill accepted this rather outlandish explanation, *faute de mieux*, and put it into his essay (p. 376). However, in making this suggestion I had ignored another important and actually quite conspicuous iconographical element: the angel in the uppermost quarter of the jamb (Figure 3).

Some fifteen years later, I visited the Cathedral of Saint Peter in Worms, where I saw the group of

Romanesque reliefs of *Daniel in der Löwengrube* (Daniel in the lions’ den). Above the scene of Daniel sitting in the vaulted lions’ den while a pair of lions tamely licks his hands and feet, there is another scene. Here, a crouching man carrying a bag over his shoulder is stirring a pot held in his hand. A descending angel grasps him by the hair with one hand and with the other reaches out for another pot in front of the man. This second relief shows *Habakkuk mit seinem Breitopf vom Engel getragen* (Habakkuk with his porridge pot transported by the angel; Figure 4; Villinger, pp. 14–15). It struck me that here were the same elements (angel, man with a pot, and lions) that are present on the Sangemini Doorway.

In this episode of the story of Daniel, found in *Bel and the Dragon*, one of the apocryphal additions to the Book of Daniel, King Cyrus is blackmailed to throw Daniel into the lions’ den as punishment for having killed—and thus unmasked as a false god—the great snake that was worshiped as the dragon of Babylon. There were seven lions in the den, and every day they were fed two slaves and two sheep; but now, to make sure that they would devour Daniel, they were given nothing. Daniel stayed in the den for six days. Meanwhile, in Judaea, the prophet Habakkuk was on his way to his field, with a pot of porridge with bread broken into it as a meal for the reapers working there, when an angel of the Lord appeared before him and ordered him to carry that meal to Babylon for Daniel in the lions’ den. Habakkuk, quite reasonably, replied that he never had been to Babylon and thus did not know where the lions’ den would be, whereupon the angel took him by the hair, swept him to Babylon, and set him down above the den. When Habakkuk delivered the meal, Daniel thanked God for not abandoning him and gratefully ate the meal thus provided, while the angel took Habakkuk home. On the seventh day, King Cyrus went to the lions’ den to mourn Daniel, but found him hale and sound. The king praised the Lord and had Daniel pulled out of the den. Those who had

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Figure 1. The Sangemini Doorway as it is installed in the Metropolitan Museum, Italian (Umbrian), 12th century. Marble, H. including lintel, 3.58 m. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1947 (47.100.45)



Figure 2. Detail of Figure 1, the bottom part of the left jamb

plotted to destroy Daniel were flung into the den, where they were devoured by the now very hungry lions. (Nothing is said about the reapers' missing their well-deserved lunch.)

In the decoration of the left-hand jamb of the Sangemini Doorway are some very odd and even rather disturbing details that are not easily explained, such as the snake that crawls toward a bird's nest and the scene of three hounds worrying a boar. However, it



Figure 3. Detail of Figure 1, the angel in the upper part of the left jamb

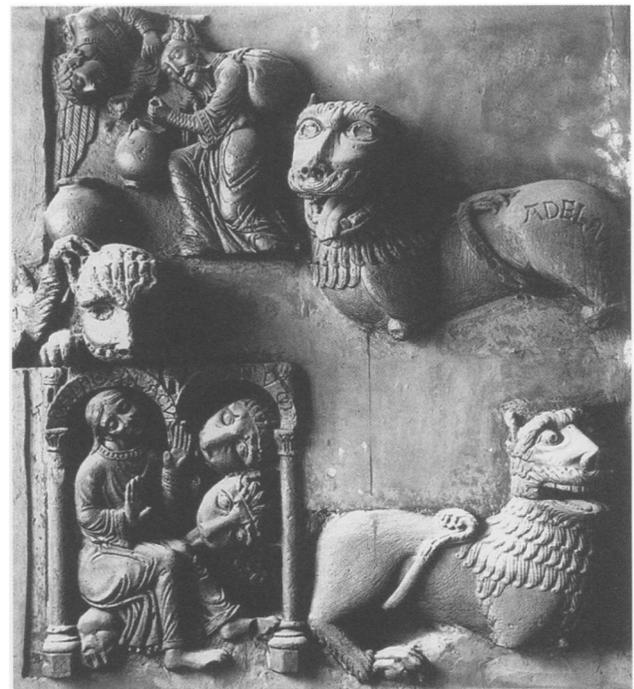


Figure 4. Reliefs of Daniel in the lions' den and of Habakkuk transported by the angel, in Worms Cathedral. German, 12th century (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

seems safe to say that the little man blowing a horn and stirring in a vessel would be Habakkuk with his porridge pot, signaling to the reapers to come and have their lunch. As for the bread that was part of the meal, the angel above carries in his hand a round, segmented object that looks very much like one of the *panini* of fanciful shapes that are still made in Italian bakeries.

The bases of the jambs of the Sangemini Doorway are sculpted as the heads, shoulders, and forepaws of

crouching lions, and a small lion's face is peering out of framing acanthus foliage above the right-hand lion. As is the case with all the elements of the doorway, these bases seem to have been adapted from other structures, which accounts for the differences in their sizes. However, the lions were perhaps the inspiration for the sculptor, who had to coordinate the elements at hand, to make use of the Habakkuk story on the left jamb, although Daniel himself is conspicuously absent.

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The Kalkar School of Carving: Attribution of a Wooden Polychromed Sculpture

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IN THIS ARTICLE, I propose to reattribute *Saint Roch* (acc. no. 16.32.186), a wooden polychromed sculpture in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art,¹ previously catalogued as early sixteenth-century Flemish or German, to a school of carving located in the town of Kalkar, in the Lower Rhine region of Germany near the Dutch border. Comparisons will be adduced between the piece and works produced in the first half of the sixteenth century by a circle of sculptors that included Heinrich Douwerman, Heinrich van Holt, and Arnt van Tricht. In addition to issues of iconography, provenance, and style, the article will examine the carving techniques used in the sculpture.

ICONOGRAPHY

The wooden figure represents Saint Roch, patron saint of the plague-stricken (Figure 1). He stands squarely on a small piece of turf, staff in left hand, his head directed slightly to his right, and his left leg to the fore. To his right is a small angel dressed in a long robe, arms and gaze lifted; to his left is a dog with a loaf of bread in its jaws. The saint's vestments are of a style that was worn north of the Alps at the beginning of the sixteenth century. They consist of a broad cloak with a large collar, a knee-length jacket with a square neckline and a slit up the front from hem to hip level, and a doublet with a double row of slashing around the neck.² The costume is well fitted with details of contemporary masculine dress: a leather belt around the waist of the jacket, a strap over the right shoulder and across the chest that would support a bag hanging underneath his cloak, the knotted rope fastening the cloak, ankle-high boots each with two rectangular buckles, and a brimmed hat stylishly tilted to his left over a close-fitting felt cap. The saint's coordinated attire contrasts with the exposure of his right thigh with its wound, revealed by his pulling

open his jacket and by the stocking that sags below his knee. Although long, vigorously coiling locks of hair frame his face, the saint's features are affected by his malady. His lips are puckered; while his cheeks are somewhat drooping, his brows are knit and lines of tightness bracket his nose.

The sculpture portrays the culminating moment in Saint Roch's life. After having cared for the diseased on his pilgrimage to Rome, he was himself stricken by the plague and was cured by an angel and his devoted dog. The angel's damaged right hand would likely have been positioned to be applying a healing balm to the swollen sore on the saint's lower thigh, while the dog offers a nourishing loaf of bread.

Details of iconography are of limited assistance since Saint Roch was a popular iconographical type in the late Gothic era and his representation is more or less standard.³ Even the figure's brimmed hat contains no effective guide to attribution (Figure 2). What at first might appear to be a coat of arms is instead three generic insignia, badges traditionally worn by medieval pilgrims as evidence of their completed journeys: crossed keys designating the journey to the Eternal City, a small medallion with a Holy Face emblematic of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and two crossed staffs.⁴

PROVENANCE AND DATE

The wooden sculpture was purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1906 as part of the Georges Hoentschel Collection.⁵ Hoentschel had acquired it in Cologne in October 1904.⁶ Lent to the Museum by Morgan in 1907 with numerous other pieces of medieval and Renaissance decorative arts from this collection, it was eventually donated to the Museum in 1916 by Morgan's son after his father's death.⁷

The 1904 sale catalogue described the figure as Flemish and dated it to about 1500. The Metropolitan Museum's 1913 *Catalogue of Romanesque, Gothic, and Renaissance Sculpture* listed the object under Flemish

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Figure 1. School of Kalkar, perhaps circle of Heinrich Douwerman, *Saint Roch*, ca. 1500. Oak with traces of polychromy, 99 x 41 x 21 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1916 (16.32.186)



Figure 2. Detail of *Saint Roch* in Figure 1

sculptors as the work of an unknown artist.⁸ In 1945 William Forsyth, curator of Medieval Art, shifted the Museum's sculpture across geographic borders, referring to other figures of saints that were associated with schools of the duchy of Gelders in the eastern Netherlands and the city of Cleves in Germany.⁹ In 1990 an exhibition on late Gothic sculpture from Limburg compared the Metropolitan's *Saint Roch* to an example in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours, a work attributed to the Master van Elsloo, active in Roermond in the duchy of Gelders, fifty kilometers south of Kalkar.¹⁰ Thus, although all suggested attributions encompass a geographic area loosely straddling the eastern Netherlands and the Lower Rhine region, no comfortable match has been found between the Metropolitan Museum's *Saint Roch* and its exact origins.

Precise attribution to specific towns, workshops, and artists is complicated by the constellation of political nuclei fragmenting northern European countries in

the early sixteenth century and by the proximity of the different sculpture centers. The study of this region's artistic output has not benefited from the same attention contemporary works from southern Germany have been granted. The lack of a systematic recording of sculptures combined with the rarity of signed and documented works renders their identification problematic. Recently, however, an appreciation for Kalkar's artistic output has been revived through the exhibition "Gegen den Strom: Meisterwerke nieder-rheinischer Skulptur in Zeiten der Reformation 1500–1550," at the Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum in Aachen, Germany, in 1996–97.¹¹

Unlike southern parts of Germany, the Lower Rhine region was for the most part unaffected by the economic crisis and religious turmoil usually associated with the Reformation, which allowed it to blossom into a rich center conducive to abundant artistic output. In the town of Kalkar, located between the Rhine and



Figure 3. Attributed to Heinrich Douwerman, *Saint Antony Abbott*, ca. 1520. Oak, 70.5 x 17.5 x 20.5 cm. Cloister of the Kruisheren, Cuijk-Saint Agatha (photo: Anne Gold, Aachen)



Figure 4. Right profile of *Saint Roch* in Figure 1



Figure 5. Attributed to Heinrich Douwerman, *Angel of the Annunciation* (right profile), ca. 1540. Oak, H. 81.5 cm. Private collection (photo: Stephan Kube, Greven)

Maas Rivers, a strong lineage of sculptors can be traced from the late fifteenth century to the first half of the sixteenth, when three sculptors are recorded as actively working: Heinrich Douwerman (died 1543/44), Heinrich van Holt (died 1545/46), and Arnt van Tricht (died 1570).¹² Their workshops generated sculptures for both religious and secular institutions in Kalkar and beyond, reaching the nearby centers of Xanten and Cleves. Although this extraordinary congregation of master carvers might seem excessive for a single town of about three to four thousand inhabitants in the early sixteenth century, the individual workshops were able to thrive because of the rich number of commissions

from surrounding cities and the lack of competition in them. In fact, all three workshops are recorded as active in Kalkar up to their masters' deaths.

Within the sizable body of sculpture produced by these workshops, there is confusion in attributing a work specifically to one or another of the three individual hands. Both Heinrich Douwerman and Heinrich van Holt are thought to have been trained by the same master carver, Dries Holthuis (active in Cleves ca. 1490–1503²), and Arnt van Tricht is believed to have worked in Douwerman's workshop before branching out as an autonomous sculptor in the 1520s. Moreover, a major obstacle in distinguishing among the three workshops is that only one commission in Douwerman's prolific oeuvre can be traced in archival documents as an entirely autograph work, the Altar of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin (1518–21) in Kalkar's parish church of Saint Nikolai, and few commissions linking patron to artist are recorded in the town's archives for the other two workshops.

Thus, although stylistic and technical evidence will be shown here to suggest strongly that the Museum's *Saint Roch* belongs to Kalkar's rich artistic center, identification of a specific master carver will remain a challenge because of the basic similarities of the sculptures produced in these workshops.

STYLISTIC ANALOGIES

In size and proportion, the representation of Saint Roch flanked by an angel and a dog corresponds to the general figure type in religious sculptures produced in Kalkar in the early decades of the sixteenth century, as for example *Saint Antony Abbot*, attributed to Heinrich Douwerman, about 1520 (Figure 3).¹³ *Saint Antony Abbot* stands crushing a demon with his right foot and has a tamed pig with a bell hung around its neck to his left—much the way *Saint Roch* is positioned between angel and dog. Both figures have similar stances, with one leg supporting the body weight while the other steps forward slightly beyond the edge of the base. Both hold one arm close to the body and the other to the fore, clutching a staff.

In style of drapery, close similarities can be seen between *Saint Roch* (Figure 4) and an *Angel of the Annunciation* (ca. 1540; Figure 5).¹⁴ Both figures are clothed in voluminous mantles, which exhibit a similar pattern of drapery, especially in the orchestration of the folds gathered on the figures' right arms and leading to their pointed index fingers: smooth planes of material falling flatly against the shoulders, generous pleats folded over the upper arms, deeply carved creases near the elbows and forearms. The movement of the



Figure 6. Heinrich Douwerman, *Crucifixion* (detail), Altarpiece of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, 1518–21. Oak. Church of Saint Nikolai, Kalkar (photo: Medienzentrum Rheinland, Düsseldorf)



Figure 7. Attributed to Heinrich Douwerman, *Virgin Mary* (detail), 1510–15. Oak. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Br 534c (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)

Angel's knees pushing against the fabric of his robe is frequently seen in Douwerman's oeuvre, a detail noticeable in both *Saint Antony Abbot* and the Museum's *Saint Roch* (Figures 3, 4).

The hair in these works is arranged to frame the face and is composed of lush and convoluted strands. As in Douwerman's *Saint John* in the Altarpiece of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin (Figure 6), hairstyles are more compressed near the crown of the head, are fuller toward the ears and shoulders, and finish on the forehead in multiple finials of curls.

In details of physiognomy, most figures deriving from the Kalkar school have wide crescent-shaped eyes set in heavy eyelids often half-closed, much like the Rijksmuseum's *Virgin Mary* (Figure 7),¹⁵ or the *Bust of Saint Helen* (Figure 8), usually attributed to Heinrich von Holt, in the high altar retable in Xanten's Saint Viktor cathedral.¹⁶ Eyebrows are sharply defined and extend to the eye socket with a markedly flat plane set at an angle. *Saint Roch's* pinched lips and long straight nose contracted near the bridge also resemble those found in van Holt's *Saint Helen*, as well as in a suffering crucified Christ in Kempen (Figure 9) attributed to Douwerman.¹⁷

Finally, *Saint Roch's* costume belongs to the region's vocabulary of fashion. Recurrently found decorating figures from the Lower Rhine school of carving are such details as the double row of slashing around the neckline of *Saint Roch's* doublet and that of a man in the Altarpiece of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin in Saint Nikolai (Figure 10); the squared decorated edge of his jacket, which is similar to the one on the Musée de Cluny's *Enthroned Madonna* (Figure 11);¹⁸ the rope fastening his cloak and the belt gathering his jacket much like those found on a figure in the Passion Altarpiece in Cologne (Figure 12).¹⁹

TECHNICAL ANALOGIES

The study of carving techniques provides compelling data in a comparison of *Saint Roch* with the artistic production of Kalkar.²⁰ Although quality control in the use of wood for artworks was introduced in Germany in the Gothic period, it varied from town to town. In the Kalkar region, wooden sculptures display no real standard in the quality of workmanship and materials



Figure 8. Attributed to Heinrich van Holt, *Bust of Saint Helen*, detail of the high altar retable, 1534–44. Oak. Cathedral of Saint Viktor, Xanten (photo: after *Gegen den Strom: Meisterwerke niederrheinischer Skulptur in Zeiten der Reformation 1500–1550*, exh. cat. [Berlin: D. Reimer, 1996], p. 69, fig. 3)



Figure 9. Attributed to Heinrich Douwerman, *Crucifix* (detail), ca. 1530. Oak. Saint Mary Geburt, Kempen (photo: Anne Gold)

and in the nature of the joins, but rather a particular blend of hazardous techniques combined with methodical precision. This characteristic duality encountered in the Museum's sculpture thus becomes an important point for attribution.

Kalkar is at the center of a region where sculptors favored oak exclusively over other species of wood;²¹ oak is a ring-porous hardwood recognized for its excellent physical characteristics and durability. Particularly, it is resistant to changes in relative humidity, an important quality for art that was often kept in the uncontrolled climates of churches in northern Germany. Consistent with this practice, the Museum's *Saint Roch* was carved in the round from a relatively large log of oak, which must have measured at least 50 centimeters in diameter and 99 centimeters in length.

Since oak is laborious to carve when dry, the Kalkar school's method of seasoning was dictated by the need to carve while the wood was still relatively fresh.²² However, to insure the future integrity of the finished work, a regulated drying of the raw material was very important in the carving process. To overcome problems of warp, dimensional change (shrinkage and



Figure 10. Attributed to Heinrich Douwerman and Arnt van Tricht, *Presentation in the Temple* (detail), Altarpiece of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, 1518–21. Oak. Church of Saint Nikolai, Kalkar (photo: Anne Gold)



Figure 11. Attributed to Heinrich Douwerman, *Enthroned Madonna* (detail), ca. 1540. Oak. Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Paris, CL 13236 (photo: Ulrike Villwock)



Figure 12. Attributed to Arnt van Tricht, *Descent from the Cross* (detail), Passion Altarpiece, ca. 1535–40. Oak. Schnütgen-Museum, Cologne (photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln)

swelling), surface checks, and fractures, sixteenth-century sculptors would monitor the log's drying stages from freshly cut to a seasoned state, as well as the continuing exchange of moisture between the wood and the surrounding atmosphere during the carving process. Many techniques were available to combat the common symptoms related to the wood's drying process. Certain workshops dried their woods in generally controlled environments such as sheds. Others utilized more drastic means such as ovens,²³ while some chose to rely on the systematic removal of the log's heart to homogenize the drying rate throughout the log, as sapwood and heartwood shrink differently upon drying. Yet others would simply season their woods in the existing conditions by letting them dry gradually over time.

In Kalkar, no real evidence points toward the use of any of these methods of wood preparation. Rather than slowly seasoning a log before use, the workshops seem to have worked in synergy with the drying wood and repaired the cracks that formed during the carving process.²⁴ *Saint Roch* appears to have been carved in rel-



Figure 13. Dowel consolidating a radial crack on the front edge of the base of *Saint Roch* in Figure 1 (photo: Lucretia Goddard Kargère)

atively fresh oak, which is consistent with this working method. An original repair, a large rectangular dowel (9 x 7 mm) in the front edge of the base, serves to consolidate a radial crack, which may have formed as the wood was drying during carving (Figure 13).

In addition, in a number of sculptures from Kalkar the heart of the log is still exposed on the work's



Figure 14. Back of *Saint Roch* in Figure 1

perimeter,²⁵ even though its complete removal was generally recommended. This core constitutes a zone of discontinuity in the wood, different in density, which is prone to cracking. On the Museum's *Saint Roch*, the pith is readily visible on the figure's right shoulder blade (Figure 14), as well as on the underside of the sculpture (Figure 15). As expected, on the bottom of the work cracks can be seen radiating from the heart of the log, and they have caused a large portion of the base behind the saint's right foot to fall away (visible in the lower right of Figure 15 and at the lower left edge of the base

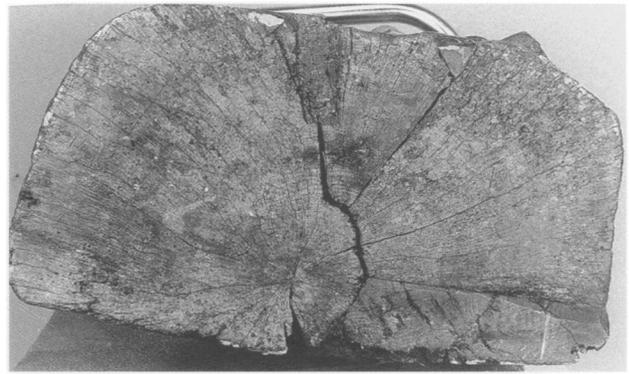


Figure 15. Underside of the base of *Saint Roch* in Figure 1 (photo: Lucretia Goddard Kargère)

in Figure 4). This corner was replaced with a different species of wood in a later restoration (see Appendix).

A proper approach to carving would also be to extract any knots in order to impede serious distortion of the wood grain in the drying process. Because shrinkage in a knot is different from that in the surrounding wood, knots are known for their potential to loosen and drop out, or if they remain tight, to develop radial cracks. The Museum's sculpture shows large knots, one of which is readily visible on the saint's chest, next to the strap (Figure 2). Although they would be considered defects in so-called perfect practice, knots appear irregularly on wooden sculptures of the Kalkar region.²⁶

Beyond these less than rigorous techniques, the Museum's sculpture presents a certain sophistication and precision in carving that are common to the region's artistic production. In accordance with the proper approach to wood carving, the back of *Saint Roch* was hollowed out (Figure 14). This was an ordinary technique designed to reduce an object's weight; removal of the log's core also inhibited the formation of additional cracks. The manner of hollowing in the *Saint Roch* displays a particular attention to detail: the cavity was covered by an oak plank (42 x 6.5 cm) inserted precisely within the rectangular opening that spans nearly the whole length of the saint's cloak, from the edge of the large collar to below knee level. As in a *Saint John the Baptist*, dated to after 1530 and attributed to Douwerman (Figure 16), *Saint Roch's* closing plank is fastened to the sculpture by means of three small round dowels approximately 0.5 centimeters in diameter and 6 centimeters long. Each is inserted diagonally through the plank near its edge and into the body. Both the clean-cut box-shaped cavity and the method of securing the plank represent essential points of correspondence with the woodworking practices observed on a series of sculptures from Kalkar: notably on a *Saint Ursula* attributed to Douwerman (Figure 21),



Figure 16. Attributed to Heinrich Douwerman, *Saint John the Baptist* (back view), after 1530. Oak, H. 87.8 cm. Church of Saint Nicolai, Kalkar (photo: Michael Rief)

a *Female Saint* attributed to van Holt,²⁷ and a *Saint Antony Abbot* attributed to Douwerman.²⁸

Another characteristic particular to the Kalkar school of carving was the artist's adding pieces of wood to the sculpture's main volume. Throughout Kalkar production, small to minute wooden dowels can be seen that secure strands of hair,²⁹ components of the body such as fingers or hands,³⁰ sections of the drapery,³¹ and decorative costume details such as tassels, parts of belts, or sashes. For example, two pieces of the shoulder and the



Figure 17. Right shoulder of *Saint John the Baptist* in Figure 16 (photo: Michael Rief)

extremity of curls were carved separately and doweled onto the right shoulder of the *Saint John the Baptist* in Saint Nikolai (Figure 17). In some instances, the added elements have the appearance of afterthoughts; while they could technically have been carved within the original diameter of the log of wood, they were instead added separately. The Museum's *Saint Roch* has such an appendage, two elements of drapery placed to form the exposed corner of the saint's doublet (Figure 18): a triangular piece (3 x 3 cm) and a trapezoidal piece (approx. 9 x 3 cm). These small pieces of carved oak were attached to the main body of the sculpture by two minuscule wooden dowels or pegs (2 mm in diameter).

Similarities among Kalkar sculptures can also be seen in the joining technique that was employed to attach the wings on angels. The wings of the *Saint Roch* angel, now lost (Figure 4), were clearly outside the sculpture's original diameter and were carved separately, not an unusual technique in the construction of sculptures representing winged angels. The particular type of joining, however, is analogous to that found on the *Angel of the Annunciation* (Figure 19), where each wing was



Figure 18. Elements added onto *Saint Roch*'s doublet in Figure 1 (photo: Lucretia Goddard Kargère)

set in by a rectangular tenon and mortise joint (the mortises for the *Saint Roch* angel's wings are 1.5 x 0.5 cm and 1.5 cm deep), and the joining was further strengthened by two small dowels inserted at an angle (cross-dowels).

In addition to the similarity of construction techniques among wood sculptures from Kalkar, there are readily noticeable correspondences in the handling of the wood-carving tools themselves. For example, *Saint Roch*'s hair (Figure 20) reveals a technique of carving that appears on other heads. Just by examining the hair it is possible to distinguish the steps involved in giving the locks their organized shape. First, the hair was blocked out in a series of convex vertical strips. The surface of each strip was then chiseled to form sinuous grooves, thus creating waves neatly coming into and out of synchronization. The early steps of this technique of carving hair can be seen on the unfinished reverse of a *Saint Ursula* (Figure 21) attributed to Douwerman,



Figure 19. Back of the *Angel of the Annunciation* in Figure 5 (photo: Michael Rief)

while the winding play within each vertical strip, although different in amplitude and sweep, is manifested on the carefully carved back of a *Virgin Mary of the Annunciation* (Figure 22), also attributed to him.

Compelling evidence for the association of the Metropolitan's sculpture with the Kalkar workshops is offered by the treatment of the eyes (Figures 2, 7). Their modeling is defined by an almond-shaped curvature set deeply in the eyebrow's broad arch, followed by the delineation of the recessed crescentlike eyeball. There is additional similarity in details such as the ripple of skin further outlining the eyelid's upper border and the round irises engraved with the simple movement of a gouge.

Finally, the object's very woodenness contributes to the attribution of the sculpture. Close examination of the work indicates that it was originally painted in several colors (see Appendix). In its present state, the work's



Figure 20. Detail of *Saint Roch*'s hair in Figure 1 (photo: Lucretia Goddard Kargère)

lack of polychromy allows us to see the sculptor's interest in a surface characterized by a rich variety of texture and play of light similar to that of the finished wood surfaces evidenced on late Gothic sculptures from the Lower Rhine region. Like much of Kalkar's artistic production, whether polychromed or monochrome,³² *Saint Roch* shows small decorative touches to the surface of the wood, elements of embellishment that affirm the sculptor's delight in further defining the sculptural form not only by painted decorations, as in the Romanesque era, but also by detailed surface carving. Stippling carved with the point of a knife give texture to the dog's collar (Figure 23), serpentine incisions intermittently spaced by dots decorate the square neckline of the saint's jacket (Figure 2), and large zigzag patterns (*Tremolierung*, or crescentlike cuts made by rocking a knife back and forth on the wood) evoke grass on the sculpture's base (Figure 1). Such details in



Figure 21. Attributed to Heinrich Douwerman, *Saint Ursula* (back view), ca. 1520. Oak, H. 92 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (photo: Rijksmuseum Stichting)

carving would have emerged through the thin layers of polychromy. In addition, few tool marks are apparent on most of the sculpture's surface, indicating the sculptor's search for a smoothly finished appearance, despite the fact that the surface was meant to be concealed under layers of paint (see Appendix).

Numerous aspects of the technical features of *Saint Roch* and details of its carving offer evidence for an attribution to the school of wood-carvers flourishing in the region of Kalkar in the early decades of the sixteenth century. Although perhaps less accomplished than Douwerman's best work, *Saint Roch* displays closest parallels to the oeuvre of this master and his workshop. In the context of the Metropolitan Museum's collection, the work stands out as an attractive exemplar of a late Gothic, North German wood sculpture, and its careful study provides an additional reference to our increasing understanding of this specific region.

APPENDIX: CONDITION OF THE SCULPTURE



Figure 22. Attributed to Heinrich Douwerman, *Virgin Mary of the Annunciation* (back view), ca. 1540. Oak, H. 87.5 cm. Private collection (photo: after *Gegen den Strom*, p. 232, fig. 31.2)

The figure of the saint is relatively complete as a sculpture. The dog's right leg and left ear and the angel's wings and right hand are missing. While the dog's leg and the angel's wings appear to have become disconnected from their mortise and tenon joints, the dog's ear and angel's hand have been broken off.

The back of *Saint Roch* and some specific areas of the front display a discoloration of the wood that looks much like white-rot degradation. This bleached-white aspect affects only the upper crust of the wooden surface and seems to have been caused by the object's being close to a source of moisture. The hook on the back of the sculpture (Figure 14),³³ which presumably served as an attachment device, and the principal areas of degradation indicate that the work was most likely placed adjacent to a wall, a common source of dampness. The discoloration is not so evident on the front of the figure simply because it was covered with repeated applications of wax or oil, which have darkened with time, coatings that were meant to saturate the raw aspect of stripped wood.

The surface displays a number of radial cracks, readily visible on the sculpture's base, the saint's chest, his right shoulder, his staff, his right index finger, and the dog's tail. The cracks caused to separate from the whole a number of small pieces of wood, which were replaced during a subsequent restoration, possibly after the sculpture was stripped of its paint layers. These repairs are made up of a rectangular piece on the back right edge of the base, three small triangular elements on the upper edge of the saint's brimmed



Figure 23. Detail of *Saint Roch*'s dog in Figure 1 (photo: Lucretia Goddard Kargère)

hat, of which one is visible to the proper left of the set of crossed keys (Figure 2), and the outermost half of the dog's loaf of bread. All repairs are readily recognizable, as they were carved from a different species of wood, darker red in color than the oak of the figure. In addition, these repairs show traces of tool marks that are markedly different, finer and longer, than the original carving marks. This distinction is most apparent in the design imitating grass on the sculpture's base. While on the original surface the so-called *Tremolierung* displays an ample array of narrow, deep incisions; on the repaired portion it has the aspect of fine, long, tight, shallow channels.

The sculpture has been stripped of its original layers of polychromy, even perhaps washed with water or lye (an alkali solution: sodium hydroxide), in view of the raised aspect of the wood grain. Under magnification, the minute islands of remaining polychromy show traces of two successive colors in addition to the primary paint layers, likely remnants of campaigns in which the sculpture was completely repainted. While too few traces of paint remain to permit an accurate determination of the original colors used, they appear to have included gold for the saint's hair, his cloak, and the angel's robe, and silver for the lining of the saint's cloak. His fallen right stocking appears to have been red, while the grass was painted with a green glaze.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the L. W. Frohlich Foundation for its generous aid and James H. Frantz for his unfaltering support of my research. Special thanks are due to Jack Soultanian for providing an opportunity to study numerous sculptures of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Much appreciated were the helpful editorial comments of Antoine Wilmering and Charles Little. I am also grateful to Deirdre Donohue for reviewing the proper terms in describing details of costume. Finally, I would like to acknowledge Michael Rief, who provided me with many photographs for this article. His knowledge of wood-carving techniques was an inspiration.

NOTES

1. The sculpture is currently on long-term loan to the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center of Visual Arts at Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.
2. M. Leloir, *Dictionnaire du costume et de ses accessoires, des armes et des étoffes des origines à nos jours* (Paris: Librairie Grund, 1951),

- pp. 96, 228; F. Boucher, *20,000 Years of Fashion*, expanded ed. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1987), p. 247.
3. R. Didier, C. Ceulemans, and J. Gerits, *Laat-gotische beeldsnij kunst uit Limburg en Grensland* (Sint-Truiden: Provinciaal Museum voor Religieuze Kunst, 1990), vol. 1, esp. p. 37; M. Devigne, *La sculpture Mosane du XIIIème au XVème siècle* (Paris and Brussels: G. van Oest, 1932), pp. 152–53, 156, fig. 232, *Saint Roch*, first quarter of the 16th century, Church of Neeroeteren; fig. 233, *Saint Roch*, first quarter of the 16th century, Saint Trudo Church, Exel; fig. 235, *Saint Roch*, ca. 1530, Saint John Church, Tongeren.
4. L. Réau, "Saint Roch," in *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. 3 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959), p. 1158.
5. E. R[obinson], "The Hoentschel Collection," *MMAB* 2 (June 1907), pp. 94–98, esp. pp. 96, 98.
6. Bourgeois Frères, Cologne, sale cat., October 19–27, 1904, p. 216, no. 1175, illus.
7. "Mr. Morgan's Recent Gift," *MMAB* 11 (March 1916), pp. 56–58; J. Strouse, "J. Pierpont Morgan: Financier and Collector," *MMAB* 57 (Winter 2000), pp. 36, 39.
8. J. Breck, *Catalogue of Romanesque, Gothic, and Renaissance Sculpture* (New York: MMA, 1913), p. 194, no. 227.
9. Forsyth's manuscript note, September 1945, is in the file for MMA 16.32.186 in the Department of Medieval Art. In it he compared the Museum's *Saint Roch* to sculptures of saints in the Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum in Utrecht. See *Beeldhouwkunst van de Middeleeuwen tot Heden* (Amsterdam and Brussels: A. Elsevier, 1962), no. 191, pl. 67 (*Saint Antony Abbot*, attributed to the school of Cleves-Gelders), no. 202, pl. 71 (*Saint Roch*, attributed to the school of Cleves-Gelders), no. 203, pl. 72 (*Saint Roch*, attributed to the school of Cleves-Gelders).
10. Didier et al., *Laat-gotische beeldsnij kunst*, vol. 1, figs. 22, 23.
11. B. Rommé, ed., *Gegen den Strom: Meisterwerke niederrheinischer Skulptur in Zeiten der Reformation 1500–1550*, exh. cat., Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1996).
For earlier publications on the subject, see: S. Beissel, "Die Kalkarer Bildhauer auf dem Wege von der Gotik zur Renaissance," *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst* 16 (1903), pp. 353–70; E. Willemsen, "Beobachtung zur Oberflächenstruktur niederrheinischer Skulpturen," *Jahrbuch der rheinischen Denkmalpflege* 24 (1962), pp. 189–97; F. J. Nüss, *Heinrich Douvermann: Ein spätgotischer Bildschnitzer am Niederrhein* (Duisburg: Carl Lange Verlag, 1963); J. Taubert, "Zur Oberflächen-gestalt der sog. ungefassten spätgotischen Holzplastik," in *Farbige Skulpturen* (Munich: Callwey, 1978), p. 75; H. P. Hilger, *Die Stadtpfarrkirche St. Nicolai in Kalkar* (Cleves: Boss-Verlag, 1990).
12. B. Rommé, "Die Bildschnitzkunst in Kalkar in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Gegen den Strom*, p. 15.
13. *Gegen den Strom*, no. 56. There is another very similar sculpture of Saint Antony Abbot, also attributed to Douverman, ca. 1518, in the Stichting Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht. It measures 90.2 by 38 by 23 cm. Many standing figures from this school of carving measure in average 90 cm high. However, heights range from a *Saint Margaret*, attributed to Douverman (no. 19), which is 26 cm, to a *Saint Christopher*, attributed to Arnt van Tricht (no. 43), 206 cm.
14. *Gegen den Strom*, no. 30.
15. *Ibid.*, no. 24.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
17. *Ibid.*, no. 26.
18. *Ibid.*, no. 32.
19. *Ibid.*, no. 72.

20. M. Rief, "Zur Retabelproduktion und Bildhauertechnik am Niederrhein im späten 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhundert," in *Gegen den Strom*, pp. 39–49.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 39. To the west of the region, in the Netherlandish provinces of North Brabant, and to the north, in Gelders and Overijssel, both oak and walnut were used. To the south toward Cologne, sculptors seem to have selected among oak, walnut, and linden.
22. The definition of fresh wood is often ambiguous, but it should be understood as wood that has not yet shrunk from drying and loss of its bound water. See R. B. Hoadley, *Understanding Wood* (Newton, Conn.: Taunton Press, 1980), p. 72.
23. H. Westhoff, "Holzskulpturen des 14. Jahrhunderts und ihre Fassung," *Maltechnik Restaura* 89 (1983), pp. 9–22.
24. M. Rief, in *Gegen den Strom*, for example no. 32, the *Enthroned Madonna*, attributed to Douwerman (Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Paris, CL 13236), shows numerous original repairs masking drying cracks that had formed.
25. See *Gegen den Strom*, for example nos. 22 (*Saint John the Evangelist*, attributed to Douwerman, Saint Mariae Himmelfahrt, Cleves), 28 (*Saint John the Baptist*, attributed to Douwerman, Saint Nikolai, Kalkar), and 35 (*Saint Barbara*, attributed to Arnt van Tricht, Saint Antony Abbot, Hanselaer).
26. M. Rief, in *Gegen den Strom*, p. 41.
27. *Gegen den Strom*, no. 3, *Female Saint*, 1530–40 (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).
28. *Ibid.*, no. 59, *Saint Antony Abbot*, before 1518 (Stichting Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht).
29. *Ibid.*, no. 32, *Enthroned Madonna*, ca. 1540, attributed to Heinrich Douwerman (Musée de Cluny, Paris).
30. *Ibid.*, no. 30, *Angel of the Annunciation*, ca. 1540, attributed to Douwerman (private collection).
31. *Ibid.*, no. 28, *Saint John the Evangelist*, after 1530, attributed to Douwerman (Saint Nikolai, Kalkar).
32. Issues in nomenclature surround the concept of wood sculptures that were left mostly unpainted. For publications on this issue, see, for example: E. Oellermann, "Die Restaurierung des Heilig-Blut-Altars von Tilman Riemenschneider," *Amtsbericht des Bayerischen Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege* 24 (1966), pp. 75–85; J. Taubert, "Zur Oberflächenbehandlung der sog. un gefassten spätgotischen Holzplastik," *Städte-Jahrbuch* 1 (1967), pp. 119–39; H. Krohm and E. Oellermann, "Der ehemalige Münnerstädter Magdalenenaltar von Tilman Riemenschneider und seine Geschichte Forschungsergebnisse zur monochromen Oberflächengestalt," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 34 (1980), pp. 16–99; J. Rosenfeld, *Die nichtpolychromierte Retabelskulptur als bildreformerisches Phänomen im ausgehenden Mittelalter und in der beginnenden Neuzeit* (Ammersbek bei Hamburg: Verlag an der Lottbek, 1990); H. Westhoff, "Holzschichtige Skulptur aus der Werkstatt des Nikolaus Weckmann," in *Meisterwerke Massenhaft: Die Bildhauerwerkstatt des Niklaus Weckmann und die Malerei in Ulm um 1500*, exh. cat. (Ulm: Süddeutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1993), pp. 135–45; M. Marincola and J. Soutanian, "Monochromy, Polychromy, and Authenticity: The Cloisters' Standing Bishop Attributed to Tilman Riemenschneider," in *Painted Wood: History and Conservation*, ed. V. Dorge and F. C. Howlett, proceedings of a symposium organized by the Wooden Artifacts Group, the American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, in Williamsburg, Va., November 11–14, 1994 (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 1998), pp. 278–86.
33. The hook, although old in manufacture, is of uncertain age.

An Extravagant Jewel: The George Watch

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WATCHES HAVE not always been valued primarily for telling time. In the first hundred years after their appearance in late fifteenth-century Italy, watches were often a great deal closer to being jewels that incidentally gave indications of time than to modern timekeepers. Few of these early jewels survive, most having succumbed to advances in technology and to the changes in fashion or fortune that equally have taken their toll on objects made of precious materials.

A number of visual and written documents do survive, however, to demonstrate the ways in which a watch could be incorporated into a jewel or some other small precious object. For example, in 1541 the Renaissance scholar Lilio Gregorio Giraldi (1479–1552) wrote, “I myself have often seen a watch, which admirably showed the hours, placed in the handle of the eyeglass of Pope Leo X [reigned 1513–21], of which he availed himself while hunting and traveling.”¹ Twenty years later, the publication in Lyon of a book of designs for rings by the French artist Pierre II Woerriot included one for a ring in which a tiny watch is embedded (Figure 1).² An enameled gold ring watch in the Schatzkammer in Munich dating from shortly after 1584 attests to the fact that such objects were actually made (Figure 2).³

The Flemish artist Hans Collaert engraved a series of designs for pendent jewels that was published in Antwerp in 1581 by Philip Galle. Among the designs there is one with a watch in an elaborate frame that was undoubtedly intended to be executed in gold ornamented with colored enamels and set with gemstones (Figure 3).⁴

Queen Elizabeth I of England (reigned 1558–1603) owned several jewel-like watches, including one set in a bracelet described as an “armlet or shakell of golde, all over fairly garnishedd with rubys and dya-

monds, haveing in the closing thereof a clocke.”⁵ But the ultimate in conspicuous display seems to have been reached by 1623, when the watchmaker Andreas Hipp (working 1575–probably 1624) of Kempten in South Germany offered a watch set in a garnet suitable for a lady to wear in her hair, evidently as a variety of ornamental hairpin.⁶ When this watch was in place, the dial could only have been seen by someone other than the wearer.

The epitome in prestigious watches, however, was the “George watch,” made in the shape of the ensign of the English Order of the Garter and named after Saint George (Figure 4). Elias Ashmole (1617–1692), in his history of the order, listed as part of its insignia the Greater George, an elaborate pendent image of the saint fighting a dragon worn on a collar as part of the full ceremonial dress, and the Lesser George, a simpler pendant which the knights were obliged to wear in daily dress. Of the Lesser George, Ashmole said, “This George was for the most part made of pure Gold, curiously wrought by the hand of the Goldsmith, but we have seen divers of them exquisitely cut in Onixs, as also in Agats. . . . In this Jewel is St. George represented in a riding posture encountering the Dragon with his drawn Sword . . . this George is allowed to be enriched and garnished at the pleasure of him that wears it.”⁷ Accompanying this text is an engraving showing a Greater George and three views of a Lesser George (Figures 5, 6). Ashmole described the latter as the quite extraordinary George worn by King Charles I (reigned 1625–49) to his execution “curiously cut in an Onix, set about with 21 large Table Diamonds, in the fashion of a Garter: On the back side of the George was the Picture of his Queen, rarely well limn’d set in a Case of Gold, the lid neatly enamel’d with Goldsmith’s work, and surrounded with another Garter adorned with a like number of equal sized Diamonds, as was the forside.”⁸

Two historical references to Georges incorporating watches have so far come to light. The first is in a 1587

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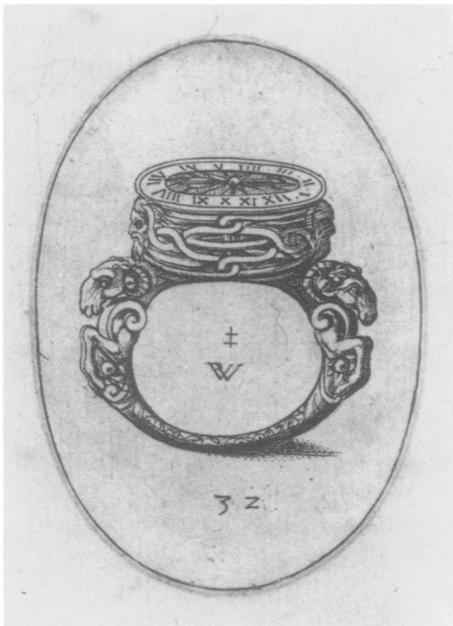


Figure 1. Pierre II Woeriot (French, 1532–after 1589 or after 1596). Design for a ring watch, 1561. Engraving, 7.9 x 5.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926 (26.57.50)

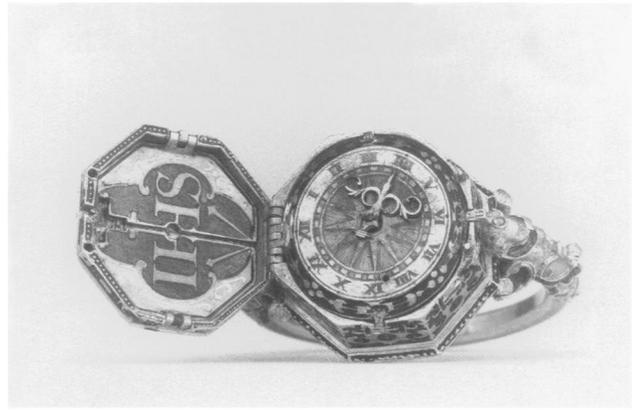


Figure 2. Ring watch, German (Augsburg), ca. 1585. Gold, partly enameled, with a movement signed *IW* with an Augsburg pinecone between the letters, probably the initials of Jacob Weiss (master 1584). W. of ring 3 cm; diam. of movement 1.7 cm. Schatzkammer der Residenz München (photo: Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Garten und Seen)

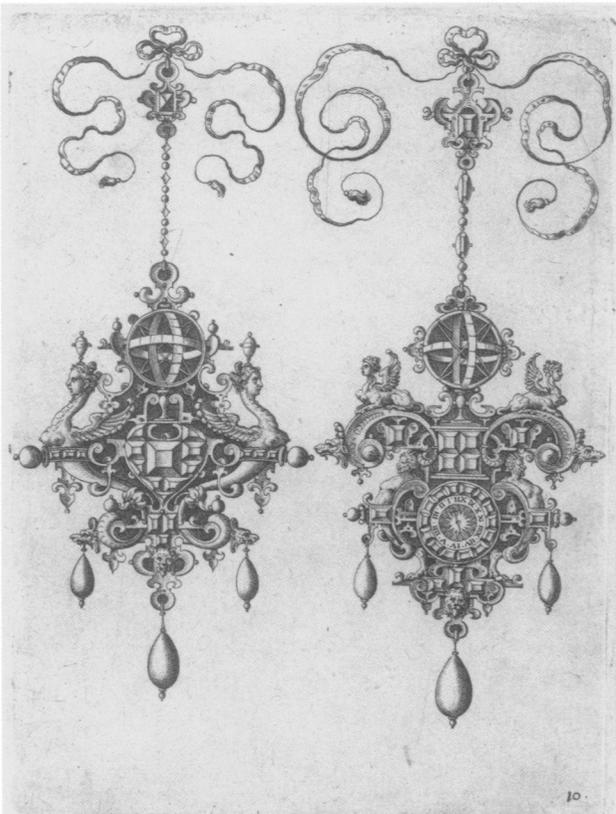


Figure 3. Hans Collaert (Flemish, 1566–1628). Designs for two jeweled pendants, the one on the right incorporating a watch, 1581. Engraving, 17 x 12.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1923 (23.85.12)



Figure 4. Watch in the form of a Lesser George, an ensign of the Order of the Garter, English (London), ca. 1600. Gold, partly enameled, with a movement by Nicholas Vallin, 3.6 x 2.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.1475). See also Colorplate 2

inventory of the jewels of Queen Elizabeth: “one clocke of golde with a George on both sides garnished with sparkes of diamondes and a pendant of opalls.”⁹ An inventory of the possessions of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton (1540–1614), made in 1614, provides the second. Listed are several Georges of various costly materials, one described as “Item a watche George,” which was in the hands of the goldsmith, Master William, at the time of the inventory.¹⁰

The George watch in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art is apparently the sole surviving example of this kind of watch (Figure 4).¹¹ The movement of the Museum’s watch was made by Nicholas Vallin. Its case is of gold, decorated with various colored enamels, and it consists of an oval band

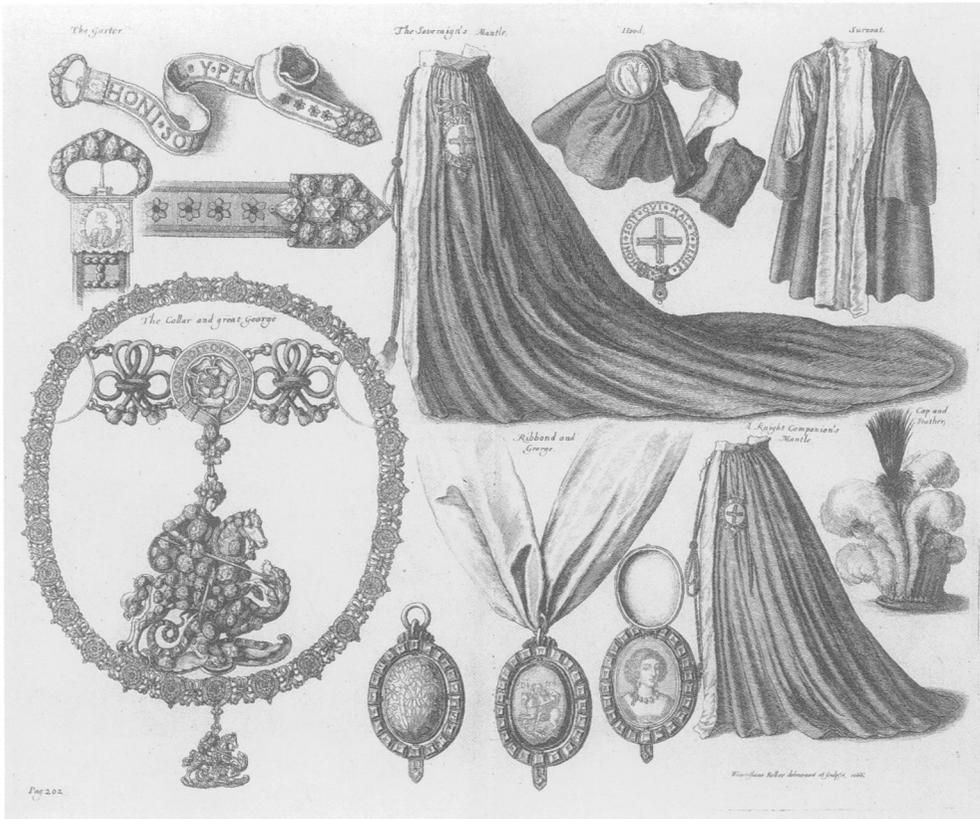


Figure 5. Wenzel Hollar (Bohemian, 1607–1677). “The Habit and Ensigns” of the Order of the Garter, dated 1666. Engraving, 35.5 x 40.6 cm. From the plate bound between pp. 202 and 203 in Elias Ashmole’s *The Institution, Laws & Ceremonies of the Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1672). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library



Figure 6. Detail of Figure 5, showing three views of the Lesser George said to have been worn by King Charles I of England

with a pendant and two hinged covers. The band and pendant are cast as a single piece (Figures 7, 8). The exterior side of the band has, between two beaded borders, a representation of the garter, symbol of the order, with its motto: HONI.SOIT.QVI / MAL.Y.PENSE. The beaded borders carry traces of opaque blue

enamel *en ronde-bosse*, or applied to a raised metal surface, as does the sculpted fleur-de-lis-like pendant, which also has a hole for the loose ring at the top by which the watch is suspended. The remainder of the band is decorated with champlevé enamel, a technique achieved by cutting away or excavating the underlying



Figure 7. The watch in Figure 4 seen from the side, with the first part of the motto of the Order of the Garter: HONI.SOIT.QVI

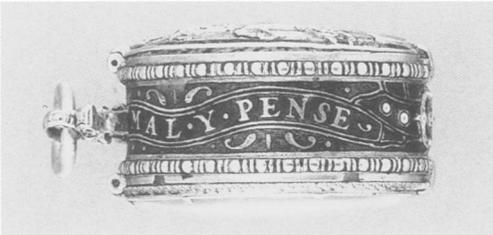


Figure 8. The watch in Figure 4 seen from the side, with the second part of the motto: MAL.Y.PENSE.



Figure 9. The exterior of the back cover of the watch in Figure 4



Figure 10. The watch in Figure 4 open to show the back plate of the movement and the inside of the back cover

gold ground so that various colored enamels can be applied to the hollowed-out areas, then fired in a kiln, and subsequently polished down to the level of the gold ground, creating a design in which each color is separated by a gold border that is actually part of the metal plate. The colors of the band are translucent blue for the garter, opaque white for the buckle and holes of the garter, and translucent red for the background. Close examination shows that the surface of the blue enamel exhibits greater decomposition than does that of the red. (See the discussion of the enamels and

their composition by Mark Wypyski in the Technical Appendix, pages 14–16.)

The back cover is also cast, and its exterior bears an image in relief of Saint George slaying the dragon (Figure 9). These figures are enameled *en ronde-bosse* on a matte gold ground. The colors are white for the horse and the flesh of the saint, green for the dragon and the helmet and shield of the saint, blue for the saddle and trappings of the horse, blue and green for the scarf of the saint, and red for the skirt of his tunic. The entire representation is framed in red. The green, blue, and red enamels are translucent; the white is opaque. The interior of the cover is decorated with scroll ornament in opaque black *champlevé* enamel on a stippled gold ground (Figure 10).

The front cover is a hinged gold bezel set with an oval plaque of rock crystal (Figure 11). The plaque is held in place by seven tags, the one at the opposite end from the hinge now broken off. The inside of the bezel is engraved with a simple ornamental pattern.

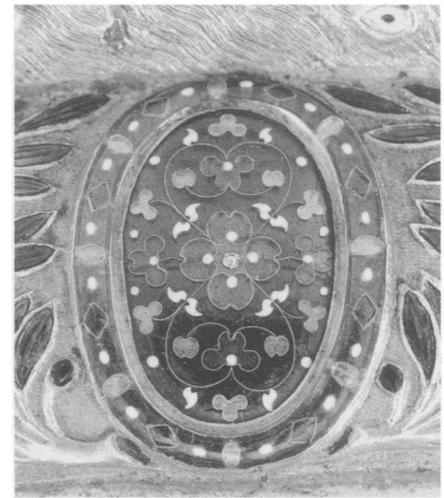
The dial is attached to the movement, and together they can be made to slide into the band of the case, held by two latches attached to the back plate of the movement that engage two holes in the band of the case (Figure 10). The dial has four lugs which fit into slots in the band of the case and three feet by which it is pinned to the movement. The back plate of the movement carries the signature of the watchmaker, *N. Vallin*.

The decoration of the dial is executed in *champlevé* enamel, with the numerals and half-hour marks in



Figures 11 and 12. The front of the watch in Figure 4, with the cover closed (above) and open to show the dial





Figures 13 and 14. Parade shield of King Charles IX of France, French (Paris), ca. 1570, and detail of an enameled oval in the border. Gold, applied to a base of iron, and partly enameled, H. 68 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris (photos: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

gold on a translucent blue chapter ring (Figure 12). The remainder of the dial is ornamented on a background of translucent red. The top and bottom portions are filled with scrolls in opaque white and green, and the center portion has an ornament of six radiating bud-shaped balusters in translucent green and yellow interspersed with opaque blue dots and framed by scrolls of opaque white enamel. The single sculpted hand is of gilt brass with traces of a black filling. It is mounted on a riveted plug, and the rivet is covered by a tiny punched quatrefoil.

To date, the George watches that have been found in late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century records have been the possession of Englishmen or Englishwomen, and this is hardly surprising as the order is English. It would therefore seem likely that the Metropolitan Museum's watch case was made in England. As we shall see, however, there is a tradition that this watch is of Continental European origin, which is not implausible.

It is not unknown for English and Scottish watchmakers to have made movements for French cases,¹² and until comparatively recent scholarship established the identity of the watchmaker who signed the movement *N. Vallin*, the name could easily have been supposed to be French.¹³ In addition, some of the ornament of the watch case does resemble French goldsmiths' work of the third quarter of the sixteenth century.

One comparison can be made between the design and brilliant colors of the watch dial and those of sixteen small ovals found in the border of a parade shield of King Charles IX of France (reigned 1560–74). Now in the Musée du Louvre,¹⁴ the shield (Figures 13, 14) and its accompanying helmet, both made of enameled gold applied to a base of repoussé iron, are the work of the Paris goldsmith Pierre Redon (died ca. 1572), perhaps working from designs by Étienne Delaune (1518/19–1583).¹⁵ The most striking feature of the parade shield is the marvelously worked repoussé



Figure 15. Pendant with an antique agate cameo depicting a centaur and putti. The frame is French (Paris), probably third quarter of the 16th century. Gold, partly enameled, 8.4 x 6 cm. Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

scene depicting the battle between the Roman general Marius and Jugurtha, king of Numidia, that is partly enameled in translucent greens, blues, and reds, with opaque white with pink highlights for the human and horse flesh, in a way that is quite similar to the image of Saint George on the back cover of the Metropolitan Museum's George watch.

But there are differences as well. The embossed portions of the shield are very much grander in scale, and the details are finer. Moreover, the technique of enameling used for the ovals differs markedly from that of the George watch, for the ovals are cloisonné enamels, in which the various colors are separated by gold wire attached to the underlying gold ground, rather than by the narrow ridges that are an integral part of the hollowed-out metal plate of the *champlevé* enameled watch dial. The designs of the ovals, too, differ. They are composed of floral forms radiating from a central blossom, whereas the watch dial is decorated with abstract scrolls organized around radiating bud-shaped balusters interrupted by the chapter ring.

The inside of the back cover of the watch, with its black scrolled tendrils on a stippled gold ground, also



Figure 16. Detail of the reverse of the pendant in Figure 15 (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

has a counterpart in French goldsmiths' work: the back of the enameled gold frame incorporating an antique cameo that was formerly in the French royal collections and is now in the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Figures 15, 16).¹⁶ The front of the cameo pendant consists of an architectural structure ornamented with translucent red and opaque white enamels, and with translucent blue in the broken pediment supporting two semi-reclining female figures personifying Force and Fame. The design has been likened to those of Étienne Delaune, and the cameo pendant is thought to be the product of a Parisian goldsmith, probably working in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, although like many other precious objects, it was attributed in the nineteenth century to Benvenuto Cellini.¹⁷

In view of the fact that the parade shield could be freely inspected throughout most of the nineteenth century and that the cameo pendant, too, was well known, at least in the latter half of the century, it is perhaps understandable that the case of the George watch was thought to be French. Less well known in the nineteenth century, however, was a jewel with an unbroken history of English ownership from the early years of the seventeenth century, which can be usefully compared with the case of the George watch. Containing a portrait of King James I of England (reigned 1603–25; as James VI of Scotland, reigned 1567–1625) by the court limner Nicholas Hilliard, it was given by the king to Thomas Lyte (1568–1638) in 1611.¹⁸ The jewel, now in the Waddesdon Bequest at The British Museum, consists of a case with a hinged openwork cover of gold, partly enameled and set with gemstones (Figures 17, 18). Although the design of the cover is unlike that of the George watch, the translucent red, blue, and green, and opaque white enamels used to ornament the inside of the cover are remarkably similar to those of the watch. The back of the miniature case, too, consists of an abstract pattern of scrolls in gold, with geometric embellishments in translucent red *champlevé* enamel contrasting with pure white

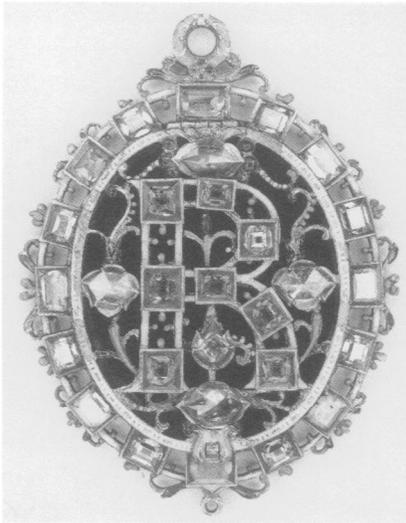


Figure 17. Miniature case (the Lyte Jewel), containing a portrait of King James VI of Scotland and James I of England, English (London), ca. 1610. Gold, partly enameled, set with diamonds, 6.5 x 4.8 cm. The Waddesdon Bequest, The British Museum, London (photo: courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum)

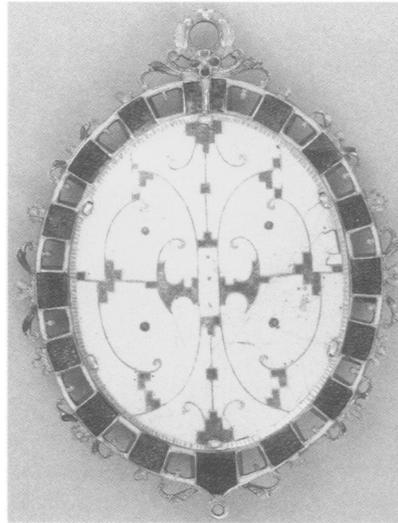


Figure 18. The back of the miniature case in Figure 17 (photo: courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum)



Figure 19. The miniature case in Figure 17 opened to show the inside of the cover and the portrait of the king by Nicholas Hilliard (1547–1619) (photo: courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum)

opaque champlevé enamel. The pattern is very different from the ornament of the George watch case, but the vivid enamel colors are similar and the enameling technique is the same. More particularly comparable to the George watch, however, is the way in which the oval border of the interior of the gold cover of the miniature case was given an ornamental pattern of stipplework (Figure 19). This jewel provides evidence that at least one English goldsmith working about the turn of the seventeenth century or a few years later could have made the case of the George watch.

With the movement of the Museum's watch we are on firmer ground. Spring-driven and constructed largely of gilt brass, it has two oval plates separated by four pillars that are pierced and ornamented in a shape commonly referred to among horologists as early Egyptian (Figures 20, 21). These pillars are riveted to the front plate and secured to the back plate by means of pins. The outside of the back plate is engraved with the signature of the watchmaker, and with a border of floral scrolls and the head of a putto in a fashion characteristic of English watches of the late sixteenth and first quarter of the seventeenth centuries (Figure 22).¹⁹ The back plate of the movement also carries a gilt-brass cock, which supports the circular steel balance; a steel click wheel, a brass-nosed steel click, and a click spring for setting up the mainspring (adjusting its initial force) that are mounted above the

balance; and two steel latches for securing the mechanism in the case. The latches may be seen on the left below the foot of the cock and on the right above the balance. The cock, click, and latches are richly decorated with pierced work, and among the ornamental elements on the table of the cock (the portion of the cock covering the balance) are two balusters and tripartite

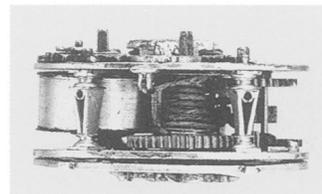


Figure 20. Side view of the watch in Figure 4 showing the fusee



Figure 22. The outside of the back plate of the movement of the watch in Figure 4

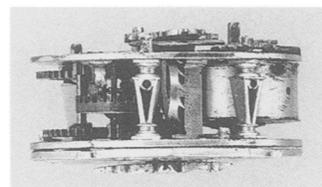


Figure 21. Side view of the watch in Figure 4 showing the crown wheel

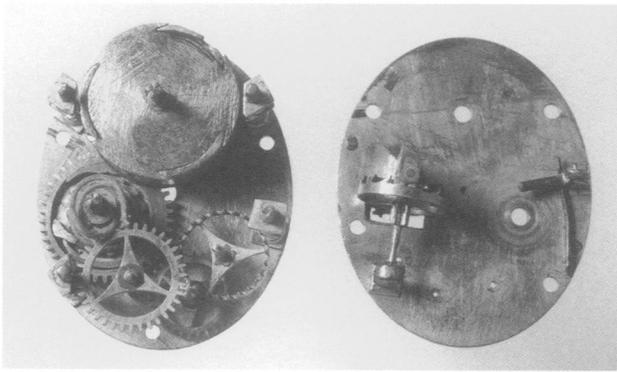


Figure 23. The train of the watch in Figure 4 after removal of the back plate. The interior of the back plate is shown at the right

floral ornament that are reminiscent of the ornament on the dial and on the side of the case around the representation of the garter. The cock is pinned over a stud, or post, which is riveted to the back plate. The steel parts, including the rim of the circular balance, carry traces of bluing.

The watch's train, or series of wheels and pinions, is situated between the plates (Figures 20, 21, 23). It has

a cylindrical brass barrel with a steel cap for housing the mainspring and a fusee, a cone-shaped pulley for evening out the decreasing force of the unwinding spring. The watch is wound by a hollow-barreled key that fits over the square at the end of the fusee arbor. The fusee is connected to the spring barrel by a length of gut wound around a continuous spiral groove on the cone. The spring-and-fusee device drives four brass wheels and the brass crown wheel of the verge escapement. The hand is driven by a small pinion on the end of the arbor attached to the great wheel, or slowest moving wheel, which carries the fusee.

Technically, the importance of the watch lies in its diminutive size. This size created problems for the watchmaker in three ways. First, the small size of the movement requires reductions in the sizes of the wheels and their pinions. These reductions cannot be achieved without decreasing the number of teeth on the wheels, causing a reduction of the gearing ratios involved. Second, a small movement requires a small balance at the end of the train, and a small balance tends to tick faster. Third, a smaller movement requires a smaller fusee with fewer turns for the gut line. In other words, a smaller movement needs a larger gearing ratio in the train in order to accommodate the smaller balance, while the smaller size actually causes a reduction in



Figure 24. Watch with alarm, English (London), ca. 1600. Gilt-brass case with a chapter ring of silver and a movement by Nicholas Vallin, diam. 6.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.1476)



Figure 25. The back of the case of the watch in Figure 24

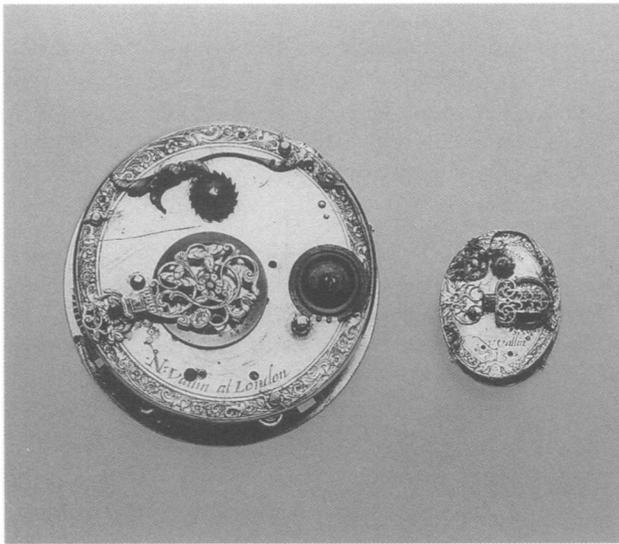


Figure 26. Movements of the watches in Figure 24 and Figure 4

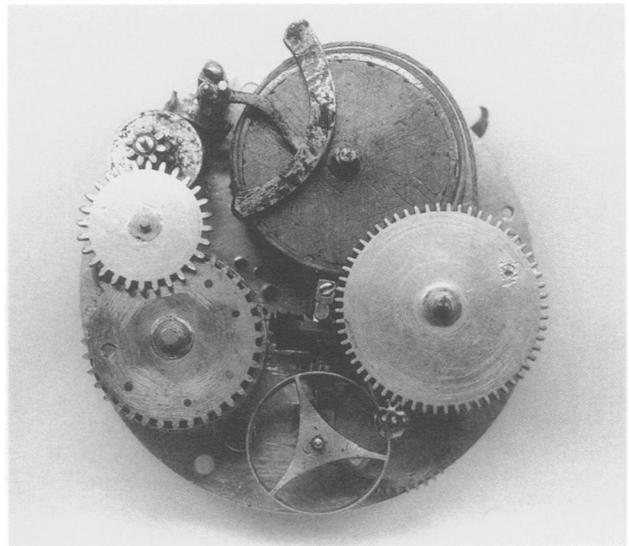


Figure 27. View of the movement of the watch in Figure 24 after removal of the front plate, with the wheels of the going train on the left

the gearing ratio. Moreover, there will be a lessening of the duration of the watch (the maximum period between windings) because a smaller fusee generally means that there are fewer turns to wind the gut line.

For a better understanding of these problems it is particularly fortunate that the Metropolitan Museum has another watch by the same maker. Its movement is signed *N. Vallin at London*, and it dates from about the same time as the George watch, but it is of a more conventional size for the period (Figures 24, 25). This watch has an alarm mechanism and is housed in a pierced, engraved, and gilt-brass case.²⁰ Comparison of the two movements (Figure 26) yields some insight into the way in which the maker coped with the problems outlined above. Figures 27 and 23 show clearly that in the larger watch the wheels have more teeth than in the smaller one. As a result the maker was forced to add an extra wheel to the train of the smaller watch, thus increasing the complexity of the movement. Moreover, the smaller watch has fewer turns to the fusee, which causes a reduction in the duration to about 15½ hours, whereas the larger watch runs for over 24 hours before needing to be rewound.²¹

Such considerations explain the small number of tiny watches that were produced before technical advances in the late eighteenth century made the small, flat watch practical. In fact, the oval shape of the George watch favored its diminutive size, for the oval allows a tight arrangement of the large spring barrel and the smaller wheels without wasting space. In addition, it may be noted that the shape of the watch closely

parallels that of King Charles I's Lesser George illustrated by Elias Ashmole (Figure 6).

Thanks to the research of H. Alan Lloyd and Charles Drover, we have a great deal more information about the maker of the Museum's George watch and alarm watch than we had before the middle of the twentieth century. Nicholas Vallin (ca. 1565–1603) was the son of Joannes, or John, Vallin (ca. 1535–1603), who was born in the town of Ryssel, or Lille, in Flanders, now part of France. By 1567 John was working as a clockmaker in Brussels, but undoubtedly as the result of the political troubles in the Netherlands, both John and his son Nicholas emigrated to London, probably shortly before 1590. John apparently did not make any clocks in London, but Nicholas soon became the leading clock- and watchmaker there. Both father and son died in the plague epidemic of 1603.²²

We do not know for whom the George watch by Nicholas Vallin was intended. The inventory of Queen Elizabeth's possessions which lists a George watch dates from 1587, or two years earlier than there is evidence that Nicholas Vallin was in London. In any case, the description of the queen's watch does not match that of the watch in the Metropolitan Museum's collection. The description of the one that belonged to the Earl of Northampton in 1614 is too concise to warrant any conclusion. Furthermore, the earl was not created a Knight of the Garter until 1605, or two years after Vallin's death.

In fact, we know nothing of the provenance of the Metropolitan Museum's watch before the middle of the nineteenth century, although two beguiling,

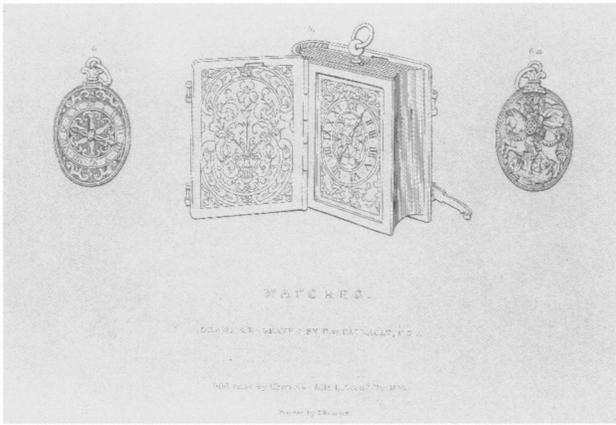


Figure 28. The George watch illustrated in pl. xxvi, figs. 6 (left) and 6a (right), of Frederick W. Fairholt and Thomas Wright, *Miscellanea Graphica: Representations of Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance Remains* (London, 1857). Thomas J. Watson Library, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

though mutually contradictory, theories have been propounded. The earlier is to be found in a catalogue of the collection of the English antiquary Lord Londesborough, published in 1857, where it is stated that the watch “was made for Louis XIII, to present to King Charles I of England.”²³ No evidence is cited, and this theory is not supported by what we now know about Nicholas Vallin: first, however French his name may have sounded, he was Flemish, and he made his watches in London; and second, he died three years after Charles I was born and twenty-two years before Charles became king of England.

The second theory appeared in the catalogue of the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection, where the author, G. C. Williamson, recognized that the watch was of English origin but found the date problematic, relating a tradition that the “watch was presented to a Duke of Bavaria on the occasion of his creation as a Knight of the Garter.” He continued, “if that was the case, it may have been made as early as 1633, and given to Karl Ludwig, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, who was a Duke of Bavaria and nephew of Charles I.”²⁴ Williamson also proposed several other dukes of Bavaria who were Knights of the Garter, but in no case did he present supporting evidence, and none of them, of course, could possibly have been the original owner, as we now know.

What we do know is that the watch was in England in 1855, when it was both described and illustrated as a part of the collection of Lord Londesborough (Figure 28).²⁵ Albert Conyngham (1805–1860), who later changed his name to Denison, was an immensely rich landowner with antiquarian interests. He was created first Baron Londesborough in 1850. In the same year he bought Grimston Park together with its collections. The house,

near Tadcaster in the West Riding of Yorkshire, was where he kept much of his collection, apparently including the watch that had perhaps come with the house.²⁶

What happened to the watch after Lord Londesborough’s death is unknown, but it subsequently came into the hands of the Paris antique dealer and collector Frédéric Spitzer (1815–1890). It is described and illustrated in the catalogue of his collection published in 1892,²⁷ and it was included in the auction of his collection that took place in Paris in the following year.²⁸ It then passed into the collection of Carl Heinrich Marfels (1854–1929), the German watch dealer and collector.²⁹ Marfels exhibited his collection in the Swiss watchmaking city of Neuchâtel in 1910, and on that occasion the collection was sold to J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913) despite a concerted attempt by local businessmen to keep it in Switzerland.³⁰ The watch finally entered the collection of the Metropolitan Museum in 1917, as one of Morgan’s many gifts to the Museum.

If the ensign of the Order of the Garter could be made to contain a watch, are there ensigns of other knightly orders that could similarly be used? One possible example is known to exist. It is a watch by Abraham Cusin of Nevers that has a silver case in the form of a Maltese cross with a descending dove in its center (Figure 29). It now seems all the more likely that this watch is indeed an ensign of the French Order of the Saint Esprit.³¹

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to thank David Thompson of The British Museum for discussing various aspects of this article with us, Mark Wypyski of The Metropolitan Museum of Art for analyzing the enamels of the watch, Linda Levy Peck of Purdue University for drawing our attention to the inventory of the estate of the Earl of Northampton, Sophie Baratte of the Musée du Louvre and Stuart Pyhrr of The Metropolitan Museum of Art for their assistance with the parade shield of King Charles IX, and Tina Millar of Sotheby’s, London, for supplying the photograph of the watch by Abraham Cusin.

NOTES

1. L. G. Gyraldus, *De annis et mensibus, caeterisque temporum partibus* (Basel, 1541), p. 196. For a discussion of the original Latin text, see J. H. Leopold, “L. G. Giraldi,” *Antiquarian Horology* 18 (Spring 1990), pp. 554–55. Giuseppe Brusa, “Early Mechanical Horology



Figure 29. Watch case in the form of a Maltese cross with a descending dove, an ensign of the Order of the Saint Esprit, French, early 17th century. Silver, partly gilt, and with traces of white enamel, 4.5 cm. At right, the movement by Abraham Cusin (recorded 1593–1621), gilt brass and steel, partly blued. Private collection (photo: Sotheby's, London)

in Italy," *Antiquarian Horology* 18 (Spring 1990), p. 510, suggests that the watch was made by Cherubino Sforzani of Reggio Emilia, who is known to have made such a watch before 1529.

2. Plate 32 from the *Libro d'Anell A D Orefici Del Inventione Di Piero Woerioto Di Oreno* (Lyon, 1561). See *Katalog der Ornamentstichsammlung der Staatlichen Kunstbibliothek, Berlin* (Berlin, 1939), no. 762. See also Peter Fuhring's entries for Pierre Woeirirot, in *The French Renaissance in Prints from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, exh. cat., Armand Hammer Museum of Art and Cultural Center, Los Angeles; MMA; and Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Los Angeles, 1994), pp. 394–95, nos. 140, 141.
3. See Hans Thoma and Herbert Brunner, *Schatzkammer der Residenz München* (Munich, 1964), p. 266, no. 649. The movement of the watch is signed with the maker's initials *JW* with an Augsburg pinecone mark between the letters. These initials were traditionally ascribed to the watchmaker Jacob Wittman, but are now correctly identified as referring to Jacob Weiss, who was made a master in Augsburg in 1584. See Klaus Maurice, *Die deutsche Räderuhr* (Munich, 1976), vol. 2, p. 62, no. 448, and fig. 448. A copy of this watch, formerly in the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection, is now in the Indianapolis Museum of Art. See Hugh Tait, *Catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest in The British Museum: I. The Jewels* (London, 1986), pp. 254–56, figs. 227–30.
4. Plate 10 from the series titled *MONI: / LIVM, / BVLLARVM, INAVRIVQVE / ARTIFICIOCISSIMAE ICONES. / IOANNIS COLLAERT OPVS POSTREMVM / 1581*. See Marijnke de Jong and Irene de Groot, *Ornamentprenten in het Rijksprentenkabinet: I. 15d and 16d Eeuw* (The Hague, 1988), p. 57, no. 67.10.
5. John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 2nd ed. (London, 1823), vol. 1, p. 294. In this description the word clock appears to mean a watch that strikes the hours. For further watches in the queen's collection, see vol. 1, pp. 46, 381, 528, and vol. 2, pp. 2, 249, 301, 499.
6. Ronald Gobiet, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Philipp Hainhofer und Herzog August d. J. von Braunschweig-Lüneburg* (Munich, 1984),

- p. 374, no. 662, "Das uhrlin in granaten kündte aine fürstin an ainer guldynen stekh nadel im haar tragen. . . ." See also "Die Uhrmachermeister Hipp in Kempten," in Peter Friess and Ingrid Seeger, *Uhren: Bestandskatalog des Museums für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Kempten–Allgäuer Heimatmuseum* (Kempten, 1991), pp. 21–35. Such an object may have been similar to a surviving type of hairpin consisting of a long, tapered shaft with a pendent ornament at one end. When embedded in the hair, the dangling pendant was set in motion by the movement of the wearer's head. For an example found in the tomb of the Countess Palatine Amalia Hedwig (1584–1607) in the parish church in Lauingen, Germany, in 1781, and now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (inv. no. T 4155), see Irmtraud Himmelheber, "Die Schmuckstücke," in Karen Stolleis, *Die Gewänder aus der Lauinger Fürstengruft* (Munich, 1977), pp. 123–25, no. 71, fig. 93; or the entry by Jan Walgrave, in *Een Eeuw van Schittering: Diamantjuwelen uit de 17de eeuw*, exh. cat., Province Council of Antwerp (Antwerp, 1993), pp. 164–65, no. 62.
7. Elias Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws & Ceremonies of the Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1672), p. 226, Section IX, The Lesser George. Ashmole's history of the Order of the Garter remains the standard work on the subject.
8. Ashmole, *Institution, Laws & Ceremonies*, p. 228. "Limn'd," or limned, means painted or depicted. For further discussion of the jewels of the order, see Ronald Lightbown, "The King's Regalia, Insignia and Jewelry," chap. 7 in Arthur MacGregor, ed., *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories* (London, 1989), pp. 271–74.
9. "A booke of soche Jewells . . . delivered to the charge and custodie of Mistress Mary Radclyffe" (British Library, MS Royal Append. 68), quoted in Edward J. Wood, *Curiosities of Clocks and Watches from the Earliest Times* (London, 1866), p. 254; and subsequently in Frederick J. Britten, *Former Clock and Watchmakers & Their Work* (London, 1894), p. 61; and in John F. Hayward, *English Watches*, 2nd ed. (London, 1969), pp. 2–4.

10. See Evelyn Philip Shirley, "An Inventory of the Effects of Henry Howard, K.G. Earl of Northampton taken on his death in 1614, together with a transcript of his Will; prefaced by a Letter to Charles Spencer Perceval, Esq., L.L.D., Director," *Archaeologia* 42 (1869), pp. 347–78. For the watch, see p. 350. Howard became Earl of Northampton in 1604, and the following year he was installed as a Knight of the Garter. See *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1908), vol. 10, p. 30.
11. Acc. no. 17.190.1475, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917.
12. For an example, see Cecil Clutton and George Daniels, *Clocks and Watches: The Collection of the Worshipful Company of Clockmakers* (London, 1975), pp. 8–9, no. 7, and figs. 7a–7d, for a star-shaped watch by David Ramsay (died 1660), appointed chief clockmaker to King James I of England in 1618, with a silver case signed *de Heck Sculp.* De Heck is believed to be Gérard de Heck of Blois (active 1608–29). Another example, with a movement signed *Simon Hackett Londini* (Clockmakers' Company 1632–died 1664) and a case made with panels of *émail en résille sur verre*, in a style not known to have been employed in the seventeenth century anywhere but in France, is in the Metropolitan Museum's collection (acc. no. 17.190.1477).
13. The listing of clock- and watchmakers in the 6th edition of Frederick Britten's *Old Clocks and Watches & Their Makers* (London, 1932), pp. 850–51, still included the maker of the George watch under the heading of Vallin, without either a first name or a place of work.
14. The shield and its associated helmet were acquired by the Musée du Louvre from the duc de Choiseul-Praslin in 1793. See Collection Réalités, *Les Merveilles du Louvre*, vol. 2 ([Paris], 1959), p. 73.
15. Redon was *valet de chambre* to Antoine de Bourbon, king of Navarre (reigned 1555–62). Redon's widow received a payment of 5,000 livres for the shield in February 1572. See Pierre Verlet, "Le Bouclier d'or de Charles IX," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1950–51), pp. 165–66. See also Bruno Thomas, "Die Münchner Waffenvorzeichnung des Étienne Delaune und die Prunkschilde Heinrichs II von Frankreich," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 58 (1962), p. 124 and fig. 101.
16. The pendant entered the royal collection in 1670 from the collection of Toussaint Lauthier, who held the titles of *capitaine de vaisseau* and *maitre d'hôtel* to Henriette-Anne (1644–1670), daughter of King Charles I of England and wife of Philippe, duc d'Orléans, brother of King Louis XIV of France. It was no. 196 in the inventory made of Lauthier's collection in 1664. See Ernest Babelon, *Catalogue des camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1897), vol. 1, pp. 52–53, no. 97.
17. Babelon, *Catalogue des camées*, p. 52, considered the frame to be a masterpiece of sixteenth-century goldsmiths' work, but he had doubts about its attribution to Cellini. He also noted that the cameo, although of Hellenistic origin, had been recut in Renaissance times. For more recent attributions to French Renaissance goldsmiths working under the influence of the designs of Étienne Delaune, see Yvonne Hackenbroch, *Renaissance Jewellery* (Munich, 1979), pp. 82, 83, figs. 201A, 201B; and Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, *Les Orfèvres parisiens de la Renaissance (1506–1620)* (Paris, 1992), pp. 199, 200, 214. Bimbenet-Privat suggests that the goldsmith might have been the court jeweler François Dujardin I (recorded working 1538–75).
18. Bequeathed to The British Museum in 1898 by Baron Ferdinand Rothschild. See Tait, *Catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest*, pp. 174–88 and pls. XXVA, XXVB, and XXIV.
19. Hayward, *English Watches*, p. 6, notes that this decorative treatment of the back plate of a watch "might almost be described as a national characteristic." See pls. 1, 2, 5, 7, and 9 for further examples of the type.
20. Acc. no. 17.190.1476, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917. Vallin's signature on the movement of this watch makes it the only known piece that reveals his place of work. The front cover of the case has been restored by fitting a disk of German origin into the space that had previously held a glass; the glass itself would have been a later addition. The design of the original front cover would have been more in keeping with the design of the back of the watch. The silver alarm disk in the center of the dial is also a replacement. The spring barrel is not original; it has a snap-in barrel cap of the type usually found in eighteenth-century watches, whereas the George watch has a steel barrel cap that is dovetailed into the barrel. The larger watch originally struck a single blow at each hour (one-at-the-hour striking).
21. These results can be calculated when the numbers of teeth on the wheels and of leaves on the pinions are known. In the larger watch the going train consists of a great wheel of 60 teeth, a second wheel of 45 teeth with a pinion of 6 leaves, a third wheel of 40 teeth with a pinion of 5 leaves, a 'scape wheel of 19 teeth with a pinion of 5 leaves. A pinion of 7 leaves on the great wheel arbor drives the hour-hand wheel of 40 teeth; this wheel makes one revolution in 12 hours. This results in a beat rate of $\frac{1}{12} \times \frac{40}{7} \times \frac{60}{6} \times \frac{45}{5} \times \frac{40}{5} \times 19 \times 2 = 13,029$ beats per hour, or 3.62 beats per second (the factor 2 reflects the fact that in the verge escapement each tooth of the 'scape wheel acts twice per revolution). The fusee, mounted on the great wheel, has 12 turns, which results in a duration of $12 \times \frac{7}{40} \times 12 = 25\frac{1}{5}$ hours. In the George watch the train consists of a great wheel of 42 teeth, second wheel of 35 teeth with a pinion of 6 leaves, third wheel of 30 teeth with a pinion of 5 leaves, a fourth wheel of 25 teeth with a pinion of 5 leaves, and a 'scape wheel of 15 teeth with a pinion of 5 leaves. A pinion of 4 leaves on the great wheel arbor drives the hour-hand wheel of 25 teeth; this wheel makes one revolution in 12 hours. This results in a beat rate of $\frac{1}{12} \times \frac{25}{4} \times \frac{42}{6} \times \frac{35}{5} \times \frac{30}{5} \times \frac{25}{5} \times 15 \times 2 = 22,969$ beats per hour, or 6.38 beats per second. The fusee, mounted on the great wheel has eight turns, which results in a duration of $12 \times \frac{4}{25} \times 8 = 15\frac{2}{5}$ hours. Comparison shows that the smaller watch has wheels with fewer teeth and that this watch ticks much faster than the larger one. Moreover, in spite of having an extra wheel in the train, the George watch has a much shorter duration. It should be noted that a duration of more than 24 hours is unusually long in watches of this period.
- An alarm watch by Nicholas Vallin in The British Museum (reg. no. CAI 2241), which is comparable to MMA 17.190.1475 and originally also had one-at-the-hour striking, has a fusee of 10½ turns and a duration of about 16 hours.
22. See H. Alan Lloyd and Charles B. Drower, "Nicholas Vallin (ca. 1565–1603)," *The Connoisseur Year Book* (1954), pp. 110–16, for the definitive study on the Vallins. The authors list and illustrate all the clocks and watches by these makers that were known at the time. Since then a few others have come to light. For a large spring-driven musical clock by John Vallin, made in Brussels in 1567 and preserved in the Collegio delle Vergini di Gesù, Castiglione delle Stiviere, see Giuseppe Brusa, *L'Arte dell'orolo-*

- geria in Europa* (Busto Arsizio, 1978), figs. 95–97, and p. 409, nos. 95–97.
23. Frederick W. Fairholt and Thomas Wright, *Miscellanea Graphica: Representations of Ancient, Medieval, and Renaissance Remains* (London, 1857), p. 80 and pl. xxvi, figs. 6 and 6a, with caption; the plates are dated variously 1854, 1855 (the date of the plate with the watch), and 1856. The story is repeated in an unidentified clipping tipped into a copy of Edward J. Wood, *Curiosities of Clocks and Watches* (London, 1866), opposite p. 293, in the Thomas J. Watson Library, MMA.
24. George C. Williamson, *Catalogue of the Collection of Watches: The Property of J. Pierpont Morgan* (London, 1912), pp. 136–37, no. 143, and pl. LXIV, no. 143. It may be noted that in 1850 Lord Londesborough had a “St. George, designed by Holbein and executed by Benvenuto Cellini for Henry VIII,” a citation that may refer to this watch, though the ascription needs no further consideration. See *Index to the objects of Science, Art, and Antiquity, exhibited or collected at 144, Picadilly. Compiled for the use of Lord Londesborough’s visitors, on Wednesday evening 8th May* (n.p., 1850), p. 17. A copy of this rare pamphlet is in the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
25. Fairholt and Wright, *Miscellanea Graphica*, p. 80, and pl. xxvi, figs. 6 and 6a, with caption.
26. *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, n.s. 8 (March 1860), pp. 45–46. For Grimston Park, see Christopher Hussey, “Grimston Park,” *Country Life* 87 (1940), pp. 252–56, 276–80, and 393.
27. See the chapter by Léon Palustre, “Les Horloges et les Montres,” in *La Collection Spitzer*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1892), Montres, p. 53, no. 3, and Horloges et Montres, pl. vii, no. 3.
28. *Catalogue des objets d’art . . . composant l’importante et précieuse Collection Spitzer*, sale cat., Paris, April 17–June 16, 1893, vol. 2, lot 2711; and [Collection Spitzer], *Prix d’adjudication* (n.p., [1893]), p. 8, no. 2711, where the watch is stated to have brought 19,500 FF. According to Gustav Speckhart, *Kunstvolle Taschenuhren der Sammlung Marfels* (n.p., [1904]), pl. 2, nos. 1–3, it brought 21,500 FF (hammer price and auctioneer’s commission). Frederick J. Britten, *Old Clocks and Watches & Their Makers*, 3rd ed. (London, 1911), p. 760; and Williamson, *Catalogue . . . Morgan*, p. 137, reported the price to have been £860.
29. Speckhart, *Kunstvolle . . . Marfels*, pl. 2, nos. 1–3. For Marfels, see Carl Marfels, “Wie ich Sammler wurde,” *Der Kunstwanderer* 3 (1921), pp. 51–56; and H. Otto, “Carl Marfels,” *The Horological Journal* (December 1929), pp. 62–63.
30. See Williamson, *Catalogue . . . Morgan*, pp. 136–37, no. 143. Williamson knew nothing certain about the provenance of the watch before Spitzer’s time. For an account of the attempt to keep the Marfels collection in Europe, see “Mr. Pierpont Morgan’s Collection of Watches,” *The Horological Journal* (November 1913), p. 34; and “Collection of Watches,” *The Horological Journal* (June 1914), p. 161.
31. For the watch, see *Catalogue of Scientific Instruments . . . [and] Fine Watches . . .*, sale cat., Sotheby’s, London, July 10, 1967, lot 116, and illus. facing p. 34; and *The Belin Collection of Watches*, sale cat., Sotheby, Parke Bernet, London, November 29, 1979, lot 60, and front cover. For records of Abraham Cusin, see Tardy, *Dictionnaire des Horologers français* (Paris, n.d.), vol. 1, p. 152. In both catalogues, Sotheby’s suggested that the watch was a badge of the Order of the Saint Esprit.

Technical Appendix: Compositions of Enamels on the George Watch

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Chemical analyses were done of six different enamels from the George watch in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (acc. no. 17.190.1475) for comparison with other reported Renaissance-period enamel compositions. Analyses using an energy dispersive X-ray spectrometer (EDS) and scanning electron microscope (SEM) were done of four different translucent enamels and of two opaque enamels from the watch's back cover and dial.

Enamels are made of glass, either produced specifically for the purpose or reused from other objects, which is fused in place onto a metal substrate. Studies of European late medieval and Renaissance enamel compositions have revealed that there was a change in the general compositions of the glass used for enameling beginning about the early fourteenth century, apparently in connection with the rise in the use of translucent enamels on gold and silver substrates.¹ Most known enamels dating from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries have been found to have soda-glass compositions (a glass mixture with soda [sodium oxide] as the dominant alkali) containing relatively large amounts of potassium, magnesium, and calcium oxides.² However, beginning about the early fourteenth century and continuing into the fifteenth, most of the translucent enamels analyzed can be characterized as having mixed-alkali compositions, that is, compositions with relatively high levels of both sodium and potassium. These mixed-alkali glasses are usually associated with rather low levels of aluminum, magnesium, and calcium. Magnesium and calcium serve as the main stabilizing agents for glass compositions, and the extremely low levels of these elements in many mixed-alkali enamel compositions can account for the poor condition of many enamels from this period. Little or no lead is generally found in these enamels, except for the opaque enamels, where it is associated with the addition of crystalline tin oxide as a white opacifying agent, or in opaque yellow and green enamels, where it is associated with a yellow colorant/opacifier such as lead-tin yellow. Most mixed-

alkali enamels from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were found to have a sodium-to-potassium ratio of approximately one-to-one, or else to contain an excess of potassium over sodium.

By the end of the fifteenth century, however, some enamels were beginning to be used that contained much more sodium than potassium. These enamels may be more accurately described as having soda-glass compositions with relatively large amounts of potassium, rather than being mixed-alkali. Like most of the enamels from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, these soda-glass enamels continued to have relatively low levels of aluminum, magnesium, and calcium. Some differences are seen between the red enamels and most other translucent enamels. In red enamels, the use of mixed-alkali compositions with relatively more potassium than sodium apparently persisted well into the sixteenth century or possibly even the seventeenth. And red enamels, unlike most translucent enamels from this period, also often contain relatively high levels of magnesium and calcium. (Unpublished analyses performed at The Metropolitan Museum of Art of fifteenth–sixteenth-century northern Italian enameled copper vessels and Limoges sixteenth-century painted enamel plaques show that at least some translucent enamels from this period also have relatively high levels of magnesium and calcium, although mostly on copper substrates rather than gold or silver.) These types of enamels appear to have been in use throughout the Renaissance period and may have continued in use until as late as the early nineteenth century. Enamels dated to the second half of the nineteenth century and later, including some attributed to the Vasters and Castellani workshops, have been found to have decidedly different compositions, usually lead-potash or lead-alkali compositions, with some different colorants and opacifiers than those found in earlier compositions.³

Four translucent enamels from the George watch were examined. Quantitative analyses, reported in Table 1, were performed on samples of the green, blue, and red enamels from the back cover.⁴ Non-destructive surface analyses were done on the yellow as well as on the

The notes for this article begin on page 152.

TABLE 1. QUANTITATIVE EDS ENAMEL ANALYSES (WEIGHT PERCENTAGES)

Element—Oxide	Translucent blue	Translucent green	Translucent red
Sodium—Na ₂ O	15.9	14.9	12.2
Magnesium—MgO	0.3	0.2	2.4
Aluminum—Al ₂ O ₃	0.6	0.7	1.1
Silicon—SiO ₂	71.5	66.7	60.9
Sulfur—SO ₃	0.5	0.3	0.2
Chlorine—Cl	1.3	0.8	0.8
Potassium—K ₂ O	3.1	2.7	15.0
Calcium—CaO	0.5	1.1	5.6
Titanium—TiO ₂	nd	nd	nd
Manganese—MnO	nd	0.3	0.1
Iron—Fe ₂ O ₃	0.5	4.2	0.5
Cobalt—CoO	0.6	nd	nd
Nickel—NiO	0.2	nd	nd
Copper—CuO	3.6	8.6	0.8
Zinc—ZnO	nd	nd	nd
Arsenic—As ₂ O ₃	0.5	nd	nd
Tin—SnO ₂	nd	nd	0.5
Lead—PbO	nd	nd	nd
Bismuth—Bi ₂ O ₃	1.1	nd	nd

nd = not detected

Other oxides, such as P₂O₅, Cr₂O₃, Sb₂O₃, and BaO, were also looked for but not detected.

TABLE 2. SEMI-QUANTITATIVE EDS SURFACE ANALYSES OF ENAMELS (APPROXIMATE WEIGHT PERCENTAGES)

Element—Oxide	Translucent yellow	Opaque white	Opaque green
Sodium—Na ₂ O	16	10	10
Magnesium—MgO	<1	<1	<1
Aluminum—Al ₂ O ₃	1	1	1
Silicon—SiO ₂	60	40	45
Sulfur—SO ₃	<1	nd	nd
Chlorine—Cl	<1	<1	<1
Potassium—K ₂ O	3	2	2
Calcium—CaO	1	<1	2
Titanium—TiO ₂	nd	nd	nd
Manganese—MnO	3	<1	nd
Iron—Fe ₂ O ₃	12	<1	<1
Cobalt—CoO	nd	nd	nd
Nickel—NiO	nd	nd	nd
Copper—CuO	<1	1	2
Zinc—ZnO	nd	nd	<1
Arsenic—As ₂ O ₃	nd	nd	nd
Tin—SnO ₂	nd	22	6
Lead—PbO	nd	20	30
Bismuth—Bi ₂ O ₃	nd	nd	nd

opaque white and green from the watch dial (only enamels with some previous loss or damage were sampled to avoid compromising undamaged surfaces). Because of various problems inherent in surface analysis, this type of analysis can only provide approximate, semi-quantitative results, which are reported in Table 2. The translucent green, blue, and yellow enamels were found to have soda-glass compositions with relatively large amounts of potassium and low levels (approximately one percent or less) of magnesium, calcium, and aluminum oxides. The blue enamel was noted as exhibiting a greater degree of decomposition than the other colors, especially the red. This is not surprising in light of the enamel compositions. The total amount of the stabilizing elements magnesium and calcium was found to be less than one percent by weight in the blue, whereas in an average stable glass it is usually about five to ten percent. While the green and yellow enamels also have low percentages of these elements, they contain large amounts of iron oxide, which can help to improve the chemical resistance of glass.

The green enamel was found to be colored with large amounts of both copper and iron oxides, while the yellow contained a very large amount of iron. The

inclusion of large amounts of metallic colorants has been documented for many other translucent enamel compositions. These large amounts of colorants were apparently required to achieve the desired hue of the thin translucent layers over the metal. The dark blue translucent enamel was found to contain a relatively large amount of cobalt oxide. Cobalt is a rather strong colorant, and cobalt blue glass is generally found to contain no more than about two tenths of one percent of cobalt oxide, while the enamel tested was found to contain three times this amount. Small amounts of nickel, arsenic, and bismuth were also found in this enamel. These elements, especially bismuth, are relatively rare in glass compositions and appear to be associated with the origin of the cobalt ore used to make this enamel. Cobalt-containing glass and enamels from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries are usually found to contain small amounts of zinc, apparently from the use of a Syrian cobalt ore source rich in zinc.⁵ The fifteenth century saw the widespread reliance on European cobalt ore sources, such as those from Saxony which yielded nickel-, arsenic-, and bismuth-rich ores, for the production of glass, enamel, and the pigment smalt.

The red enamel, unlike the other translucent colors, was found to have a mixed-alkali composition with somewhat more potassium than sodium and relatively high levels of magnesium and calcium. The colorant in this enamel is a reduced form of copper oxide. A trace amount of tin oxide was also noted in this enamel. Traces of tin and lead are often associated with red glass and enamel, as they apparently act as reducing agents and help to raise the solubility of the copper oxide.

Surface analyses were also done of two opaque enamels, a white and a green. An obvious difference between these enamels and the translucent ones is that these were found to contain large amounts of lead oxide. The white enamel also contains a large amount of crystalline tin oxide, a white colorant and opacifier. Lead oxide is almost always associated with tin oxide in glasses, as it was apparently added to help the conversion of metallic tin to tin oxide. White enamels opacified with tin oxide were used at least as early as the end of the twelfth century, although generally with much smaller amounts of tin and an excess of lead to tin. White enamels from the fifteenth century and later, however, have been found to contain much higher percentages of tin, many more than twenty percent by weight, usually with an approximately one-to-one ratio of lead oxide to tin. The opaque green enamel was also found to contain tin. Analyses of some of the opacifying crystals in the enamel revealed that most if not all of the tin is present in the form of lead-tin yellow, rather than white tin oxide. Other Renaissance opaque yellow and green enamels have been found that contain either lead-tin yellow alone or a mixture of lead-tin yellow and lead antimonate yellow crystals. The green color in this enamel was achieved by the addition of some copper oxide, which by itself produces a blue or turquoise color, to yellow enamel.

Although the information currently available on Renaissance enamel compositions is somewhat sparse, all of the enamels examined from the George watch were found to be entirely consistent in composition with what is known about enamels dating from the late fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Unfortunately, based on current research, there appear to be few, if any, compositional criteria for distinguishing between Renaissance period enamels and enamels dating from the eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Ongoing research at the Metropolitan Museum and elsewhere will help to shed more light on the different enamel compositions of these periods.

NOTES

1. M. T. Wypyski and R. W. Richter, "Preliminary Compositional Study of 14th and 15th c. European Enamels," *Techné* 6 (1997), pp. 48–57; M. Bimson and I. C. Freestone, "Rouge Clair and Other Late 14th Century Enamels on the Royal Gold Cup of the Kings of France and England," *Annales du 9e Congrès de l'Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre, Nancy 1983* (Liege, 1985), pp. 209–22; M. Schreiner, I. Schmitz, W. Baatz, and B. Campos, "The Degradation of Enamel on Medieval Silver Objects of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna/Austria," *The Ceramics Cultural Heritage, CIMTEC* (Florence, 1995), pp. 603–12.
2. I. Biron, P. Dandridge, and M. T. Wypyski, "Techniques and Materials in Limoges Enamels," in *Enamels of Limoges: 1100–1350*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1996), pp. 48–62, 445–50; S. G. E. Bowman and I. C. Freestone, "Early 14th c. Enamelwork: A Technical Examination of the Hanap Cover of All Souls College, Oxford," *Techné* 6 (1997), pp. 41–47.
3. M. T. Wypyski, "A Survey of 16th and 17th Century European Enamel Compositions" (in preparation).
4. The enamels were analyzed using energy dispersive X-ray spectrometry. The three enamel samples were taken by flaking off very small pieces, on the order of a cubic millimeter in size or less, with the use of a steel scalpel. The samples were prepared for analysis by embedding them in epoxy or polyester resin and grinding with silicon carbide paper to expose the sample interiors. The cross sections were then polished with cerium oxide and given a high-vacuum carbon coating for conductivity before analysis. Weight percentages of the elements detected were calculated against well-characterized reference glasses. For EDS analysis of glasses, the relative variation in the calculated percentages for the major element oxides has been determined to be less than two percent for silicon, about five percent for sodium, potassium, and calcium, and about ten percent for magnesium, aluminum, and the metals such as copper, manganese, and iron. The minimum detection limits for the elements titanium to zinc were found to be under one tenth of one percent. The minimum detection limits for phosphorus, lead, barium, arsenic, antimony, and tin oxides, however, were found to be much higher, about one half of a percent by weight, mainly due to peak overlap problems. For details, see M. Verità, R. Basso, M. T. Wypyski, and R. J. Koestler, "X-Ray Microanalysis of Ancient Glassy Materials: A Comparative Study of Wavelength Dispersive and Energy Dispersive Techniques," *Archaeometry* 36, no. 2 (1994), pp. 241–51.
5. I. C. Freestone, "Looking into Glass," in *Science and the Past* (London, 1991), pp. 37–56; I. Soulier, B. Gratuze, and J. N. Barrandon, "The Origin of Cobalt Blue Pigments in French Glass from the Bronze Age to the Eighteenth Century," in *Archaeometry 94: Proceedings of the 29th International Symposium on Archaeometry* (Ankara, 1994), pp. 133–40; M. Verità, "Analytical Investigation of European Enameled Beakers of the 13th and 14th Centuries," *Journal of Glass Studies* 37 (1995), pp. 83–98; E. Ciliberto, I. Fagalà, G. Pennisi, and G. Spoto, "Bulk and Surface Characterization of Early Pigments: Case Study of Renaissance Smalt," *Science and Technology for Cultural Heritage* 3 (1994), pp. 163–68.

Dating a Book by Its Cover: An Early Seventeenth-Century Dutch Psalter

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IN 1893 THE THEN highly regarded collection of medieval and Renaissance art formed by the Austrian art dealer and collector Frédéric Spitzer (1815–1890) was auctioned in Paris. This sale, perhaps rightly described as “la plus grande vente du siècle,”¹ consisted of an astonishing 3,369 lots and took place from April 17 to June 16. It grossed well over nine million French francs.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art did not participate in the feverish bidding and, therefore, did not acquire anything directly at the sale. Nevertheless, a number of objects formerly in the Musée Spitzer, as it was known—a collection now infamous for its many fake and altered artworks²—subsequently entered the Metropolitan’s collections. Finely wrought pieces of goldsmiths’ work, rock crystal, hard stone, ceramics, and sculpture were either purchased independently from others or were received from such well-known benefactors as Benjamin Altman, J. Pierpont Morgan, and George Blumenthal. Some of these objects have since proven to be forgeries, and on others, subsequent “improvements” and additions have been detected.

Among the genuine treasures, however, is a small printed book of Psalms with a splendid silver cover bought by the Museum in 1937 (Figure 1).³ The psalter was thought to date to the sixteenth century, but its provenance was not known at the time.⁴ The object, lot 3044 in the Spitzer sale, was grouped with the illuminated manuscripts and catalogued as a Dutch seventeenth-century binding containing a book of Psalms, translated and published in Amsterdam. It was sold for 850 French francs to an unidentified party.⁵

The delicate openwork silver cover displays symmetrical grotesque decoration consisting of winged sphinxes, monkeys, exotic birds, coiling snakes, mascarons, vases of flowers from which crawl caterpillars, and bunches of fruit, all interconnected by slender scrollwork. Occupying the center of each side of the binding are oval medallions, finely engraved with the Annunciation, on

the front, and, on the back, with the Adoration of the Shepherds (Figures 1, 2). The frames beneath these biblical scenes are inscribed, respectively, *Luce 1 cap.* and *Luce 2 cap.* Although the verses are not indicated, the references to the Gospel of Saint Luke 1:26–38 and 2:8–19 are clearly intended. The rounded spine is divided by four molded ribs into three rectangular panels. The middle one contains a roundel in which King David is playing his harp; the other two panels are embellished with cherubs amid foliated scrolls. While the pierced-silver cover is lined with velvet, originally black and now

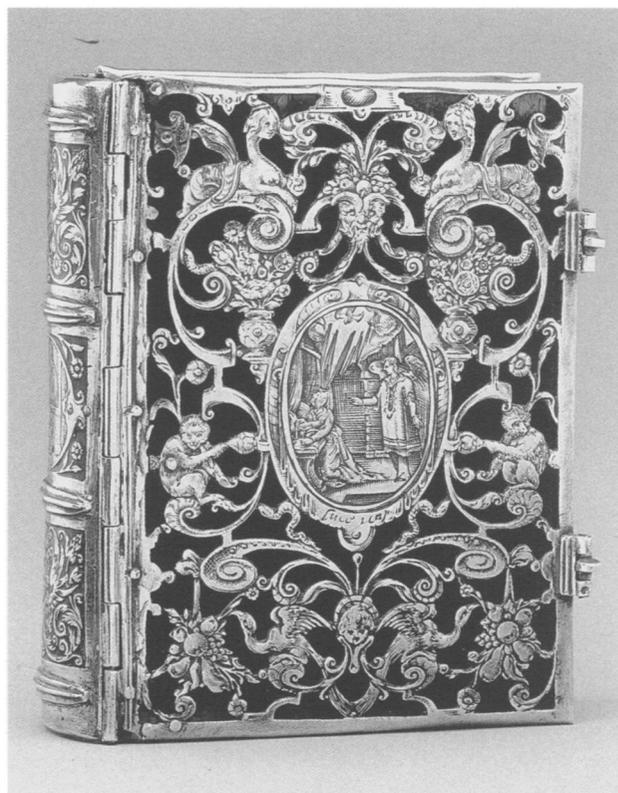


Figure 1. Book cover. Dutch, possibly Amsterdam, ca. 1610–20. Silver, 8.7 x 7 cm, containing a contemporary psalter: *De CL Psalmen Davids / Wt Den fransoysschen / Dichte in Nederlant[s?] / Schon ouergheset / door / Petrum Dathenum* (Amsterdam: Abraham Huijbrech[t]s, n.d.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1937 (37.125)

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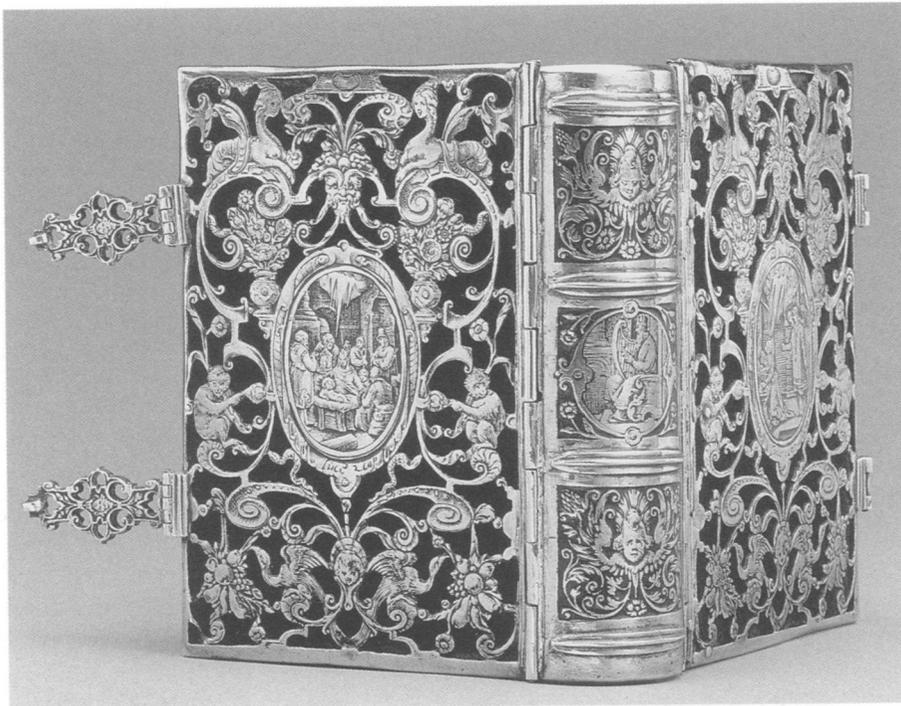


Figure 2. Back and front covers of the book in Figure 1

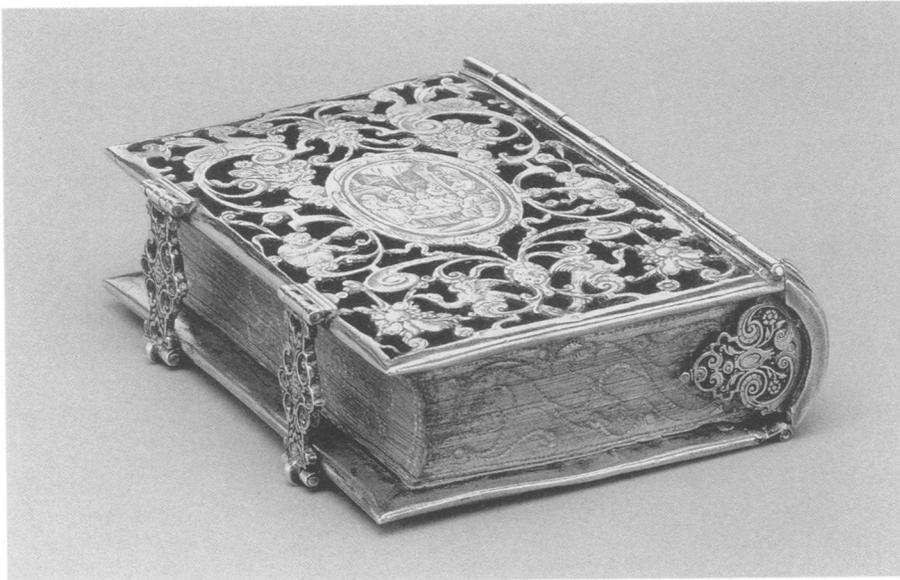


Figure 3. The book in Figure 1 showing the scrolled engraving found on all three outside edges of the pages

brownish, the background of the solid spine is darkened with black wax.⁶ A striking contrast of light ornament against a dark surface was thus created, not unlike that achieved in contemporary prints. The book is closed with two clasps decorated with masks and openwork scrolls. The silver does not bear any hallmarks other than a small indistinct stamp, probably a dolphin, on one of the hinges; most likely this refers to a tax paid during the nineteenth century.⁷

The Museum's object belongs to a small group of closely related Dutch bindings, all without hallmarks. At least two nearly identical book covers are known, pre-

sumably the work of the same unidentified master. Since each was made for a specific book, the dimensions vary. One is in the collection of the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen in Rotterdam.⁸ It holds the *Psalterium Davidis*, published in Paris in 1547, and is about one-third larger than the Metropolitan Museum's piece (Figure 4). The silversmith skillfully adapted the design to the increased scale. The other, whose present whereabouts are unknown, is only slightly bigger than the one at the Metropolitan. It has lost its original contents and was converted into a box (Figure 5). Its spine is on the short side, causing the main decoration to face sideways.⁹

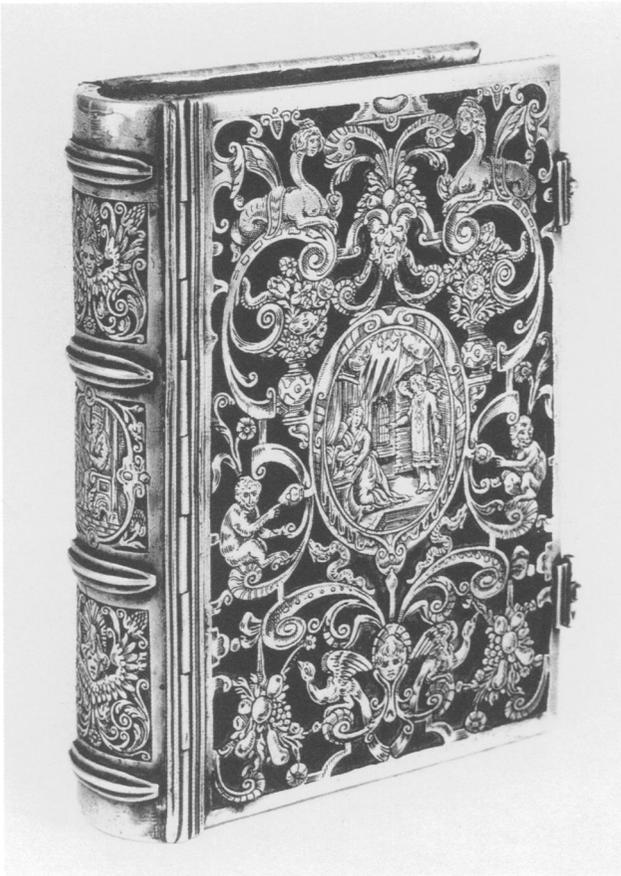


Figure 4. Book cover. Dutch, possibly Amsterdam, ca. 1610–20. Silver, 12 x 9.2 cm, containing an earlier psalter: *Psalterium Davidis carmine redditum per Eobanum Hessum, cum Annotationibus Viti Theodori Noribergensis, quae Commentarii vice esse possunt . . .* (Paris, 1547). Museum Boymans–van Beuningen, Rotterdam, M.B.Z. 1 (photo: Museum Boymans–van Beuningen)

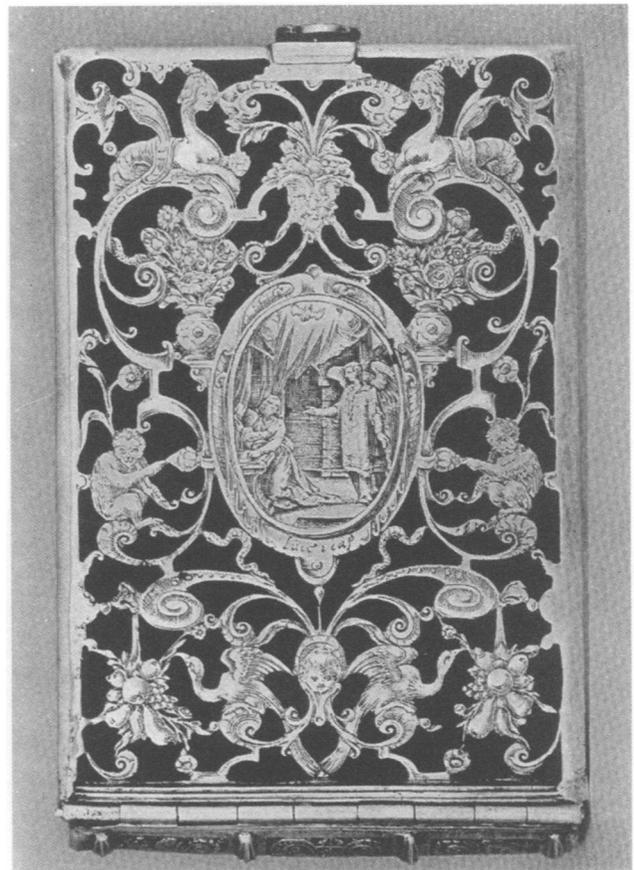


Figure 5. Book cover converted into a box. Dutch, possibly Amsterdam, ca. 1610–20. 6 x 9.5 cm. From Johan W. Frederiks, *Dutch Silver*, vol. 2, *Wrought Plate of North and South-Holland from the Renaissance until the End of the Eighteenth Century* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1958), pl. 58, no. 194. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

Two additional book covers display similarities and might well come from the same workshop. One, privately owned, incorporates five oval medallions engraved with biblical scenes amid fine scrolls and grotesque ornament (Figure 6).¹⁰ It contains the *Enchiridion. Hantboexken van de Christelijke Leere* (Haarlem, 1627). The second, in the Museum Boymans–van Beuningen, Rotterdam, has a larger engraved scene on a rectangular field with a semi-circular top in the center surrounded by grotesques and scrollwork borders.¹¹ It now encloses a nineteenth-century text, *Solide Dévotion, sanctifiée par la prière* (Turnhout, 1805).

Generally, these bindings are said to be in the style of the influential goldsmith, printmaker, and publisher active in Frankfurt, Theodor de Bry (1528–1598), or of one of his followers.¹² However, the work of the Antwerp engraver Adriaen Collaert (ca. 1560–1618) has also been invoked.¹³ Both De Bry and Collaert supplied a variety of compositions with grotesque ornaments (Figures 7–9), of which certain elements, such



Figure 6. Book cover. Dutch, possibly Amsterdam, ca. 1610–20. Silver, containing a contemporary book: *Enchiridion. Hantboexken van de Christelijke Leere* (Haarlem, 1627). From Frederiks, *Dutch Silver*, vol. 2, pl. 58, no. 195. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library



Figure 7. Theodor de Bry. *Grotisch fur alle Kunstler*, late 16th century. Engraving, 6.8 x 14.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951 (51.501.5793 [1])

as the monkeys and the clusters of fruit, are quite close. The exact designs for these book covers, however, have yet to be discovered.

Despite the absence of hallmarks on these bindings, the high quality of the work suggests that they were created in one of the flourishing Dutch cities, quite possi-

bly Amsterdam. On stylistic evidence, they can be dated to about 1610–20. The Metropolitan’s silver cover still has its original contents, providing further substantiation of the date and place of origin. The book is titled *De CL Psalmen Davids / Wt Den fransoyſchen / Dichte in Nederlant[s?] / Schon ouergheset / door / Petrum*



Figure 8. Adriaen Collaert. *Juno*, from a series of mythological figures from the Judgment of Paris, ca. 1600. Engraving, 13.8 x 9.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928 (28.44.129)



Figure 9. Adriaen Collaert. *Minerva*, from a series of mythological figures from the Judgment of Paris, ca. 1600. Engraving, 13.8 x 8.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1939 (39.95.6)

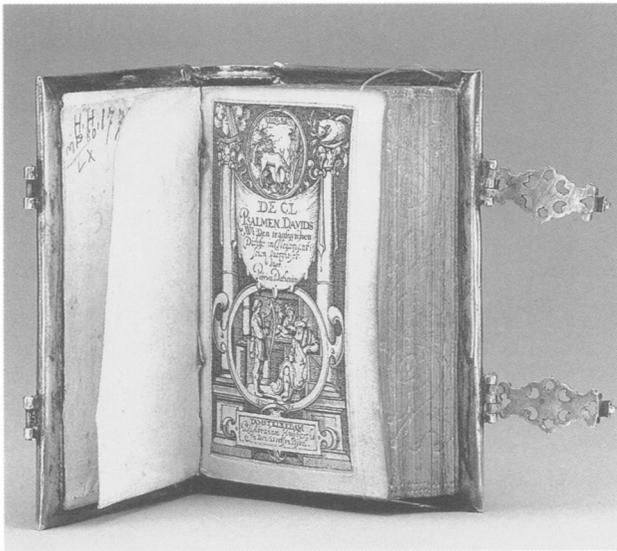


Figure 10. Title page of the book in Figure 1, engraved by Michel Le Blon, ca. 1610–20

Dathenum (The Hundred and Fifty Psalms of David beautifully translated from French into Dutch by Petrus Dathenus). The engraved title page informs us that it was printed by Abraham Huijbrech[t]s in his Amsterdam workshop called *In Den Dortsen Bijbel* (In the Bible of Dordrecht). Unfortunately, the date of publication is not given. However, the years of Huijbrechts's activity are known. Born in Antwerp in 1583, he settled in Amsterdam and joined the guild of booksellers in 1620. He worked in the city from about 1610 until his death in 1621.¹⁴

It is uncertain whether Huijbrechts, usually referred to as a bookbinder and seller, was the actual publisher. He may have obtained the printed text of the much-published Psalms to which he added a new title page, one that could have been designed specifically for him. In fact, the first signature of the psalter is incomplete; it starts with the number *aii*. The first page, which would have been marked *a*, is missing. This may indi-

Figure 11. Lucas van Leyden. *David Playing before Saul*, ca. 1508. Engraving, 25.4 x 18.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1918 (18.65.7)





Figure 12. Aart Schouman. *Petrus Dathenus*, 1755. Drawing. Openbare Bibliotheek, Rotterdam (photo: Openbare Bibliotheek)

cate that the original title page, giving the date and place of publication as well as the name of the real publisher, was replaced by the one bearing Huijbrechts's name. The Psalms, supplied with musical notes, are bound with the text of the Canticles, the Ten Commandments, various prayers including the Lord's Prayer, the catechism, and other religious texts to be used either at home or during church services.

The title page is elaborately engraved, with the name of the psalter placed in a lambrequin suspended between two columns crowned with Corinthian capitals (Figure 10).¹⁵ These capitals support a censor, as well as the stone Tables of the Law on the left and a recumbent lamb on the right. A medallion above the lambrequin encloses a stag drinking at a spring, with the inscription *Psalm 42*. An image of David playing his harp before King Saul (1 Samuel 18:9–11) appears in an oval cartouche below the lambrequin. This depiction is based on an early composition (Figure 11) of

the well-known painter and printmaker Lucas van Leyden (1494–1533).

The engraved title page was the work of Michel Le Blon (1587–1656), a goldsmith and engraver from Frankfurt, where he may well have been a pupil of De Bry and/or his son Johann Theodor de Bry (1561–1623). Le Blon was first active in Amsterdam about 1610,¹⁶ corroborating both the date suggested here for the book and its cover—about 1610–20—and Amsterdam as the likely place of origin.

The psalter is one of many editions of a very popular work that became the de facto official hymnal used by the Dutch Reformed Church. The Reformation stimulated both new translations of the Bible and, especially, rhymed versions of the Psalms to be sung by the faithful during private or public worship. A very popular work in this respect was the translation of 1566 by Petrus Dathenus (1530/2–1588; Figure 12). At an early age, Dathenus had entered a Carmelite monastery in Ypres, Flanders, but having embraced the Reformation, he ended his monastic career about 1550 and became a zealous preacher of the new doctrine. To avoid persecution, Dathenus was forced to settle abroad, first in England, where he worked as a printer, and subsequently, between 1555 and 1562, in Frankfurt, where he ministered to the Protestant refugees from the southern Netherlands. Under the protection of the elector of the Palatine he moved the congregation to Frankenthal, where he translated the catechism from German into Dutch. This work, published in Heidelberg in 1563,¹⁷ appeared in a revised edition three years later. Generally known as the catechism of Heidelberg, this handbook of questions and answers for the teaching of religious principles is still used in the Dutch Reformed Church. In 1566 Dathenus finished a rhymed version of the hundred and fifty Psalms, the first complete Dutch translation, which was considered appropriate for public devotion. Dathenus's text was based on the French edition of 1562, begun by the celebrated poet Clément Marot (1496–1544) and ultimately completed by the writer and Calvinist theologian Théodore de Bèze (1519–1605).¹⁸ Dathenus's version of the Psalms became an instant success. It was used during open-air sermons and quickly evolved into a Protestant symbol during the struggle for religious freedom. The work was reprinted at least five times in 1566 alone.

Despite the fact that Dathenus's translation was very successful, it received its share of criticism and mockery. An early attempt to correct irregularities of rhythm and rhyme and to free it of its poetic infelicities was made by Philips van Marnix, Lord of Sint Aldegonde (1540–1598), who is perhaps better known as the

supposed author of the Dutch national anthem.¹⁹ Although Van Marnix's *Het Boeck der Psalmen Davids* (Antwerp, 1580) was clearly a literary improvement, it could not capture the symbolic place that Dathenus's version held in the hearts of the faithful. Nor was the cause of Van Marnix's version advanced when protesting booksellers tried to suppress the printing of the work at the Synod of South Holland, held in Rotterdam in 1581. They were concerned that if this newer version became the preferred psalter of the churches, they would have great difficulty selling the extant copies of Dathenus's Psalms and thereby suffer substantial financial losses.²⁰ Their fears were not realized. Even when, at the 1586 Synod of The Hague, the delegates determined that Van Marnix's psalter should be recommended from the pulpit, it could not compete with the immense popularity of the earlier translation.²¹ Dathenus's Psalms remained in general use for almost two centuries, until 1773, when they were replaced by a new rhymed version.²² His work nevertheless continued to be republished until the middle of the nineteenth century.

Although many different editions are known, the Museum's book, with its engraved title page by Le Blon, appears to be a rarity. No identical copy of Dathenus's Psalms, sold and/or published by Huijbrechts, has yet been located.²³ With its original and exquisite silver binding, this precious early seventeenth-century work illustrates eloquently the esteem in which Dutch Protestants held the hundred and fifty Psalms, their oft-invoked hymns of praise and lament in times of thanksgiving and despair.

NOTES

1. Title of Émile Molinier's introduction to the catalogue of the Spitzer sale, *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité antiques, du moyen-âge & de la Renaissance composant l'importante et précieuse Collection Spitzer* (Paris: Ménard, 1893), vol. 1, p. XXI.
2. Yvonne Hackenbroch, "Reinhold Vasters, Goldsmith," *MMJ* 19/20 (1984/85), pp. 171–72. See also the entry for Frédéric Spitzer by Charles Truman, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner (London and New York: Macmillan, 1996), vol. 29, pp. 415–16.
3. It was bought from the French Book Corporation of New York.
4. The provenance was first mentioned in *Arti et Industriae, tijdschrift gewijd aan de bevordering der kunstnijverheid in Nederland* 2, no. 1 (1891–92), p. 1, pl. 1, where it was described as part of the Spitzer collection in Paris. It had previously been in the possession, for some time, of J. L. Schouten, a civil engineer in Delft. This information was repeated by Johan R. ter Molen, *Zilver: Catalogus van de voorwerpen van edelmetaal in de collectie van het Museum Boymans–van Beuningen* (Rotterdam: Museum Boymans–van Beuningen, 1994), p. 58.
5. *La Collection Spitzer: Antiquité, moyen-âge, Renaissance*, vol. 2 (Macon: Protat, 1891), pp. 362–63, no. 42; *Catalogue des objets d'art*, vol. 2, p. 228, lot 3044, described as "Livre des Psaumes, travail hollandais, XVII^e siècle."
6. I am grateful to Clare Vincent and J. H. Leopold for examining the book cover and establishing that black wax rather than niello was used.
7. Elias Voet Jr., *Nederlandse goud- en zilvermerken*, 10th rev. ed. (Leiden: Nijhoff, 1982), p. 55.
8. Ter Molen, *Zilver*, pp. 58–59, no. 4. Said to be Dutch, ca. 1600. The book's dimensions are 12 x 9.2 cm.
9. Another example was sold at Sotheby's, Geneva, November 13, 1989, lot 12. Described in the sale catalogue as a Dutch book binding, ca. 1630, this object was changed into a box containing a notepad. Its width was given as 9.5 cm.
10. John F. Hayward, "Silver Bindings from the Abbey Collection," *The Connoisseur* 130 (November 1952), pp. 101–2, no. 2. Also illustrated by Johan W. Frederiks, *Dutch Silver*, vol. 2, *Wrought Plate of North and South-Holland from the Renaissance until the End of the Eighteenth Century* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1958), p. 69, pl. 58, no. 195; and by Henri L. M. Defoer et al., *De bijbel in huis: Bijbelse verhalen op huisraad in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1991), pp. 86–87, no. 31, fig. 97.
11. Ter Molen, *Zilver*, pp. 60–61, no. 5. Said to be Dutch, beginning of the 17th century. The dimensions are given as 8.8 x 6.3 cm. However, this particular piece was catalogued as Antwerp work in *Zilver uit de Gouden Eeuw van Antwerpen*, exh. cat. (Antwerp: Rockoxhuis, 1988), p. 138, no. 100.
12. Hayward, "Silver Bindings from the Abbey Collection," p. 102. Frederiks, *Dutch Silver*, vol. 2, p. 69, attributes two similar pieces to a silversmith working in the style of De Bry who was also subject to the influence of Hans Janssen. According to Ter Molen (*Zilver*, p. 58), a virtually identical book cover is thought to be related to prints by Theodor de Bry with some motifs derived from M. Gheeraerts.
13. *Arti et Industriae* 2, no. 1 (1891–92), p. 1, attributes the MMA book cover to Adriaen Collaert.
14. Jan A. Gruys and C. de Wolf, *Nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkoopers met plaatsen en jaren van werkzaamheid* (Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1989), p. 94. Huijbrechts(z) is listed as active in Amsterdam between 1611 and 1616. However, in various other documents he was described as a bookbinder in 1605, and subsequently as a bookseller or binder in 1610, 1618, and 1620 as well. See M. M. Kleerkooper and Wilhelmus P. van Stockum Jr., *De boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17e eeuw: Biographische en geschiedkundige aantekeningen* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1914–16), vol. 1, pp. 289–90; vol. 2, p. 1305.
15. The psalter contains no other plates, though it does have a few vignettes and several decorated capital letters.
16. In 1627 Le Blon went to Italy. See the *Dictionary of Art*, vol. 19, pp. 15–16. At least one other, nearly identical but larger, title page by Le Blon is known, also published by Huijbrechts in Amsterdam at an unknown date. See Johan Ph. van der Kellen, *Michel Le Blon, recueil d'ornements* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1900), p. 42, no. 191. See also F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700* (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 153, no. 191.
17. *Catechismus ofte onderwysinge in de Christlycke leere, also die in den Kercken ende Scholen Kueruoerstlicken Paltz geleert werdt. In de*

- Nederduytsche Spraecke ouergeset* (Heidelberg, 1563). See Theodorus Ruys, *Petrus Dathenus* (Utrecht: Ruys, 1919), pp. 244–45.
18. Marot had translated some fifty Psalms from Hebrew into French in 1541–43. De Bèze finished the translation of the remaining Psalms some twenty years later. Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris: Larousse, 1867), pp. 666–67; vol. 10 (1873), pp. 1237–38.
 19. *Grand Larousse universel*, 3rd rev. ed. (Lizy-sur-Ourcq: Didier, 1989), vol. 10, p. 6686; Margaretha H. Schenkeveld and Maria A. Schenkeveld–van der Dussen, *Het is begonnen met David: De honderdvijftig psalmen in het Nederlands berijmd, vertaald, bewerkt door 47 (Nederlandse) dichters uit vijf eeuwen* (Zoetermeer: Meinema, 1999), pp. 11, 354.
 20. J. Prinsen, “Uit het notaris-protocol van Salomon Lenaertszn. van der Wuert, II,” *Oud Holland* 28 (1910), pp. 137–38; Ruys, *Petrus Dathenus*, p. 239.
 21. Ruys, *Petrus Dathenus*, p. 239.
 22. Schenkeveld and Schenkeveld–van der Dussen, *Het is begonnen met David*, pp. 10, 349. A small number of congregations still sing Dathenus’s Psalms today.
 23. None is listed in David F. Scheurleer, *Nederlandsche liedboeken: Lijst der in Nederland tot het jaar 1800 uitgegeven liedboeken* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1912). There are no copies in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, or in any of the major libraries in the Netherlands (according to the *Short Title Catalogue Netherlands*). Neither are there any copies in the British Library, according to the *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* (London, 1965, vol. 17), or any listed in the *National Union Catalogue*.

An Unsuspected Bust of Alexander Menshikov

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THE SUBJECT of this article is the spectacular life-size wooden bust of a man acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1996. Gazing slightly down and to his right, the man wears an opulently curled wig whose middle parting continues down the back of the head in two rows of tight curls (Figures 1, 2). The strict symmetry of the wig is broken by its elongated ends flowing over the front and back of the sitter's respective left and right shoulders. Complementing the effusion of curls is the elaborate interplay of quadruple bow and lace jabot. The right pauldron displays medallion portraits of Alexander the Great on the front and Livia Drusilla, wife of the Divine Augustus (Gaius Julius Caesar Augustus), on the back. On the left pauldron are the Roman emperor Trajan on the front and his wife, Plotina, on the back. The two ovals in relief framed by acanthus and laurel on the front of the armor allude to ancient victories, the one on the bust's right illustrating Alexander the Great and Hephaestion before the tent of Darius and the one on his left the Justice of Trajan. These pictorial references are framed by genii, acanthus friezes, and classicizing as well as plain moldings. Leafy acanthus also dominates the two large shield-shaped plates on the back of the pauldrons. Here the leaves are tied together in bundles to form sheaflike arrangements. The sculpture was made from at least six large wooden parts and many smaller ones, all held together by wrought-iron clamps (Figure 3). The actual carving is a tour de force, with much undercutting and a wealth of detailed surface tooling. The armor's low relief emulates embossed metalwork. The painstaking polishing of the wood replicates skin, and paint was applied to mark the irises of the eyes. Drilling and deep undercutting enhance the curls sculpted in the round. The surfaces of those areas that strive to capture the

appearance of textiles as well as the matte background of the acanthus decoration are punched and engraved. The turned circular wood base is a later replacement. Some smaller areas have been repaired and filled with substitute woods or colored wax.

The bust was first documented in the sale catalogue of the collection of Baronne Cassel van Doorn in Paris in 1956 as "École française. XVII^e siècle. Buste d'homme en armure, coiffé d'une perruque bouclée."¹ The dealers Leopold and Ruth Blumka bought it at the Cassel van Doorn sale, and it long remained in their private collection in New York City. In 1965 Theodor Müller, who linked the bust to South Netherlandish miniature sculpture, called the piece "Flemish," thereby moving its possible origin northward.² This attribution was questioned by Christian Theuerkauff, who related the bust to North Italian carvings.³ The Metropolitan Museum acquired the sculpture as a "bust of an unknown gentleman" at the estate auction of Ruth Blumka.⁴ Its acquisition prompted Philippe de Montebello to write of "a highly original portrait of a man with an unforgettable physiognomy and peruke, the bust of a military commander. . . . [It] is of unknown authorship and subject but also of clearly superior workmanship and invention . . . ; we have, after all, all the time in the world in which to study the piece and learn its origin and sculptor."⁵

After the Metropolitan acquired the bust, James David Draper made a tentative attribution of it to the Austrian school, about 1685–95. Draper observed, "The author and the subject of this stupendous bust remain mysterious. The likeliest clues to eventually identifying both lie in the images on the fanciful parade armor, although it is generically of a sixteenth-century North Italian type, as if to ensure a traditional frame of reference worthy of the sitter. The scenes on the breastplate are of the Family of Darius before Alexander the Great and the Justice of Trajan. These incidents from ancient victories in the East would have provided a fitting parallel for a latter-day

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Figure 1. Swiss, Austrian, or German sculptor, active in Russia ca. 1703–4. Bust of Alexander Menshikov, 1703–4. Red pine, H. (with socle) 78.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Wrightsman Fund, 1996 (1996.7)



Figure 2. Back view of bust in Figure 1

campaign; the most applicable would have been the war against the Turks, culminating in the Siege of Vienna in 1683.⁶

Before Draper, the bust had been thought to be made out of boxwood, but its sheer scale and elaboration would make it unique in that medium. Boxwood, a relatively hard wood, was preferred for small objects and statuettes, rarely more than six or seven inches high. Testing by the Center for Wood Anatomy Research in Madison, Wisconsin, revealed a surprising result: the material proved to be Scot's pine or red pine (*Pinus sylvestris*).⁷ The natural reddish brown color was intensified by a light stain to imitate the far more pre-

cious and difficult to obtain boxwood. Red pine is fairly common in Scotland, Scandinavia, northern Germany, and the Baltic countries, as well as in parts of Russia, and is moderately heavy and strong. However, the material has a tendency to shrink quite a bit "but is not difficult to dry and stays in place well when seasoned."⁸ Stocks of wood correctly cured, that is, carefully dried over a long period of time, were treasured by sculptors and craftsmen all over Europe and often were handed down from generation to generation. Therefore it would not be surprising if several decades elapsed between the felling of the tree and the time the block was actually used in a workshop.



Figure 3. Bust in Figure 1 disassembled (possibly in the 1960s) (photo: Blumka Gallery, New York)

Portraits of military commanders have to be studied with the understanding that the sitter was often on campaign and could not pose for a long period. Artists worked from sketches as well as from memory and sometimes had to consult other works of art to commemorate these men who were frequently on the move. Differences, occasionally considerable ones, between the way the model actually looked and the finished portrait often could not be avoided, so that caution with any identification is to be recommended. Then, too, conventions of portrait busts, such as pose, fashions of dress, including armor and wigs, and medium have to be taken into account.

Draper's hypothesis suggested paths of further research, focusing on soldiers active in the successful repulsion of the Turkish threat at the end of the seventeenth century: Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736) and the so-called *Türkenlouis*, Margrave Ludwig

Wilhelm I of Baden (1655–1708).⁹ About 1707 the margrave, who served as commander of the imperial troops along the upper Rhine, was portrayed dressed in a way similar to the man in the bust, wearing a triple bow over his armor and a full periwig, characterized by woolly curls (Figure 4). However, the margrave's facial features seen here, especially the shape of the eyebrows and the nose, are different from those of the bust. Such exuberant wigs, so full at the top as to resemble a bonnet, were fashionable only between about 1680 and 1710 at the latest (Figure 5).¹⁰

Although numerous busts exist that demonstrate this fashion for full wigs,¹¹ none of these possible models led to an identification. Subsequent study of northern and eastern European portraits, related prints, and sculptures took us even farther east: to the remarkable bronze bust of Alexander Menshikov, modeled between 1716 and 1717 by Carlo Bartolomeo Rastrelli (Figure 6).



Figure 4. Johan Georg Seiller (1663–1740). *Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm I of Baden (1655–1708)*, ca. 1707. Engraving. Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe (photo: Badisches Landesmuseum)

The armor on Rastrelli’s bronze illustrates the Crossing of the River Granicus by Alexander the Great on the front plate of the right pauldron so prominently that it can hardly be overlooked. The first name of the sitter, Alexander, is no coincidence. The question arose: could the New York bust be another portrait of this Russian nobleman? Although Menshikov was, as we shall see, the most powerful man in Russia after Peter the Great, earlier portraits of him are extremely rare and only occasionally illustrated. Thus, identifying the Metropolitan’s bust as Menshikov is presented here for further discussion.

Ninel V. Kaliazina, who published the most comprehensive study of the prince’s iconography, briefly described his physiognomy: “Especially expressive is Menshikov’s face, with its high forehead and the peculiar shape of his eyes under very thick eyebrows. He had a large nose with a small hook, very thin and tight lips, a round, cleft chin which reflected his strong willpower and energy.”¹² Kaliazina emphasized that his long, narrow face “had thick straight eyebrows.”¹³ The unusual slimness of the bust’s face could be explained by Menshikov’s affliction with pulmonary lung disease, which was accompanied by severe bleedings from the throat. This caused also a great fluctuation of his body



Figure 5. *The Barber-Wigmaker’s Attire*. Etching from Nicolas de L’Armessin, *Habit des metiers et professions* (Paris, ca. 1697). Sammlung Schwarzkopf, Hamburg, no. 322 (photo: after Maria Jedding-Gersterling, ed., *Hairstyles* [Hamburg, 1988], fig. 200)

weight, resulting in a countenance that was by turns bloated or emaciated. Contemporary physicians denied the fact that Menshikov had tuberculosis,¹⁴ although his symptoms might suggest otherwise.

The main facial features of the bust seem to agree with those in most of the other portraits of Menshikov known to date, although, as intimated above, the number of similar specific details varies from portrait to portrait. The bust is most comparable to the early portraits (despite the bust’s thin eyebrows and lack of moustache), especially an enamel by Musikijski of about 1709 (Figure 7), an etching by Simon Londini, about 1710 (Figure 8), and a painting of about 1716–20 (Figure 9). These share the elongated oval of the face, the cleft chin, the tight lips, and the high forehead. The bust’s side view (Figure 10) could almost be slipped into the profiles by Solomon Gouin, 1707 and about 1710–11 (Figures 11, 12), and the etching by Martin Berningeroth (Figure 13). Here the long, pointed nose and the curved bridge of the nose are nearly congruent.¹⁵ In later years Menshikov’s appear-



Figure 6. Carlo Bartolomeo Rastrelli (1675–1744). *Alexander Menshikov*, later cast of bust modeled 1716–17. Bronze, H. 109 cm. The State Hermitage, Menshikov Palace Museum, Saint Petersburg, ЭРСК-209 (photo: The State Hermitage)

ance changed because of a substantial weight gain (Figure 6).

Despite his obscure origins, Alexander Danilovich Menshikov (1673–1729) rose to a position of great eminence. His father seems to have served as a non-commissioned officer in the Russian army. Alexander’s name appears in 1693 in the second rank of bombardiers of the Prebrazhensky regiment, a sign that at that point he already stood close to “bombardier Piter,” as Peter the Great liked to be called. Other sources mention that Menshikov started his career as a pastry cook’s apprentice selling pies and was hand-picked by Peter because of his extraordinary good looks and abilities to adapt, chameleon-like, to new situations. Moreover, they became “inseparable”¹⁶ and shared a tent at Azov in 1696. “Aleksasha” (as Peter called him) accompanied the tsar on his famous “Grand Embassy” in 1697–98, when he visited Germany, Holland, England, and Austria.

Menshikov’s meteoric rise coincided with one of the most exciting periods in Russian history. The country was on the verge of becoming a European power that could no longer be ignored by Western sovereigns. It was a time of rapid and intensive Europeanization, best



Figure 7. Grigorij Semjonovitj Musikijski (1670/71–after 1739). *Alexander Menshikov*, ca. 1709. Enamel on copper, mounted with gold, 3.5 x 2.7 cm. The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, GE, ERR-3804 (photo: The State Hermitage)



Figure 8. Jean Simon Londini (1675–1751). *Alexander Menshikov*, ca. 1710. Etching. The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, Г-14498 (photo: The State Hermitage)



Figure 9. *Alexander Menshikov*, ca. 1716–20. Oil on canvas, 62 x 51 cm. In the Winter Palace until 1859. The State Hermitage, Menshikov Palace Museum, Saint Petersburg, Г-29879 (photo: The State Hermitage)

documented by Peter's ban on traditional Russian costumes in connection with an extensive reform of dress and hairstyles (Ukas of August 20, 1700), such as the introduction of wigs.¹⁷ The Muscovite traditionalists bitterly opposed this movement, which resulted in a climate of tension accompanied by the ever-present danger of rebellion. Menshikov's commitment to reform, his personal bravery, and his military qualities, exhibited in the Russian attack on the Swedish fortress Slotburg, later renamed Schlüsselburg, in 1702, made him an invaluable ally for the tsar. Even the most difficult tasks entrusted to him were executed quickly, with no questions asked. The tsar expressed his appreciation by appointing Menshikov governor of Schlüsselburg and knighting him in 1703. Already in 1702 the Holy Roman Emperor had granted Menshikov the title of count and later (December 1705) prince. In February 1712 the prince acted as master of ceremonies at Peter's wedding to Catherine,

who had been Menshikov's own mistress before the tsar discovered her attractions and appropriated her for himself.¹⁸ In the years to come Menshikov's steadily growing influence was accompanied by the temptation of embezzlement. During Peter's lifetime the prince managed to evade serious charges of corruption that were brought against him by countless enemies. The tsar punished him several times for his excessive accumulation of wealth and the ruthless measures he took to reach his goals, but each time Menshikov was able to regain his sovereign's trust and friendship. At the tsar's death in January 1725, Catherine assumed power as Catherine I (1725–27) and Menshikov no longer played second fiddle. Now he virtually ruled the country on the tsaritsa's behalf. A partial translation of his title in 1726 reads, "Illustrious Prince of the Holy Roman Empire and Russian Realm and Duke of Izhora, Marshal of Her Imperial Majesty of all Russia and Commanding General Field Marshal



Figure 10. Side view of bust in Figure 1

of the Armies, Actual Privy Councilor, President of the State War College, Governor-General of the Provinces of Saint Petersburg, Vice-Admiral of the White Flag of the Fleet of all Russia, Knight of the Orders of Saint Andrew, the Elephant, the White and Black Eagles.”¹⁹

On the death of the tsaritsa on May 16, 1727, Peter the Great’s grandson was declared her successor. Menshikov literally took possession of the minor Peter II (1715–1730) and lodged him in his own palace on Vasily Island. He planned a double wedding by which his daughter Marie Alexandrovna would be given to the tsar and his own son would wed Princess Natalia Alexejevna, the tsar’s sister.²⁰ The scheme would ultimately have ensured that his family would meld with the Romanov dynasty. This forced his opponents into action, which was followed by a political rebellion of the old aristocracy. Alexander Menshikov—stripped of all his possessions and titles—was exiled with his family to northern Siberia. He died on November 12, 1729, and was buried in a modest wooden church in Berezov, which he had helped to build with his own hands.²¹

Menshikov worked hard to overcome his humble beginnings. The highs and lows in the life of this fascinating character, who reinvented himself several times, were so extreme that one wonders why Hollywood has ignored the story of Alexander Menshikov. Lindsey



Figure 11. Solomon Gouin (active 1696/97–1720). *Alexander Menshikov*, 1707. Carved and turned ivory, Diam. 5.6 cm. Inscription: PRINCEPS. ALEXANDER. MENTZIKOF; monogram G under the arm. Staatliche Museen Kassel, B/VI, 18 (photo: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen)



Figure 12. Solomon Gouin. *Alexander Menshikov*, ca. 1710–11. Carved and turned ivory, Diam. 9 cm. Signed GOUIN under the arm. The State Hermitage, Menshikov Palace Museum, Saint Petersburg (photo: The State Hermitage)



Figure 13. Martin Berningeroth (1670–1733). *Alexander Menshikov*, ca. 1710. Etching. The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (photo: The State Hermitage)

Hughes wrote, “By the end of his career he had built up a sort of state within a state, 3,000 villages and seven towns spread over forty-two districts, in Russia, the Baltic, Ukraine, and Poland, with more than 300,000 serfs (the richest man in Russia in 1700, Prince Cherkassky, had only 33,000). Menshikov’s collection of 143 pictures was impressive by Russian standards.”²² Inventories taken after his exile listed jewelry and precious objects worth more than 800,000 rubles, as well as plate of solid gold and silver-gilt.²³

The prince reveled in luxury. The Menshikov Palace, the first stone building erected in Saint Petersburg and constructed on a more lavish scale than that of the imperial Winter Palace, was often borrowed by Peter I for state occasions.²⁴ Menshikov assembled an enormous wardrobe of Western costumes, wigs, and other fashionable accessories.

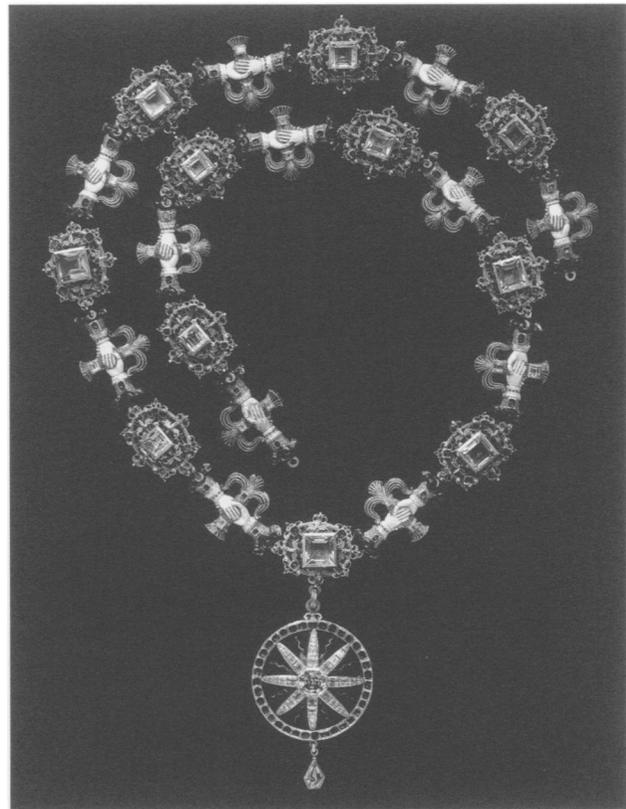


Figure 14. Antonij Groot the Elder (1585–1614). Chain and badge of the Swedish Royal Order of Jehova, 1606. Gold, enamel, rock crystal, and garnets; L. chain 132 cm, badge Diam. 7 cm. Royal Armory, Stockholm, LRK 31/21–2 (photo: Royal Armory)

Bearing in mind the exaggerated wig of the present bust, we learn from the eighteenth-century traveler Bruce that in 1702 two wigs were purchased for Peter at a cost of 10 rubles, while at the same time Menshikov bought eight periwigs in the latest fashion for the considerable sum of 62 rubles. In 1705 the overall spending for luxury textile imports for Peter and his favorite amounted to 1,225 rubles. Of this the tsar was satisfied with a mere fourteen *Arshin* (0.71 meter) of modest fabric for his personal wardrobe, whereas the lion’s share of the expense was spent on luxurious *Stoff*—taffeta, other precious silks, and lace—for Menshikov, his sister, and his spouse, as well as her sisters.²⁵

These details prove that the collecting and display of Western art and fashion were important to Menshikov. The prince’s wants and buying power helped establish an embryonic market for such art, which was a critical factor in its diffusion and institutionalization in Russia, characterized by James Cracraft as the “Petrine Revolution in Russian Imagery.”²⁶

This is the background against which the bust, which we propose to identify as representing Menshikov, is to



Figure 15. Alexander the Great, detail of bust in Figure 1



Figure 17. Trajan, detail of bust in Figure 1

be understood. The story of his life and personal taste together with his need to invent an appropriate ancestral line for himself explain the bust's complex iconography and its material. Wood, rather than marble or bronze, may be a surprising choice to Western eyes, but

wood had an exalted status in Russia. First, there was a long-standing preference on the part of the inhabitants of eastern countries for wood. To be Russian was virtually synonymous with appreciation for this main natural resource and major building material. As Jan



Figure 16. Tetradrachm, Greek, issued before 323 B.C., depicting Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.). Staatliche Museen Kassel, Münz (photo: after Peter Gercke and Bernd Hamborg, *Antike Münzen* [Kassel, 1985], p. 1, fig. 5v)



Figure 18. Sesterce, Rome, issued 103–11, depicting Trajan (53–117). Inscription: IMP[ERATORI] CAES[ARI] NERVAE TRAJANO AVG[USTO] GER[MANICO] DACICO PM TRP COS V PP. Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (photo: after Peter Robert Franke, *Römische Kaiserporträts im Münzbild* [Munich, 1961], no. 16)



Figure 19. Livia Drusilla, detail of bust in Figure 1



Figure 20. Plotina, detail of bust in Figure 1

Struys observed in 1668–69, “the best craftsmen are carpenters, who make everything in this country.”²⁷ Red pine was harvested locally and was readily available. Second and more particularly, Menshikov was a connoisseur of complicated wood carvings and marquetry. For example, he frequently entertained the tsar in his so-called Walnut Study, his private *studiolo*.²⁸ In addition, he installed a turnery near the Grand Chamber in his palace. This demonstrated another intimate connection to Peter, whose hobbies included turning wood, ivory, horn, and tortoiseshell. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, turning was an important part of a princely education and considered a suitable entertainment for accomplished courtiers and statesmen.²⁹

The pictorial program of the armor closely reflects the sitter’s personal career and his search for pedigree. The armor is generically based on a North Italian parade type of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century,³⁰ yet is distinguished by the leafy acanthus bundles in the form of sheaves on the back (Figure 2). This motif could allude to the sheaf that is part of the Swedish Vasa crest (Figure 14).³¹ If so, it would commemorate Menshikov’s expulsion of the Swedish army from the area known today as Saint Petersburg (the siege of Schlüsselburg in 1702).³²

The medallions are directly traceable to ancient sources. Alexander the Great’s profile (Figure 15) was copied literally from a very well known Greek coin, a

silver tetradrachm, that survived in many examples (Figure 16).³³ The images of Trajan (Figure 17) and Plotina (Figure 20) were copied from Roman sesterces (Figures 18, 21). Trajan was a particularly fitting model



Figure 21. Sesterce, Rome, issued 112–17, depicting Plotina (70–122). Inscription: PLOTINA AVG[USTA] IMP[ERATORIS] TRAIANI [UXOR]. Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (photo: after Franke, *Römische Kaiserporträts im Münzbild*, no. 17)



Figure 22. Justice of Trajan, detail of bust in Figure 1



Figure 23. Jean LePaudre (1616–1682). Engraving of *The Justice of Trajan*. Detail of a wall decoration, from *Œuvres* (Paris: Mariette, n.d.), vol. 1, pl. 36. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933 (33.84[1])

for Menshikov, for, like the Russian, the Roman was a soldier born and bred. His father had fought his way up from humble beginnings to the consulship. Due to Trajan's many victories and the empire's eastern expansion (the coin in Figure 18 was issued between 103 and 111 to celebrate Trajan's eastern victory after the Dacian war in 101 and the establishment of the new eastern provinces³⁴), his reign was celebrated as the beginning of Rome's Golden Age. An auspicious period in history can be connected to Menshikov as well through his close association with Peter the Great. Peter was called both Tsar-Emperor and "bombardier Piter" and expanded Russia's borders through ceaseless military campaigns. Thus his reign was celebrated as the Golden Age of Russia.³⁵

The oval relief of the Justice of Trajan on Menshikov's armor (Figure 22) illustrates the virtues of a magnanimous and righteous ruler, a common theme in Baroque imagery.³⁶ The composition is a variation of a print by Hans Sebald Beham (1500–1550) of 1537,³⁷ which had already been copied in sixteenth-century metalwork.³⁸ For the present depiction a contemporary inspiration may be the adaptation of a related design by Jean LePaudre, the master of volutes and acanthus, published in the first volume of his *Œuvres*

(Figure 23; compare especially the characterization of Trajan, on horseback and wearing the laurel crown).³⁹

Armor in Baroque portraiture and imagery often employs the deeds of Alexander the Great⁴⁰ or the Roman Caesars to glorify the later commanders, but usually triumphal scenes are depicted. Menshikov's interest in an emperor who had conquered the world by the time he was thirty (and who happened to share his first name) is not surprising. It could be that Livia Drusilla, wife of Gaius Julius Caesar Augustus (Figure 19), appears on the armor's right back pauldron because she was mistakenly identified as Roxanne, Alexander the Great's wife. More pertinent, however, is the depiction of Alexander at the tent of Darius (Figure 24), a story that was told in greatest detail by the first-century historian Quintus Curtius Rufus. After the Battle of Issus (333 B.C.), Darius's family was captured by the Macedonian army. Alexander sent messengers to announce to the family of the defeated king of Persia that he was on his way to visit them. Leaving his entourage behind he approached the tent accompanied only by his intimate friend Hephaestion. As a friend Hephaestion alone enjoyed the privilege of serving Alexander as a counselor, using this privilege prudently, avoiding all appearance of presumption, and always giving the impression that he acted with the king's

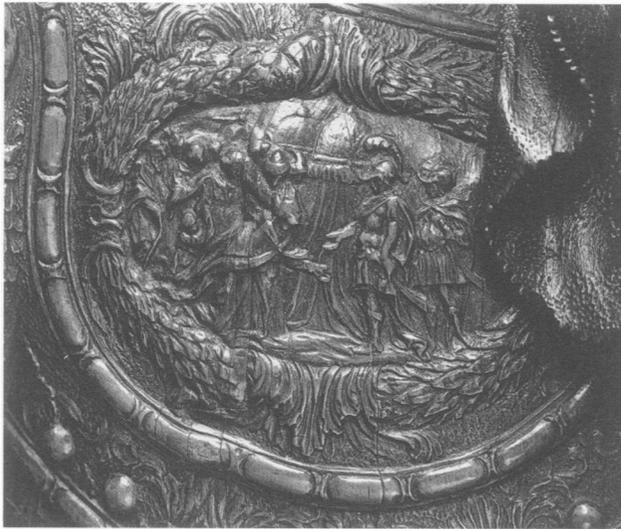


Figure 24. Alexander the Great and Hephaestion at the tent of Darius, detail of bust in Figure 1

permission. The Persian queens and princesses, mistaking the taller man for Alexander, paid homage to Hephaestion. When one of the eunuchs pointed out Alexander, Sisigambis, the mother of Darius, fell at his feet to beg pardon. Alexander raised the woman to her feet and said, "You were not mistaken, mother, for this man too is Alexander."⁴¹ He then reassured the royal women and treated them with marked clemency. Baroque imagery often emphasized Alexander's magnanimity and his splendid gesture to Hephaestion with its accompanying words, "this man too is Alexander."⁴² The tale was extolled as a moral exemplum of the willingness to share glory and possession with a comrade, worthy of emulation by those in exalted positions. The primary

Figure 25. Simon Gribelin (1661–1733) after Charles Le Brun, *Tent of Darius*. Engraving. The New York Public Library (photo: after Donald Posner, "Charles Le Brun's Triumph of Alexander," *Art Bulletin* 41, no. 3 [September 1959], fig. 1)



source for this emphasis on a specific detail of the story was another first-century writer, Valerius Maximus.⁴³

The relief's message is obvious: Menshikov's service to Peter the Great recalls Hephaestion's friendship with the Macedonian king and thus one link in a series relating the accomplishments of Menshikov's career to the glory of Alexander the Great. Other instances include the triumphal arch that was erected in front of the Menshikov Palace to commemorate the prince's victory over the city of Derpt in 1704, which was decorated with depictions of Alexander the Great's triumphs.⁴⁴ Lindsey Hughes has noted that in 1706

to mark the victory [of Kalisz], verses were composed in Menshikov's honour, likening him to the faithful servant of Alexander the Great [Hephaestion]. He is accorded honours equal to King Augustus, and rich rewards and laurels are predicted. . . . The years 1708–9 were a high point for Menshikov, especially his exploits at Perevolochna, where he rounded up the remnants of the Swedish Army. 'The Victory Wreath', a poem presented by the citizens of L'vov, declared: 'You are the equal of the great Alexander.' In 1709 Feofan Prokopovich delivered and published a speech in honour of Menshikov's visit to the Kiev Academy based on the text 'Let us praise famous men', comparing the prince's service to Peter to Joseph's services to Pharaoh, David's to Jonathan, and [Hephaestion's] to Alexander.⁴⁵

The composition of the relief oval on the bust (Figure 24) is based on a famous painting by Charles Le Brun (1619–1690), which was begun by order of Louis XIV in 1661 and subsequently engraved. *The Tent of Darius* is one of a series of five paintings illustrating events from the campaigns of Alexander the



Figure 26. Johann Peter Frölicher (1662–1723) and workshop. Choir stalls of the cloister of Saint Urban, Switzerland, 1700–1706 (photo: Denkmalpflege, Kanton Luzern)

Great.⁴⁶ The paintings were already a paradigm in the seventeenth century and copied in frescoes, tapestries, and prints, the last since 1673, for example, by Gerard Edelinck (1640–1707) and Simon Gribelin (Figure 25). A printed or drawn copy of the painting could have been taken to Moscow by Adriaan Schoonebeeck (ca. 1658–1705).⁴⁷ Peter I had visited Schoonebeeck in Amsterdam during his Grand Embassy of 1697–98 and had hired him in May 1698 to work in Russia. In Moscow the master etcher and designer set up the first real print shop in the country,⁴⁸ and Peter personally commissioned a long series of etchings celebrating victorious sieges. To celebrate the victory of Schlüsselburg, several triumphal arches for Peter the Great and the commanders of the army, including Alexander Menshikov, were erected between 1702 and 1704 in Moscow under the artistic direction of Schoonebeeck. The ornamental vocabulary of Schoonebeeck's work documents his familiarity with the inventions of Jean LePautre, which are reflected in the Trajan relief as well as in the acanthus decoration of the bust.⁴⁹ Given his experience and his personal work for Peter and Menshikov, Schoonebeeck could very well have been responsible for the program of the bust's decoration.

Figure 27. Detail of choir stalls in Figure 26 (photo: after Peter Felder, *Barockplastik der Schweiz* [Basel and Stuttgart, 1988], p. 112)



The identity of the carver is even more elusive than that of the sitter. A tentative attribution has been suggested by Serge O. Androsov of the State Hermitage in Saint Petersburg, who has put forward a sculptor named Franz Ludwig Ziegler or Zingler.⁵⁰ Any attribution to Ziegler must rest on circumstantial evidence, however, since there are no documented works by him. The relevant factors are these. Despite the lack of documentation of Ziegler's arrival in Russia, we can deduce that he went to Moscow about 1692, for in 1702 he had been there about ten years, working for the Department of the Admiralty and Marine, possibly making wood carvings for ships. In February 1702 Ziegler asked Peter the Great for permission to visit other countries with the aim of inviting various artists to Russia.⁵¹ Alexander Menshikov personally gave the sculptor the money for his travels in the presence of Peter the Great, an act that demonstrates a certain relationship among Peter the Great, Menshikov, and Ziegler. In November 1703 Ziegler returned to Russia with three sculptors, two from Austria (Konrad Gan and Erkhart Egelkrasol) and one from Nuremberg (Konrad Ossner), and with one painter from Spain (Giacomo Banchio). Ziegler continued to work in Moscow and also in Saint Petersburg until 1725, when he was allowed to leave, excused by his old age.

Ziegler was most likely of Swiss origin. On November 17, 1702, the town of Solothurn (north of Bern) granted the burgher of Solothurn and sculptor Franz Ludwig Ziegler a pass "to Paris and elsewhere."⁵² The town of Solothurn had in the sixteenth century established diplomatic relations with France. These close ties may have prompted Ziegler to ask for a special passport. While back in Solothurn he may have visited the nearby cloister of Saint Urban to see the choir stalls then being carved by the sculptor Johan Peter Fröhlicher (Figures 26, 27). Although there is no evidence of a direct connection between Ziegler and Fröhlicher, the choir stalls offer tantalizing stylistic comparison with the bust. The figural parts of the backrests, like some of the reliefs on the bust, are based on designs by Jean LePaudre.⁵³ The works also share a similarly nervous linearity and density of carving, together with a sumptuous use of acanthus. The speculative nature of the attribution of the bust to Ziegler is underscored by the fact that other Western sculptors were also working in Moscow. Four master carvers are listed among the specialists hired by the Grand Embassy and by Ziegler himself.⁵⁴

In 1703 Alexander Menshikov received the order of Saint Andrew, the highest military medal in tsarist Russia. The absence on the bust of this prestigious award—shown in nearly all later portraits—may give the terminus

ante quem for the creation of the bust if we accept the subject as Menshikov, which a host of reasons now seems to warrant. The iconography of the bust suggests that it was commissioned to commemorate Menshikov's victory over the Swedish army at Schlüsselburg in 1702. The design could have been approved shortly afterward but the actual execution not completed until 1703–4. This dating would accord with Ziegler's movements. If he was the sculptor, he could not have begun work on the bust until late in 1703, because he was abroad from early 1702 to November 1703.

The newly identified bust of Alexander Danilovich Menshikov can be seen as the ultimate embodiment of the prince's personality and extravagance and as a remarkable instrument of propaganda created to celebrate the military commander's accomplishments. The fashionable details, such as his clean-shaven face, stylish wig, and bow, and the pictorial scenes reflect Menshikov's commitment to the latest in Western costume and to flattering his idol and friend Peter the Great. The bust is to be counted among the most important statements of its kind in all of Baroque sculpture.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The discussion of the bust is by Wolfram Koeppe. Marina Nudel added historical facts and investigated the extensive Russian bibliography.

We thank Olga Raggio, James David Draper, Jack Souldanian, and Mechthild Baumeister of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and especially Serge O. Androsov of the State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg. We further thank Ninel Kaliagina of the Menshikov Palace, Saint Petersburg; Eugenia Shchukina and Olga Kostiuik of the State Hermitage; Christian Theuerkauff, *Skulpturensammlung*, Berlin; Bernhard Heitmann, *Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe*, Hamburg; and Jens Burk, Munich.

NOTES

1. Galerie Charpentier, Paris, sale cat., May 30, 1956, lot 71.
2. Theodor Müller, "Eine Gruppe vlämischer Kleinskulpturen des 17. Jahrhunderts und ihre Konsonanzen," in *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem zum 16 Februar 1965* (Berlin, 1965), p. 175, pl. 35, fig. 5.
3. Christian Theuerkauff, "Johann Ignaz Bendl: Sculptor and Medalist," *MMJ* 26 (1991), p. 271 n. 108.
4. Sotheby's, New York, sale cat., January 9–10, 1996, lot 103; illus. in reverse p. 131.
5. Philippe de Montebello, "Director's Note," in "Recent Acquisitions," *MMAB* 54 (Fall 1996), p. 6.

6. James David Draper, in "Recent Acquisitions," *MMAB* 54 (Fall 1996), p. 31.
7. Wood identification conducted by J. Thomas Quirk, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Madison, Wisconsin, March 17, 1996.
8. *Handbook of Wood and Wood-Based Materials* (New York, 1989), pp. 16–17; see also A. J. Panshin and Carl de Zeeuw, *Textbook of Wood Technology* (New York, 1970), vol. 1, p. 461; R. Bruce Hoadley, *Identifying Wood: Accurate Results with Simple Tools* (Newtown, Conn., 1990), pp. 148–49.
The wood was submitted to Carbon-14 dating by Dr. George Bonani, Institute of Particle Physics, Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, Zurich, Switzerland, March 28, 1996. He concluded that the tree from which the wood came was cut down "1667, at the latest."
9. For portraits of the margrave on medals, see Friedrich Wielandt and Joachim Zeitz, *Die Medaillen des Hauses Baden* (Karlsruhe, 1980), pp. 41–55.
10. Maria Jedding-Gersterling, ed., *Hairstyles* (Hamburg, 1988), figs. 191, 197, 200; Richard Corson, *Fashion in Hair*, 8th ed. (London, 1995), pl. 61; Jean-Marie Pinçon, *Odiot* (Paris, 1990), p. 23, illus. of Louis XIV in 1684.
11. Frida Schottmüller, *Die Bildwerke in Stein, Holz, Ton und Wachs*, 2nd ed. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1933), vol. 1, pp. 212, 227; *Von der Kunstkammer zum Museum: Plastik aus dem Schlossmuseum Gotha*, exh. cat. (Duisburg and Gotha, 1987), p. 126, no. 77; Yves Bottineau, *El Arte cortesano en la España de Felipe V (1700–1746)* (Madrid, 1986), fig. cxxviii; Theuerkauff, "Johann Ignaz Bendl," figs. 5, 22, 28, and 42 (W. Koeppel related this last somewhat academic bust in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art to Neapolitan sculptures; it may depict the duke Carafa of Maddaloni; see *The Treasure of San Gennaro: Baroque Silver from Naples*, exh. cat. [Naples, 1987], p. 62, fig. 21).
12. Ninel V. Kaliuzina, "Materialy dlia ikonografi i A. D. Menshikova," in *Kul'tura i iskusstvo petrovskogo vremeni*, ed. G. I. Komelova (Leningrad, 1977), p. 71; Dimitri Rowinskii, in *Slovar' russkikh gravirovannykh portretov* (Saint Petersburg, 1887), vol. 2, pp. 1271–79.
13. Kaliuzina, "Materialy," p. 82.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 83 n. 28.
15. Other portraits, debatable as to whether they depict Menshikov, can be mentioned: for example, Arvid Julius, *Jean Cavalier* (Uppsala and Stockholm, 1926), p. 138, no. 20; *XXXIe oude kunst- en antiekbeurs, Delft*, October 19–November 7, 1979 (Delft, 1979), p. 35, fig. 4; Christian Theuerkauff, *Die Bildwerke in Elfenbein des 16.–19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1986), pp. 138–40.
A computer program that is used by forensic scientists yielded results that encouraged us in our identification of Menshikov. Different views were scanned and fed into a computer program that is usually used to determine the identity of a corpse. A "positive result of identification" is about 72%, whereas 87.8% of the main facial features of the bust were shown to be congruent with other portraits of Menshikov. We would like to thank Prof. Dr. Rudolph Berg-Wagen, Bonn, for his help.
16. N. A. Baklanova, "Velikoe posol'stvo za granitse v 1697–1698 g.g.," in A. I. Andreev, ed., *Petr Velikii: Sbornik statei* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1947), pp. 47–48; Lindsey Hughes, *Russia in the Age of Peter the Great* (New Haven and London, 1998), pp. 432–41.
17. Hughes, *Russia*, pp. 280–88; see also Henry Vallotton, *Peter der Grosse: Russlands Aufstieg zur Grossmacht* (Munich, 1996), p. 162. Vallotton notes that the new fashion rules of Peter I were comparable to Alexander the Great's edict creating a new national costume by melding Persian and Macedonian details.
18. Heinrich Christoph von Reimers, *St. Petersburg, am Ende seines ersten Jahrhunderts* (Saint Petersburg, 1805), vol. 1, pp. 183–97.
19. N. I. Pavlenko, *Poludnerzhavnyi vlastelin: Istoricheskaja khronika o zhizni spodvizhnika Petra Pervogo A. D. Menshikova* (Moscow, 1991), pp. 23–24; see *Historische Nachricht von dem ehemahligen grossen Russischen Staats-Ministro, Alexandro Danielowiz, Fürst von Menzikof* (1728; copy of the example preserved at the Staatsbibliothek, Munich; we thank Jens Burk, Munich, for his research and his help in obtaining the copy); D. A. W. von Helbig, *Russische Günstlinge*, ed. Max Bauer (Munich and Berlin, 1917), pp. 23–41.
20. Reimers, *St. Petersburg*, p. 181.
21. P. V. Ovchinnikov, "Krushenie 'poludnerzhavnogo vlastelina,'" *Voprosy Istorii* 6, no. 9 (1970), pp. 87–104.
22. Hughes, *Russia*, p. 439.
23. *Historische Nachrichten*, p. 70.
24. N. V. Kaliuzina et al., *Dvorets Menshikova* (Moscow, 1986); James Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Architecture* (Chicago, 1988), fig. 97; P. Lauritzen and H. Lhansson, "Historic Houses: Menshikov Palace, a Princely Relic of Peter the Great's Imperial St. Petersburg," *Architectural Digest* (October 1991), pp. 76–81.
25. F. Bruce, *Nachrichten von seinen Reisen* (Leipzig, 1784), pp. 88–90; see N. I. Pavlenko, *Aleksandr Danilovich Menshikov* (Moscow, 1981), p. 25.
26. James Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Imagery* (Chicago, 1997), p. 216.
27. Cracraft, *Architecture*, p. 34.
28. Kaliuzina et al., *Dvorets*, nos. 83–85.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 50–53; Klaus Maurice, *Sovereigns as Turners: Materials on a Machine Art by Princes* (Zurich, 1985), p. 95.
30. See, for example, Stuart W. Pyhrr and José-A. Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance: Filippo Negroli and His Contemporaries*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1998), esp. nos. 27, 30, 50, 62.
31. Michael Conforti and Guy Walton, eds., *Royal Treasures of Sweden, 1550–1700*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C., and Minneapolis, 1988), no. 11; we thank Mogens Bencard of the Royal Collection, Copenhagen, for his advice (letter to W. Koeppel, April 11, 1996). As early as 1655 Italian parade armor is mentioned in the inventory of the Swedish Royal Armory, in which some pieces are still preserved today (see *Royal Treasures*, no. 9).
32. For the Swedish-Russian War, see Michael Roberts, *The Swedish Imperial Experience 1560–1718* (London and New York, 1979), and *Peter den store och Karl XII i krig och fred*, exh. cat. (Stockholm, 1998).
33. Christiane Lukakis and Hans Ottomeyer, *Hercules: Tugendheld und Herrscherideal* (Kassel, 1997), p. 31.
34. Peter Robert Franke, *Römische Kaiserporträts im Münzbild* (Munich, 1961), p. 37, nos. 16, 17.
35. Russian coin designs showing Peter the Great in profile as a Roman emperor are documented as early as 1699 (see Cracraft, *Imagery*, p. 268). The tsar developed an interest in antiquities and ancient coins during the Grand Embassy of 1696–97, after which he started a collection. He was especially impressed by the collection of Greek and Roman coins of Jakob Vilde in Amsterdam; O. Neverov, "Pamiatniki antichnogo iskusstva v Rossii Petrovskogo vremeni," in *Kul'tura i iskusstvo petrovskogo vremeni*.
36. A. Pigler, *Barockthemen* (Budapest, 1956), vol. 2, pp. 357–59.
37. *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 15 (New York, 1978), no. 82; F. W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts ca. 1400–1700*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam, 1954), p. 60.

38. Ingrid Weber, *Deutsche, niederländische und französische Renaissanceplaketten* (Munich, 1975), nos. 149.2, 562.
39. Jean LePaudre, *Œuvres* (Paris: Mariette, n.d.), vol. 1, pl. 36. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933 (33.84[1]).
40. See, for example, Peter Volk, "Alexander der Grosse überschreitet den Granikos," *Jahresbericht 1994*, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (1994), p. 20.
41. Quintus Curtius Rufus, *History of Alexander*, 3.12.15–26 (Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass., 1946], vol. 1, pp. 141–45); this book was in widespread use for royal education in the absolutist period. It is documented that Charles XII of Sweden, Peter the Great's rival, owned a copy (see Vallotton, *Peter der Grosse*, p. 162); see also Donald Posner, "Charles Le Brun's Triumph of Alexander," *Art Bulletin* 41, no. 3 (September 1959), pp. 237–48.
42. J. P. Richter, "The Family of Darius by Paolo Veronese," *Burlington Magazine* 62 (1933), pp. 181–83.
43. Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium*, 3.7.2.
44. E. B. Mozgovaia, "I. P. Zarudny, and A. D. Menshikov," in *Russian Culture of the First Quarter of the Eighteenth Century: Menshikov Palace* (in Russian) (Saint Petersburg, 1992), p. 106.
45. Hughes, *Russia*, p. 436–37.
46. Posner, "LeBrun," p. 237–38.
47. F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700*, vol. 26 (Amsterdam, 1982), pp. 23–46, with further references.
48. Hughes, *Russia*, p. 169.
49. Boris Borzin, *Rospisi Petrovskogo vremeny* (Leningrad, 1986), pp. 151–87; Schoonebeeck may have visited Berlin on his way to Moscow, where Andreas Schlüter was incorporating much of LePaudre's invention in the decoration of the new palace, the Stadtschloss; see Christiane Keisch, *Das Grosse Silberbuffet aus dem Rittersaal des Berliner Schlosses* (Berlin, 1997).
50. Serge Androssov graciously shared with us his research at the State Russian Archive of Ancient Acts and in the Department of Manuscripts at the Russian State Library, Moscow, and particularly in Posolkii prikaz (folio 158, documents of diplomatic corps) and Prikaznye dela starych let (folio 141, Cabinet orders), Kabinet Petra I (folio 9), A. D. Menshikov (folio 198), Viesd inostranzev v Rosiu (folio 150, records of immigration of foreigners into Russia). Information about Ziegler or Zingler comes from a letter from Androssov to Olga Raggio, July 12, 1998, Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts.
51. Other sources quote the documents incorrectly and mention that the tsar asked Ziegler to travel; see A. Mikhailov, "Podmoklovskaiia Rotonda Klassicheskie veiania v iskusstvie Petrovskogo vremeny," *Iskusstvo*, no. 9 (1985), pp. 64–70, who notes in relation to Ziegler that in "1702 Peter the Great sent abroad from Moscow the sculptor Franz Ziegler with an order to buy foreign goods and to hire for Russian service two painters and four carvers."
52. Erika Erni, "Johann Peter Frölicher (1662–1723): Ein Solothurner Barockbildhauer," *Jahrbuch für Solothurnische Geschichte* 50 (1977), p. 16 n. 8; and Peter Felder, *Barockplastik der Schweiz* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1988), p. 315.
53. Erni, "Johann Peter Frölicher," figs. 11, 12; for this artistic environment, see Erni's, "Johann Wolfgang Fröhlicher (1653–1700): Ein Bildhauer aus Solothurn in Frankfurt," in *Unsere Kunstdenkmäler*, Gesellschaft für Schweizerische Kunstgeschichte 24 (1973), pp. 320–34, figs. 2, 13.
54. Hughes, *Russia*, p. 335 n. 132.

Drawings by Hubert Robert in The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Some Restored Attributions

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WHEN THE CATALOGUE of The Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection of fifteenth- to eighteenth-century French drawings was published in 1986,¹ Jacob Bean, Curator of Drawings, explained in the preface that all sheets which could be "plausibly attributed to known artists" were included, while old copies, sheets of dubious authenticity, and anonymous works of little interest were omitted. Applying this criterion, six sheets that had been associated with Hubert Robert (1733–1808) were presumably found lacking. Since 1986 they have remained in the boxes of Robert drawings, their status unresolved. Among this mostly unpublished group are three sheets that today appear to be authentic. They span Robert's career and are varied in technique and style. With the aim of restoring these neglected works to the artist's graphic oeuvre and to their proper place within the Museum's collection, this article will present the three autograph sheets in chronological order, followed by brief discussions of one drawing of doubtful authenticity and two others that can no longer be credibly linked with Robert's name. Basic information on each drawing is given in the Appendix.

The earliest sheet of the group, *Washerwomen in a Ruined Gallery* (Figure 1), came to the Museum as part of the Harry G. Sperling bequest in 1971. The drawing had been sold as the work of Robert in the nineteenth century² and the attribution accepted by Jacques Mathey in 1952, according to a handwritten note on the back of an old photograph in the department files. Nonetheless, the highly atypical style of the sheet, with its broad areas of dark wash and abbreviated descriptions of architectural detail in gouache, elicited doubt when it arrived at the Museum, for, indeed, it has little in common with Robert's known graphic manners.³ A dark, barrel-vaulted gallery rendered in sharply receding perspective is lit by a rustic door thrown open at the left, the effect of strong sunlight entering a vast shadowy interior made all the more dramatic by the

illuminated line of white linen hung to dry. With its shorthand notations of architecture and its reductive contrasts of light and dark, *Washerwomen in a Ruined Gallery* is unmistakably a preparatory compositional sketch, a relative rarity in Robert's oeuvre.

The Metropolitan's study can be related to a painting, *Laundresses in the Ruins*, in the State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (Figure 2),⁴ and to a large drawing in red chalk over a black-chalk underdrawing in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (Figure 3), inscribed *H. Roberti* and bearing a date of 1760, but recognized in 1990 as a copy by Jean-Robert Ango after an untraced version by Robert.⁵ In addition to these compositional parallels, a drawing strikingly similar in style appeared on the art market in 1990 (it is now in a New York private collection; Figure 4), which must have been the pendant of the Metropolitan's sheet.⁶ The entry in a 1990 Didier Aaron exhibition catalogue pointed to the relationship between their drawing and Robert's painting *Hermit Praying in the Ruins of a Roman Temple* in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (Figure 5).⁷ Victor Carlson, in an article on the Getty's painting published before the preparatory study was known, had astutely noticed the close relationship between the laundress and hermit compositions, using the dated red-chalk drawing of laundresses in the Louvre (Figure 3) to propose a similar date for the Getty canvas.⁸ Thus, despite its somewhat uncharacteristic technique, *Washerwomen in a Ruined Gallery* can be supported as an autograph work on the basis of its close relationship to Robert's more elaborate treatments of the subject in other media and by the stylistic analogy of the Didier Aaron drawing of the hermit at prayer.⁹ What remains constant regardless of medium is Robert's interest in the quotidian use of antique ruins and in the naturalistic depiction of sunlight animating their picturesque forms and surfaces.

Years after Robert's return to France, antique ruins continued to provide inspiration for him both Italy and more generally through the thorough assimilation of Italianate motifs. In *Young Women in a Landscape*

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The notes for this article begin on page 190.

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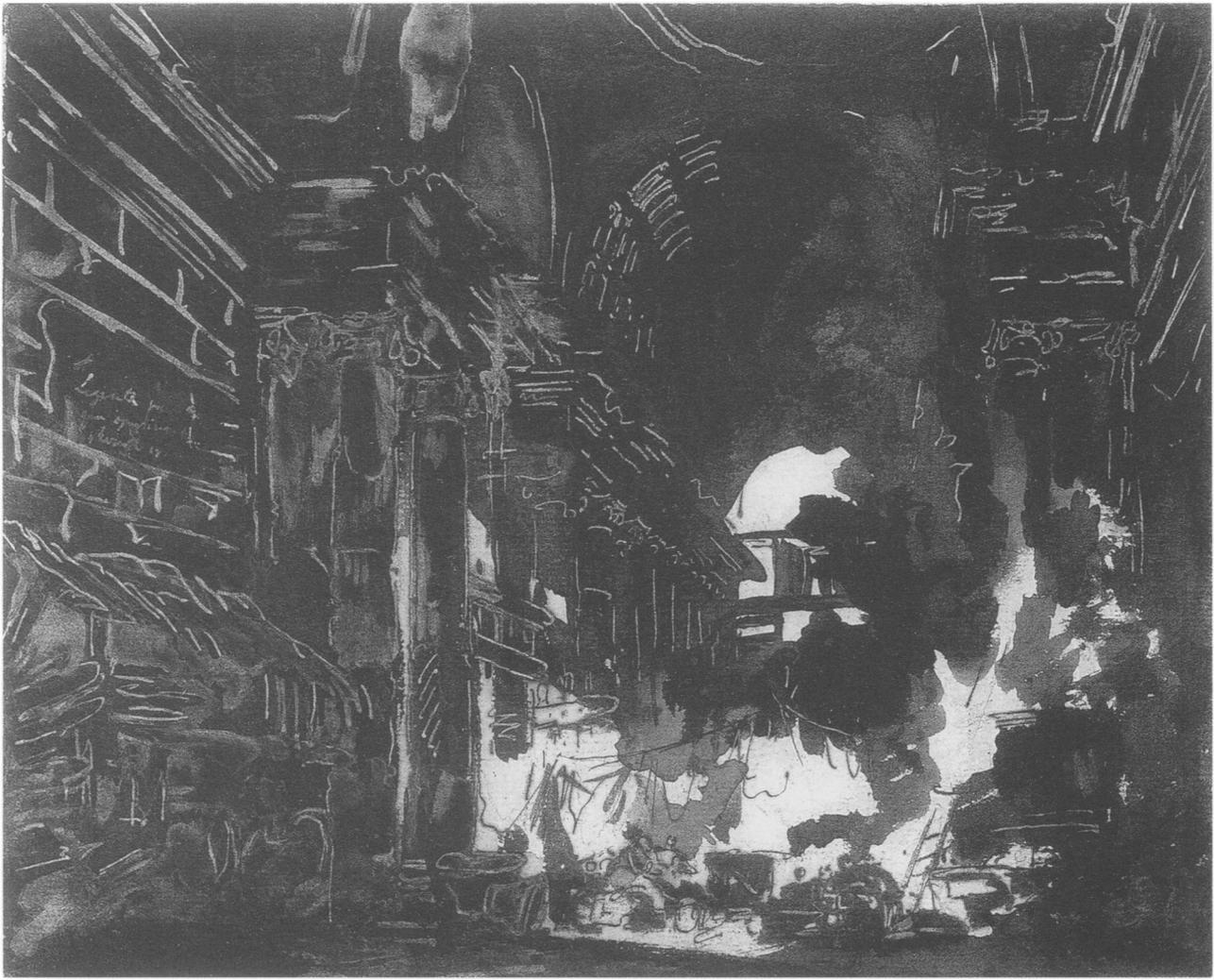


Figure 1. Hubert Robert, *Washerwomen in a Ruined Gallery*, ca. 1760. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, over a graphite underdrawing, heightened with white gouache; 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (22.1 x 27.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Harry G. Sperling, 1971 (1975.131.126).

with *Architectural Fragments* (Figure 6), remnants of antiquity, dwarfed by lush trees and overhanging foliage, take the form of stone blocks and broken pieces of cornices, useful for a weary peasant girl to lean on. Robert has here reworked a red-chalk counterproof, focusing on the sparkling effects of sunlit foliage attainable through a rapid application of fluid wash. Patterns of wet dots and dashes in a range of tones convey a convincing impression of leaves in sun and shadow.

This sheet came to the Museum with a number of other drawings by and attributed to Robert¹⁰ as part of the bequest of Alexandrine Sinsheimer in 1959. Its attribution was questioned, and as a result, the drawing was never published. Nevertheless, it is in a technique—ink and wash over a red-chalk counterproof—that can be associated with Robert's graphic oeuvre, especially in the early 1770s. The practice of making

counterproofs after chalk drawings, either to keep, exchange, or rework, was prevalent among students at the French Academy in Rome during the directorate of Charles-Joseph Natoire, who himself owned and reworked many counterproofs.¹¹ For Robert, whose method revolved around the recycling and reworking of favored motifs and compositional structures, counterproofing became an ingrained habit, and many counterproofs were worked up with pen and wash and watercolor into salable sheets.

As Anna Zablocki has pointed out, *Young Women in a Landscape* must have been the pendant of *La Fontaine antique* (private collection, Paris; Figure 7), which also depicts female staffage figures set in a landscape of overgrown foliage and crumbling ruins.¹² Not only are the two identical in dimensions and technique (*La Fontaine antique* is also executed over a counterproof), but their mounts are also the same, both bearing the

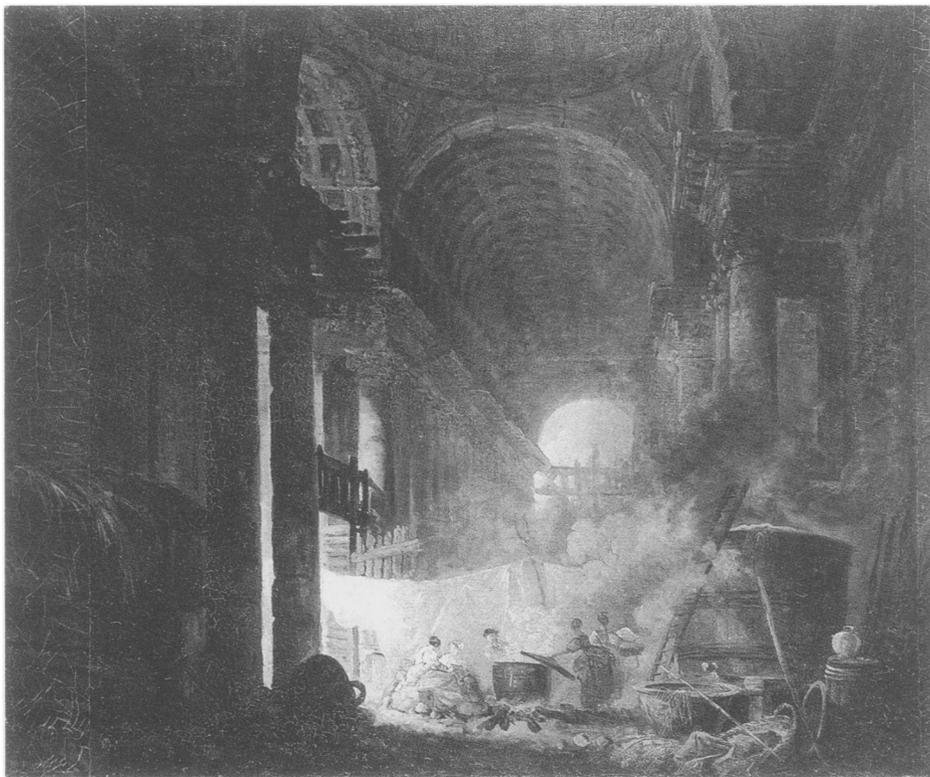


Figure 2. Hubert Robert, *Laundresses in the Ruins*. Oil on canvas, 28 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 34 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (72 x 88 cm). The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (photo: from J. J. Fragonard e H. Robert a Roma, exh. cat., Villa Medici, Rome [Rome, 1990], p. 87, color pl. vii)



Figure 3. Jean-Robert Ango, *Washerwomen in a Ruined Gallery*. Red chalk over a black-chalk underdrawing, 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (52 x 63.8 cm). Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, RF 14791 (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

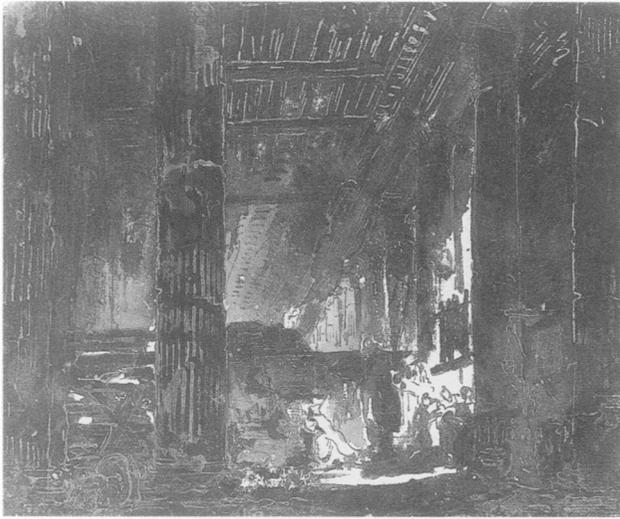


Figure 4. Hubert Robert, *A Hermit Praying in the Ruins of a Roman Temple*. Pen and brown ink, and white gouache over graphite, 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (23.2 x 27.2 cm). Private collection, New York (photo: courtesy Didier Aaron, Inc.)

blind stamp of François Renaud. Mounts on fourteen drawings by Robert in the Veyrenc collection at the Musée de Valence document the association of Robert and Renaud between the years 1769 and 1780.¹³ The Metropolitan's sheet presumably dates from 1773, the date inscribed on the pendant.

Numerous sheets dating to about the same time can be pointed to as stylistic parallels. Also over a counterproof, of the same dimensions, and in a mount stamped with Renaud's mark is the *Terrace of an Italian Villa* in the National Museum, Warsaw.¹⁴ A pair of Roman capriccios sold together in the Marius Paulme sale in 1929, *Le Temple antique* and *La Pyramide*, the former dated 1773, are likewise reworked counterproofs of the same format.¹⁵ It is interesting to note that the ex-Paulme drawings are completely Panini-esque in their compositions and staffage, while the New York–Paris pair, executed the same year, relies on a repertoire of figural types derived from François Boucher.¹⁶ Robert's predilection for modeling his figures closely on those of his peers is by now well known,¹⁷ although surely many examples remain still to be documented. Panini and Boucher were frequent sources for Robert, although one also finds borrowings from Jean-Baptiste Le Prince, Pierre Subleyras, and others.¹⁸

The latest in date among this trio of reattributions, *Farewell to the Prisoners* (Figure 8), was also the first to enter the Museum, coming in 1923 as part of the Anne D. Thomson bequest. Although illustrated in a 1943 Metropolitan Museum publication as by Robert,¹⁹ the drawing subsequently came to be doubted, and the sheet was excluded from the Museum's 1986 catalogue of French drawings. However, a well-researched exhibi-



Figure 5. Hubert Robert, *A Hermit Praying in the Ruins of a Roman Temple*. Oil on canvas, 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (59 x 75 cm). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 86.PA.605 (photo: The J. Paul Getty Museum)



Figure 6. Hubert Robert, *Young Women in a Landscape with Architectural Fragments*, 1773. Pen and brown ink with brush and brown, gray, and blue washes, over a red-chalk counterproof; 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (36.5 x 28.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Alexandrine Sinsheimer, 1958 (59.23.70)

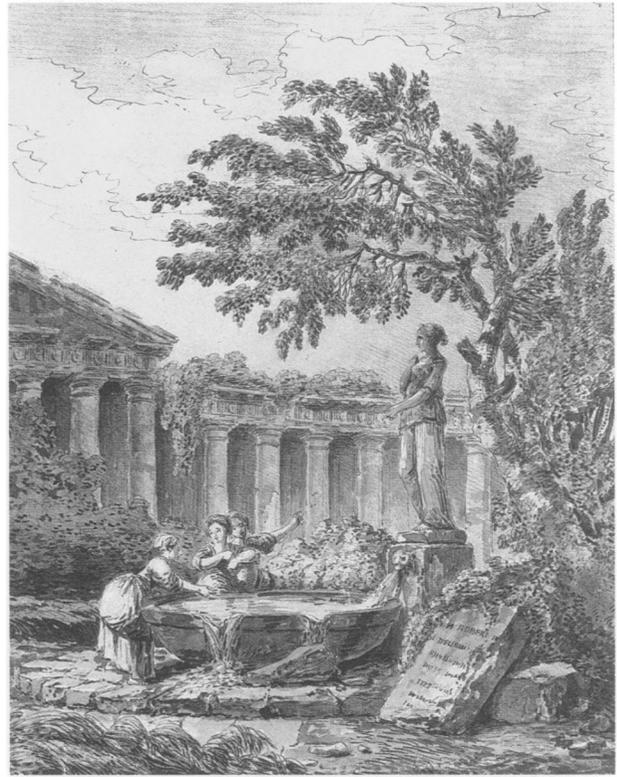


Figure 7. Hubert Robert, *La Fontaine antique*, 1773. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown and gray washes, heightened with white gouache; 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (36.3 x 28.2 cm). Private collection, Paris (photo: Galerie Cailleux, Paris)

tion mounted at the Musée de Valence in 1989, *Hubert Robert et la Révolution*, has since shed considerable light on Robert's life during the Revolution.²⁰ The catalogue reproduces two closely related versions of this composition, *La Visite aux prisonniers*, a red-chalk counterproof in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris (Figure 9),²¹ and a painting sold in Paris in 1976 with the title *Les Adieux des enfants de la famille de Noailles à leurs parents condamnés* (Figure 10).²² Moreover, the loose and rapidly executed black-chalk underdrawing along with the various pentimenti further argue for the autograph status of the Metropolitan's watercolor. The handling of the washes is consistent with Robert's technique, and the signature at lower left corresponds closely to other examples found on sheets dating to 1793–94.²³

Robert's many depictions of Revolutionary themes and events have long eluded precise interpretation. Undeniably Robert had strong ties to the aristocracy of the ancien régime, through the ties of his family to the duc de Choiseul, through his education, and through his patronage. On the other hand, he was an early recorder of the demolition of the Bastille and other Revolutionary subjects. For reasons that are not fully

understood today, he was imprisoned during the last year of the Terror. During this time he was surprisingly prolific, producing images that depicted many aspects of prison life. Catherine Boulot, writing in 1989 of Robert's images of the Terror, observed that his Revolutionary subjects, although numerous, are neutral in tone, while his images of fellow prisoners can often be characterized as sympathetic.²⁴

Such is the case with the Metropolitan's drawing, which shows an imprisoned or condemned man leaning over the railing of a high balcony, reaching futilely for his family below. Menaced by a guard, the agitated group of women and children huddle together. In a pathetic detail, the wife lifts an infant over her head; the baby reaches, arms plaintively apart, for its father. During his year in prison, Robert surely witnessed such scenes, and any sympathy he felt would only have been heightened by the uncertainty of his own plight, and by his longing for his own family.

From the inscription on the counterproof in the Musée Carnavalet, legible in reverse, we know that the building is intended to represent the prison at Saint-Lazare. The identification of the family depicted by



Figure 8. Hubert Robert, *Farewell to the Prisoners*, ca. 1793. Pen and dark gray ink, brush and gray wash with watercolor over black-chalk underdrawing, framing lines in pen and brown ink; 15 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (38.4 x 26.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Anne D. Thomson, 1923 (23.280.6). See also Colorplate 3

Robert as the Noailles family in the traditional title of the related canvas (Figure 10) cannot be verified. Former patrons, the maréchale and vicomtesse de Noailles were imprisoned at Saint-Lazare along with Robert; they were guillotined just two weeks before he was freed. From the research of Jean de Cayeux, we know not only that two of Robert's paintings were in their collection but also that he had designed the *jardin anglais* that surrounded the Hôtel de Noailles in Saint-Germain.²⁵

However, neither the Metropolitan's drawing nor the other two versions of the composition correspond to the known facts of the Noailles family, for in Robert's poignant tableau only the husband is in jail and the wife and child are barred from entering, forced to say their last farewells from a distance. Nor does the young age of the protagonists in Robert's var-

ious treatments of the subject correspond to the known ages of the Noailles couple in 1794. More likely, *Farewell to the Prisoners* is not a documentary view in any strict sense—the vantage point, after all, is from outside, not inside, the prison—but a generalized image of the horrors inflicted on families by the imprisonments and executions which had become commonplace during the years of the Terror.

Robert would take the subject one step further, as an allegory, musing on his longed-for freedom in similar compositions in which a young woman emerges from a prison and frees caged birds. A red-chalk drawing of such a scene in the Musée Atger, Montpellier, *La Délivrance des prisonniers* (Figure 11) is inscribed in Latin, CARCERES TANDEM APERTA [...] (In the end, the prisons will open), and H. ROBERT / IN SPEM / LIBERTAT [...] / DELINEAV [...] / IN ST. LA [...] / CARCER [...] /

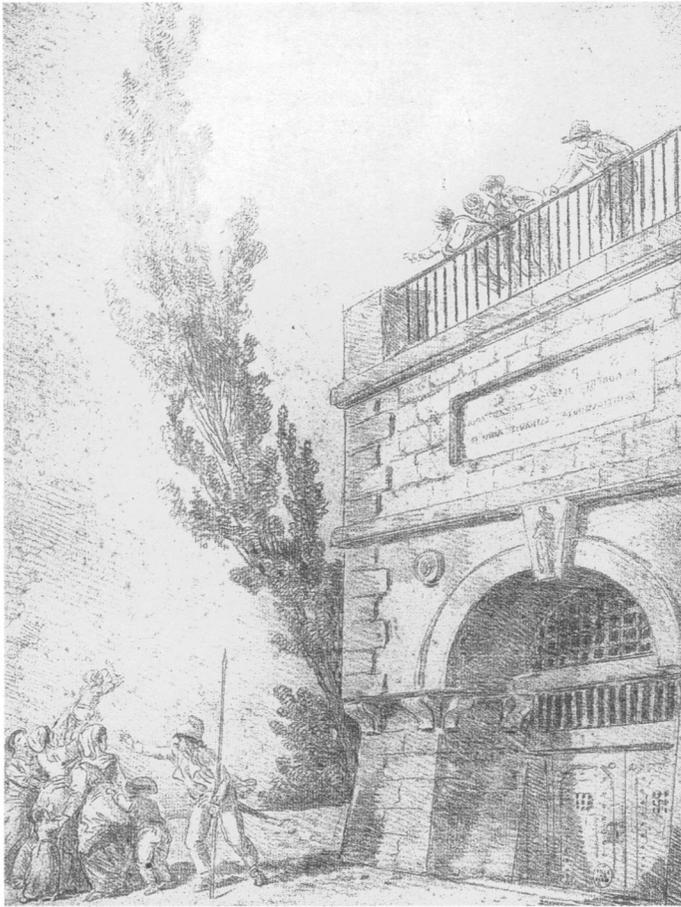


Figure 9. Hubert Robert, *La Visite aux prisonniers*, 1793 or 1794. Red-chalk counterproof, 14 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (36 x 27 cm). Musée Carnavalet, Paris, inv. D. 3535 (photo: Photothèque des Musées de la Ville, Paris)

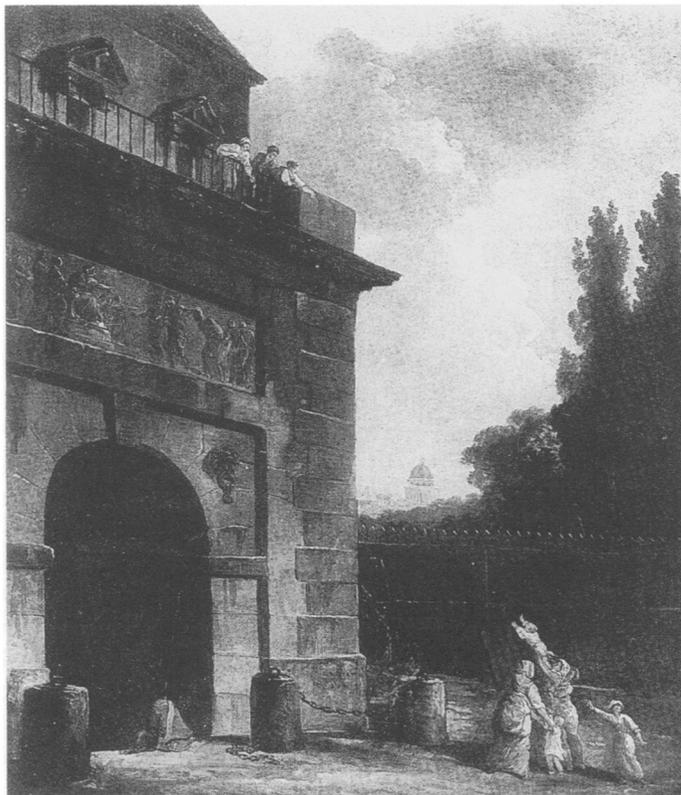


Figure 10. Hubert Robert, *Les Adieux des enfants de la famille de Noailles à leurs parents condamnés*. Oil on canvas, 23 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (60 x 50 cm). Present location unknown (photo: sale cat., Palais Galliera, Paris, April 6, 1976, lot 51)

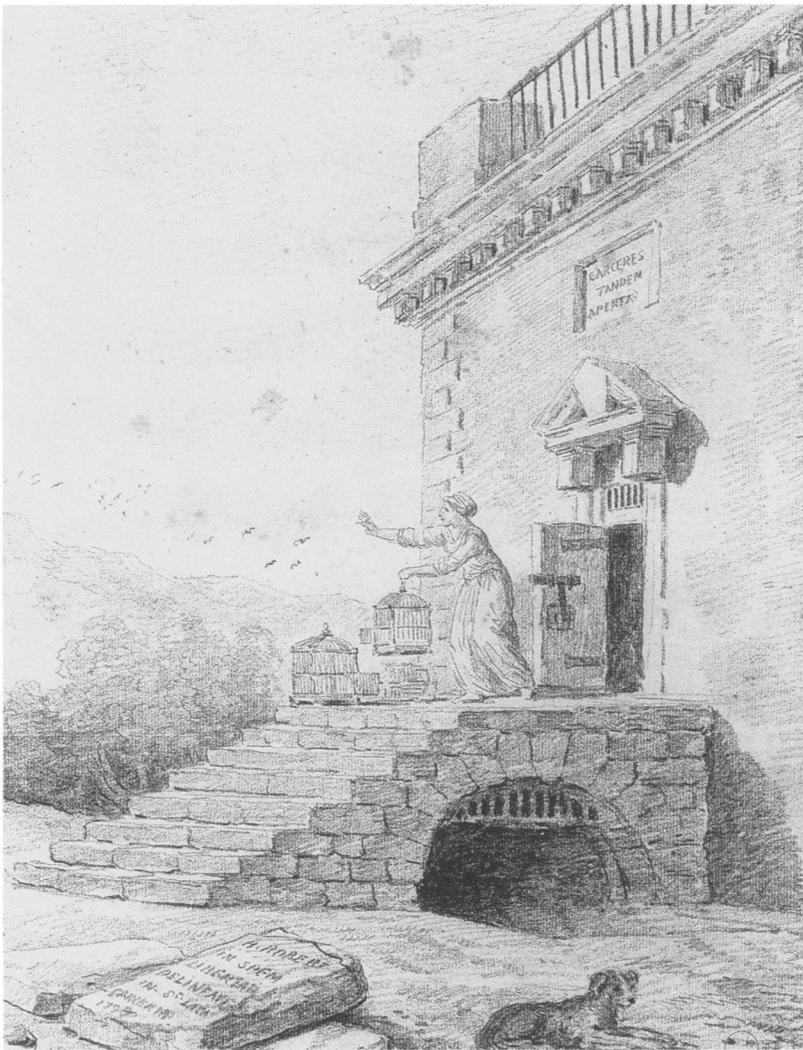


Figure 11. Hubert Robert, *La Délivrance des prisonniers*. Red chalk, 1 3/4 x 10 1/4 in. (34.2 x 25.9 cm). Musée Atger, Montpellier (photo: Musée Atger)

179[?] (Drawn by H. Robert in Saint-Lazare while awaiting his liberation).²⁶

Of the three remaining sheets that came to the Museum with attributions to Robert, only one can be linked to known compositions by his hand. *Architectural Capriccio with Roman Monuments and Washerwomen* (Figure 12) can be related to a group drawings and paintings that combine a number of Robert's favorite Roman monuments in an imaginary, but consistent, fashion.²⁷ The Pantheon, at left, is envisioned flooded by a river that divides foreground from background. Washerwomen work along the near bank in the shadow of one of the *Horse Tamers* of the Quirinal (once considered to be by Praxiteles) and near a column reminiscent of Trajan's Column. Even the barking dog at left is a recognizable motif of the artist.²⁸ In its compositional manner and presentation of antiquity, *Architectural Capriccio* bears the strong imprint of Panini, whose style Robert emulated while

in Rome and whose influence can be felt in Robert's production decades after his return to Paris.

Although the composition undoubtedly derives from Robert, the execution of the sheet is too inept to support the attribution. Nor does the inscription on the rock at the lower right, *Robert*, appear to be autograph. Overall, there is a weakness in perspective and a lack of confidence in the handling of the wash, especially in the water rising over the columns, that argue against Robert's authorship. Areas of crumbling masonry—in the cornice of the temple and the base of the horse-tamer statue—typically Robert's forte, are here unconvincingly rendered.²⁹ A poor-quality black-and-white illustration published in a 1924 auction catalogue³⁰ represents either a close version or the Metropolitan's drawing. Until this can be determined, it is difficult to say whether the Museum's drawing is a pastiche or a copy.

Finally, there are two drawings that came to the Museum with attributions to Robert which were rightly



Figure 12. Copy after Hubert Robert, *Architectural Capriccio with Roman Monuments and Washerwomen*. Pen and black and gray inks, with brush and brown wash and watercolor; 9¼ x 12¼ in. (23.3 x 31.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Alexandrine Sinsheimer, 1958 (59.23.69)

doubted by Jacob Bean. Both are reproduced here for the first time in the hope that their publication will give others the chance to suggest authors. The attribution to Robert of *Sacrifice in a Classical Building* (Figure 13) was based on a partially effaced inscription at the lower right corner. While the sheet shares in a general sense Robert's interest in Piranesi's aesthetic of architectural form, neither the handling of ink and wash nor the rendering of form and perspective suggests any convincing parallels in Robert's oeuvre. However, Robert was hardly the only young French artist working in Rome to fall under the sway of Piranesi. Among the names suggested by Anna Zablocki,³¹ Marie Joseph Peyre, an architecture student whose period as a pensionnaire overlapped with Robert's Roman period, may merit further research. A more elaborate drawing formerly with Galerie Cailleux in Paris depicts a similar scene of a sacrifice behind a screen of Corinthian columns in an invented classical interior.³²

Again closer to some of his contemporaries than to Robert himself is a large red-chalk landscape drawing that may, according to the inscription, depict the gardens of the Villa Pamphilj (Figure 14). French pensionnaires of the crown were encouraged under the directorate of Natoire to make sketching expeditions into the Roman Campagna. Due in part to the mastery achieved by Robert and Fragonard, red chalk became the favored medium for such exercises. However, this *Landscape with Umbrella Pines* lacks the dynamic sense of space, the crisp, expressive line,

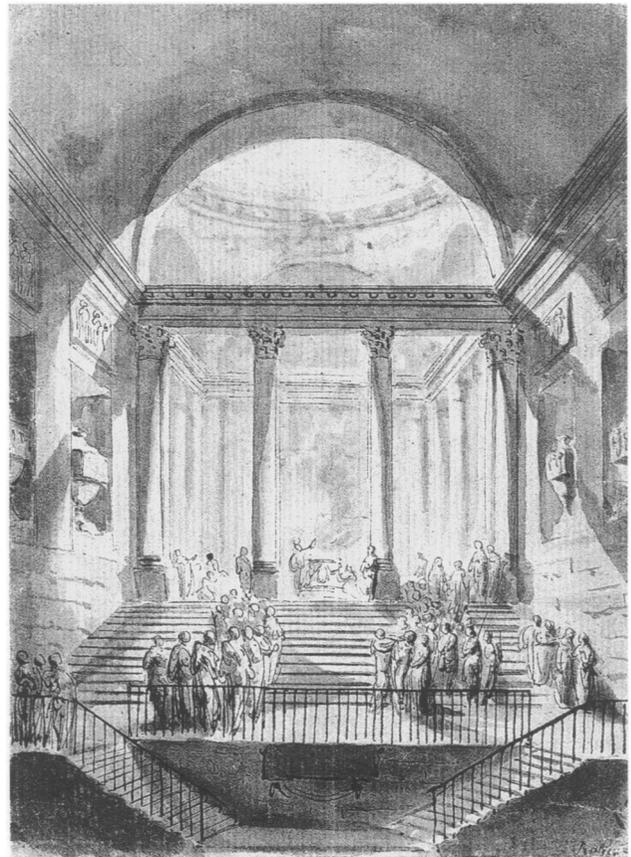


Figure 13. Anonymous, French, 18th-century, *Sacrifice in a Classical Building*. Pen and black ink, brush and brown wash; 5½ x 3¾ in. (13.8 x 9.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Rupert L. Joseph, 1959 (60.55.6)



Figure 14. Anonymous, French, 18th century, *Landscape with Umbrella Pines (Gardens of the Villa Pamphili)*. Red chalk, 16¾ x 12½ in. (42.6 x 32.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Harry G. Sperling, 1971 (1975.131.125)

and the range of mark making associated with Robert's manner at this time. The very cursory treatment of the foreground, the figure, and the animals suggests that the sheet is either unfinished or, perhaps, by an amateur associated with the French community in Rome.³³ If the sheet is by a pensionnaire of the king, the closest stylistic parallels would be to the work of Jacques François Amand (1730–1769) or Jean-Simon Berthélemy (1743–1811).

With the addition of *Washerwomen in a Ruined Gallery*, *Young Women in a Landscape with Architectural Fragments*, and *Farewell to the Prisoners*, the Metropolitan Museum's collection of sheets by Hubert Robert, including those in the Robert Lehman collection, grows to fourteen,

all given or bequeathed between 1923 and 1975.³⁴ The three new reattributions—a Roman wash sketch, a pastoral landscape from the 1770s, and a Revolutionary subject drawing—complement the Museum's previously published holdings. As a group they span much of the artist's career and show the range of his graphic technique, following his development as an artist from a young man inspired by the antiquarian fever of his times first to record the ruins and monuments of Rome and then to see their metaphoric and poetic possibilities. During the Revolutionary period these skills were put to expressive ends as Robert used both observation and imagination to refashion the Parisian urban landscape into a vehicle for themes of nostalgia, despair, and hope.

APPENDIX: REATTRIBUTION OF
SIX DRAWINGS BY OR ASSOCIATED
WITH HUBERT ROBERT IN THE
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

ARTIST: Hubert Robert

FORMER ATTRIBUTION: Attributed to Hubert Robert

TITLE: *Washerwomen in a Ruined Gallery*

MEDIUM: Graphite, pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, heightened with white gouache

DIMENSIONS: 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (22.1 x 27.6 cm)

SIGNATURE, INSCRIPTIONS, OR MARKS: Illegible inscription and partial date in white gouache at center left

PROVENANCE: A. Tardieu sale, March 13–14, 1865 (per inscription on back of drawing; the sale catalogue does not describe individual sheets, only lot 99, as “sous ce numéro seront vendus les dessins en porte-feuille”); Harry G. Sperling; bequeathed to the Museum in 1975

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Previously unpublished

PROPOSED DATE: ca. 1760

Bequest of Harry G. Sperling, 1971

1975.131.126

Figure 1

ARTIST: Hubert Robert

FORMER ATTRIBUTION: Hubert Robert?

TITLE: *Young Women in a Landscape with Architectural Fragments*

MEDIUM: Pen and brown ink with brush and brown, gray, and blue washes, over a red-chalk counterproof

DIMENSIONS: 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (36.5 x 28.8 cm)

SIGNATURE, INSCRIPTIONS, OR MARKS: Inscribed on mount in pen and brown ink at lower right: *Robert*; blind stamp: *FR* at lower right of drawing and again at lower right of mount (Lugt 1042 and suppl. 1042), mark of François Renaud

PROVENANCE: Alexandrine Sinsheimer; bequeathed to the Museum in 1959

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Previously unpublished

PROPOSED DATE: 1773

Bequest of Alexandrine Sinsheimer, 1958

59.23.70

Figure 6

ARTIST: Hubert Robert

PREVIOUS ATTRIBUTION: Hubert Robert?

TITLE: *Farewell to the Prisoners*

MEDIUM: Pen and dark gray ink, brush and gray wash with watercolor over black chalk underdrawing, framing lines in pen and brown ink

DIMENSIONS: 15 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (38.4 x 26.9 cm)

SIGNATURE, INSCRIPTIONS, OR MARKS: Signed in pen and dark gray ink at lower left: *H. Robert*

PROVENANCE: Bequeathed to the Museum by Anne D. Thomson in 1923

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. B. W[ehle], “The Bequest of Anne D. Thomson,” *MMAB* 19 (March 1924), p. 64; Brett Duvivier, “Intimate Aspects of Hubert Robert,” *International Studio* (February 1928), illus. p. 79; Michael Benisovich, “The French Drawings of the Metropolitan Museum,” *Burlington Magazine* 82, no. 480 (March 1943), p. 73; *European Drawings from the Collections of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, II: Flemish, Dutch, German, Spanish, French, and British Drawings* (New York, 1943), no. 34; Olivier Bernier, *The Eighteenth-Century Woman* (New York, 1981), illus. p. 93

PROPOSED DATE: ca. 1793

Bequest of Anne D. Thomson, 1923

23.280.6

Figure 8

ARTIST: Copy after Hubert Robert

FORMER ATTRIBUTION: Hubert Robert?

TITLE: *Architectural Capriccio with Roman Monuments and Washerwomen*

MEDIUM: Pen and black and gray inks, with brush and brown wash and watercolor

DIMENSIONS: 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (23.3 x 31.2 cm)

SIGNATURE, INSCRIPTIONS, OR MARKS: Inscribed in pen and brown ink on pediment of building: MA GRIPPA TE . . . , and in pen and brown ink on block at lower left: *Robert*

PROVENANCE: Possibly the sheet sold as part of the A. E[rnst] M[oreau] collection, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 31–April 1, 1924, lot 317; possibly the sheet sold as attributed to Hubert Robert, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 28–29, 1931, lot 86, not illus.; Alexandrine Sinsheimer; bequeathed to the Museum in 1959

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Possibly the sheet illustrated in Hubert Burda, *Die Ruinen in den Bildern Hubert Roberts* (Munich, 1967), p. 181, fig. 129

Bequest of Alexandrine Sinsheimer, 1958

59.23.69

Figure 12

ARTIST: Anonymous, French, eighteenth century

PREVIOUS ATTRIBUTION: Attributed to Hubert Robert

TITLE: *Sacrifice in a Classical Building*

MEDIUM: Pen and black ink, brush and brown wash

DIMENSIONS: 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (13.8 x 9.7 cm)

SIGNATURE, INSCRIPTIONS, OR MARKS: Inscribed

in pen and brown ink at lower right: Rober[. . .]
PROVENANCE: Rupert L. Joseph; bequeathed to the
Museum in 1959

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Previously unpublished
Bequest of Rupert L. Joseph, 1959
60.55.6

Figure 13

ARTIST: Anonymous, French, eighteenth century
PREVIOUS ATTRIBUTION: Attributed to Hubert
Robert

TITLE: *Landscape with Umbrella Pines (Gardens of the
Villa Pamphilj)*

MEDIUM: Red chalk

DIMENSIONS: 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 12 $\frac{15}{16}$ in. (42.6 x 32.9 cm)

SIGNATURE, INSCRIPTIONS, OR MARKS: Inscribed
in black chalk at lower left: *a panfili*

PROVENANCE: Harry G. Sperling; bequeathed to the
Museum in 1971

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Previously unpublished
Bequest of Harry G. Sperling, 1971

1975.131.125

Figure 14

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the following people for their advice and assistance: Joseph Baillio, Victor Carlson, Christine Giviskos, Alastair Laing, Alan Salz, and Marjorie Shelley. I would also like to thank Anna Zablocki, whose research in the summer of 1999 provided the starting point for this article.

NOTES

1. Jacob Bean with the assistance of Lawrence Turčič, *15th–18th Century French Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1986).
2. A. Tardieu collection sale, Paris, March 13–14, 1865, lot 99 (?).
3. Victor Carlson, who examined the drawing on May 4, 2000, concurred with Jacob Bean and expressed reservations on the attribution to Robert, seeing the graphic manner as anomalous for his Roman period.
4. Inna S. Nemilova, *The Hermitage Catalogue of Western European Painting*, vol. 10, *French Painting, Eighteenth Century* (Moscow and Florence, 1986), p. 281, no. 204.
5. J. H. Fragonard e H. Robert a Roma, exh. cat., Villa Medici, Rome (Rome, 1990), p. 106, no. 55a.
6. First as “attributed to Hubert Robert” at auction at Christie’s, New York, January 10, 1990, lot 153, then simply as Robert with Didier Aaron Gallery later in 1990.
7. *French Paintings and Drawings, 1700–1865*, exh. cat., Didier Aaron, Paris, London, and New York (Paris and New York, 1990), no. 6.
8. Victor Carlson, “A Roman Masterpiece by Hubert Robert: A Hermit Praying in the Ruins of a Roman Temple,” *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987), pp. 120–21.
9. When the sheet was examined through an infrared camera by Marjorie Shelley on October 22, 1999, an elaborate and accomplished graphite underdrawing was revealed that is more consistent with Robert’s typical graphic manner than the dark wash and gouache surface.
Another sheet in a similar technique depicting a dark interior is illustrated in *Hubert Robert et Saint-Petersbourg, 1733–1808: Les Commandes de la famille Impériale et des princes russes entre 1773 et 1802*, exh. cat., Musée de Valence (Paris, 1999), pp. 136–37, no. 22. I would like to thank Alan Salz for bringing this drawing to my attention.
10. *The Nymphaeum of the Villa di Papa Giulio, Rome* (59.23.71) and *Figures in a Colonnade* (59.23.68) are catalogued in Bean and Turčič, *15th–18th Century French Drawings*, nos. 263 and 267. *Architectural Capriccio with Roman Monuments and Washerwomen* (59.23.69) is discussed below.
11. See Perrin Stein, “Copies and Retouched Drawings by Charles-Joseph Natoire,” *Master Drawings* 38, no. 2 (2000), pp. 167–86.
12. Signed and dated in pen on the stone tablet at lower right: H. ROBERT DELINEA [VIT] / / . . . / / 1773. The drawing was with Galerie Cailleux, Paris, in 1986. See *Artistes en voyage au XVIIIe siècle*, exh. cat., Galerie Cailleux, Paris and Geneva (Paris, 1986), no. 53.
13. Jean de Cayeux, *Les Hubert Robert de la Collection Veyrenc au Musée de Valence* (Valence, 1985), p. 227.
14. *100 of the Finest Drawings from Polish Collections*, exh. cat., Heim Gallery, London and elsewhere (London, 1980), no. 78, pl. 43.
15. Marius Paulme sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 14, 1929, lots 214, 215, pls. 144, 145. *La Pyramide* was sold at Sotheby’s, New York, January 14, 1987, lot 185.
16. In the case of the Metropolitan’s drawing, both of the women in the foreground rely on Boucher prototypes. The standing figure is reminiscent of the girl feeding chickens in Boucher’s painting *Le Repas de la basse-coeur* (Alexandre Ananoff with the collaboration of Daniel Wildenstein, *François Boucher* [Lausanne and Paris, 1976], vol. 2, p. 296, no. 672), although in reverse (as one would expect with the New York drawing made over a counterproof, which reverses the orientation of the original). Alastair Laing points out (letter, November 13, 1999) that the pose also appears in a print, *Jeanette*, by Jean-Henri Eberts after a lost drawing by Boucher (Pierrette Jean-Richard, *L’Oeuvre gravé de François Boucher dans la Collection Edmond Rothschild* [Paris, 1978], pp. 243–44, no. 950).
17. See Jean Cailleux, “Robert a pris modèle sur Boucher,” *Connnaissance des Arts* (October 1959), pp. 100–106; and Joseph Baillio, “Hubert Robert’s Decorations for the Château de Bagatelle,” *MMJ* 27 (1992), pp. 149–82.
18. For borrowings from *Le Prince*, Subleyras, and Hilaire, see *Hubert Robert et Saint-Petersbourg*, pp. 116–17, no. 12, pp. 140–41, no. 24, and pp. 160–61, no. 35, respectively.
19. *European Drawings from the Collections of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, II: Flemish, Dutch, German, Spanish, French, and British Drawings* (New York, 1943), no. 34.
20. Catherine Boulot, Jean de Cayeux, and Hélène Moulin, *Hubert Robert et la Révolution*, exh. cat., Musée de Valence (Valence, 1989).

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 110–11, no. 33 (dated ANNO II).
22. *Ibid.*, p. 110 (under no. 33; as present location unknown; sold Palais Galliera, Paris, April 6, 1976, lot 51).
23. See for example the signature on *Hubert Robert dans sa cellule à Sainte-Pélagie*, pen and wash with watercolor, 22.7 x 32.7 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, illustrated in *Hubert Robert et la Révolution*, p. 81, no. 20.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 19–27.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15, 110; and Jean de Cayeux with the collaboration of Catherine Boulot, *Hubert Robert* (Paris, 1989), pp. 138–40.
26. Christiane and Pierre Nicq, *Petits et grands maîtres du Musée Atger*, vol. 1, *Cent dessins français des 17ème et 18ème siècles* (Montpellier, 1996), pp. 88–89, no. 38.
27. An early example would be the *Architectural Capriccio with the Pantheon*, probably dating to 1758, in the State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg. A later and sketchier treatment of the subject, in which the Colosseum and the Arch of Constantine have been added, is in the Musée du Berry, Bourges. A variant in a Paris private collection has the middle ground flooded up to the base of the pillars of the Pantheon and washerwomen at work. See *J. H. Fragonard e H. Robert a Roma*, p. 57, no. 5, and pp. 210–11, nos. 148 and 148a.
28. See, for example, *Figures among Ruins*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (67.12), in Bean and Turčić, *15th–18th Century French Drawings*, pp. 236–37, no. 269.
29. Victor Carlson (conversation, May 4, 2000) raises the alternate possibility that the ink drawing may be by Robert and the washes by another (clumsier) hand.
30. Hubert Burda, *Die Ruine in den Bildern Hubert Roberts* (Munich, 1967), p. 95, fig. 129. His photograph was apparently taken from the sale catalogue of the A. E[rnst] M[oreau] collection, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 31–April 1, 1924, lot 317, *L'Inondation*, watercolor, 22 x 30 cm. Joseph Baillio has pointed out (letter, December 16, 1999) that a drawing very close in dimensions is described as attributed to Robert in the catalogue of a sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 28–29, 1931, lot 86, not illus.
31. Conversation, August 1999.
32. *Le Rouge et le noir: Cent dessins français de 1700 à 1850*, exh. cat., Galerie Cailleux, Paris (Paris, 1991), no. 51.
33. The sheet's watermark, a coat of arms with a star over three hills and the initials *CB* below, while not identified, is close to several marks found on Roman paper. See Edward Heaward, *Watermarks, Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, vol. 1 of *Monumenta chartae papyraceae historium illustrantia* (Hilversum, 1950), nos. 791–99.
34. To the previous publications on drawings by Robert in the Metropolitan can be added the following notes:
- The Museum's 1986 catalogue of French drawings (as in note 1) omitted the early provenance for *Figures in a Roman Arcade* (1972.118.228) and *Figures in One of Michelangelo's Niches on the Apse of St. Peter's, Rome* (1972.118.229), which passed from the artist's studio to the collection of his widow who, at her death in 1821, left them to her niece. They were then purchased by G. W. Riggs in 1860, passed to his heirs after his death in 1888; Mlle de L*** [Levaque, per Isarlo]; her collection sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, June 22, 1933, lots 18 (1972.118.229) and 19 (1972.118.228). My thanks to Alan Salz for pointing this out and lending me his copy of the 1933 sale catalogue.
- The drawing *Three Young Girls by Ruins* in the Robert Lehman Collection (1975.1.696), catalogued in 1999 as "Imitator of Hubert Robert," is more properly a copy after Robert. A painting, *Women Fishing among Ancient Ruins*, allows us to surmise that there must have been a red-chalk drawing of the composition whose counterproof provided the model for the Lehman copyist. By omitting the fishing paraphernalia, the copyist rendered the poses of the women illegible. The painting is illustrated in *Hubert Robert, The Pleasure of Ruins*, exh. cat., Wildenstein, New York (New York, 1988), p. 59, where it is dated ca. 1790.
- Last, although the possibility was tentatively raised in the entry for *View of the Campidoglio with the Statue of Marcus Aurelius* (1975.1.695), it should be stated more clearly that while it takes as its starting point a counterproof after an early red-chalk drawing by Robert, the ink and watercolor additions are by another hand. The last two drawings mentioned are most recently published in Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann et al., *The Robert Lehman Collection, VII: Fifteenth- to Eighteenth-Century European Drawings* (New York, 1999), pp. 363–64, no. 132, and pp. 365–66, no. 133 (entries by Mary Tavener Holmes and Donald Posner).

“Portraits by Ingres: Image of an Epoch”: Reflections, Technical Observations, Addenda, and Corrigenda

GARY TINTEROW, CHARLOTTE HALE, and ERIC BERTIN

Reflections on the Exhibition

THE EXHIBITION “Portraits by Ingres,” held in London, Washington, and New York during 1999, assembled more portraits by the master than had been seen together since the memorial exhibition held at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris in 1867. It represented an unparalleled opportunity to compare his work on paper and on canvas from the beginning of his career to the end, and it included entire categories of portraits, such as the pencil drawings of English tourists made in Rome after 1814, that were virtually unknown in 1867 and often neglected in subsequent exhibitions in France. Two long-lost portraits, of Madame de La Rue and of Queen Caroline Murat, were exhibited with works by Ingres for the first time this century.¹ Thus Ingres’s output as a portraitist—three-quarters of his painted portraits and nearly a quarter of his portrait drawings—was displayed as never before.

Inevitably, the exhibition elicited questions of attribution, chronology, and collaboration. A variety of responses were published in reviews, and others were gathered by the exhibition’s curators—Philip Conisbee, Christopher Riopelle, and myself—during private visits and in public colloquia; it seemed appropriate to record some of those observations as soon as possible. Additional research by Charlotte Hale, a conservator in the Metropolitan’s Department of Paintings Conservation, and Eric Bertin, an independent scholar working in Paris, is published here as well, in order to complement, correct, or amplify the findings in the exhibition catalogue.

The dominant impression that emerged from the first rooms of the exhibition was created by the extraordinary variety of styles practiced by Ingres before his departure for Rome in 1806. The miniature portrait roundels (cat. nos. 13–18), executed in Toulouse in 1796 and 1797, remain marvels of observation, but

their similarity to the work of Ingres’s father was noted, and the question of collaboration was raised. It had been presumed by most scholars that Ingres *fils* was the author of those drawings signed *Ingres fils*, but there was speculation that Ingres *père* may have been the author of some of those simply signed *Ingres*. Of the early drawings, the enigmatic portrait of the Swiss artist Barbara Bansi (cat. no. 20; Figure 1) provoked the greatest controversy. Hélène Toussaint’s rejection of the attribution was once again bruited, and the identity of the sitter and the date of the drawing were continually questioned.² Could a woman observing the first parachute jump, in Paris, on October 22, 1797, wrap herself in a shawl that became fashionable only with the return of French soldiers who had participated in the campaign of Egypt in 1798–99? And why a Roman landscape? It must be admitted that the drawing is an elaborate conceit, with obscure references to disparate times and places significant to the sitter or the artist. But regardless of the specific date of the sheet, the exhibition curators remain convinced of the attribution to Ingres. Telling details—from the mastery of line and shade to the delicate, relieflike modeling and the obsessive interest in the folds of the shawl and the muslin dress—all point to the master. There are as well many formal similarities to the portrait of Madame de La Rue (see cat. no. 1A in Addenda and Corrigenda to the Catalogue) whom Barbara Bansi knew.³ And if the portrait were not by Ingres, then the artist himself would surely have denounced it when it was exhibited in Paris in 1862, especially since it was the butt of cruel comments in the press.⁴ *Barbara Bansi* and *Pierre-François Bernier* (cat. no. 1) point to Ingres’s interest in the stylizations of the so-called *Primitifs*, young students of David who worked in a style that was the painterly equivalent of the architectural order *Doric sans base*. Yet the radical stylizations of *Madame de La Rue* and *La Belle Zélie* (cat. no. 8) also prepared the ground for the extraordinary portrait of Madame Rivière (cat. no. 9). An underlying thread woven through Ingres’s early por-

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Figure 1. *Barbara Bansi*, ca. 1797. Black chalk, stumped, with white highlights, 21¼ x 15⅞ in. (55.4 x 40.5 cm), framed. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Arts Graphiques (photo: Michèle Bellot)

traits can thus be detected amid the dizzying diversity of his work before 1806. Nevertheless, a great deal remains to be discovered regarding the chronology of his work in Paris and his relations with contemporaries.

By contrast, the dominant impression given by the galleries devoted to Ingres's work in Italy (1806–24) was consistency. Leaving behind the portraits of friends and family, executed in a variety of media and formats, as well as the two state portraits of Napoleon (cat. nos. 2, 10), Ingres painted portraits in Rome that exhibited a marked similarity in their clarity of conception, high finish, and amazing technical perfection. Even the size of the canvases and scale of the portraits—mostly half-length—were surprisingly similar. One point that became evident in the exhibition was the relationship between the finish of a picture and the scope of the commission. Portraits intended as gifts, such as *Jean-Baptiste Desdéban*, *Paul Lemoyne*, and the portrait of his new bride, *Madeleine Chapelle* (cat. nos. 28, 29, 36), were left as unfinished *ébauches*, whereas important commissions, such as *Marcotte*, *Tournon*, *Norvins*, and *Senonnes* (cat. nos. 26, 32, 33, 35), were brought to the Holbein-like finish for which Ingres was known. The

portrait of Granet (cat. no. 25) falls somewhere between these two extremes. While the head is carefully finished, the carrick and hand are only summarily painted. Indeed, the contrast between the painting of his costume and that of commissions like *Marcotte* and *Moltedo* (cat. no. 27) is so pronounced that it seemed pertinent to question whether Ingres had painted anything more than Granet's head. Examinations conducted by Charlotte Hale indicated the contrary. Beneath Granet's figure is an extensive pencil drawing detailing the cloak, its buttons, and even the folds and shadows, which are indicated with broad hatching. The figure drawing matches that of the landscape, and it is clear that the portrait was conceived largely as it now appears and painted by only one hand—that of Ingres. Hale publishes her conclusions below, but it is relevant to remark here that her findings could be interpreted to suggest that the portrait of Granet was executed early in Ingres's Roman sojourn rather than in 1809, as Ingres himself remembered late in life.⁵ Most important, she discovered that the sky behind Granet had been bright blue, bringing it into line with the portraits of *Madame de La Rue*, *Mademoiselle Rivière* (fig. 58 in the catalogue), *Madame Aymon*, and *Mortariou* (fig. 52), all painted in Paris before Ingres's departure for Rome. Only after the portrait of Granet was largely completed did Ingres repaint the sky with dark gray storm clouds, anticipating the romantic landscapes visible in the portraits of *Moltedo*, *Gouriev* (cat. no. 86), and *Cordier* (Musée du Louvre, Paris). These all conform to the dictum of the landscape theorist Valenciennes, who wrote in 1799 that “noon is the most convenient hour to represent the terrible spectacle of a storm or hurricane.”⁶

Once again, the extent of Ingres's activities as a landscapist was questioned. After *Hélène Toussaint*'s 1985 exhibition of Ingres's portraits in the French national collections, many writers, including *Georges Vigne*, curator of the Musée Ingres in Montauban, have accepted her suggestion that all the landscapes visible in Ingres's portraits were painted by other artists. She attributes the landscapes in the male portraits cited above to Granet.⁷ *Vigne* and others have since found watercolors by Granet at the Musée Ingres and at the Musée Granet that resemble Ingres's landscapes.⁸ In his review of the exhibition, *Jon Whiteley* suggests that Ingres and Granet may have sketched outdoors together, since the point of view in Ingres's painted landscapes is generally slightly different from that in Granet's sketches.⁹ This is possible, but unlikely, since no corresponding sketches by Ingres have been found at the Musée Ingres, whereas sketches by Granet remain among Ingres's papers. Hale's examinations of the paintings on view in New York prove to our satis-

faction that the landscapes and figures were painted by the same hand. It would appear that Ingres did borrow sketches for some of his landscape motifs from Granet, but that he always painted the final landscapes himself. Comparison with works by Granet in the Metropolitan's collection suggests that Granet's landscape style was more delicate and nuanced than was Ingres's. In particular, the view of Rome visible in Ingres's portrait of Granet is closer in conception to Poussin's manner of blocking in distant buildings than to Granet's carefully articulated painting style.

Ingres must have used a similar method in constructing the portrait drawings set in landscapes. The motifs for these landscapes may be found in albums owned by Ingres now at the Musée Ingres. These albums have recently been assigned to other artists, such as François Mazois (by Hélène Toussaint) or the anonymous Master of the Little Dots (by Georges Vigne).¹⁰ Regardless of who made the albums, close examination of the drawings in the exhibition indicated that Ingres drew the backgrounds himself: they are completely integrated into the drawing process, with lines for the figures both below and above the lines for the landscapes. The quality of the drawing of the backgrounds varies considerably, and, as with the painted portraits, this may reflect the scope of the commission. In some instances Ingres used rulers, and in others the landscapes were drawn freehand. An interesting case in point is the view of the Tiber in the background of the portrait of Charles-François Mallet (cat. no. 42). At the Musée Ingres there is a sheet that shows the outline of the figure and a sketch for the landscape. That sketch could well be by Mallet, as Vigne and others have suggested; Mallet was an engineer. But it then seems likely that Ingres would have copied Mallet's sketch in making the portrait drawing's landscape, which was made with a straightedge. If Ingres intended to pass the sheet to Mallet for completion, he would not have needed Mallet's preliminary sketch, nor would he have retained the sketch among his own papers. At the Ingres symposium at the Metropolitan Museum, held in October 1999, David Hockney presented his hypothesis that after Ingres moved to Rome he used a camera lucida as an optical aid in making many of his portrait drawings. His theory, which has merit, has not yet been widely embraced, but it is certain that the Master of the Little Dots made little dots in his album of landscape sketches because he was using a camera lucida. Whether that master and Ingres are one and the same remains to be conclusively demonstrated, but it is not impossible.¹¹

The works in the exhibition showed that after he quit Rome in 1820, Ingres's ambitions soared. The portraits he executed in Florence of Monsieur and Madame Leblanc (cat. nos. 88, 89) are larger than any

previous portraits, save the two portraits of Bonaparte, and as the only pair of painted portraits in his oeuvre, they are necessarily elaborate in conception. Eschewing the meticulous finish and miniature-like scale of the portrait of Queen Caroline Murat (cat. no. 34), one of the last portraits completed in Rome, Ingres made the portraits of the Leblancs grand and noble, while introducing an almost musical effect of call and response from one portrait to the other: his chain mirroring hers, his rug answering her shawl, and so forth. For perhaps the first time, Ingres prepared highly finished full-size drawings of portions of the portraits, which he then transferred to the canvas through tracing or squaring. Examination of the portraits executed in Rome shows that although Ingres worked out his compositions on paper, he allowed himself a certain amount of improvisation on the canvas. The heads were often freely drawn on the dense, smooth ground with either chalk or pencil, and the costumes were sketched in with bold, freely stroked paint.

In Florence Ingres seems to have altered his method to rely on more carefully executed advance preparation. This would serve him in good stead. After he returned to Paris in 1824, Ingres opened his atelier to students and began to rely on their assistance in making his important works. The portrait of Louis-François Bertin (cat. no. 99) bears the traces of a grid that was used (probably by an assistant) to transfer the image from a drawing onto the canvas. Later, Ingres relied on tracings of his finished portraits in order to make copies, work that was generally entrusted to his collaborators. Infrared reflectography reveals that the portrait of the duc d'Orléans now in Versailles (cat. no. 122) has beneath the painted surface a drawing of the duke's head that was traced from the prime version of the portrait (cat. no. 121). In a similar fashion, Ingres's collaborator Henri Lehmann used a tracing of the allegorical portrait of the composer Luigi Cherubini (Musée du Louvre, Paris) to make a variant of the portrait that was given to Cherubini (cat. no. 119).¹² And examinations at the Metropolitan confirm that the late self-portraits in Florence and Antwerp (cat. nos. 148, 149) were created, almost certainly by assistants, from a tracing of the autograph self-portrait now at the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge.

In contrast, the extraordinary late portraits of women in the exhibition bear all the evidence of having been labors of love. While assistants were no doubt called upon for architectural elements and furnishings, the figures and, above all, the sumptuous costumes of the vicomtesse d'Haussonville, the baronne de Rothschild, Madame Moitessier, and the princesse de Broglie (cat. nos. 125, 132, 133, 134, 145) were finished by Ingres. A matter of great speculation—the evolution of the color



Figure 2. *Baronne James de Rothschild, née Betty von Rothschild*, 1848. Oil on canvas, 55 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 39 $\frac{3}{4}$ (141.9 x 101 cm). Private collection (photo: courtesy of collector)

of the baronne de Rothschild’s spectacular pink ball gown—can now be addressed with greater precision (Figure 2). Surface examination of the painting while it was on view in London indicated that the blue highlights visible in the silk lace (*blondes de couleur*) and throughout the satin were applied on top of the pink paint. Thus they were included to animate the vibrancy of the silk and to set off the contrasting bands of lace and gauze. However, Eric Bertin has recently discovered a tantalizing letter in which Ingres asks the baroness to send him her “beautiful blue dress” so that he can finish the accessories in the portrait. The letter is dated Monday, July 6. July 6 fell on a Monday in 1846. This would seem to confirm the hypothesis tentatively expressed in our catalogue: that Ingres conceived the portrait with the baronne wearing a blue dress, the dress visible in the early preparatory drawings (figs. 249–51), but that he transformed it in spring 1847 to include the pink dress visible in the later drawings (figs. 253–56) and in the final portrait. Two other pieces of evidence corroborate this chronology: the anonymous report in a Paris fashion magazine of March 1847 of the baronne

de Rothschild wearing a rose dress quite similar to the one in the painting;¹³ and a letter of June 1847 in which Ingres states that he has “barely finished Mme de Rothschild, begun again better.”¹⁴ The recently discovered letter also underscores that Ingres needed to have the stuff before him in order to paint and that he was unlikely to freely invent a new dress to suit a fancy, as a critic named Louis Geofroy asserted in his day.¹⁵

However, the same critic wrote in an extensive article that the “portrait of Mme de Rothschild is as good as that of M. Bertin.” There he is correct. The exhibition showed that with the majority of his portraits, Ingres performed at the height of his powers. “That says it all,” wrote Geofroy. “Same bold stroke, same amplitude, same power.” “Portraits by Ingres: Image of an Epoch” clearly demonstrated that Ingres’s portraits rival those of any painter in the history of Western painting.

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NOTES

1. The portrait of Madame de La Rue was included in the exhibition in Paris in 1867; the portrait of Queen Caroline Murat has never before been included in an exhibition devoted to works by Ingres. The loan of *Madame de La Rue* was granted for the exhibition in New York after the catalogue had gone to press. Given the importance of this rediscovered early masterpiece, we asked Philip Conisbee to write a catalogue entry, included in the Addenda and Corrigenda to the Catalogue, cat. no. 1A, pp. 208–9.
2. See Jon Whiteley, “Ingres,” *Burlington Magazine* (May 1999), pp. 304–6, and James Fenton, “The Zincsmith of Genius,” *New York Review of Books* (May 20, 1999), pp. 21–28. In his attentive and intelligent review of the exhibition as it appeared in London, Jon Whiteley took the exhibition organizers to task for minimizing Hélène Toussaint’s views on Ingres, which he variously characterized as “free-thinking,” “constructive,” “extreme,” and “radical.” We curators do not disagree with Whiteley’s characterizations, and note that in his review he defeated each of Toussaint’s most important (and unconvincing) hypotheses.
3. Barbara Bansi remembered Madame de La Rue as “[une] dame riche et protectrice des arts [qui] a contribué à faire avancer dans leurs études deux artistes pauvres en 1800 et devenus riches et célèbres. L’un est M. Ingres de Paris et l’autre Bartolini de Florence,” Zurich 1958b, p. 81 (full citations for this and other abbreviated references throughout the three parts of this article are given in *Portraits by Ingres: Image of an Epoch*, pp. 557–85); cited by Philip Conisbee in his entry for the portrait of Madame de La Rue, cat. no. 1A in Addenda and Corrigenda.
4. See Goncourt 1956–58 and Silvestre 1862. Further support for the attribution to Ingres may be found in the fact that Ingres listed a portrait of Barbara Bansi in the manuscript catalogue of his own work begun in 1847. A date prior to Bansi’s departure from

- Paris for Rome in 1801 is supported by the watermark, which, as Jon Whiteley noticed, is dated 1791.
5. There are two unpublished letters from Ingres to Honoré Gilbert, director of the Musée Granet in Aix, that date from 1850. In them Ingres refers to the portrait of Granet “that I painted of him in Rome about 1809” (“que j’ai peint d’après lui a [*sic*] Rome vers 1809”). He asked Gilbert to have someone make a tracing of the figure for him on oiled tracing paper, probably the drawing now at the Musée Ingres, Montauban (fig. 111, in *Portraits by Ingres*). In an interesting postscript, he indicates that he would prefer a tracing made with a Diagraphé (a mechanical copying tool) to a drawing on tracing paper. I thank Sylvie Menant, conservateur adjoint at the Musée Granet, for communicating those letters to me.
 6. Pierre Henri Valenciennes, *Eléments de perspective pratique à l’usage des artistes, suivis de réflexions et conseils à un élève sur la peinture et particulièrement sur le genre de paysage* (Paris, 1799), p. 435.
 7. Eric Bertin has found that the earliest reference to Granet’s possible collaboration on the landscape in the portrait of Cordier (Musée du Louvre, Paris) was made in 1874. See Bertin, under cat. no. 25, below.
 8. See Georges Vigne’s helpful discussion of the question in the essay he contributed to *Portraits by Ingres*, p. 527.
 9. See Whiteley, “Ingres.”
 10. Vigne, in *Portraits by Ingres*, p. 527.
 11. For discussions of Hockney’s hypothesis, see Lawrence Wechsler, “The Looking Glass,” *New Yorker* (January 31, 2000), pp. 65–75.
 12. Comparison of this variant with other works in the exhibition confirmed the hypothesis put forward in the exhibition catalogue (p. 380) that the Cincinnati painting was probably painted by Henri Lehmann and certainly not painted by Ingres. This was the “secret” work Ingres entrusted to Lehmann, not, as Toussaint and Vigne assert, the painting of the allegorical portrait now in the Louvre. Although Ingres no doubt relied on assistance in creating the Louvre painting—for the architectural setting and for the lyre—it appears to my eyes that the two figures were largely painted by the master himself. Although Toussaint and Vigne (p. 534) state that the conspicuous cracks in the Louvre painting were caused by Lehmann’s use of bitumen, there is in fact no evidence of the presence of bitumen, in this or any other work by Ingres or Lehmann. The cracks were caused by Ingres’s repainting of the head of the muse (well documented in the preparatory drawings, which show the change in the model) before the underlying layer had dried. For a helpful chronology of the complicated genesis of this painting, see Bertin, under cat. no. 119, below.
 13. See *Portraits by Ingres*, p. 418.
 14. *Ibid.*, p. 417.
 15. *Ibid.*, pp. 419–20.

Technical Observations

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At the close of the exhibition in New York, thanks to the generosity of many lenders, we were able to study a number of paintings using infrared reflectography and X-radiography in addition to making surface examinations to investigate a number of issues related to Ingres's working method. Of particular interest were the artist's use of preparatory drawings and their transfer to canvas, the question of his collaboration with other artists in the landscape backgrounds of several of the Italian portraits, and the involvement of his students in the later work. Our study also afforded the opportunity to examine more general aspects of Ingres's painting technique, on which little has been published.¹

Ingres usually prepared his paintings with lead white grounds over which he would sketch in his composition in a dry medium such as pencil or black chalk. This method has enabled underdrawings and, in certain cases, painted sketches and underlayers to be seen using infrared reflectography (IRR), an analytical technique that allows us to penetrate the picture surface. X-radiography is a complementary method of analysis that produces an image of the entire structure of a painting, mapping the presence of denser materials, such as lead white paint. When lead white is used as a ground, as it is in Ingres's paintings, it affords an excellent image of the canvas, but only a low contrast image of the paint layers that overlie it. In many cases, however, pentimenti can be detected.

Madame de La Rue, 1803–4 (cat. no. 1A in Addenda and Corrigenda), was the earliest painting examined and the only one on a wood panel rather than a canvas support. Using IRR it was found to have extensive underdrawing in the figure and draperies. Loose, vigorous lines indicate the contours and folds of the veil and show that it was originally drawn in a more symmetrical arrangement, draped from head to shoulder on the right as it is on the left. Different placement of the shawl and the right arm shows the artist freely working out the composition directly on the support, in a manner that was not observed in any of the other paintings examined (Figures 3, 4). Generally, Ingres prepared for his paintings with a series of drawings that might include rough compositional sketches, drawings squared for transfer, and to-scale details that would be traced onto the canvas; the underdrawings that have

been revealed tend to be abbreviated forms of the more fully worked drawings. In this case, it seems likely that the scale of the painting and the solid support encouraged the treatment of the grounded support more in the manner of a preparatory drawing on paper. The underdrawing of the face is much fainter than that of the dress, and thus similar to what has been observed using IRR in the faces of the other portraits examined. It is likely that Ingres kept such underdrawing to a minimum or that he partially erased it so that it would not show through the thin, light flesh-colored paint.

During painting of *Madame de La Rue*, a curl on the forehead was painted out. This kind of clarification and simplification of contour in the hair or clothing is characteristic of Ingres's method. Such minor pentimenti were seen in all the paintings examined, as well as in the majority of those studied at the time of the Ingres portrait exhibition at the Louvre in 1985.² The signature open curls of *La Belle Zélie* (cat. no. 8) were redefined during painting by reinstating the negative spaces with more flesh-colored paint, and *Madame Philibert Rivière* (cat. no. 9) at one time sported open curls on her forehead as well.

La Belle Zélie (cat. no. 8; Figure 5) is a tour de force of Ingres's early career, painted in a very direct manner with only the minor revisions noted above made during painting. The canvas was prepared by the artist with a dense lead white ground that gives great luminosity to the painting, which is generally rather thinly executed. The original appearance of the painting would have been even more brilliant; unframed, the areas of the sky and shawl that have been protected by the oval frame are revealed to be much more intense in color than in the body of the painting, where these areas have to some extent faded. Minimal underdrawing could be seen with IRR. Faint lines show that the artist initially placed the mouth slightly below its present position; the line indicating the bottom of the upper lip shows as slightly dark through the teeth. A different earring was drawn (apparently with paint rather than with a dry medium) just above and to the right of the painted earring on the right.

Scholarly opinion has been divided on whether the cityscape background of Ingres's portrait of his friend the painter François-Marius Granet (cat. no. 25; Figure 6) was painted by Granet himself. Granet's possible involvement in the landscape backgrounds of Ingres's portraits of Moltedo (cat. no. 27), Cordier (Musée du

The notes for this article begin on page 207.



Figure 3. *Madame de La Rue*, between September 24, 1803, and September 23, 1804. Oil on panel, 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 9 in. (29 x 22.8 cm). Collection Yves Saint Laurent and Pierre Bergé



Figure 4. *Madame de La Rue*. Infrared reflectogram computer assembly, detail (all IRR computer assemblies were made by the Sherman Fairchild Paintings Conservation Center)



Figure 5. *Madame Aymon, known as La Belle Zélie*, 1806. Oil on canvas, 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (59 x 49 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen)

Louvre, Paris), and Gouriev (cat. no. 86) has also been suggested.³ Examination of the portrait of Granet demonstrated that there was no clear technical evidence of a second hand in the execution of the painting. The composition was conceived as a whole, and elements of the figure and the cityscape were lightly sketched in. The same character and weight of line are seen in the figure and in the cityscape to the right (Figure 7), where the buildings are delineated and the shadowed section of the parapet to the right of the hand is indicated with broadly spaced hatching.⁴ Over the white ground, a salmon-colored local imprimatura was laid in around the figure. There is a smooth transition from the figure (which was painted first) to the background, and the handling of paint appears consistent throughout. The background in this picture differs from the more densely worked backgrounds of the other paintings examined in this study, the portraits of Moltedo, Queen Caroline Murat (cat. no. 34) and Gouriev. Here, the fluidity of medium and the openness of execution, with gaps at the junctures of forms revealing a warm pinkish underlayer, do indeed recall Granet's Roman oil sketches.⁵ This may be interpreted either as a seamless collaboration between two artists or, more likely, as the incorporation of Granet's methods by Ingres, as has been proposed.⁶ It must also be emphasized that a cityscape as opposed to a

principally landscape background would place different demands on the painter.

A major change, not previously noted, was made in the painting of the sky in the portrait of Granet. As seen through small losses, the sky was originally a bright azure blue. The lightness of this area in the X-radiograph (Figure 8) is the result of the presence of lead white in the paint mixture. The gray storm clouds were added later, completely changing the mood of the painting and rendering the sky similar to that in the portrait of Moltedo. Additionally, there were characteristic refinements made in the contour of the figure during the painting process. Ingres originally painted the back of the hood a little higher, so that it met the collar, and subsequently lowered it. Furthermore, the collar originally extended farther to the right of the face and was then made smaller, while on the left side of the face the collar appears to have been extended slightly beyond its original contour.

The landscape background of *Joseph-Antoine Moltedo* (cat. no. 27), like that of *Granet*, is prepared with a local imprimatura, though here it is dark brown over a buff-colored ground. This brown layer was laid in before the coat was painted. The coat and landscape appear to have been painted simultaneously: on the left, the tip of the collar is superimposed over the trees, but the negative space below the collar (the purple of the hill) is reinforced over the edge of the collar. The trees are schematically painted: one or two fluid brushstrokes are used to describe a trunk or a branch, as in the landscape background of the portrait of Gouriev. On the left, the collar of the coat was originally higher, as seen using IRR (Figure 9). This can also be seen with the unaided eye, as the overlying paint has become more transparent with the passage of time. To the right of the figure, the

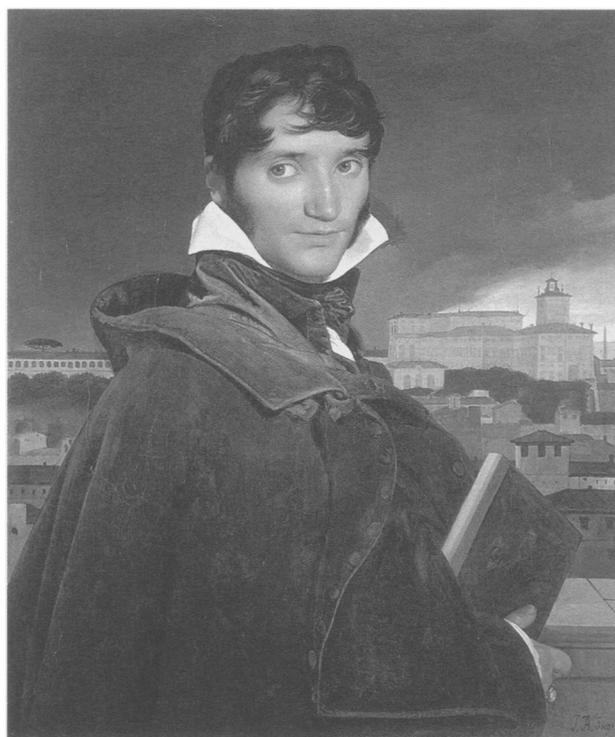


Figure 6. *François-Marius Granet*, 1809. Oil on canvas, 29 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 24 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (74.5 x 63.2 cm). Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence (photo: Musée Granet)

top of the bicorne hat is painted over the sky and the building to the right of the Colosseum, visible in Granet's sketch of the same subject.⁷ Although it would seem that a hat of some sort was indeed planned here from the beginning, Ingres would often add or modify such props during the painting process, in order to punctuate the composition. There seems to be no question that portrait and landscape are both by the same hand.

Figure 7. *François-Marius Granet*. IRR computer assembly, detail showing underdrawing beneath the buildings of the cityscape

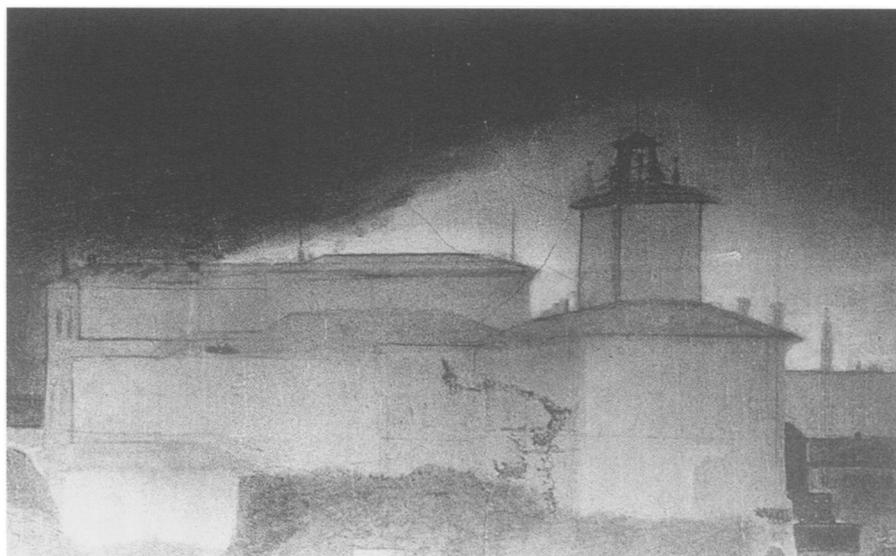




Figure 8. *François-Marius Granet*. X-radiograph mosaic

No fine underdrawing is visible in the face, body, or landscape using IRR; the paint layers may be too thick to penetrate. In the coat, we see a brief but vigorous brush drawing outlining the contour and indicating the folds, buttons, buttonholes, and notches of the lapel. An underpainted line above the one seen for the edge of the lapel shows Ingres searching for its proper placement, and one of the buttons is indicated slightly higher than it was subsequently painted.

Queen Caroline Murat (cat. no. 34; Figure 10) is an unusual painting in Ingres's oeuvre, showing in diminutive scale a full-length figure with both a detailed interior and a view to the landscape beyond. This complicated composition, Ingres's evident difficulties in painting it, and the importance of the commission probably account for the numerous pencil studies and underdrawing on the canvas, more painstaking than has been observed in his other portrait paintings (Figure 11).⁸ As seen with IRR, the view of the Bay of Naples is situated on the canvas with a ruled horizontal line that divides the water from the land and a pair of vertical lines that bisect the bottom pane of the window at left. Drawn lines that indicate the contour of the mountains and the billowing smoke from the volcano are similar to those in the annotated preparatory sketch (fig. 122). The interior and furnishings are underdrawn in some detail and with some adjustments. The tabletop, for example, was drawn in twice, both times slightly below its present position. At the Musée Ingres, Montauban, there are a num-

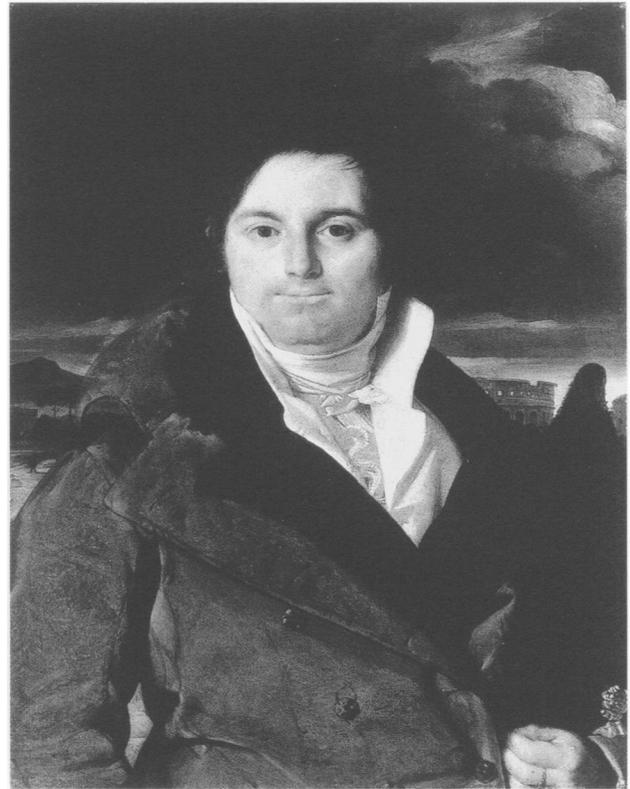


Figure 9. *Joseph-Antoine Mollo*, ca. 1810. Oil on canvas, 29 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 22 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (75.2 x 58.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929 (29.100.23). Infrared photograph showing a brush drawing under the coat and a pentimento which indicates that the left coat collar was originally placed higher

ber of studies for the painting, including a sheet with three views of the chair; the one used for the painting is squared.⁹ On the same sheet is a study of the inclined stool and the tablecloth. There is a further study of the stool and tablecloth, closer to their appearance in the painting, that also has notations and cross hairs for registration.¹⁰ And there is a series of orthogonal lines on the carpet, apparently drawn over the buff-colored paint, to facilitate the painting of the pattern.

In the figure there are fine hatched lines in the right cheek, the nostril on that side is indicated, and the shadow below the nose is hatched. Both the X-radiograph and the infrared reflectogram show that Ingres adjusted the figure during the painting process. It can be seen in the X-radiograph that the head was turned sharply to the left, giving a three-quarter view of the face (Figure 12). This view is similar to that seen in a drawing in Montauban of *Caroline Murat seated*.¹¹ The hat was taller and more upright, and the figure was slightly narrower in form, with less of the train showing at the back. The negative shape of the ruff, as seen in the X-radiograph, may belong to the earlier face, or even to another position of the head, like that of the drawing (fig. 120 in the catalogue).



Figure 10. *Queen Caroline Murat*, 1814. Oil on canvas, 36¼ x 23⅜ in. (92 x 60 cm). Private collection



Figure 11. *Queen Caroline Murat*. IRR computer assembly showing an elaborate underdrawing that includes orthogonals in the floor area and contours of the furniture, the folds in the draperies, and the mountains in the background. In the lower right, inverted, is a brush drawing of a man's head from an abandoned composition

Figure 12. *Queen Caroline Murat*. X-radiograph mosaic detail, showing an earlier position for the head, turned sharply to the left

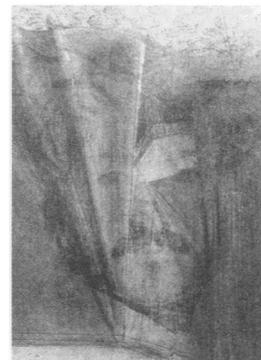
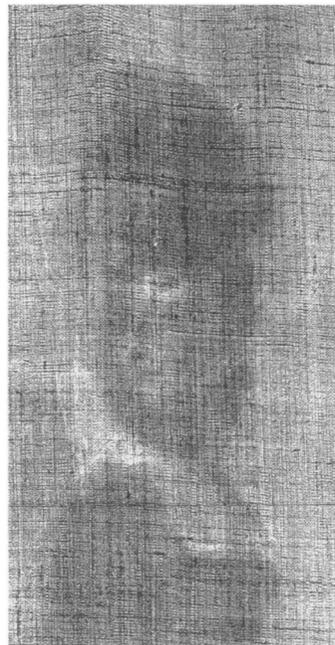


Figure 13. *Queen Caroline Murat*. IRR computer assembly, detail from the lower right corner, inverted, showing the brush drawing of a man's head

A faint negative shape to the left of the present hat may be part of the same version. If this is so, Ingres was not exaggerating when he bemoaned having to repaint the head and hat three times.¹²

Unexpectedly, examination with IRR revealed the face of a man with a mustache, muttonchop whiskers, and full, curly hair, seen inverted around the lower part of the green tablecloth (Figure 13). Two small



Figure 14. *Madame de Senonnes, née Marie-Geneviève-Marguerite Marcoz, later Vicomtesse de Senonnes*, 1814. Oil on canvas, 41¾ x 33⅜ in. (106 x 84 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes (photo: Photograph A.G. Ville de Nantes)



Figure 15. *Count Nikolai Dmitrievich Gouriev*, 1821. Oil on canvas, 42⅛ x 33⅞ in. (107 x 86 cm). State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (photo: State Hermitage Museum)

studies of Joachim Murat in Montauban show similar features.¹³ The scale of the man's portrait is much larger than that of the portrait of the queen. Some fine linear drawing is seen in the man's collar, but otherwise this is a brush drawing that appears to have been abandoned and rubbed down before the canvas was reused.

Madame de Senonnes (cat. no. 35; Figure 14) was one of two portraits in the present study in which lines of a transfer grid over the white ground were revealed using IRR. In the lower part of the painting sections of the lines that are visible indicate a square grid with lines at intervals of 17 centimeters. In Montauban there are eight sketches related to this painting, although there appears to be no squared drawing extant.¹⁴ While numerous studies squared for transfer occur in Ingres's oeuvre, for portraits and other genres alike, the only other published example of squaring seen under a painted surface is in the portrait of Louis-François Bertin (cat. no. 99).¹⁵ The fact that the grid in *Madame de Senonnes* is only partially visible is probably due to the artist's having erased it so that it would not show through the overlying paint layers. Ingres laid in elements of his composition using both drawn lines and a painted sketch. The oval of the face, the features, and necklace are indicated with delicate drawn lines. There is some vigorous underdrawing in

and around the tassel at the sitter's midsection. A bold brush drawing delineating contours and folds in the draperies can be seen with the naked eye through the more transparent passages of paint and shows up clearly in infrared because it contains carbon black.

Close examination of the painted surface showed that the striking mustard color of the silk furnishings and their khaki shadows were achieved by underpainting the entire area with a vivid green before the application of yellow. This is a very effective use of a well-established technique of local underpainting, a technique that Ingres used frequently. Another feature observed in many of Ingres's paintings is the inscribing of selective details into wet paint using a pointed implement, such as the reverse end of a brush. Sections of the design in the shawl and the lace of the right cuff are added in this manner.

Count Nikolai Dmitrievich Gouriev (cat. no. 86; Figure 15) was one of two portraits examined in the present study that has a brick-red-colored imprimatura applied over the white ground. The dark imprimatura imparts a heaviness to the painting that is quite different from the impression given by those pictures that are painted thinly over a light ground, which serves to enhance their luminosity. Because of the colored priming, it may be that Ingres sketched in his composition with white chalk



Figure 16. *Madame Jacques-Louis Leblanc, née Françoise Poncelle*, 1823. Oil on canvas, 47 x 36½ in. (199.4 x 92.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection, Wolfe Fund, 1918 (19.77.2)



Figure 17. *Jacques-Louis Leblanc*, 1823. Oil on canvas, 47¾ x 37¾ in. (121 x 95.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection, Wolfe Fund, 1918 (19.77.1)



Figure 18. *Madame Jacques-Louis Leblanc, née Françoise Poncelle*. IRR computer assembly, detail. The arrow points to the earlier idea for the armrest seen in Figure 19



Figure 19. *Studies for Madame Leblanc*, 1823. Charcoal on paper, 13¾ x 9 in. (34 x 21.9 cm). Musée Ingres, Montauban, 867.299 (photo: Roumagnac Photographe)

(which is invisible to IRR) rather than with the dark lines seen in most of the paintings with light grounds.¹⁶ The only underdrawn lines visible using IRR indicate folds of the cloak over the parapet and traces of the contour of the far hills. Visible from the surface are lines of a painted sketch indicating folds of the cloak lining (similar to those seen in *Madame de Senonnes*). These folds are not always followed in the subsequent paint layers. The bright accent of the red cloak lining was augmented during the painting process; all but the most brilliant swath of red, which was painted directly over the ground, are painted over the already present coat, parapet at left, and landscape at right.

The landscape has the appearance of being painted quickly and boldly *alla prima*. The tree trunks and branches are painted with single strokes. Toussaint and Vigne believe that the landscape was painted by Granet.¹⁷ In the catalogue entry Philip Conisbee concludes that there is no visual evidence for the involvement of another hand in the painting, and this examination corroborates his statement. That the folds of the cloak to the right of the figure are painted over the landscape indicates that the landscape was certainly not added after the rest of the painting was completed, but was part of the painting process.

The magnificent portrait pair of *Madame Jacques-Louis Leblanc* and *Jacques-Louis Leblanc* (cat. nos. 88, 89; Figures 16, 17) were also painted in Florence. Like the portrait of Gouriev, that of Monsieur Leblanc has a brown-red imprimatura; the portrait of his wife has the same imprimatura only under the olive-brown background. For the figure of Madame Leblanc Ingres used the luminosity of the white ground, in contrast to the more solid appearance of Monsieur Leblanc, imparted by the imprimatura. The off-white ground of the portrait of Monsieur Leblanc contains granular inclusions that create a sandy texture and scatter the light, whereas the surface of *Madame Leblanc* has a very smooth finish. Both portraits have had their formats slightly adjusted. In the case of *Madame Leblanc*, the sides were minimally trimmed and there is a fill of about 2.5 centimeters at the top. In *Monsieur Leblanc* these changes appear to be by the artist rather than by a later hand, which may explain the genesis of the portraits.¹⁸ *Monsieur Leblanc* has canvas additions on the left and top, and on the right side tack holes through the paint and a vertical crease show that it was folded around the stretcher at some point close to the time of execution, after the top addition was in place.¹⁹ These changes reflect the dimensions and composition of *Madame Leblanc*. It seems plausible that *Monsieur Leblanc* was painted first and that suitable frames for a pair of slightly larger dimensions were then found. After painting *Madame Leblanc* in the slightly larger format, Ingres then returned to *Monsieur Leblanc*. The addition on the left side and the



Figure 20. *Princesse Albert de Broglie, née Joséphine-Éléonore-Marie-Pauline de Galard de Brassac de Béarn*, 1853. Oil on canvas, 47 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 35 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (121.3 x 90.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.186)

folding around of the canvas on the right gave the portrait a greater degree of asymmetry, more closely matching the image of Madame Leblanc.

There are some fifteen preparatory studies for the portrait of Madame Leblanc, and elements of Ingres's earlier ideas can be seen using IRR (Figures 18, 19). The armrest as originally underdrawn was more slender, terminating in a delicate scroll, much as seen in a study for the painting in Montauban. A more generous scroll was then indicated with a curving stroke farther to the right of the position in which it was finally painted. The right arm was originally painted at a steeper incline. The studies show Ingres trying out a number of different positions for both arms. Some underdrawing can be seen in the face: in the left eye, where the top lid is drawn slightly below its present position, and just to the left of this eye, where we see an underdrawn curl of hair that was not painted in. There are characteristic adjustments of contour: sections of the left shoulder and the right contour of the neck have been filled out. In addition, the tabletop was originally indicated as slightly fuller at the top, as though seen from a higher angle.

In *Monsieur Leblanc*, a detailed linear underdrawing is seen under the Turkish carpet, laying out the position of both the folds and the pattern, some of which is fol-



Figure 21. *Self-Portrait at Seventy-Eight*, 1858. Oil on canvas, 24 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 20 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (62 x 51 cm). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (photo: Galleria degli Uffizi)

lowed in paint and some not. IRR also shows that originally more of the striped vest was showing; this was later painted over with the ruffle of the white shirt, which provides a distinctive contour against the black coat.

For Ingres's late, great female portraits of the vicomtesse d'Haussonville, the baronne James de Rothschild, Madame Moitessier, and the princesse de Broglie (cat. nos. 125, 132, 133, 134, 145), we are fortunate to have many studies that chart their evolution. There are two squared drawings for *Princesse Albert de Broglie* (cat. no. 145; Figure 20). One is a nude figure study and the other focuses on the dress (figs. 277, 278); the squared lines are placed the same way in both. Using IRR, traces of equivalent squared lines can be seen on the painting in the chest and in the left shoulder. There is also a full-scale charcoal drawing of the arms on tracing paper (cat. no. 146) that must have been used for transfer of this key feature onto the grounded canvas. Lines seen in IRR seem to echo this drawing. Both the thumb and the little finger are a little narrower in the final, painted version. No underdrawing can be seen in the head, but there is a deep line indicating the base of the throat and some emphatically drawn lines in the left side of the top edge of the bodice.

The gray background is underpainted with a deep blue, seen with the aid of magnification where the gray layer is thinnest and through points of abrasion. This

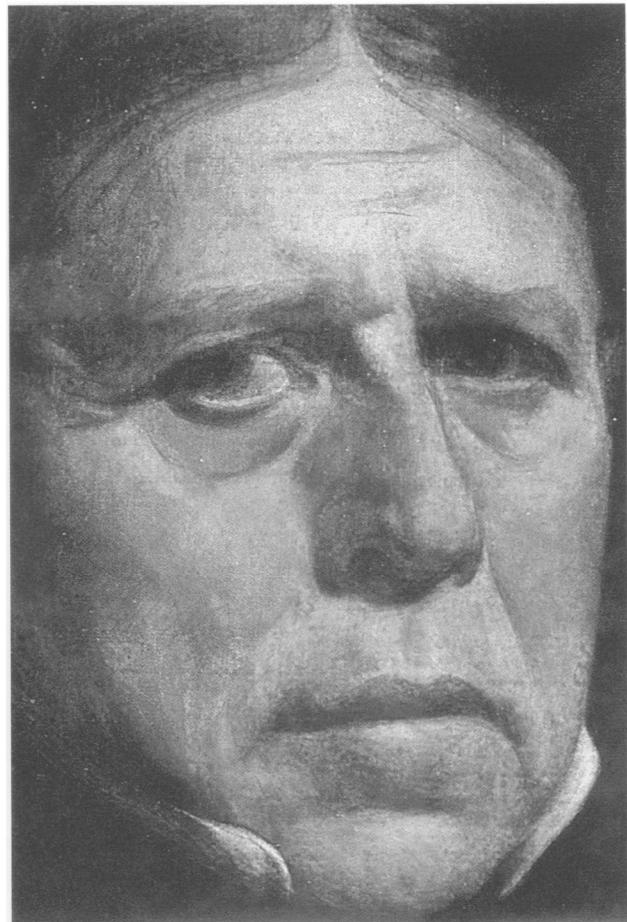


Figure 22. *Self-Portrait at Seventy-Eight*. IRR computer assembly, detail showing linear underdrawing indicating the hairline, features, furrows in the brow, and hatching in the shaded hollow of the cheek

layer can be interpreted as a local preparation, analogous to that noted in the portrait of Madame de Senonnes, which imparts a bluish cast to the background. Indeed, the entire painting appears suffused with blue.

There are a number of pentimenti. The hair was originally laid in well within its present contour; its appearance in the X-radiograph looks closer to the hair in the study drawing and in the finished drawing (figs. 274, 275). A horizontal band of yellow paint on both sides of the head, level with the earrings, about 2.5 centimeters wide, can be seen (using magnification) through local traction cracks and in the X-radiograph. This was, it seems, an earlier position for the molding or some other type of plain framing on the wall. Further, the right contour of the yellow chair has been filled out and the black hat on the chair was added over the chair and shawl, punctuating the composition.

Ingres's *Self-Portrait at Seventy-Eight*, from the Uffizi (cat. no. 148; Figure 21), is one of three versions of the subject, whose authorship and interrelationships have been much discussed.²⁰ It would appear that the painting

was derived from a sketch now in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge (fig. 285). The sketch was in turn based on a studio photograph of the artist and was later reworked and used as the model for the Antwerp portrait (cat. no. 149). During the exhibition, we had the opportunity to examine the Fogg portrait in the galleries adjacent to the Uffizi and Antwerp versions using a hand-held infrared camera.²¹ The underdrawing in the Fogg picture is rather faint but seems to comprise summary indications of the placement of features and shadows applied in a confident shorthand. In the Uffizi version, we see some faint underdrawing in the face that is comparable in function, though the lines are finer and more numerous (Figure 22). Delicately handled lines indicate the hairline, furrows in the forehead, and folds of skin around the eyes and mouth, as well as hatching in the left cheek and eyebrow. The Antwerp painting, by contrast, appears to have a carefully traced underdrawing. There are a number of drawings in Ingres's oeuvre that were evidently used for transfer.²² In his later years, techniques for transfer and reproduction must have facilitated the work of studio assistants.²³ The compositional dimensions of the Uffizi and the Antwerp portraits seem to be identical, except that in the latter, the entire figure is inclined slightly backward to convey an impression of greater ease and the artist sports different accoutrements. The Uffizi painting also underwent some modification from Ingres's original design. During painting, the format was changed by folding the top and right edges of the canvas around the stretcher and opening out the canvas at the bottom edge;²⁴ the raised right arm that extends around the back of the chair and the hands in the bottom right corner were then added over the background and the black coat, respectively. Scholars have debated the participation of studio assistants in the Uffizi painting, and it is notable that the SE IPSUM PXT of the inscription is a later addition.

Ingres's extensive use of different types of preparatory drawings throughout his life enabled him to begin working on a canvas with a very clear idea of what he was going to paint. It also facilitated the involvement of studio assistants. In light of what we know about Ingres's various methods of preparation, what we discovered in this study was not unpredictable. All the paintings showed underdrawing, made with either a dry medium or a brush, that conveyed the essence of the composition. Deviation from the preparatory drawings was limited to minor shifts in format and composition, the manipulation of props, and, most significantly, redefinition of contour. Ingres's attention to detail was infinite. At every stage of preparation and execution, with each shift and refinement, he moved closer toward his conception of the sitter, arriving eventually at an image that seems almost inevitable.

NOTES

I thank Alison Gilchrist for her help with the IRR computer assemblies.

1. See, in particular, Hélène Toussaint and Charles de Couëssin, "À propos de l'exposition Ingres," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 35 (1985), pp. 193–206.
2. Ibid.
3. See Philip Conisbee, cat. no. 25, pp. 116–21, and Georges Vigne, pp. 525–28, in *Portraits by Ingres: Image of an Epoch*.
4. Using IRR, two parallel, very faint diagonal lines and further hatching below them can be discerned to the right of the book on the parapet. It is possible that this was the drawing for an alternative position of the book.
5. For example, Granet's *Buildings near Santi Quattro Coronati* (Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence), which has a pinkish preparation and features open areas between forms and fluid brown hatching to describe the tiled roofs, similar to that seen in the portrait of Granet.
6. See Edgar Munhall, *François Marius Granet: Watercolors from the Musée Granet at Aix-en-Provence*, exh. cat. (New York, 1988), pp. 142–43.
7. *The Colosseum, Rome, with Cypresses*, Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.
8. See Conisbee, in *Portraits by Ingres*, p. 146. For sketches, see figs. 120–22, and Georges Vigne, *Dessins d'Ingres: Catalogue raisonné des dessins du musée de Montauban* (Paris, 1995), nos. 2735–40.
9. Musée Granet no. 2738, Vigne, p. 495.
10. Musée Granet no. 2737, Vigne, p. 495.
11. Musée Granet no. 2744, Vigne, p. 496.
12. See Conisbee, in *Portraits by Ingres*, pp. 146 and 147 n. 6.
13. Musée Granet nos. 2745 and 2746, Vigne, p. 496.
14. Musée Granet nos. 2778–86, Vigne, pp. 503–4.
15. See Toussaint and Couëssin, "A propos de l'exposition Ingres," pp. 202–3. For other examples of squared drawings for portraits, see Vigne, *Dessins d'Ingres*, nos. 2594, 2610, 2626, 2651, 2664, 2723, 2724, 2747, 2761, 2764, 2770, 2772, 2774.
16. The self-portrait in the Musée Condé, Chantilly (fig. 283), shows the artist holding a piece of white chalk and a canvas prepared with gray.
17. See *Portraits by Ingres*, p. 252.
18. Brown paint of the same composition is seen on both the background and the additions, as determined by surface examination and cross-section analysis of the paint layers.
19. There are 45-degree mechanical cracks in the corners that do not extend onto this edge, indicating that the painting has existed with the edge folded back for a considerable period of time.
20. See Gary Tinterow, in *Portraits by Ingres*, pp. 459–65.
21. I thank Teri Hensick, Conservator of Paintings, and Henry Lie, Director and Conservator of Objects and Sculpture, Straus Center for Conservation, Harvard University Art Museums, for facilitating this session. Teri Hensick generously shared her insight on the comparison of the infrared images of these self-portraits.
22. The study for the arms of the princesse de Broglie (cat. no. 146), which is on tracing paper, is one example, and the study for *Hygin-Edmond-Ludovic-Auguste Cavé* (fig. 238) is another. In the finished portrait of Cavé (cat. no. 124), the outlines of the drawing underneath the paint can be seen with the unaided eye.
23. The full-length version of the portrait of the duc d'Orléans (cat. no. 122), thought to have been painted with studio assistants, also appears to have a traced underdrawing. See Tinterow, in *Portraits by Ingres*, pp. 391–92.
24. In the X-radiograph, a row of tack holes level with the top of the hands is visible.

Addenda and Corrigenda to the Catalogue

ERIC BERTIN

Note: Philip Conisbee wrote the entry for cat. no. 1A; material added to Eric Bertin's information by Kathryn Calley Galitz, Research Assistant, European Paintings, Metropolitan Museum, and Gary Tinterow is signed with their initials.

Cat. no. 1. *Pierre-François Bernier*

Bernier was born at La Rochelle November 19, 1779, according to the *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (vol. 6 [1954], col. 116). In 1797, he published scientific articles in collaboration with Duc-La-Chapelle, an amateur astronomer.

Provenance: Purchased at the Lapauze sale in 1929 by M. Knoedler & Co., New York; from C. W. Kraushaar Art Galleries, New York, to H. S. Southam, Ottawa, by November 1932; purchased from Galerie André Weil, Paris, by M. Knoedler & Co., New York, and Paul Rosenberg & Co., New York, in May 1945.

Exhibitions: Not exhibited in Paris 1914; "French Painting of the Nineteenth Century" (Ottawa, Toronto 1934, no. 164) also traveled to the Art Association of Montreal, in March 1934.

Cat. no. 1A. *Madame de La Rue*

Between September 24, 1803, and September 23, 1804
Oil on panel, 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 9 in. (29 x 22.8 cm)

Signed and dated on reverse: *Ingres l'An 12 [Ingres (Revolutionary) Year 12]*

Collection Yves Saint Laurent and Pierre Bergé (exhibited in New York only)

W₁₃

Recorded by the artist on folio 22 of Notebook X,¹ this charming small portrait was lost to public view, and to Ingres scholars, for almost a century (Figure 3). After its inclusion at the 1867 Ingres retrospective, it did not appear again until 1951, when it was lent to an exhibition by the dealer who had procured it from the descendants of the sitter. The picture is signed and dated "Ingres l'An 12" (Ingres Year 12 [September 1803–September 1804]) on the reverse, but this was not known to Henri Delaborde, who simply says it was painted before 1806 on the basis of its location in Ingres's notebook.² Charles Blanc, on the other hand, assigns it to the more accurate date of 1804.³ By 1911 the painting had disappeared into the possession of the La Rue heirs, and Henry Lapauze gives no indication that he had seen the portrait, knowing of it only from the mention in Blanc. His speculation that it was exhibited at the Salon of 1802, and deemed unworthy of commentary by the critics, suggests that he was unfamiliar with the inscription on the reverse.⁴

The Swiss painter Barbara Bansi, whose portrait Ingres also drew (cat. no. 20), recalled Madame de La Rue as a "rich lady, a patron of the arts, [who] materially aided in their studies two artists who were poor in 1800 and who have become rich and famous. One is M. Ingres of Paris and the other Bartolini of Florence."⁵ From this same source we learn that Madame de La Rue may have had her portrait painted by François Gérard.⁶

Madame de La Rue can most likely be identified as the wife of Isidore-Étienne de La Rue (1758–1830), a banker and politician whose alliances with royalist sympathizers led to his exile in London in 1797 and later in Germany. He returned to France with the beginning of the Consulate in 1799 and, because of his prior associations, remained under surveillance throughout Napoleon's reign. During the Restoration, La Rue was ennobled, as well as awarded the Legion of Honor. Ingres, in Notebook X, calls his sitter *Madame de La Rue*, for that is how she was known when he painted her; by the time of the 1867 Ingres retrospective exhibition, however, she is referred to as *comtesse*. Her son, Comte Aristide-Isidore-Jean-Marie (1795–1872), rose to the rank of general in the French army.

The portrait of Madame de La Rue combines many formal qualities that Ingres was perfecting immediately prior to his departure for Rome. Its small size and oval format invite comparison with eighteenth-century miniatures, including those produced by Ingres's father, among them Joseph Ingres's portrait of Baronne Vialètes de Mortarieu, who, like the countess, casually drapes her arm over a garden bench.⁷ Already we see some of the young artist's characteristic mannerisms, designed to create supple lines expressive of female beauty; the position of her head and narrow shoulders, connected by an exquisite yet unnaturally serpentine line of neck, is closely comparable with Ingres's 1806 portrait of Caroline Rivière (fig. 58). Madame de La Rue's attire—the high-waisted gown with its ribbon belt and scooped neckline, the glove with its decorative stitching, puckered at the wrist—reveals a contemporary fashion shared with Mademoiselle Rivière and provides another resonance between the two portraits. Included in the countess's costume are a cashmere shawl that barely clings to her left shoulder and a diaphanous veil that adorns her head, accessories found again in the portrait *Madame Philibert Rivière* (cat. no. 9) of 1806.

Ingres places Madame de La Rue before a landscape whose foliage is visible beyond her left shoulder and above which puffy clouds billow. The three-quarters turn of her body toward the spectator gives the portrait depth, while the repeated diagonals of the shawl and veil contribute to the spatial recession. The elaborate, symmetrical curls that frame and animate her face prefigure the sharply defined arrangements forming the subjects' coiffures in both *Madame Philibert Rivière* and *Madame Aymon* (known as *La Belle Zélie*) of 1806 (cat. no. 8).

Provenance: Comtesse de La Rue; General Baron de La Rue, son of sitter, Paris; Vicomtesse de Bardonnat Hyde de Neuville, great-niece of the sitter; Henry Baron de Solar, great-great-nephew of the sitter; Jacques Seligman & Co., New York, in 1951; Bührle collection, Zurich; the present owners.

Exhibitions: Paris 1867, 2nd supplement, no. 582; Pittsburgh 1951, no. 100; Zurich 1958b, no. 101.

References: Blanc 1870, p. 231; Delaborde 1870, no. 133; Lapauze 1911a, p. 38; Pach 1952, pp. 2–8, ill.; Pach 1955, pp. 110–12, ill.; Delpierre 1986, p. 79; Zanni 1990, no. 6, ill.; Vigne 1995b, pp. 327, 331.

Notes to cat. no. 1A:

1. "little portr[ait] of Mme de la Rue" ("petit port. de M^e de la Rue"). See Vigne 1995b, p. 327.

2. Delaborde 1870, p. 253, no. 133.

3. Blanc 1870, p. 231.

4. Lapauze 1911a, p. 38.

5. "dame riche et protectrice des arts a contribué à faire avancer dans leurs études deux artistes pauvres en 1800 et devenus riches et célèbres. L'un est M. Ingres de Paris et l'autre Bartolini de Florence." Zurich 1958b, p. 81, quoting Barbara Bansi but not citing the source or location of the original text.

6. Ibid., referring to a "Sketch in India ink by François Gérard for the portrait of Mme Larue, wife of the banker" ("Croquis à l'encre de chine de François Gérard pour le portrait de Mme Larue, femme du banquier").

7. Reproduced in Lapauze 1911a, p. 5. [PC]

In the Salon of 1812, Charles Dupaty exhibited "*Le portrait de M.elle de la Rue. Buste en marbre*" (no. 1071), presumably Madame de La Rue's daughter, Zoé de La Rue (d. 1848). In 1842, Théodore Chassériau executed a portrait drawing of Zoé de La Rue (see Louis-Antoine Prat, "The Drawings of Chassériau: Some Particulars," *Drawing* 13, no. 4 [November–December 1991], p. 78, fig. 4).

References: A. Révérend, *Titres, anoblissements et pairies de la Restauration, 1814–1830*, vol. 4 (1904), p. 205; Jean Alazard, "Sur un portrait peu connu d'Ingres," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1954 [1955]), pp. 92–94; Hans Naef, "Ingres in der Sammlung Bührle," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, June 8, 1958, p. 6.

Cat. no. 2. *Bonaparte as First Consul*

Provenance: According to a letter of January 25, 1804, from J.-P. Barbier-Neuville, chief of the third division of the Ministry of the Interior, addressed to Jean-Antoine-Claude

Chaptal, Minister of the Interior, the portrait was commissioned on 12 Vendémiaire, Year XII (October 5, 1803), by the Ministry of the Interior (see Lilley 1985, p. 148).

Exhibitions: "Exposition rétrospective militaire du ministère de la Guerre en 1889," Paris, Esplanade des Invalides, 1889; Paris 1900b, no. 198; although Ternois (Paris 1967–68, no. 8) indicates that the picture was shown in Saint Petersburg 1912, this exhibition has not yet been confirmed; Brussels 1925–26, no. 46; "La légende napoléonienne au pays de Liège," Liège, Musée d'Armes, May 27–September 25, 1939, no. 60; "Salon de la Libération," Liège, Musée des Beaux-Arts, June 1–July 15, 1946, no. 79; "Liège sous la République et l'Empire (1795–1814)," Liège, Hôtel de Ville, September 25–October 16, 1955, no. 126; Brussels 1960, no. 397 [KCG]; London 1972, no. 143; Tokyo, Osaka 1981, no. 62 [KCG].

References: Anonymous ("R.L.B."), "Lumière sur un chef-d'oeuvre: Bonaparte en habit rouge," *Plaisir de France*, no. 263 (September 1960), pp. 16–17.

Cat. no. 3. *Bonaparte as First Consul*

Provenance: Purchased by Lévi de Benzion at the comte de Reiset's posthumous sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, January 30, 1922.

Exhibitions: Lille 1866, no. 838.

References: Ernst Scheyer, "French Drawings of the Great Revolution and the Napoleonic Era," *Art Quarterly* 4, no. 3 (Summer 1941), p. 200, fig. 10.

Cat. no. 4. *Jean-Marie-Joseph Ingres*

Accession number 867.67.

The biography of the sitter, published in Montauban in 1860, was written by Émerand Forestié.

Provenance: As the work was included in the 1864 edition of the catalogue of the Musée de Montauban (see Bertin 1995, p. 108, col. 1), it is likely that the portrait was given to the museum by Ingres before his bequest of 1867.

Exhibitions: No evidence supports Delaborde's contention that Ingres exhibited this portrait at the 1806 Salon. Exhibited in Toulouse 1950, no. 50; Toulouse 1989–90, no. 120.

References: Magimel 1851, pl. 6.

Cat. no. 5. *Jean-Pierre-François Gilbert*

Accession number 37.2.

Exhibitions: Rome, Florence 1955, no. 60 (Rome), no. 58 (Florence); Toulouse 1989–90, no. 123.

References: Magimel 1851, pl. 7.

Cat. no. 6. *Monsieur Belvèze-Foulon*

Accession number 844.8.

References: *Catalogue du Musée de Montauban* (Montauban, 1863), no. 122, as *Portrait d'homme*.

Cat. no. 7. *Père Desmarests*

Inventory number MNR (Musées Nationaux Récupération) 156.

Provenance: Possibly bought in at the sale of Danlos *l'ainé*, Paris, March 2, 1867, no. 17, as he was cited as its owner in an April 1867 exhibition catalogue (see Paris 1867, no. 438).

Cat. no. 8. *Madame Aymon, known as La Belle Zélie*

A copy by an unknown artist was included in the Goupil Fils sale in 1888 (no. 331, not ill.); this copy, purported to be an Ingres, is probably the painting mentioned in Paris 1952b (under no. 33) as owned by the Musée Mathon, Neufchâtel-en-Bray (Seine-Maritime), and destroyed in 1940.

Provenance: The 1857 anonymous sale was that of Martial-François Marcille, the father of Eudoxe Marcille (see Lugt 1956, no. 605a). As indicated in Bertin 1995 (p. 107, col. 1), Prince Troubetskoy is probably Prince Pierre Troubetskoy (see *Les Princes Troubetskoï* [Paris, 1887]).

Exhibitions: Exposition de la Société Artistique des Bouches-du-Rhône, Marseilles, Musée de Marseilles, 1862, no. 170, as *Portrait de femme*, 1806. In 1928, after being exhibited in Copenhagen (no. 90), it did not travel to Stockholm and Oslo. Exhibited in "100 chefs-d'oeuvre du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen. Le grand siècle de la peinture française: d'Ingres à Monet," Tokyo, Mitsukoshi Bijutsukan, March 2–28, 1993; Fukuoka, Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan, April 28–May 23, 1993; Sapporo, Geijutsu no Mori Bijutsukan, June 5–July 11, 1993; Shizuoka, Shizuoka Kenritsu Bijutsukan, July 16–August 22, 1993; Chiba, Chiba Sogo Bijutsukan, September 15–October 12, 1993; Kawasaki, Kawasaki-shi Shimin Myujiamu, October 16–November 14, 1993; Osaka, Kintetsu Hyakkaten Abenoten, Kintetsu Atokan, November 19–29, 1993, no. 70.

Cat. no. 9. *Madame Philibert Rivière, née Marie-Françoise-Jacquette-Bibiane Blot de Beauregard*

References: Both de Trazia, *Notice supplémentaire des tableaux exposés dans les galeries du Musée National du Louvre et non décrits dans les trois catalogues des diverses écoles de peinture* (Paris, 1878), no. 794.

Cat. no. 10. *Napoleon I on His Imperial Throne*

Exhibitions: Not exhibited in Paris 1900a; exhibited in Paris 1935d (*hors catalogue*).

References: Uwe Fleckner, "Napoléon I. Als thronender Jupiter. Eine ikonographische Rechtfertigung kaiserlicher Herrschaft," *Idea. Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunsthalle* 8 (1989), pp. 121–34.

Cat. no. 11. *Copy after Ingres's 1804 Self-Portrait*

Provenance: Degas acquired the work on February 3, 1899 (see New York 1997–98, [vol. 2], no. 474); included in his sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, March 26–27, 1918, no. 39, where acquired by M. de Chaffardon.

Exhibitions: Paris 1934c, no. 71.

References: Lapauze 1911a, p. 46; Wildenstein 1954, under no. 17; *Bulletin du Musée Ingres* 1961, [p. 19], ill.

Cat. no. 12. *Self-Portrait*

References: Guiffrey and Marcel 1911, vol. 6, p. 127, no. 5044; Martine 1926, no. 1, ill.

Cat. no. 15. *Monsieur Brochard*

The inscription, written on paper attached to the back of the mount, as noted in Naef 1977–80, vol. 4, p. 26, does not seem to be in Ingres's hand, and may be modern [CT].

Provenance: A stamped label on the mount reads: "Collection / Spero Allan / Marie and [. . .]e Allan / 1960" [KCG]. Geoffrey Bennison sale, Christie's, London, September 27, 1985, no. 490 (£24,840).

Cat. no. 19. *Pierre-Guillaume Cazeaux*

Provenance: Sale, Christie's, New York, May 22, 1997, no. 19 [KCG].

On the mount, a label that reads "P. G. Cazeaux" has a handwritten notation: "Étiquette . . . pour l'exposition des oeuvres d'Ingres en 187 [sic]" [KCG].

Cat. no. 20. *Barbara Bansi*

Provenance: Alfred Goupil sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 23, 1888, no. 336.

Cat. no. 23. *The Forestier Family*

Exhibitions: Paris 1934c, no. 91 (suppl.). In the catalogue for Venice 1934, it bore the numbers 197 (1st ed.) and VII-73 (2nd ed.).

Cat. no. 25. *François-Marius Granet*

As early as 1874, Granet was credited with painting the background of the portrait of Cordier (W 78; see Paris 1874, under no. 265: "Le fond du portrait [de Cordier] a été peint par Granet [sic] et représente le temple de la Sibylle, à Tivoli.")

Provenance: Bequeathed by the artist to the city of Aix-en-Provence in 1849, his sister, Antoine-Marguerite-Thérèse Granet, retaining life interest; she apparently died in 1865, as the painting entered the collection of the Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence, in that year.

References: Naef 1977–80, vol. 1 (1977), pp. 283–97; Bertin 1998, LR.64–78.

Cat. no. 26. *Charles-Marie-Jean-Baptiste Marcotte (Marcotte d'Argenteuil)*

Exhibitions: "A Gift to America: Masterpieces of European Painting from the Samuel H. Kress Collection," Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art, February 5–April 24, 1994; Houston, The Museum of Fine Arts, May 22–August 14, 1994; Seattle, Seattle Art Museum, September 15–November 20, 1994; San Francisco, The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, December 17, 1994–March 4, 1995, no. 56.

References: Anonymous [Théophile Thoré], "Galeries particulières: Collection de M. Marcotte, d'Argenteuil [sic]," *Les Beaux-Arts* 2 (1844), pp. 296–98; Arnould de Vienne, "Galerie de M. Marcotte," *L'Artiste*, 6th ser., 2 (August 24, 1856), pp. 101–2.

Cat. no. 27. *Joseph-Antoine Moltedo*

Provenance: Possibly the work included in the Princess Vera Koudacheff sale (Christie's, London, December 1, 1906, no. 146, as *Portrait of a Gentleman, in brown cloak*), although its dimensions (26 x 21 in.) do not precisely match those of Moltedo's portrait (29 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 22 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.).

Exhibitions: New York 1930, no. 72, as *Portrait of a Gentleman*.

References: *Havemeyer Collection* 1931, p. 137, ill.; Virginia N. Whitehill, *Stepping-Stones in French Nineteenth-Century Painting* (New York, 1941), fig. 5, as *Portrait of a Gentleman*.

Cat. no. 28. *Jean-Baptiste Desdéban*

Exhibitions: "Salon du Sud-Est 1938: D'Ingres à Cézanne," Lyons, Palais Municipal, December 3, 1938–January 15, 1939, no. 35; "La pintura francesa de David a nuestros días: Óleos, dibujos y acuarelas," Buenos Aires, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, October–December 1939, no. 75; "La pintura francesa de David a nuestros días," Montevideo, Salón Nacional de Bellas Artes, April 1940, no. 57; Chicago 1941, no. 83; Los Angeles 1941, no. 69; included in a series of exhibitions of paintings belonging to the French government at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., from February 1942 to February 1946, no. F.G. 49 (no catalogues or checklists were published); Montauban 1980, no. 26.

Cat. no. 29. *Paul Lemoyne*

A copy was executed by Jean Gigoux (see *L'Atelier du peintre*, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence [Bouches-du-Rhône], Galerie Lestranger, May 29–September 5, 1995, no. 8, ill.).

Provenance: The P.-A. Chéramy sale took place at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris. Purchased at the 1929 Lapauze sale by M. Knoedler & Co., New York; acquired from Knoedler by the William Rockhill Nelson Trust in March 1932.

Exhibitions: Paris 1922a, no. 92; "Loan Exhibition of French Painting, 1800–1880," Saint Louis, City Art Museum, January 1931, no. 15; Louisville, Fort Worth 1983–84, no. 59 (Fort Worth only).

Cat. no. 30. *Edme-François-Joseph Bochet*

Exhibitions: Not exhibited in Chicago 1934; exhibited in "Delacroix et le portrait romantique," Paris, Delacroix atelier, [from] May 1950, no. 22; Pittsburgh 1951, no. 99.

References: See Both de Tauzia, *Notice supplémentaire des tableaux exposés dans les galeries du Musée National du Louvre et non décrits dans les trois catalogues des diverses écoles de peinture* (Paris, 1878), no. 795; Brière 1924, no. 428A; Sterling and Adhémar 1960, no. 1098.

Cat. no. 31. *Hippolyte-François Devillers*

Accession number 137.

Provenance: The work was not entered in the stock-books of Bernheim-Jeune & Cie., remaining in the Bernheim-Jeune brothers' private collection until the early 1950s (Eric Bertin, "Les Peintures d'Ingres: Actualité

du catalogue Wildenstein," *Bulletin du Musée Ingres*, nos. 65–66 [1992], p. 30 n. 5).

Exhibitions: Not exhibited in Paris 1923b; "Rétrospective des rétrospectives faites au Salon d'Automne de 1904 à 1922," Paris, Grand Palais, Salon d'Automne, November 11–December 16, 1923, no. 2364; "Oeuvres des XIXe et XXe siècles," Paris, Galerie Bernheim-Jeune, June–July 1925, no. 51; it is likely that the work was not exhibited in Amsterdam 1938, since the corresponding entry in the first edition of the exhibition catalogue (no. 134) does not appear in subsequent editions; not exhibited in Buenos Aires 1939; Buenos Aires 1939a, no. 74; "La pintura francesa de David a nuestros días: Óleos, dibujos y acuarelas, Buenos Aires," Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, October–December 1939, no. 74; "La pintura francesa de David a nuestros días," Montevideo, Salón Nacional de Bellas Artes, April 1940, no. 56; included in a series of exhibitions of paintings belonging to the French government at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., February 1942–February 1946, no. F.G. 50 (no catalogues or checklists were published); New York, Manchester, Detroit, Cincinnati, Cleveland, San Francisco 1952–53, no. 7.

References: Hans Naef, "Ingres in der Sammlung Bührle," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, June 8, 1958, p. 6; Warrick 1996, pp. 342–43.

Cat. no. 32. *Comtesse de Tournon, née Geneviève de Seytres Caumont*

The sitter was the wife of Alexandre-François-Xavier, comte de Tournon-Simiane, baron de Banon (A. Révérend, *Armorial du Premier Empire*, vol. 4 [1897], p. 320). Her portrait was also painted by Hippolyte Flandrin (Brussels 1890, no. 70).

Exhibitions: Not exhibited in Paris 1924; not certain that it was included in Philadelphia, Washington 1937–38; exhibited in "Masterpieces Recalled: A Loan Exhibition of 19th and 20th Century French Paintings," New York, Paul Rosenberg & Co., February 6–March 2, 1957, no. 1.

Cat. no. 33. *Jacques Marquet, Baron de Montbreton de Norvins*

Norvins received the title chevalier of the Empire on October 28, 1808; it was his older brother, Louis Marquet de Montbreton, who was made a baron of the Empire on February 14, 1810 (A. Révérend, *Armorial du Premier Empire*, vol. 3 [1896], pp. 190–91).

Provenance: Sale of Madame Gengoult de Clairville, née Norvins, Paris, May 9, 1890.

Exhibitions: Paris, Salon of 1824, no. 925.

Cat. no. 34. *Queen Caroline Murat*

References: *Civiltà dell'Ottocento*, Naples, Museo di Capodimonte, and Caserta, Palazzo Reale, October 25, 1997–April 27, 1998, exh. cat. (Naples, 1997), pp. 80, 82, ill.

Cat. no. 35. *Madame de Senonnes, née Marie-Geneviève-Marguerite Marcoz, later Vicomtesse de Senonnes*

The portrait was copied by James Tissot and Charles

Perron. Tissot's copy was purchased at the Henry Lapauze sale in 1929 by C. W. Kraushaar Art Galleries, New York; on Perron's copy, see "Autour de Madame de Senonnes." *Célébration du cinquantième de l'exécution de la copie du portrait d'Ingres par Charles Perron (1893-1958)*, *Conservateur honoraire du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Nantes*, Nantes, Galerie Bourlaouën, May 14-31, 1991, exh. cat. (Nantes, 1991).

References: Hans Naef, "En marge du portrait de Mme de Senonnes," *Bulletin du Musée Ingres* 35 (July 1974), pp. 7-13; René Micha, "Mme de Senonnes, d'Ingres, inspiratrice de Matisse," *Coloquio. Artes*, 2nd ser., no. 61 (June 1984), pp. 5-11.

Cat. no. 36. *Madame Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, née Madeleine Chapelle*

Accession number 136.

Provenance: Purchased at the 1929 Lapauze sale by K. M. Stern; acquired by Paul Rosenberg & Co., New York, by January 1932.

Exhibitions: Paris 1923b, no. 195.

References: Hans Naef, "Ingres in der Sammlung Bührle," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, June 8, 1958, p. 6.

Cat. no. 38. *Lucien Bonaparte*

References: Toussaint 1994, p. 575; Béatrice Édelembadie, *La collection de tableaux de Lucien Bonaparte, prince de Canino*, [Collection] "Notes et documents des musées de France" (Paris, 1997).

Cat. no. 40. *Auguste-Jean-Marie Guenepin*

Spelled Guénepin according to the *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (vol. 16 [1985], col. 1443).

Cat. no. 43. *Madame Guillaume Mallet, née Anne-Julie Houel*

References: Toussaint 1994, p. 575.

Cat. no. 44. *Dr. Jean-Louis Robin*

References: Toussaint 1994, pp. 573, 575.

Cat. no. 45. *Portrait of a Man*

Exhibitions: A Philadelphia Museum of Art label on the mount indicates that the work was loaned to the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, but does not specify a date [KCG].

On the mount, there is a typewritten note by Henry Lapauze, signed below with his initials:

Il y avait à la vente Flameng un portrait dit portrait de JAL. Il s'agissait évidemment de l'auteur du Dictionnaire Auguste JAL. Je l'ai reproduit dans mon livre de 1911, sur les indications de Flameng.

Or, à la date du portrait—1811—JAL n'avait que 16 ans. Il n'est pas possible de soit lui qui ait posé devant Ingres.

Dans tous les cas, la chose demande à être vérifiée de très près.

J'ai acheté ce dessin à la vente Flameng [KCG].

Cat. no. 46. *Jacques Marquet, Baron de Montbreton de Norvins*

Provenance: Sold at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 23, 1888, no. 340.

Cat. no. 47. *Madame Charles Hayard, née Jeanne-Susanne Alliou*

Exhibitions: Washington 1940, no. 21.

Cat. no. 48. *Philippe Mengin de Bionval*

On the Mengin de Bionval family, see Bachelin-Deflorenne, *État présent de la noblesse française*, 5th ed. (1887), col. 1464.

Cat. no. 49. *Portrait of a Man, possibly Edme Bochet*

Exhibitions: Washington 1940, no. 40.

References: Warrick 1996, pp. 331-35.

Cat. no. 53. *Madame Guillaume Guillon Lethière, née Marie-Joseph-Honorée Vanzenne, and Her Son Lucien Lethière*

Exhibitions: New York 1930, no. 181.

References: *Havemeyer Collection* 1958, no. 155, ill.; New York 1993, no. A329, ill.; Toussaint 1994, p. 578 n. 30.

Cat. no. 55. *The Alexandre Lethière Family*

Exhibitions: It is not certain that the work was included in Philadelphia, Washington 1937-38; exhibited in San Francisco 1940, no. 455.

References: Golden Gate International Exposition, *Master Drawings: An Exhibition of Drawings from American Museums and Private Collections* (San Francisco, 1941), no. 56 (commemorative catalogue of the Master Drawings section of the 1940 Golden Gate International Exposition [San Francisco 1940]).

Cat. no. 57. *John Russell, Sixth Duke of Bedford*

Exhibitions: Louisville, Fort Worth 1983-84, no. 64.

Cat. no. 61. *Monsignor Gabriel Cortois de Pressigny*

As noted in the second and third printings of *Portraits by Ingres*, the exhibited drawing is not N 170, but rather the work included in anonymous sales in 1993 (*Étude Ader Tajan*, Paris, April 26, no. 55) and 1997 (*Étude Tajan*, Paris, April 25, no. 143).

Cat. no. 72. *Madame Louis-Nicolas-Marie Destouches, née Armande-Edmée Charton*

Exhibitions: Copenhagen, Stockholm, Oslo 1928, no. 153 (Copenhagen), no. 142 (Stockholm), no. 144 (Oslo). Venice 1934, no. 196 (1st ed. of exh. cat.), no. VII-72 (2nd ed.)

Cat. no. 76. *Otto Magnus von Stackelberg and, possibly, Jakob Linckh*

Provenance: Sold anonymously at Christie's, London, July 27, 1923, no. 55, as *Herr Linck and Baron Stachelberg*.

The identification of Jakob Linckh now seems certain [GT].

Cat. no. 79. *Comtesse Lancelot-Théodore Turpin de Crissé, née Adèle de Lesparda*

Provenance: Sold anonymously at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, November 20, 1929, no. 9.

Cat. no. 80. *Jean-Pierre Cortot*

Further evidence of the friendship between Cortot and Ingres is provided by the sculptor's letter to Ingres written on November 14, 1823 (see Bertin 1998, LR.40). Ingres's painted portrait of Cortot (W 105), owned by the Musée National des Beaux-Arts, Algeria, is on deposit at the Musée du Louvre, Paris (acc. no. D.L. 1970-10).

Cat. no. 81. *Charles Lethière*

Accession number 16442.

Cat. no. 82. *Niccolò Paganini*

Exhibitions: "La jeunesse des romantiques," Paris, Maison de Victor Hugo, May 18–June 30, 1927, no. 761; "Delacroix et ses amis," Paris, Delacroix atelier, June–July 1932, no. 172; Copenhagen, Stockholm, Oslo 1928, no. 156 (Copenhagen), no. 145 (Stockholm), no. 147 (Oslo).

Cat. no. 84. *André-Benoît Barreau, called Taurel*

References: Toussaint 1994, pp. 575, 578 n. 29.

Cat. no. 85. *Ursin-Jules Vatinelle*

Provenance: Sold at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 28–29, 1925, no. 25.

References: Charles Saunier, "La vie effacée de Jules-Ursin [*sic*] Vatinelle, ami d'Ingres," *La renaissance politique, littéraire, artistique*, no. 21 (May 21, 1921), p. 13.

Cat. no. 86. *Count Nikolai Dmitrievich Gouriev*

Exhibitions: "Old and Contemporary Paintings from Private Collections," Saint Petersburg, 1889, no. 77; "French Art of the 19th and 20th Centuries from the State Hermitage Museum," The Museum of Modern Art, Ibaraki, June 24–July 30, 1995, no. 8 (in Russian and Japanese) [KCG].

Cat. no. 87. *Mademoiselle Jeanne-Suzanne-Catherine Gonin, later Madame Pyrame Thomegoux*

Provenance: Purchased from Paul Rosenberg, Paris, by M. Knoedler & Co., New York, June 19, 1923; purchased from Knoedler by Scott & Fowles, New York, November 1923.

Exhibitions: Louisville, Fort Worth 1983–84, no. 72 (Louisville only).

Cat. no. 89. *Jacques-Louis Leblanc*

The painted portrait sketch of Isaure Leblanc was first seen publicly in a 1934 exhibition (see San Francisco 1934, no. 113; *L'Amour de l'art, bulletin mensuel*, no. 7 [September 1934], p. 6* [*sic*], ill.).

Exhibitions: Minneapolis 1952, no. 35.

References: Magimel 1851, pl. 43.

Cat. no. 92. *Madame Jacques-Louis Leblanc, née Françoise Poncelle*

References: Magimel 1851, pl. 42.

Cat. no. 93. *Jacques-Louis Leblanc*

References: Toussaint 1994, p. 576.

Cat. no. 94. *Félix Leblanc*

Provenance: Sold at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 23, 1888, no. 338. Princesse de Polignac died in 1943, and the work entered the Louvre in 1945.

Cat. no. 96. *Madame Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, née Madeleine Chapelle*

Exhibitions: Paris 1949b, no. 23.

Cat. no. 97. *Madame Marie Marcotte (Marcotte de Sainte-Marie), née Suzanne-Clarisse de Salvaing de Boissieu*

Exhibitions: The sitter's name was not revealed when the portrait was exhibited in Paris, Salon of 1827, no. 576 (*Portrait de femme*).

References: Brière 1924, no. 3108; Sterling and Adhémar 1960, no. 1108.

Cat. no. 98. *Amédée-David, Comte de Pastoret*

Exhibitions: The sitter's name was not revealed when the portrait was exhibited in Paris, Salon of 1827, no. 575 (*Portrait d'homme*). Paris 1935b, no. 904; Louisville, Fort Worth 1983–84, no. 66 (Fort Worth only).

Cat. no. 99. *Louis-François Bertin*

In addition to Magimel's engraving of 1851, the portrait was engraved on three other occasions during Ingres's lifetime: in 1833 by [Louis-Marie] Normand fils, in 1844 by Louis-Pierre Henriquel-Dupont, and in 1866 by Alexandre Hurel (see Bertin 1996, nos. 18, 36, and 79). Eugène-Emmanuel Amaury-Duval and Louis Cabanes also made copies (Bertin 1998, under LR.19).

Provenance: Since the owners mentioned in Paris 1846 and in Delaborde 1870 are "M[onsieur] Bertin" and "M. Édouard Bertin," perhaps the portrait was not bequeathed by the sitter to his daughter Louise, as previously thought.

Exhibitions: Exhibited in 1832 in the artist's studio. Paris 1846, no. 47; Paris 1946c, no. 147.

References: Brière 1924, no. 428B; Sterling and Adhémar 1960, no. 1114.

Cat. no. 100. *Study for "Louis-François Bertin"*

On the verso is a study of legs and drapery of a woman; for the first reproduction of the verso, see Tübingen, Brussels 1986, p. 258 (German ed.) and p. 254 (French ed.).

Provenance: Léon Say, by 1878–79; Madame Léon Say, by 1905.

Exhibitions: London 1878–79, no. 698; Paris 1884, no. 417; Paris 1905, no. 47.

Cat. no. 101. *Study for "Louis-François Bertin"*

Provenance: May have been included in the Gustave Héquet sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, February 21, 1866, unnumbered lot.

Exhibitions: Not exhibited in Paris 1921, no. 140.

Cat. no. 102. *Charlotte-Madeleine Taurel*

Exhibitions: Not exhibited in Buenos Aires 1939, no. 198;

in Buenos Aires 1951, a photograph of the work was displayed.

Cat. no. 104. *Dr. Louis Martinet*

Provenance: Sold anonymously at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 17, 1886, no. 118.

Cat. no. 105. *Luigi Calamatta*

Daniel Ternois has published twenty-six letters sent by Ingres to the engraver (Ternois 1980a and Ternois 1985).

Exhibitions: "George Sand: Visages du romantisme," Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, January 27–April 10, 1977, no. 253.

Cat. no. 106. *Madame Louis-François Godinot, née Victoire Pauline Thiollière de l'Isle*

"A Paris le 30 septembre 1829" is inscribed on the mount [KCG].

Cat. no. 108. *Madame Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, née Madeleine Chapelle*

Provenance: Passed from Mrs. Hugh N. Kirkland, Santa Barbara, to her daughter, Ellen Ryerson Conant; her daughter, Lawrie Conant Chiaro, Beverly Hills; her sale, Sotheby's, New York, October 23, 1990, no. 8.

Cat. no. 109. *Madame Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, née Madeleine Chapelle*

Exhibitions: Exhibited in Paris 1921 as *Portrait de Mme Ingres, née Ramel*.

Cat. no. 110. *Madame Louis-François Bertin, née Geneviève Aimée-Victoire Boutard*

Provenance: Léon Say, by 1878–79.

Exhibitions: "L'art et la vie sous Louis-Philippe, 1830–1848," Paris, Hôtel Charpentier, June 16–July 10, 1926, no. 229; Copenhagen, Stockholm, Oslo 1928, no. 160 (Copenhagen), no. 149 (Stockholm), no. 151 (Oslo).

Cat. no. 111. *Self-Portrait*

Exhibitions: "Dibujos franceses, siglos XIII a XX," Bogotá, Biblioteca Nacional de Bogotá, 1938, no. 49.

Cat. no. 112. *Mademoiselle Louise Vernet*

In Rome, Horace Vernet executed a portrait of his daughter that recalls Ingres's portrait of Caroline Rivière (W 24); see *Horace Vernet (1789–1863)*, Rome, Académie de France à Rome; Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, March–July 1980, exh. cat. (Rome, 1980), no. 54, ill.

Cat. no. 115. *Victor Baltard*

Letters sent by Baltard to Hippolyte Flandrin from 1836 to 1838 include many references to Ingres and his wife (Marie-Madeleine Aubrun, "Victor Baltard à Hippolyte Flandrin: Dix lettres de 1836 à 1842," *Bulletin du Musée Ingres*, nos. 57–58 [1988], pp. 114–27). In 1847, Baltard published *Villa Médicis à Rome, dessinée, mesurée,*

publiée et accompagnée d'un texte historique et explicatif, dedicated to Ingres, his "honoré maître."

Cat. no. 116. *Franz Liszt*

According to Charles F. Dupêchez (*Marie d'Agoult, 1805–1876* [Paris, 1994], p. 346), Liszt and the comtesse d'Agoult arrived in Rome on February 5, 1839.

Cat. no. 117. *Charles Gounod*

Exhibitions: Rotterdam, Paris, New York 1958–59, no. 133 (Rotterdam and Paris only).

Cat. no. 119. *Maria Luigi Carlo Zenobio Salvatore Cherubini*

The recent discovery of a series of letters related to the execution of Ingres's allegorical portrait of Cherubini (fig. 22) provides a more precise documentation of its evolution.

In a letter to Ingres dated Paris, December 24, 1835, Cherubini inquires as to the progress of his portrait: "Vous occupez-vous de ma triste figure, que vous aviez commencé à embellir par vos pinceaux?" (Artur Holde, "A Little-Known Letter by Berlioz and Unpublished Letters by Cherubini, Leoncavallo, and Hugo Wolf," *The Musical Quarterly* 37, no. 3 [July 1951], p. 348; Vittorio Della Croce, *Cherubini e i musicisti italiani del suo tempo*, vol. 2 [1986], p. 245).

Writing from Rome on October 27, 1840, Raymond Balze reports of Ingres: "Son 'Cherubini' se porte aussi très bien. Je ne sais si vous connaissez sa composition. Cherubini, le coude appuyé sur une table, médite ses oeuvres. Calliope [*sic*] s'avance derrière lui et lui pose la main sur la tête" (Marie-Madeleine Aubrun, "Correspondance de quatre épistoliers à Hippolyte Flandrin," *Bulletin du Musée Ingres*, nos. 57–58 [1988], p. 104).



Figure 23. Letter from Victor Schnetz to Louis-Hippolyte Lebas, March 21, 1841, showing sketches of Ingres's *Virgin with the Host*, 1841 (left), Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, and *Cherubini and the Muse of Lyric Poetry*, 1842 (right), Musée du Louvre, Paris. Institut Néerlandais, Paris (photo: Institut Néerlandais)

A letter from Cherubini dated November 5, [1840], confirms Ingres's continued work on the portrait:

M. Dumont, membre libre de notre Académie, est venu me donner de vos chères nouvelles, disant qu'il était chargé par vous de me demander comment je désirais être habillé et de quelle couleur, dans le portrait que vous avez l'extrême bonté de me faire. Je ne saurais vous indiquer rien à cet égard, et je vous laisserais la liberté de faire ce que vous et votre génie vous dictent de choisir pour l'ensemble d'un effet pittoresque.

M. Dumont m'a dit que le portrait est admirable: je n'en suis pas autant étonné! M. le comte Pastoret, à son retour de Rome, m'en avait déjà parlé dans les mêmes termes (Vittorio Della Croce, *Cherubini e i musicisti italiani del suo tempo*, vol. 2 [1986], pp. 281–82).

In a letter to the architect Louis-Hippolyte Lebas, dated Rome, March 21, 1841 (Figure 23), Victor Schnetz writes:

Je suis arrivé ici le 4 mars. J'aurais pu n'y arriver qu'un mois plus tard sans qu'Ingres en fût fâché, ses deux tableaux n'étant pas finis. Je me suis empressé de le tranquilliser en arrivant. . . . Les deux tableaux qu'Ingres vient de finir hier sont une Madone avec 2 saints et le portrait de Cherubini arrangé avec une muse. Voici à peu près les deux compositions.

A letter written by Charles Poran from Rome that describes the allegorical portrait was published in

1880–81 with a date of March 23, 1840 (see Guiffrey 1880–81, pp. 355–58); however, in his letter, Poran notes that “M. Ingres quitte Rome la semaine prochaine,” a reference that accords with Ingres's departure from the Villa Medici on April 6, 1841. Thus, it is likely that the letter dates from 1841 and, by extension, that Poran saw the painting in Ingres's studio in 1841 rather than in 1840.

A notice in the January 30, 1842, issue of *L'Artiste* confirms that Ingres held a private exhibition of the work in his studio before leaving Rome:

M. Ingres, avant de quitter Rome, avait montré le beau portrait qu'il a fait de Cherubini à tous ses amis comme à tous ses connaissances, et parmi ces dernières se trouvait Mme la comtesse d'Agoult. De retour à Paris, M. Ingres n'a montré ce portrait qu'à quelques intimes, et il attend, pour l'exposer en public, de le pouvoir terminer; encore ne l'a-t-il montré qu'avec la recommandation expresse qu'il n'en serait parlé nulle part (p. 74).

In Paris, Ingres exhibited the allegorical portrait of Cherubini to the public in his studio in early spring of 1842, as reported in the March 6 issue of the weekly *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*: “On voit en ce moment, dans l'atelier de M. Ingres, un nouvel ouvrage de ce grand artiste: le portrait de M. Cherubini, le doyen des compositeurs de ce temps.” The date of the exhibition, one year after Ingres's return to Paris, may indicate that Ingres retouched the painting, perhaps at Cherubini's request.

The following chronology summarizes the contemporary sources documenting the evolution of Ingres's portrait:

<i>From Paris</i>	<i>From Florence</i>	<i>From Rome</i>	<i>Source</i>
Feb. 2, 1835			Letter from Cherubini to Ingres
Dec. 24, 1835			Letter from Cherubini to Ingres
	Dec. 26, 1836		Letter from Bartolini to Ingres
		Feb. 20, 1838	Letter from Ingres to Le Go
		Aug. 1, 1840	Letter from Ingres to Le Go
		[Sept.?] 1840	Letter from Ingres to A.-L. Dumont, as suggested by Cherubini's letter of Nov. 5, 1840, to Ingres; location unknown
		Sept. 5, 1840	Letter from Ingres to Gatteaux
		Oct. 24, 1840	Letter from Lehmann to Comtesse d'Agoult
		Oct. 27, 1840	Letter from R. Balze to H. and P. Flandrin
Nov. 5, 1840			Letter from Cherubini to Ingres
		Dec. 16, 1840	Letter from Lehmann to Comtesse d'Agoult
		March 21, 1841	Letter from Schnetz to Lebas
		March 23, 1841	Letter from Ch. Poran
July 25, 1841			Halévy article in <i>Revue et gazette musicale de Paris</i>
Jan. 7, 1842			Comtesse d'Agoult article in <i>La Presse</i>
Jan. 30, 1842			Notice in <i>L'Artiste</i>
Feb. 4, 1842			Letter from Ingres to editor of <i>L'Artiste</i>
March 6, 1842			Notice in <i>Revue et gazette musicale de Paris</i>

Delaborde did not include the variant of the portrait, included in the exhibiton (cat. no. 119), in his 1870 catalogue of Ingres's work, reinforcing the likelihood that this second portrait of Cherubini was painted under Ingres's direction rather than by Ingres himself. In his notebook, Ingres lists the Cincinnati version among those he executed in Rome; however, Lapauze dates it to 1844 (Lapauze 1911a, p. 370). The work was copied by Madame Turcas (1795–1875), née Cherubini (Quatrelles L'Épine, *Cherubini [1760–1842]: Notes et documents inédits* [Lille, 1913], p. 146, ill. p. 135).

A portrait drawing of Cherubini bearing the (apocryphal) signature *Ingres* was included in the André Meyer sale, *Étude Pescheteau-Badin, Godeau et Leroy*, Paris, July 2, 1998, no. 116, as *École française du XIXe siècle*.

Provenance: Following the composer's death, the canvas, now in Cincinnati, remained with his wife, Cécile Cherubini (d. 1864), passing to their son Salvador by bequest in 1864.

References: Not cited in Delaborde 1870, under no. 114; Vittorio Della Croce, *Cherubini e i musicisti italiani del suo tempo*, 2 vols. (Turin, 1983–86); New York 1993, no. A331, ill.; Warrick 1996, pp. 337–39.

Cat. no. 120. *Study for "Luigi Cherubini" (Head)*

Exhibitions: Paris 1867, no. 325.

References: Duplessis 1896, no. 6, ill.

Cat. no. 121. *Ferdinand-Philippe-Louis-Charles-Henri, Duc d'Orléans*

In addition to Magimel's 1851 engraving, Ingres's portrait was engraved by Calamatta in 1842 and 1846 (Bertin 1996, nos. 32 and 39).

Provenance: Owned by the duc d'Orléans's brother, the duc d'Aumale, in 1870.

Exhibitions: Venice 1934, no. 153 (1st ed. of exh. cat.), no. III-15 (2nd ed.); Brussels 1935, no. 947.

References: Magimel 1851, pl. 66; *French Art* 1933, no. 414.

Cat. no. 122. *Ferdinand-Philippe-Louis-Charles-Henri, Duc d'Orléans*

The accession number is MV 5209.

Exhibitions: This work or the three-quarter length version (W 242), also at Versailles, was exhibited in "L'art et la vie sous Louis-Philippe, 1830–1848," Paris, Hôtel Charpentier, June 16–July 10, 1926, no. 94. Exhibited in Paris 1930, no. 1590; Rome, Florence 1955, no. 63 (Rome), no. 61 (Florence).

Cat. no. 123. *Madame Clément Boulanger, née Marie-Élisabeth Blavot, later Madame Edmond Cavé*

A lithograph of the portrait was made in 1851 by Narcisse Lecomte (Bertin 1996, no. 43). A copy, painted either by Clément Boulanger or by Éliisa herself, was sold as an Ingres at Christie's, London, July 9, 1976, no. 184 (Ternois and Camesasca 1984, no. 175).

Cat. no. 124. *Hygin-Edmond-Ludovic-Auguste Cavé*

The Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie Jacques Doucet, Paris, owns sixty-one letters sent by various artists to the Cavés between 1838 and 1884 (ms. 213).

Cat. no. 125. *Vicomtesse Othenin d'Haussonville, née Louise-Albertine de Broglie*

Exhibitions: Paris 1910, no. 99.

Cat. no. 126. *Study for "Vicomtesse d'Haussonville"*

Exhibitions: Washington 1940, no. 22; Grosse Point Farms 1941, no. 44; New York 1947; Amherst, Amherst College, January 1948; Williamstown, Williams College, November 1948; Richmond 1952.

References: Mongan 1947, no. 19, ill.

Cat. no. 127. *Study for "Vicomtesse d'Haussonville"*

Provenance: Possibly included in the Michel Manzi sale, Galerie Manzi, Joyant & Cie., Paris, March 13, 1919, no. 148, not ill.

Exhibitions: Saint Louis 1933; Brooklyn 1939; Grosse Point Farms 1941, no. 45.

Cat. no. 128. *Study for "Vicomtesse d'Haussonville"*

Provenance: Possibly included in the Michel Manzi sale, Galerie Manzi, Joyant & Cie., Paris, March 13, 1919, no. 148, not ill.

Exhibitions: Zurich 1937, no. 238; Geneva 1951, no. 162; Lausanne 1953, no. 28.

Cat. no. 129. *Study for "Vicomtesse d'Haussonville" (Arms)*

Exhibitions: Paris 1867, no. 351.

Cat. no. 132. *Baronne James de Rothschild, née Betty von Rothschild*

A letter related to the portrait, written by Ingres to Betty de Rothschild, was offered for sale by the Librairie Bernard Loliée, Paris, in May 1969; in the letter, dated Monday, July 6, Ingres writes:

Madame, vous avez dû, recevoir une lettre en réponse à celle que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire et dans laquelle je vous priais, Madame, de me faire remettre votre belle robe bleue pour la peindre! Mais je l'attends toujours; sans ce contretemps elle serait terminée à cette heure. Veuillez donc bien, Madame, avoir la bonté de donner vos ordres pour que pendant votre absence je puisse terminer tous les accessoires de votre portrait.

In addition, two notices that appeared in the *Moniteur des arts* in 1859 suggest that Ingres was asked to paint the portrait of the wife of Baron Gustave de Rothschild, the second son of Baron James and Betty; however, there is no extant evidence that Ingres undertook this commission: "Le bruit du mariage de M. [le baron Gustave] de Rothschild avec Mlle [Cécile] Anspach a retenti dans tous les échos de la presse; nos lecteurs n'apprendront pas, sans un vif plaisir, que la jeune mariée, dont M. Ingres est chargé de faire le portrait, est une habile paysagiste, élève

de Français. Avis aux demoiselles qui veulent devenir millionnaires!" (February 19, 1859); "M. Ingres vient de terminer, pour le Salon prochain, le portrait de Mme de Rothschild, la nouvelle mariée" (March 12, 1859).

References: Horsin Déon, "Collections d'amateurs: Cabinet de M. le baron J. de Rothschild [sic]," *Revue des beaux-arts* 4 (1853), pp. 84–88; Anka Muhlstein, *Baron James: The Rise of the French Rothschilds* (New York, 1982).

Cat. no. 133. *Madame Paul-Sigisbert Moitessier, née Marie-Clotilde-Inès de Foucauld*

For further biographical information on the sitter and her family, see Warrick 1996, pp. 343–52.

Letters written by Ingres to Bertin *fils*, Jules Janin, and an anonymous friend on January 9 and 10, 1852, indicate that *Madame Moitessier Standing* was completed at the very beginning of January 1852 (see Bertin 1998, under LR.19; Bertin 1998, under LR.86; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits, N.a.fr. 25123, f. 144). For an additional account of the work's exhibition in Ingres's studio, see Delécluze, January 15, 1852.

Exhibitions: The artist's studio, 1852; "La pintura francesa de David a nuestros días. Óleos, dibujos y acuarelas," Buenos Aires, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, October–December 1939, no. 76; "La pintura francesa de David a nuestros días," Montevideo, Salón Nacional de Bellas Artes, April 1940, no. 58; "Kress Additions to the National Gallery of Art," Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, February 2–March 30, 1946, no. 882.

Cat. no. 134. *Madame Paul-Sigisbert Moitessier, née Marie-Clotilde-Inès de Foucauld, Seated*

Exhibitions: London 1972, no. 156.

Cat. no. 137. *Study for "Madame Moitessier Seated" (Right Arm)*

A related drawing of the right arm (see p. 442 n. 18) was included in the 1929 Henry Lapauze sale (no. 8); Lapauze had purchased it at the C[harles] Morin sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 19, 1924, no. 83.

Provenance: Lapauze acted as curator of the Musée Ingres, but he was not the director.

Cat. no. 139. *Study for "Madame Moitessier Standing"*

Exhibitions: Possibly exhibited in London 1934, no. 52.

Cat. no. 140. *Study for "Madame Moitessier Standing"*

Another study, which shows a different dress and an intermediate position for the arms (see p. 442 n. 26), was sold anonymously at Étude Audap, Solanet, SCP Godeau-Velliet, Paris, November 5, 1993, no. 108.

Provenance: Before entering the collection of Paul Rosenberg, the work was owned by Henry Lapauze (1867–1925); in his posthumous sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 21, 1929, no. 37; purchased by Georges Wildenstein, Paris.

Exhibitions: The work was possibly exhibited in London 1934, no. 52; included in Brussels 1936, no. 30;

New York 1948, no. 1.

References: Mongan 1957, pp. 3–8, fig. 2.

Cat. no. 141. *Study for "Madame Moitessier Standing"*

Provenance: Pierre Geismar sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, November 15, 1928, no. 33.

Exhibitions: "De David à Manet. Dessins et aquarelles," Paris, Galerie Balzac, January 26–February 26, 1924, no. 174.

Cat. no. 142. *Study for "Madame Moitessier Standing" (Head)*

Provenance: Purchased by Degas in July 1896 for 600 francs; previously in the collections of M. Montaignac and Fernand Guille.

References: New York 1997–98, [vol. 2], no. 664.

Cat. no. 143. *Study for "Madame Moitessier Standing"*

Provenance: Eugène Lecomte sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 11–13, 1906, no. 15.

Cat. no. 145. *Princesse Albert de Broglie, née Joséphine-Éléonore-Marie-Pauline de Galard de Brassac de Béarn*

Louis-Hector de Galard, comte de Béarn, marquis de Brassac, was born April 12, 1802, and died March 26, 1871; his daughter, later the princesse de Broglie, died at Cannes November 28, 1860, at the age of thirty-five (A. Révérend, *Armorial du Premier Empire*, vol. 2 [1895], pp. 200–201).

References: Naef 1977–80, vol. 3 (1979), pp. 426–30.

Cat. no. 147. *Copy after Ingres's 1804 Self-Portrait*

Exhibited in 1885 with the title *Ingres à vingt-deux ans, 1802*, dimensions cited as 88 x 70 cm (see Paris 1885, no. 156); its current dimensions are 86.4 x 69.9 cm. Ingres's student Madame Laurence-Augustine Héquet, née Jubé, died in April 1864 (*Le Ménestrel*, April 10, 1864, p. 152, and November 5, 1865, pp. 390–91). Her funeral was held April 7 at the church of Sainte-Clotilde "au milieu d'un concours de littérateurs et d'artistes empressés de donner à un ami ce témoignage de sympathie dans une si douloureuse épreuve" (*Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, April 10, 1864, p. 119).

Cat. no. 148. *Self-Portrait at Seventy-Eight*

Accession number 1948.

Ingres's letter of January 26, 1840, was first published in 1875 (Eugène Müntz, "Ingres: Lettre relative à son portrait pour la Galerie de Florence [26 janvier 1840]," *Nouvelles archives de l'art français* 3 [1875], pp. 485–86), while that of March 20, 1858, was first published in 1901 (Lapauze 1901, p. 10 n. 1).

In a letter to the director of Fine Arts of October 27, 1877, Pierre-Auguste Pichon, a former student of Ingres who had painted copies of the portrait of the duc d'Orléans (see cat. nos. 121, 122), suggests that he collaborated on this work with Ingres: "Je sollicite de votre bienveillance d'être chargé de celui de mon maître et ami Ingres dont j'ai été le collaborateur pendant bien

des années, notamment pour son portrait qu'il a offert jadis au Musée de Florence" (Geneviève Lacambre and Jean Lacambre, "Pierre-Auguste Pichon, élève d'Ingres," *Bulletin du Musée Ingres*, no. 28 [December 1970], p. 24).

The Musée de Versailles commissioned a copy of the *Self-Portrait*, but from Mademoiselle Jacquot rather than from Pichon; it entered the museum in 1878 (acc. no. MV 5149; see Constans 1995, [vol. 1], no. 2746).

Provenance: Taken from the Uffizi by the Germans during World War II.

Exhibitions: "Tableaux français en Italie, tableaux italiens en France," Rome, Palazzetto Venezia, Summer 1946, no. 94.

References: *La Peinture française à Florence*, Florence, Pitti Palace, Summer 1945, exh. cat. (Florence, 1945), no. 84 bis, ill. pl. 64.

Cat. no. 149. *Self-Portrait*

Exhibitions: "De Ingres à Paul Delvaux," Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, May 17–July 1, 1973; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, May 15–June 30, 1973, pl. 2

References: *French Art* 1933, no. 417.

Cat. no. 152. *Comtesse Charles d'Agoult, née Marie de Flavigny, and Her Daughter Claire d'Agoult*

According to Charles F. Dupêchez (*Marie d'Agoult, 1805–1876* [Paris, 1994], p. 346), Comtesse d'Agoult and Liszt arrived in Rome on February 5, 1839.

Provenance: Sold at Étude Couturier Nicolay, Paris, March 17, 1989, no. 18; a brochure, *Ingres: La comtesse d'Agoult et sa fille Claire*, was published by the auctioneers.

Cat. no. 154. *Franz Adolf von Stürler*

The sitter exhibited works at the Salon of 1859 using the name Adolphe Sturler (Eric Bertin, *Les élèves d'Ingres: Édition critique de la liste Lapauze* [privately printed, 1998], n.p.). Stürler's copy of Ingres's portrait of Lorenzo Bartolini (W 142) is in the collection of the Palazzo Comunale, Prato.

Exhibitions: Not included in Basel 1921.

Cat. no. 155. *Madame Hippolyte Flandrin, née Aimée-Caroline Ancelot*

References: Chantal Lanvin, "Les Frères Flandrin, Hippolyte et Paul, élèves d'Ingres," *Actes du colloque international: Ingres et le Néo-Classicisme, Montauban, octobre 1975* (Montauban, 1977), pp. 53–71; Marthe Flandrin and Madeleine Froidevaux-Flandrin, *Les Frères Flandrin, trois jeunes peintres au XIXe siècle: Leur correspondance, le journal inédit d'Hippolyte Flandrin en Italie* ([France], 1984); Olivier Jouvenet, "Trois Lettres inédites d'Hippolyte et Paul Flandrin à leur condisciple Alexandre Desgoffe (1805–1882)," *Archives de l'art français*, n.s. 28 (1986), pp. 291–97; Jouvenet 1988.

Cat. no. 157. *Pierre-François-Henri Labrouste*

References: Pierre Saddy, *Henri Labrouste, architecte, 1801–1875* (Paris, 1977).

Cat. no. 158. *Hippolyte Flandrin*

Exhibitions: Philadelphia, Detroit, Paris 1978–79, no. VII–40 (Philadelphia and Detroit), no. 318 (Paris).

Cat. no. 160. *Edmond Ramel and His Wife, née Irma Donbernard*

Provenance: With Paul Rosenberg, or his gallery in New York, by 1948.

Exhibitions: Hartford 1934, no. 10.

Cat. no. 162. *Madame Charles Simart, née Amélie Baltard*

Exhibitions: New York, Wildenstein & Co., March 1932 (as *Madame Semiard*); "Five Centuries of Realism," Toledo, The Toledo Museum of Art, April 2–30, 1939.

Cat. no. 164. *Madame Charles Gounod, née Anna Zimmermann*

Exhibitions: Rotterdam, Paris, New York 1958–59, no. 137 (Rotterdam and Paris only).

CAPTION CORRIGENDA

Fig. 12: W 264.

Fig. 52: W 39.

Fig. 72: 867.352.

Fig. 77: 867.243 or 28.2.3.

Fig. 88: Belongs to the Musée du Louvre, Paris (acc. no. R.F.1443).

Fig. 106: Musée du Louvre, Paris, on deposit at the Musée Ingres, Montauban.

Fig. 108: Detail of cat. no. 25.

Fig. 144: Mahmoud Khalil Museum, Cairo.

Fig. 154: 867.294.

Fig. 167: W 213.

Fig. 168: W 214.

Fig. 178: 867.203.

Fig. 239: W 238.

CHRONOLOGY

Salons and Other Major Exhibitions

The "Exposition Générale des Beaux-Arts" (Brussels, August 1866) also included the drawing *Homer Deified*, no. 960 (fig. 316).

Commissions

The two murals for the Château de Dampierre (fig. 204) were commissioned on August 11, 1839 (Thomas de Luynes, "Le duc, le peintre et l'architecte: La salle de la

Minerve au château de Dampierre,” *L’Objet d’art*, no. 7 [May 1988], p. 50).

On August 10, 1845, Ingres accepted the Prefect of the Seine’s offer to decorate the new Parisian church of Saint-Vincent-de-Paul (letter from the artist [Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, inv. 5553]).

Honors

On April 26, 1835, Ingres was made a resident member of the Pontificia Accademia Romana di San Luca (*Le moniteur universel*, May 14, 1835, p. 1155).

On November 23, 1841, Ingres was made a member of the commission appointed to oversee the competition to find a design for Napoleon’s tomb (Michael P. Driskel, *As Befits a Legend: Building a Tomb for Napoleon, 1840–1861* [Kent, Ohio, 1993], p. 129).

On June 17, 1843, Ingres was made a member of the Königlich Akademie der Künste, Berlin (*Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, August 6, 1843, p. 276).

On February 5, 1845, Ingres was made a member of the Koninklijke Academie voor Schone Kunsten, Amsterdam (Ewals 1984, p. 34).

On April 2, 1848, Ingres was made a member of the Conseil Supérieur de Perfectionnement des Manufactures Nationales des Gobelins, Beauvais et Sèvres (Pierre Vaisse, “Le Conseil supérieur de perfectionnement des Manufactures Nationales sous la Deuxième République,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire de l’art français* [1974 (1976)], pp. 153–71).

On September 4, 1851, Ingres accepted the Minister of the Interior’s offer to be a member of the committee overseeing *Catacombes de Rome*; the book was issued in sixty-six

parts from 1851 to 1855 (see Ingres’s letter of the same date, to the Minister of the Interior, sold in Paris, Maison Charavay, October 1970).

On January 15, 1862, Ingres was made a member of the Commission de la Propriété Littéraire et Artistique (*Courrier artistique*, February 1, 1862); two months later, on March 22, he was made a member of the Commission Consultative des Beaux-Arts (*L’Artiste*, April 1, 1862).

On July 4, 1864, Ingres was made a member of the Conseil Impérial de l’Instruction Publique [for the year 1864] (*La Chronique des arts*, July 10, 1864, p. 206).

Gifts to Institutions

In 1833, a version of the drawing *Philemon and Baucis Giving Hospitality to Jupiter and Mercury* (Musée Crozatier, Le Puy) was offered by Ingres to the Société d’Agriculture [de la ville] du Puy (see Louisville, Fort Worth 1983–84, no. 1, ill.).

In January 1856, Ingres offered to the Musée Impérial du Louvre a drawing by Jacques-Louis David, *Study for “The Intervention of the Sabine Women”* (see London 1972, no. 555).

Between 1859 and 1865, fifty-six prints or photographs after his works were offered by Ingres to the Bibliothèque Impériale (see Bertin 1996, p. 41 n. 5).

By the end of 1865, two drawings (*Study for “The Apotheosis of Napoleon I”* and *Study for “The Vow of Louis XIII”*) had been offered by the artist to the Musée de Dessins, Lille (*La Chronique des arts*, December 31, 1865, pp. 355–56; Henry Pluchart, *Ville de Lille, Musée Wicar: Notice des dessins, cartons, pastels, miniatures et grisailles exposés* [1889], nos. 1482 and 1483).

A Forgotten Mountain: Jasper F. Cropsey's Paintings of Sugar Loaf

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JASPER F. CROPSEY'S paintings of Sugar Loaf Mountain are among the most problematic of his works. The subject of many of these paintings has often been incorrectly identified because the geographic area is unfamiliar to both art historians and dealers; only three paintings with "Sugar Loaf" in the title are documented through exhibition or auction records.¹ An even more important factor, however, is that the artist took great liberties with his subject. Cropsey's portrayals of the mountain appear much more similar to one another than to the actual topography of the site: certainly, in terms of scale and contour, the prominent peak in his works does not closely resemble the one that rises in the Warwick Valley, Orange County, New York. Small wonder, then, that the title and subject of Cropsey's fall scene in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, known as *Autumn Landscape, Mount Chocorua, New Hampshire* (Figure 1), has not been challenged since the Museum acquired the painting in 1961.

Lent by the dealer Victor Spark as *Mount Chocorua* to the exhibition "Artists in the White Mountains" at the Currier Gallery of Art in 1955, *Autumn Landscape* was advertised later that year by John Graham & Sons under the same "Mount Chocorua" title.² When William S. Talbot included the piece in his major exhibition of Cropsey's work in 1970, suggesting a date of about 1872 on stylistic grounds, he did not question the title, although he did note that the artist "made the peak a bit higher and more rounded than it actually appears."³ Nor was the identification contested in the 1985 catalogue of American paintings in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*.⁴ While the Museum's painting shows a mountain that is indeed similar to Mount Chocorua as depicted here in Sanford R. Gifford's *Summer Afternoon* (Figure 2), its actual subject is Sugar Loaf Mountain, which rises in the Warwick Valley (Figure 3).

There are a number of reasons to reject Mount Chocorua as the mountain in the Museum's painting.⁵ Only twice during Cropsey's lifetime did he exhibit paintings of this subject;⁶ and although the renowned White Mountain peak, which the artist sketched in 1852 and 1855, was a popular subject among the Hudson River School painters, no major paintings by Cropsey of Mount Chocorua appear to have survived.⁷ In his known drawings and smaller oil studies (e.g., Figures 4 and 5), Cropsey carefully retained the distinctive pyramidal shape and massiveness of Mount Chocorua as it rises dramatically over the surrounding wilderness. These compositions show the continual and gradual ascent of the mountain's profile from the foothills on the left, then an abrupt breaking off into an almost hooklike form at the apex, and a descent into a broken series of smaller peaks to the right. By contrast, Cropsey's paintings of Sugar Loaf show a more gently rounded form—even though the height of the peak is greatly exaggerated—almost symmetrical in shape, situated within a pastoral setting.

In 1866, the year after his greatest financial success, Cropsey purchased a large tract of land approximately two miles south of Warwick, New York, an area considered "an ideal spot for country homes"⁸—and not far from Sugar Loaf. The artist knew the region well; its scenic beauty had attracted him at the beginning of his career as a painter. At nearby West Milford, New Jersey, he had met Maria Cooley, whom he married in 1847. During his early courtship he painted local sites such as Greenwood Lake and Lake Wawayanda, subjects to which he would return throughout his life. It is not surprising, therefore, that Cropsey, once he thought he was financially secure, built a twenty-nine-room mansion of his own design (Figure 6) near his earliest sketching grounds and his wife's family home. Completed in 1869, Cropsey's magnificent retreat, called Aladdin, included a reception room, drawing room, billiard room, conservatory, and a large (thirty-foot-square) studio. Windows on the north, east, and west sides of his home carefully framed the exterior landscape, which was also reflected in large mirrors placed on opposite

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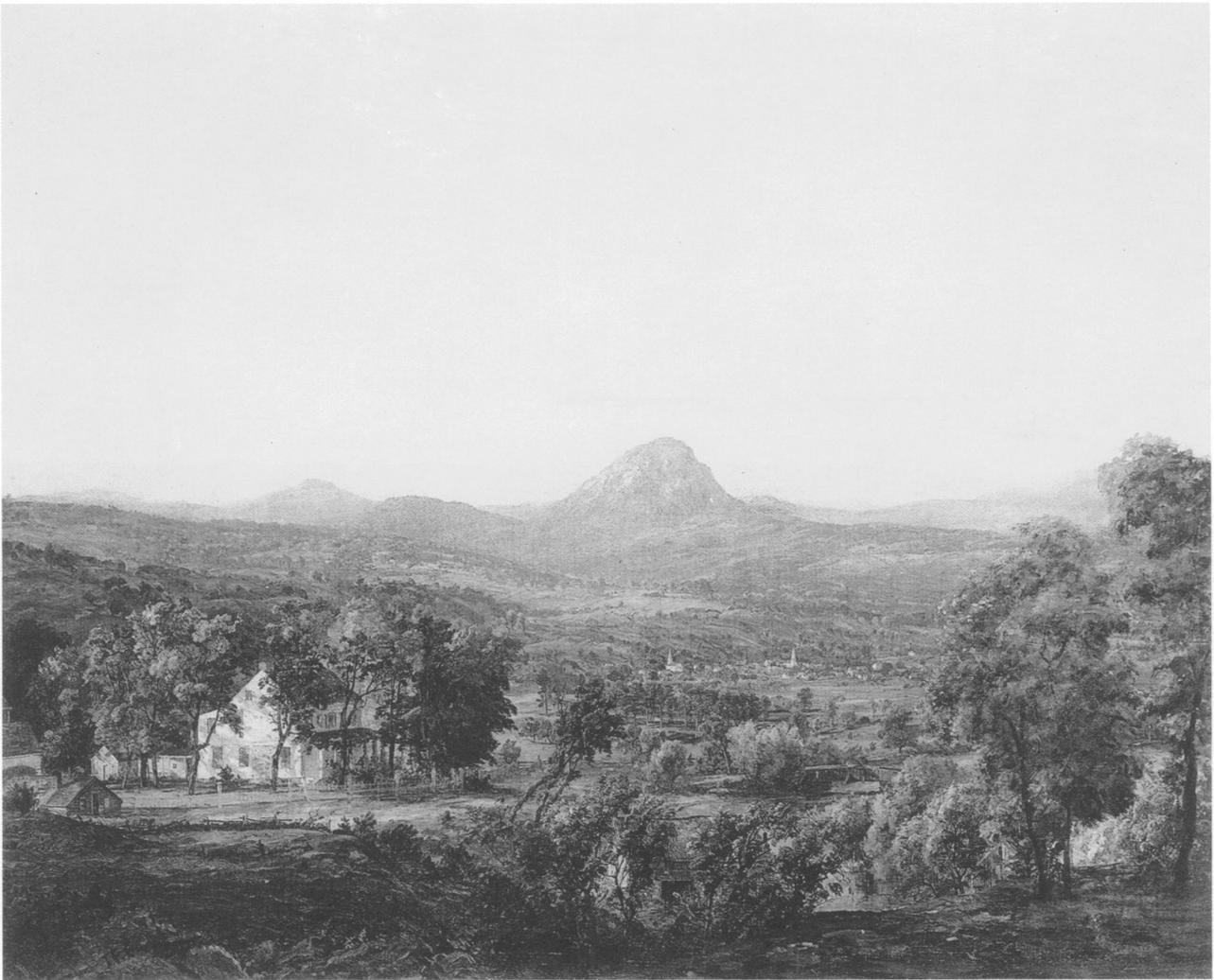


Figure 1. Jasper F. Cropsey (1823–1900). *Autumn Landscape, Sugar Loaf Mountain, New York* (previously titled *Autumn Landscape, Mount Chocorua, New Hampshire*), n.d. Oil on canvas, 28½ x 35½ in. (72.4 x 90.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Bertram F. and Susie Brummer Foundation, Inc., Gift, 1961 (61.262). See also Colorplate 4

walls.⁹ From his property, named by the Indians “Noonantum,” meaning either “the hill of joy” or “a beautiful view,”¹⁰ Cropsey could see Mounts Adam and Eve and Sugar Loaf, as well as distant views of the Shawangunks and the Catskills. For the next fifteen years, he painted the countryside near his home, which was described by a contemporary writer as “one of the most . . . Arcadian regions of the United States.”¹¹ Earlier in his career Cropsey had traveled widely throughout the eastern United States to gather material for painting, but there is no evidence that while living at “Aladdin” he journeyed far from home for his subjects.¹²

Sugar Loaf rises only 1,226 feet above sea level. The rocky mountain of graywacke slate is known for its conical form resembling an old-fashioned loaf of sugar. As a local historian noted, “Its abrupt bald peak gives it an individuality,” allowing it to serve as a beacon that is “visible and quickly recognized from many points in the

county.”¹³ In his paintings of this uniquely shaped formation, Cropsey emphasized the bare, rocky contour of the mountain, today covered by secondary growth. But even in the nineteenth century, the mountain was not completely barren of foliage, and its upper stony surface was described as “covered with a woody top-knot or crest, which gives it a pleasant and gay appearance.”¹⁴

The popular nineteenth-century writer N. P. Willis thought that the mountain as viewed from the nearby Chester Hills to the southwest resembled not a sugar loaf but “a crouching lion ready to spring upon its prey.”¹⁵ Sugar Loaf is seen from this direction in an engraving that appeared in the *Harper’s New York and Erie Rail-Road Guide Book* in 1851 (Figure 7). This view and another engraving in the guide showing the mountain seen from the north, near Oxford (Figure 8), are the only known images of the mountain contemporaneous with Cropsey’s drawings and paintings.



Figure 2. Sanford R. Gifford (1823–1880). *Summer Afternoon*, 1855. Oil on canvas, 29 x 41 in. (73.7 x 104.1 cm) (oval spandrel). The Newark Museum, Newark, N.J., Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Orrin W. June, 1961, 61.10 (photo: The Newark Museum/Art Resource, N.Y.)



Figure 3. Panoramic view of Mine Hill, Brimstone Mountain, Sugar Loaf Mountain, Goosepond Mountain, and Snake Mountain, looking north from the base of Bellvale Mountain on Lake Road (photo: Nick Zungoli, Sugar Loaf, N.Y.)

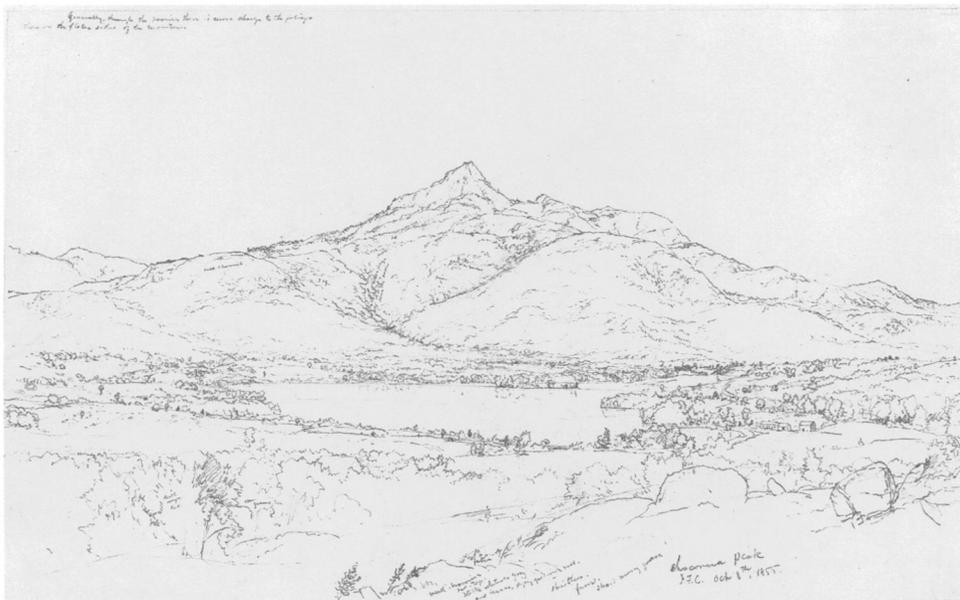


Figure 4. Cropsey. *View of Mount Chocorua*, October 8, 1855. Pencil on paper, 10 x 16¼ in. (25.5 x 40.6 cm). Collection of Michael J. Ettner (photo: © Michael J. Ettner)



Figure 5. Cropsey. *Lake at Mount Chocorua*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 12¾ x 20½ in. (31.4 x 51.1 cm). Collection of Mrs. John C. Newington (photo: courtesy The Newington-Cropsey Foundation)

Cropsey's pencil studies reveal the extent of the liberties taken in his paintings of Sugar Loaf. His surviving drawings of the mountain are sited from the south, closer to "Aladdin," looking north. Although they are dated later than many of his paintings of Sugar Loaf, the drawings are valuable because they accurately portray the topography of the region and demonstrate that Cropsey was scrupulously accurate in transcribing nature in his sketches, despite the distortions or rearrangements of the natural landscape that he might have made in his paintings. Early in his career, the young artist had reminded himself to study the natural world faithfully. "In fact," he wrote, "if greatness is the aim, there should be no study made

without care by close attention, the eye discovers beauties, & the hand acquires an accuracy [*sic*] & facility it would not otherwise gain."¹⁶

One of the drawings, from a sketchbook inscribed 1875 containing sketches dating from 1875–76, shows Sugar Loaf in a view that looks north from Bellvale Mountain (Figure 9). The vista was rapturously described in Frank Forester's book *Warwick Woodlands*, written in 1830 but first published in 1845. Describing the view looking down from Bellvale Mountain to the valley basin below, with Sugar Loaf in the distance, Forester wrote: "Never did I see a landscape more extensively magnificent . . . girdled on every side by mountains—the whole diversified with wood and

water, meadow, and pasture-land, and corn-field—studded with small white villages—with more than one bright lakelet glittering like beaten gold in the declining sun, and several isolated hills standing up boldly from the vale!”¹⁷ The quickly rendered study from Cropsey’s sketchbook, inscribed “Sugar Loaf & Wickham pond from top of Belvale [*sic*],” emphasizes the forested profiles of the distant mountains and omits the pastoral details of the panorama that Forester described: Cropsey telescopically reduced the space in the drawing so that the mountain appears close to the viewer.

Cropsey produced two other drawings near the edge of Wickham Lake, on consecutive days in 1878. These describe the landscape more meticulously. The drawing dated October 25 shows the east side of the lake with Snake Mountain in the distance (Figure 10). In the upper left-hand corner of the drawing, he recorded the west side of the lake, in effect completing a panorama of its northern shore and the distant mountains. Returning the next day, Cropsey made a more detailed drawing of this view, which shows Sugar Loaf Mountain in the center of the composition, the smaller Brimstone Mountain to the left, and Mine Hill in the distance (Figure 11). A photograph taken from Cropsey’s presumed vantage point (today part of a state correctional facility) verifies the accuracy of his transcriptions and reveals how little the area has changed in more than a century (Figure 12).

Sugar Loaf and Wickham Pond, Warwick, New York, now in the Smith College Museum of Art, is the earliest and most firmly documented of Cropsey’s paintings of the mountain (Figure 13).¹⁸ It was completed in 1867, two years after Cropsey had purchased the property near Warwick but two years before his summer home “Aladdin” was completed. Even here, in his first painting of the mountain, Cropsey greatly exaggerated its height and contour. This can be seen clearly when one looks at his later drawings and the photograph of the region (see Figures 9–12). The conical shape of Sugar Loaf in this painting, however, with its characteristic facing of two stony ridges, forms the basis for identifying the mountain in Cropsey’s subsequent compositions of the Warwick Valley, including the peak in the Museum’s painting. The wooden bridge supported by two posts that spans a stream in the foreground of the Smith College composition is a motif borrowed from Frederic E. Church’s *New England Scenery*.¹⁹ Despite Cropsey’s opinion that Church’s painting (Figure 14) was “greatly overrated,”²⁰ he continually borrowed elements from the younger artist’s work for his own landscape studies.²¹ Like Church’s popular piece, Smith College’s *Sugar Loaf* and other views that Cropsey painted of this mountain and its surroundings are



Figure 6. *Mr. Cropsey's House from the North Side*. Engraving. Published in William H. Forman, “Jasper Francis Cropsey, N.A.,” *Manhattan* 3 (April 1884), p. 379 (photo: Jerry L. Thompson)

often synthetic views, composed of discrete elements that reflect the immediate locale but are impossible to see from a single viewpoint.

Sugar Loaf is also seen in *Wickham Lake*, painted in 1876 (Figure 15).²² It is Cropsey’s only other painting of Sugar Loaf that has retained its correct title. For this composition the artist probably utilized his sketch done from Bellvale (Figure 9), but in the painting the mountain is amplified and the lake opens to the immediate foreground. The landscape surrounding the lake was largely fabricated by the artist and bears no resemblance to the site, which was more accurately depicted—except for the bridge—in the Smith College painting (Figure 13). The viewpoint is higher than the one in *Sugar Loaf and Wickham Pond*, and Schunnemunk Mountain, its unique contour an important component of the painting, now appears to the right of Sugar Loaf. A photograph of Schunnemunk’s ridge, taken from Bellvale Mountain and looking north toward Sugar Loaf (concealed by foliage), shows that Cropsey depicted the profile of this mountain precisely (Figure 16).²³ The inclusion of Sugar Loaf and Wickham Lake, exagger-

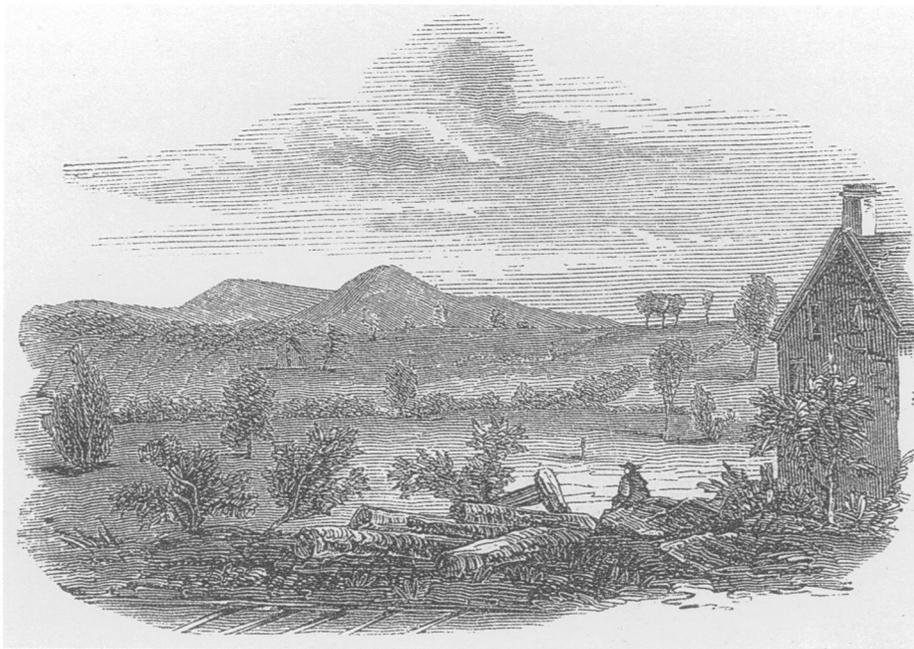


Figure 7. *Sugar Loaf Mountain from Chester*. Engraving by Lossing and Barritt after a sketch by William MacLeod. Published in *Harper's New York and Erie Rail-Road Guide Book* (New York, 1851), p. 45 (photo: General Research Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations)



Figure 8. *Sugar Loaf Mountain as Seen from Oxford*. Engraving by Lossing and Barritt after a sketch by William MacLeod, New York. Published in *Harper's New York and Erie Rail-Road Guide Book* (New York, 1851), p. 41 (photo: General Research Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations)

ated as they are, alongside Schunnemunk, accurately portrayed, confirms that Cropsey's painting depicts the topography of the Warwick Valley.²⁴

Sugar Loaf and Schunnemunk Mountain, as well as Wickham Lake, appear in an 1874 painting erroneously entitled *Adam and Eve Mountains* (Figure 17).²⁵ Mounts Adam and Eve, which the artist frequently painted, lie to the west of Sugar Loaf and Schunnemunk and have a similar shape,²⁶ a resemblance that has led to confusion in the titles of a number of Cropsey's paintings. An ear-

lier painting, dated 1872, of Mounts Adam and Eve viewed from "Aladdin," shows the wider, flatter shape of Eve as it rises in front of Adam, which appears lower in height (Figure 18). There is no lake in the vicinity of these two mountains, landmarks in the rich flatlands near the artist's home.

The Metropolitan Museum's *Autumn Landscape* (Figure 1) shows neither Wickham Lake nor Schunnemunk Mountain—features that would confirm its identification as Sugar Loaf—and its viewpoint cannot

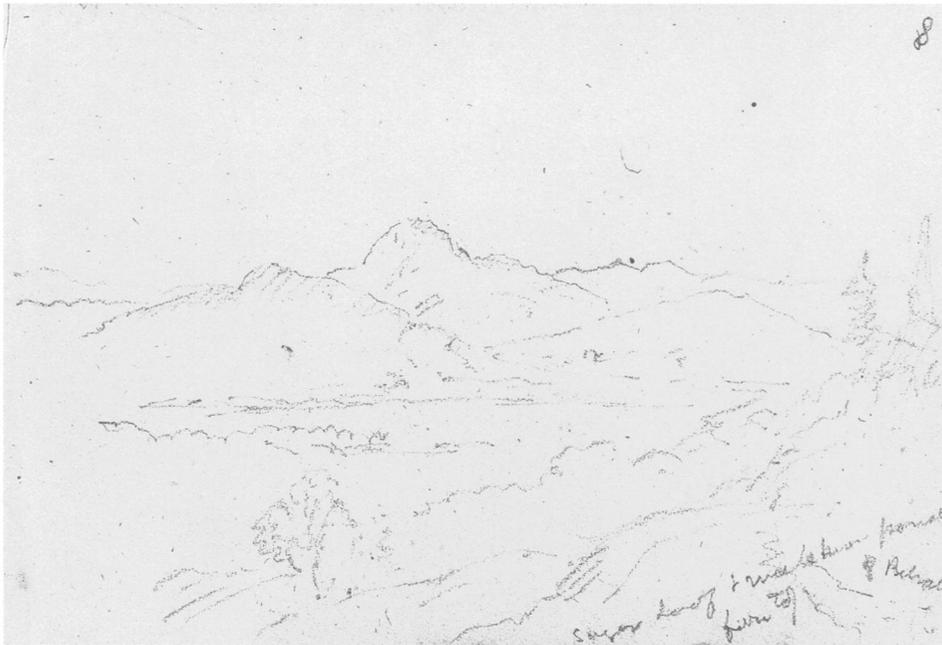


Figure 9. Cropsey. *Sugar Loaf & Wickham Pond from Top of Belvale* [sic], n.d. Drawing on paper from sketchbook SB-8, 3½ x 5¼ in. (8.9 x 13.3 cm). The Newington-Cropsey Foundation, Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y. (photo: Jerry L. Thompson)



Figure 10. Cropsey. *Landscape by Wickham Lake*, October 25, 1878. Pencil on gray paper, 9½ x 12 in. (24.1 x 30.5 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bequest of Maxim Karolik, 1972.843 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

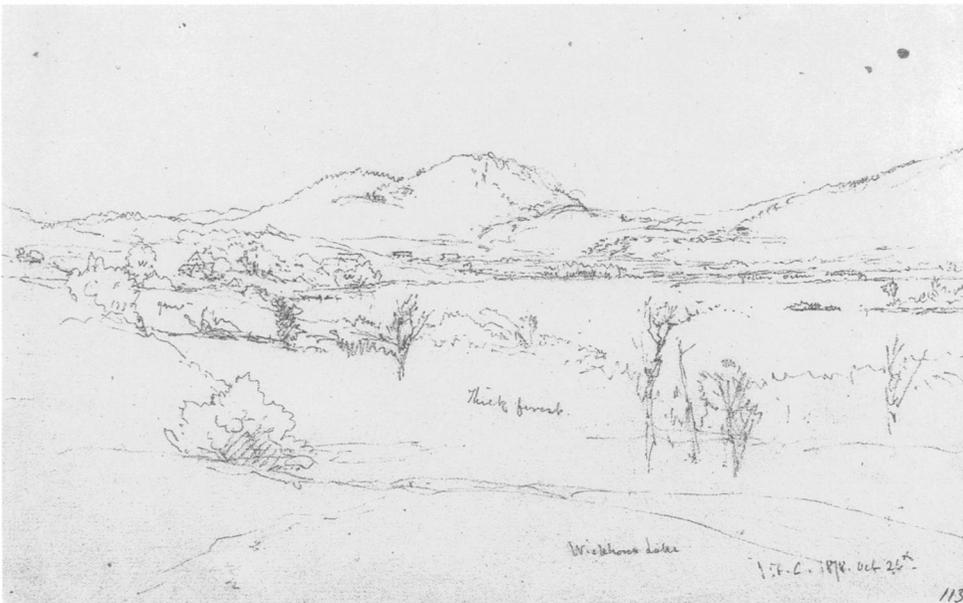


Figure 11. Cropsey. *Wickham Lake*, October 26, 1878. Pencil on tan paper, 7½ x 11⅞ in. (19.1 x 30.2 cm). The Newington-Cropsey Foundation, Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y. (photo: John P. Vallancourt)

be precisely determined. Like the scene from Bellvale Mountain described by Forester, it contains many of the same pastoral elements: woods and water, meadows and pasturelands, small white villages. Cropsey's painting shares with Church's *New England Scenery* (Figure 14) a dominant mountain that serves as background for a pastoral scene: villages with white steeples in the middle distance; a prominent building to the left (in Church's composition, a mill; in Cropsey's, a white farmhouse); and, in the right foreground, trees that balance and frame the composition.

It would be difficult to identify the site of the

Museum's painting with certainty were it not for its correspondence to a privately owned, smaller picture of 1874 (Figure 19), now on long-term loan to the Georgia Museum of Art in Athens. Although this painting lacks documentation—it has been called *Mounts Adam and Eve* as well as *Sugar Loaf Mountain*—the characteristic shape of Schunnemunk Mountain confirms the identification of the site as Sugar Loaf. As the superimposed rectangle in Figure 20 reveals, the portion outlined in the Athens composition is essentially the same scene as that in the Museum's painting. The artist made the mountain the centerpiece of the Museum's painting and



Figure 12. View of Wickham Lake and Sugar Loaf Mountain. On the right is Snake Mountain and to the left are Brimstone Mountain and Mine Hill (photo: author)

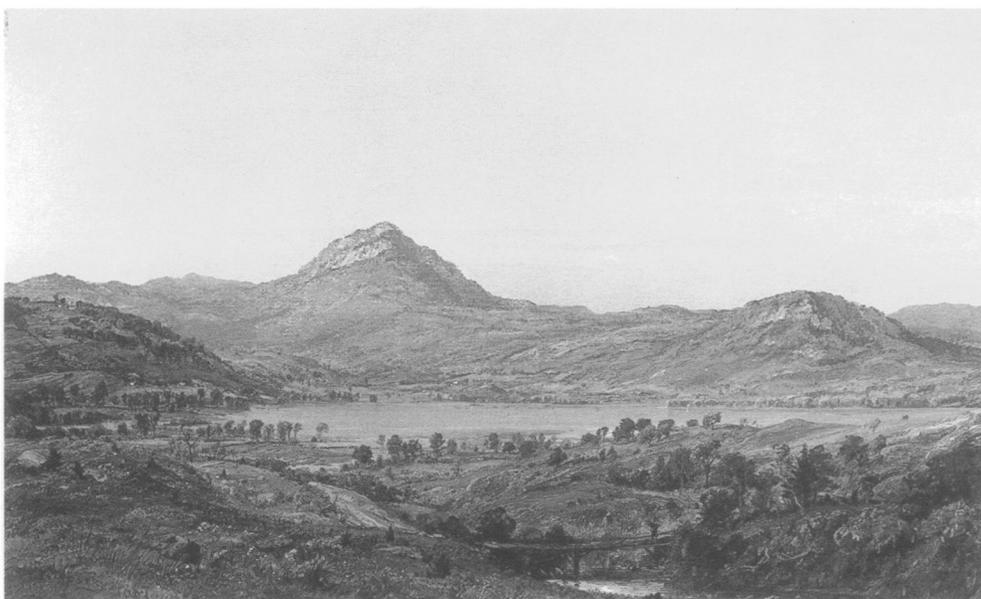


Figure 13. Cropsey. *Sugar Loaf and Wickham Pond, Warwick, New York, 1867*. Oil on canvas, 12 x 20 in. (30.5 x 50.8 cm). Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Mass., Purchased with the Eleanor Lamont Cunningham, class of 1832, Fund, 1952.18 (photo: E. Irving Blomstrann)

focused more closely on the white house in the left foreground. The spatial relationships among the house, the steeples in the middle distance, and the mountain remain the same; only the contour of Sugar Loaf Mountain varies slightly. This close iconographic relationship between the two paintings suggests that the Museum's canvas was executed after the one in Athens; the trees added in the right foreground not only complete the composition but also obscure what would otherwise have been the identifying form of Schunnemunk.

The white house, surrounded by outbuildings and a white picket fence, is nearly identical in both paintings;

it is probably not just a picturesque ornament decorating the foreground of the composition. The structure bears a distinct resemblance to Maria Cooley Cropsey's family home, which her husband had painted as early as 1863, in a canvas nostalgically entitled *The Old Homestead of Isaac P. Cooley* (present location unknown), and again, shortly after Cropsey moved from the Warwick Valley to Hastings-on-Hudson, in canvases dated 1885 and 1886 (Figure 21). Although the Cooley homestead was situated on the southwest corner of Greenwood Lake, east across the Bearfort Mountains from "Aladdin," and could not actually



Figure 14. Frederic E. Church (1826–1900). *New England Scenery, 1851*. Oil on canvas, 36 x 53 in. (91.4 x 134.6 cm). George Walter Vincent Smith Art Museum, Springfield, Mass., George Walter Vincent Smith Collection 1.23.24 (photo: George Walter Vincent Smith Art Museum)



Figure 15. Cropsey. *Wickham Lake*, 1876. Oil on canvas, 23 x 40 in. (58.4 x 101.6 cm). Private collection, New York (photo: courtesy Sotheby's, New York)

have been seen within a landscape showing Sugar Loaf, the synthetic nature of these compositions, which followed the lead of Church, would have allowed the inclusion of such a personal element. Cropsey's sketchbook drawings at this time show that similar farmhouses were common around Warwick.

While the steeples in Cropsey's painting recall the white steeple found in Church's *New England Scenery*, they have a firm basis in the Warwick Valley landscape. The hamlet of Sugar Loaf, nearest to the mountain, had no such churches in the nineteenth century, but in the village of Warwick were the Old School Baptist Meeting House, built in 1810 (Figure 22), a red-brick Methodist Episcopal Church built in 1865, and a Calvary Baptist Church built in 1868. All three churches still stand today, although the steeple of the Methodist Episcopal Church (now Clocktower Center) has been destroyed by lightning.²⁷ The physi-

cal relationship among these churches corresponds exactly to the minute buildings in Cropsey's two paintings: the unmistakable appearance of the Old School Baptist Meeting House on the right and the Calvary Baptist Church on the left with their white steeples can be seen clearly, while less discernible between the two is the darker Methodist Episcopal Church.

That the town in these paintings is Warwick is further confirmed by the title of a landscape painted by David Johnson in 1874. Johnson had been Cropsey's pupil in 1850, and drawings and paintings of 1873 document that the two artists worked together during that year, sketching and painting side by side at Warwick.²⁸ Johnson's painting *Warwick, Orange County, New York* (Figure 23)—the artist inscribed the title on the reverse of the canvas—shows the distant peak of Sugar Loaf with the steeples of the town appearing in the valley below. Johnson's painting faithfully repli-

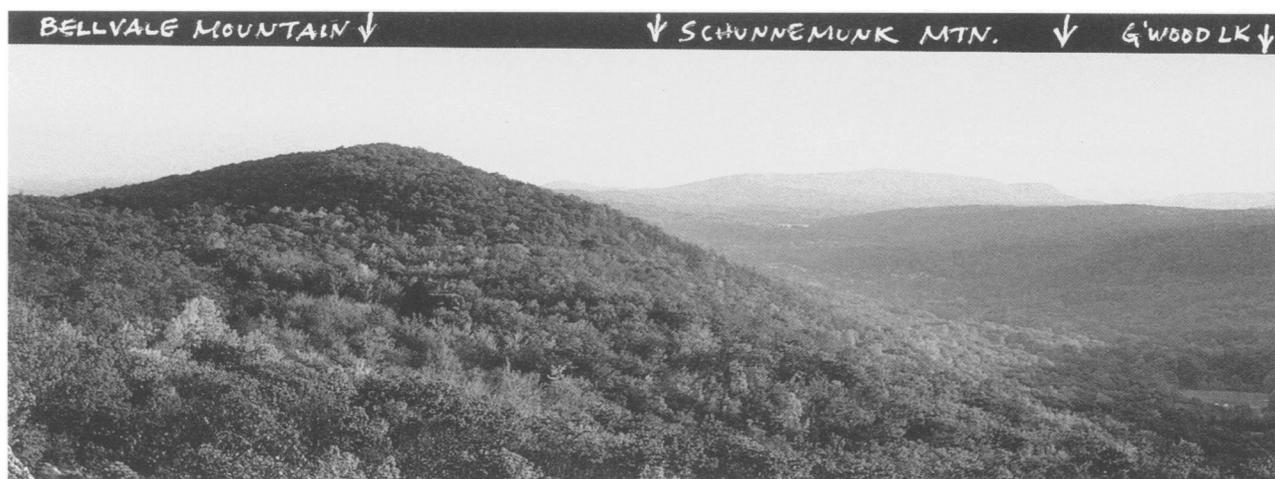


Figure 16. View of Bellvale and Schunnemunk Mountains looking north (photo: Nick Zungoli)

Figure 17. Cropsey. *Sugar Loaf Mountain* (previously titled *Adam and Eve Mountains*), 1874. Oil on canvas, 12 x 20 in. (30.5 x 50.8 cm). Private collection, New York, on long-term loan to the Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Ithaca, N.Y. (photo: E. Irving Blomstrann)

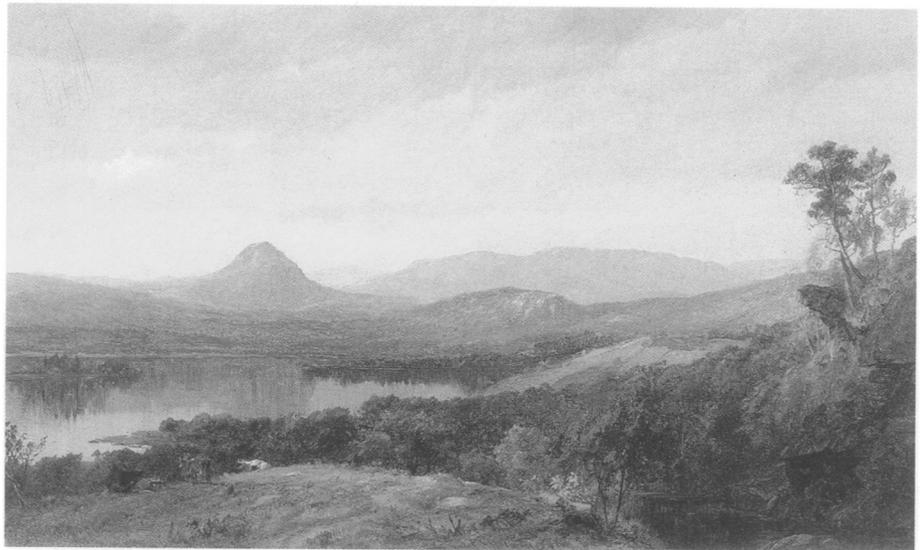
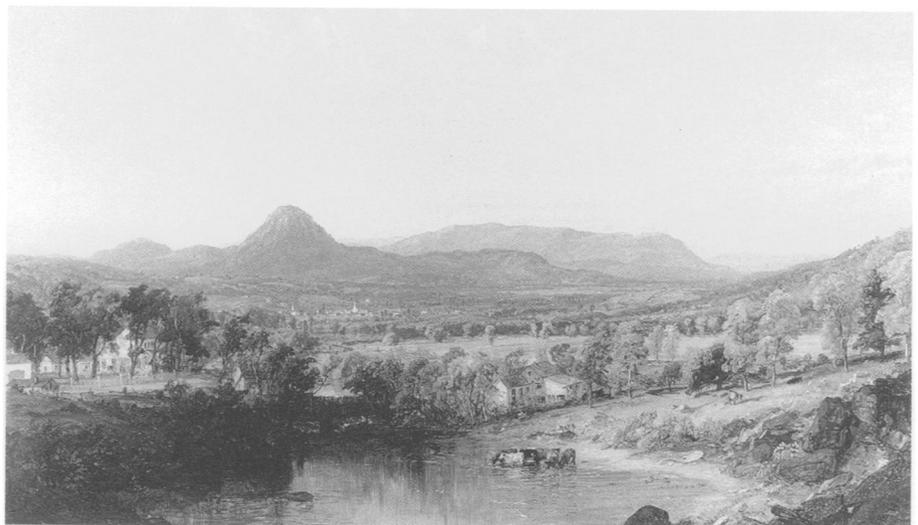


Figure 18. Cropsey. *Mounts Adam and Eve*, 1872. Oil on canvas, 12 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 20 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (30.8 x 51.1 cm). Reynolda House, Museum of American Art, Winston-Salem, N.C., Gift of Barbara B. Millhouse (photo: Helga Photo Studio)



Figure 19. Cropsey. *Sugar Loaf Mountain*, 1874. Oil on canvas, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (29.2 x 50.2 cm). Collection of Mrs. John C. Newington, on long-term loan to the Georgia Museum of Art, Athens, Georgia (photo: courtesy The Newington-Cropsey Foundation)



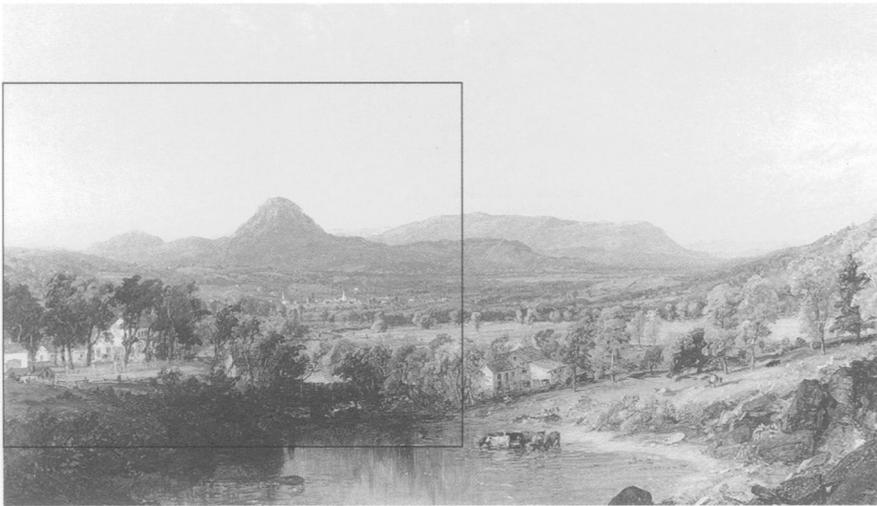


Figure 20. Figure 19 with superimposed outline of a composition similar to the Metropolitan Museum's *Autumn Landscape* (Figure 1)

cates the panoramic scale of the mountains, including Sugar Loaf, as seen from the site of Cropsey's home. In this composition, which omits Wickham Lake, the viewer looks sharply downward upon the foreground landscape, as if from one of the dormer windows in the upper stories of "Aladdin" (Figure 6).

The following year, 1875, Cropsey painted the same mountain range in a composition that goes farther to the east (Figure 24). His painting shows Sugar Loaf and Schunnemunk with Wickham Lake in the right middle distance, while to the left the village of Warwick is bathed in a luminous light. The Old School Baptist Meeting House is clearly visible, while the darker steeple of the Methodist Episcopal Church is shrouded in the heavy morning mist that hangs in the valley during late summer and early fall.²⁹ Cropsey's painting, like Johnson's, was done from a high vantage point: again, the viewer looks sharply downward, this time upon carefully but awkwardly rendered buildings in the fore-

ground.³⁰ Though it would be tempting to see these structures as a portion of the artist's estate, extant photographs of the grounds that were taken after Cropsey sold his home do not verify such a hypothesis.³¹

Another painting can be added with some assurance to Cropsey's images of Sugar Loaf Mountain. Presently entitled *Mount Chocorua and Railroad Train, New Hampshire* (Figure 25), the 1869 painting resembles Gifford's composition of Mount Chocorua (Figure 2), but the shape of the mountain with its two distinctive stony ridges corresponds closely with the peak in the Museum's painting.³² The train itself offers the strongest evidence for determining the proper subject: whereas no rail line ran near Mount Chocorua, the Warwick Valley Railroad (which later became the Lehigh and Hudson River Railroad) was organized in 1859 and ran directly past Sugar Loaf Mountain on its eleven-mile line from Warwick to Greycourt near Chester, where it connected with the Erie Railroad.³³



Figure 21. Cropsey. *Cooley Homestead, Greenwood Lake, 1886*. Oil on canvas, 19½ x 35½ in. (49.5 x 90.2 cm). Collection of Mrs. John C. Newington (photo: courtesy The Newington-Cropsey Foundation)

A local resident fondly remembered “the little steam engine that hauled the passenger train out of Warwick Station every morning at seven, how it tooted for the crossings and discharged great volumes of smoke as it chugged its way to Greycourt.”³⁴

Cropsey frequently included the railroad in his compositions, but in this painting it has more personal significance. At this time he was acquainted with the Sanford family—George W. and his son Ezra were closely connected with the Warwick Valley Railroad—as well as with Jay Gould, whose Erie Railroad supplied the locomotives and crews for the upstart line.³⁵ In the same year that Cropsey painted *Sugar Loaf with the train* (Figure 25), Gould, who had taken over the Erie the year before, commissioned him to decorate what was probably the first locomotive ever manufactured by the newly formed Brooks Locomotive Works. Considered the finest ever made—its boiler received fourteen coats of varnish—the powerful locomotive was adorned by Cropsey with bright red rosebuds on every spot in which they could be placed. The locomotive, named the “George G. Bernard,” was a favorite of Gould’s, who often rode in its cab.³⁶ As Donald Melville Barrell described the spectacle, the train attracted much attention rolling through the countryside “with Gould aboard blowing its whistle from among the rosebuds.”³⁷

It is possible that Cropsey returned to *Sugar Loaf* as a subject after he moved to Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, in 1885. A watercolor from 1890, *Winter Landscape, Dusk*, shows a mountain in the distance that appears to be Sugar Loaf (Figure 26).³⁸ The subject certainly does not resemble any site near his home in Westchester County. In this watercolor, considered one of his most appealing, Cropsey further romanticized the mountain by placing it above snow-covered terrain.³⁹

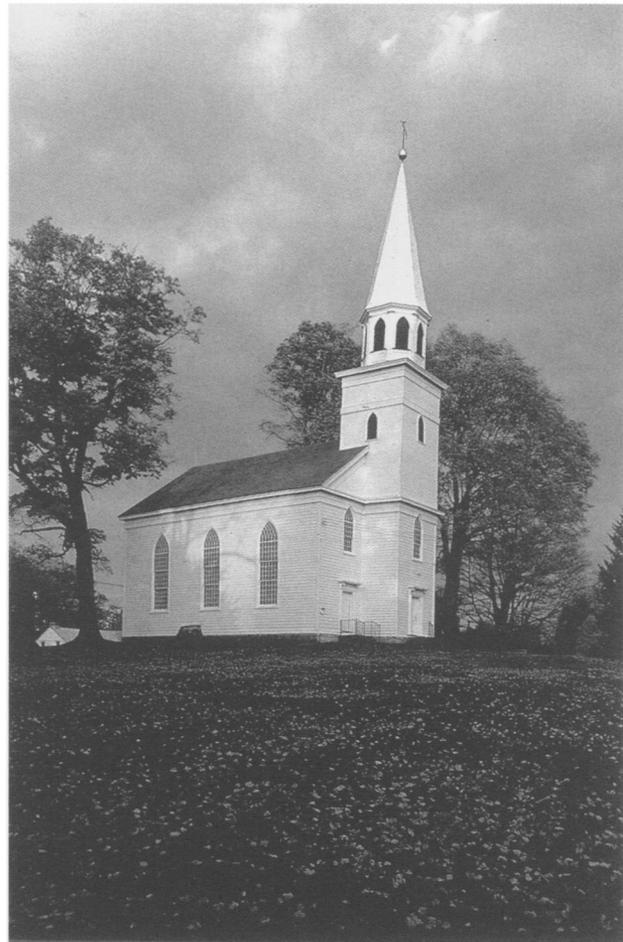


Figure 22. Old School Baptist Meeting House, Warwick, N.Y. (photo: © John Lewis Stage)

Figure 23. David Johnson (1827–1908). *Warwick, Orange County, New York*, 1874. Oil on canvas, 12 x 20¹/₈ in. (30.5 x 51.1 cm). Collection of Dick Button, New York (photo: courtesy Christie’s Images Ltd., 1999)





Figure 24. Cropsey. *Landscape*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 24 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (35.6 x 61.3 cm). Montclair Art Museum, Montclair, N.J., Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Golt, 1961, 61.3 (photo: Montclair Art Museum)



Figure 25. Cropsey. *Sugar Loaf Mountain and Railroad Train* (previously titled *Mount Chocorua and Railroad Train, New Hampshire*), 1869. Oil on canvas, 20 x 33 in. (50.8 x 83.8 cm). The Diplomatic Reception Rooms, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C., Gift of Mr. and Mrs. David S. Ingalls, 1978, 78.79 (photo: Helga Photo Studio)

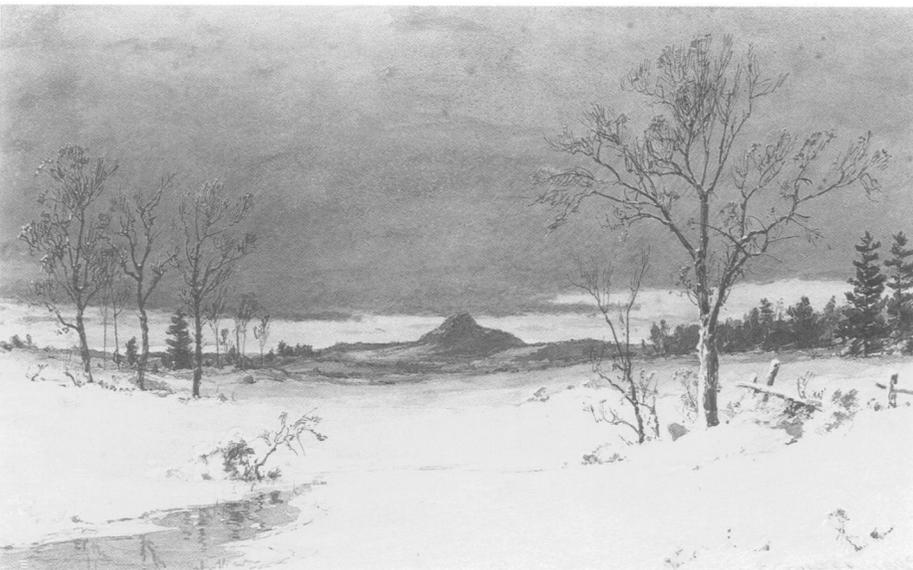


Figure 26. Cropsey. *Winter Landscape, Dusk*, 1890. Watercolor on paper, 11 x 18 in. (27.9 x 45.7 cm). The Newington-Cropsey Foundation, Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y. (photo: Taylor & Dull Inc.)

In his paintings of Sugar Loaf, Cropsey transformed a mountain of fairly modest proportions and shape into a monumental form, which, like Mount Chocorua, majestically rises above the surrounding terrain. It is a profound transformation—one that does not occur to this degree in any of the painter's other works—from the physical realities of the landscape to the mental creation of the artist. One may well ask, as with Cézanne's views of Mont Sainte-Victoire, what personal meaning the peak might have had for the artist. Although it is not mentioned in any of Cropsey's extant writings, this was a motif to which he was repeatedly drawn.⁴⁰ Ironically, because of the liberties Cropsey took in his portrayals of the mountain, Sugar Loaf has gone unrecognized—until now—as the subject of numerous paintings.⁴¹

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

1. *Sugar Loaf and Wickham Pond, Warwick, N.Y.*, no. 82, Artists' Fund Society, New York, 1867 (see note 18 below); *Sugar Loaf Mountain, Orange County, N.Y.*, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, 1882; *The Sugar Loaf Mountain, Orange Co.*, 14 x 26 in., Ortgies & Co., New York, 1887, lot 61. See James L. Yarnall and William H. Gerdts, *The National Museum of American Art's Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogues from the Beginning through the 1876 Centennial Year* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1986), vol. 1, p. 889, no. 21572; William S. Talbot, *Jasper F. Cropsey, 1823–1900* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1977), pp. 300, 539. Paintings entitled *Wickham Lake* often did not show Sugar Loaf Mountain.
2. Sparks had acquired the painting from John Lenz. John Graham & Sons, New York, advertised the painting in *Antiques* 67 (September 1955), p. 193, shortly after it was exhibited at the Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester, N.H., and it was from this dealer that the Metropolitan Museum acquired the painting.
3. William S. Talbot, *Jasper F. Cropsey, 1823–1900*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Collection of Fine Arts, 1970), p. 99.
4. Natalie Spassky et al., *American Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Volume II. A Catalogue of Works by Artists Born between 1816 and 1845* (New York: MMA, 1985), pp. 193–94.
5. Donald D. Keyes, curator of the 1980 exhibition "The White Mountains: Place and Perceptions," in a letter to the author, June 5, 1996, states that the painting showing both a valley and a town cannot be a representation of Mount Chocorua.
6. Cropsey exhibited *Winter, Chocorua Peak, White Mountains*, no. 456, at the National Academy of Design, New York, in 1857 as part of a small set of "The Four Seasons," and in 1873 he displayed *Chicorua [sic] in Autumn*, no. 11, at the Century Association, New York. See Yarnall and Gerdts, *Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogues*, p. 884, no. 21418.
7. The largest painting of Mount Chocorua is a canvas that is dated 1873 and measures 20 x 35¼ in.; listed in Talbot, *Cropsey* (1977), p. 449. A number of smaller studies are known, and when Cropsey returned to the United States in 1863, three small paintings of Chocorua were offered at the London auction of his works. Though documented as Mount Jefferson, the mountains depicted in two major canvases Cropsey painted in England—*Indian Summer Morning in the White Mountains*, 1857 (Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester), and *Mount Jefferson, Pinkham Notch, White Mountains*, 1857 (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond)—bear a striking resemblance to Mount Chocorua. This melding of images also characterizes Cropsey's Sugar Loaf paintings, in which the modest mountain often assumes the more imposing massiveness of a White Mountain peak.
8. Russel Headley, *The History of Orange County, New York* (Middletown, N.Y.: Van Deusen and Elms, 1908), p. 432. Talbot (*Cropsey* [1977], p. 223) claims that Cropsey purchased about 45 acres of land. According to John Woloszczak, the present owner of the property on which Cropsey's house stood, the artist's holdings were closer to 165 or 170 acres and extended on both sides of the road.
9. "Art-Home in the Hills," October 18, 1871, clipping, artist's papers, The Newington-Cropsey Foundation, Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y. See also Talbot, *Cropsey* (1977), pp. 223–25.
10. William H. Forman, "Jasper Francis Cropsey, N.A.," *Manhattan* 3 (April 1884), p. 379.
11. Frank Forester [Henry William Herbert], cited in Headley, *History of Orange County*, p. 433.
12. Although Talbot (*Cropsey* [1977], p. 227) writes that Cropsey traveled to Lake George, Newport, and Maine during this period, I have found no drawing or letter to support this. Cropsey frequently traveled during this time by rail to the Ramapo Valley from his home; in 1873 he went as far as Sidney Plains near Binghamton, N.Y.; and in 1880 he participated in the Artists' Excursion, organized by Edward Gay for the Artists' Fund Society, which journeyed to Niagara Falls. No other extensive trips can be documented. Since Cropsey often used earlier drawings for his paintings, titles of dated works are of little value in determining his travels.
13. Donald Melville Barrell, *Along the Wawayanda Path: From Old Greycourt to Chester to Sugar Loaf* (Middletown, N.Y.: T. Emmett Henderson, 1975), p. 130.
14. Samuel W. Eager, *An Outline History of Orange County* (Newburgh, N.Y.: S. T. Callahan, 1846–47), p. 517.
15. Cited in Headley, *History of Orange County*, p. 162.
16. Artist's journal, September 6, 1845, microfilm and typescript, Newington-Cropsey Foundation.
17. Frank Forester [Henry William Herbert], *The Warwick Woodlands; or, Things as They Were There Twenty Years Ago* (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson, 1850), p. 15. The viewpoint would have been from the present Mount Peter on Kane Road off Route 17A leading down to Warwick. This accessible outlook is also the site where Cropsey sketched Sugar Loaf.
18. The canvas is probably the painting offered for auction at the Artists' Fund Society, New York, in 1867, as no. 82, *Sugar Loaf*

- and *Wickham Pond, Warwick, N.Y.* The same title is partially indicated on a torn label on the back of the painting which reads "Sugar Loaf, Wickham Pond, War . . ." from Macbeth Galleries. I am grateful to Michael Goodison, program coordinator and archivist, Smith College Museum of Art, for this information.
19. Cropsey must also have known Church's 1850 study for *New England Scenery*. Its foreground wooden bridge, unlike the more substantial structure in Church's finished painting, was used by Cropsey in more than thirty of his paintings of the Warwick Woodlands or the Ramapo Valley. See painting files, Newington-Cropsey Foundation. Talbot (*Cropsey* [1977], p. 245) labels the motif "the *capriccio* of the spindly bridge."
 20. Cropsey, jealous over the high sum *New England Scenery* commanded at the American Art-Union sale, complained in a letter to his wife (December 15–17, 1852, Newington-Cropsey Foundation) that the picture is "greatly overrated—but it possesses all those qualities which suit the public."
 21. For the influence of Church's painting, see Talbot, *Cropsey* (1977), pp. 129, 397; my catalogue entry, "Greenwood Lake," in Barbara Novak, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection: Nineteenth-Century American Painting* (New York: Vendome Press, 1986), pp. 78–81; and Franklin Kelly, "New England Scenery," catalogue entry in Franklin Kelly and Gerald L. Carr, *The Early Landscapes of Frederic Edwin Church, 1845–1854* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1987), p. 119.
 22. The painting was purchased by Frank Holbert in New York, ca. 1910–15, and was given by his daughter to the Albert Wisner Memorial Library. The library sold the painting ca. 1980; it then passed through the New York art market and was bought by a private collector in New York in 1995.
 23. I am grateful to Nick Zungoli (Sugar Loaf, N.Y.), who deserves all credit for identifying Schunnemunk Mountain in Cropsey's compositions.
 24. The painting *Upper Hudson*, 1876 (Fruitlands Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge; published in Clara Endicott Sears, *Highlights among the Hudson River Artists* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1947], pl. 49), also depicts Sugar Loaf rising above Wickham Lake.
 25. The exhibition catalogue entry for the painting in Frederick Baekeland's *Images of America: The Painter's Eye, 1833–1925* (Birmingham: Birmingham Museum of Art, 1991), p. 42 n. 4, lists together Cropsey's paintings of Mounts Adam and Eve and Wickham Lake as though they depict the same site.
 26. Other paintings by Cropsey of Mounts Adam and Eve are *Mount Adam and Eve, Vernon Valley, N.J.*, by 1865 (unlocated; exhibited, Artists' Fund Society, New York, 1865); *Mounts Adam and Eve, Warwick, N.Y.*, 1869 (private collection); *Peaceful Valley*, 1870 (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.); *Mounts Adam and Eve, Warwick, N.Y.*, 1872 (private collection); *Mounts Adam and Eve—Haymaking*, 1883 (Berry-Hill Galleries Inc., New York); *Mounts Adam and Eve, Warwick, N.Y.*, 1884 (unlocated; formerly Davis and Long, New York, and Meredith Long and Company, Houston, Tex.); *Mounts Adam and Eve, Winter*, 1885 (private collection); and *Mounts Adam and Eve, Orange County, N.Y.*, 1891 (private collection).
 27. Richard W. Hull, letter to the author, December 16, 1996; idem, *History of Warwick, New York* (New York: privately printed, 1996), pp. 69–72.
 28. In 1873 Cropsey and Johnson made virtually identical drawings of Greenwood Lake (Wadsworth Atheneum; David Nisinson, New York) and identical paintings of the old bridge on the Wawayanda at Warwick (formerly Berry-Hill Galleries; unlocated). Johnson's painting *Brook Study at Warwick* (Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, N.Y.) was done from the same spot as Cropsey's oil sketch *Wooded Landscape* (Newington-Cropsey Foundation). Other works painted by Johnson during his stay with Cropsey at "Aladdin" include *Study near Warwick, N.Y.*, 1873 (private collection), which shows Mounts Adam and Eve in the distance, and *Near Warwick, N.Y.*, ca. 1873 (Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.). Many studies of the Warwick Valley and the nearby Ramapo Valley were made at this time. See Gwendolyn Owens, *Nature Transcribed: The Landscapes and Still Lifes of David Johnson (1827–1908)*, exh. cat. (Ithaca: Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, 1988), pp. 49, 52, 69–84.
 29. I am grateful to Richard W. Hull for the information regarding the morning mists.
 30. Because Cropsey's Warwick home burned in a spectacular fire (1909), an exact viewpoint cannot be determined.
 31. I am deeply indebted to Agnes and John Woloszczak for escorting me around their property, where the ruined foundation of "Aladdin" still remains. The photographs, from a real estate brochure, are published in Talbot, *Cropsey* (1977), fig. 193.
 32. Although the painting was included in his 1980 exhibition "The White Mountains: Place and Perceptions," Keyes now thinks that the mountain lacks the rugged features of Mount Chocorua (letter to the author, June 5, 1996).
 33. Hull, *History of Warwick*, pp. 132–33; Headley, *History of Orange County*, p. 450. A contemporary drawing from the dustcover of Barrell's *Along the Wawayanda Path* shows the railroad passing by Sugar Loaf.
 34. George W. Hansen, *Trail Sketches from Honey Ranch* (Goshen, N.Y.: The Bookmill, 1963), p. 114.
 35. Cropsey painted in watercolor *Sanford's Farm*, 1872 (Newington-Cropsey Foundation), and *Sanford's Millpond*, 1874 (private collection). Cropsey's well-known painting *The Old Mill*, 1876 (Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Va.), depicts Sanford's tannery. Cropsey gave a signed and inscribed engraving of the painting to Mrs. Sanford (collection of Mrs. Greg Masefield). In 1880, when a storm blew down one of the trees that Cropsey had painted in *The Old Mill*, Sanford wrote to the artist asking him if he wished to sketch it. Cropsey accepted the invitation (letter, J. F. Cropsey to Maria Cooley Cropsey, November 9, 1880 [Newington-Cropsey Foundation]). A letter from Gould to the artist, dated June 26, 1869 (Newington-Cropsey Foundation), documents the entrepreneur's cordial relationship with Cropsey and his wife. For the relationship between the Erie and the Warwick Valley Railroad, see Hull, *History of Warwick*, pp. 132–33.
 36. Edward Harold Mott, *Between the Ocean and the Lakes: The Story of Erie* (New York: J. S. Collins, 1899), p. 395; Barrell, *Along the Wawayanda Path*, pp. 115–16. While Barrell believed that Gould commissioned Cropsey in the 1880s, Mott documented the date as 1869.
 37. Barrell, *Along the Wawayanda Path*, p. 116.
 38. Despite lack of documentation, the title *Sugar Loaf Mountain* has been given to the watercolor. See Newington-Cropsey Art Database, 1989, Newington-Cropsey Foundation.
 39. Talbot, *Cropsey* (1970), pp. 106–7; idem, *Cropsey* (1977), p. 241.
 40. Unfortunately, there are few extant letters and no journals that document the artist's life when he lived in the Warwick Valley or in Hastings-on-Hudson.
 41. Other paintings that may show Sugar Loaf are *Autumn at Mount Chocorua*, 1869 (Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York); *Mounts Adam and Eve*, 1872 (Art Museum, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.); and *Boaters on a Mountain Lake at Sunset*, 1874 (unlocated; Sotheby's, New York, sale cat., May 30, 1985, lot 20).

Some Notes on *The Pardon in Brittany* by Dagnan-Bouveret

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WHEN PASCAL-ADOLPHE-JEAN¹ Dagnan-Bouveret (1852–1929), the French naturalist painter, exhibited *The Pardon in Brittany* (Figure 1) at the Salon of 1887, it met with almost universal acclaim. When the picture was included at the Exposition Universelle two years later, it was among the works that won the artist a medal of honor. Often praised was Dagnan's success in revealing the true Breton character.² In fact, some of the figures depicted in the painting are not based on Bretons at all, and other aspects of the work might also have surprised Dagnan's contemporaries, if they had known of them.

The cool, silver-gray light employed by Dagnan in the painting reveals a solemn procession of people exiting the doors of a church and wending their way around the corner of an exterior wall toward the viewer. Most hold long, slender, lighted white candles. The women wear elaborate, starched white headdresses and collars, and the men carry round black hats and wear baggy knee breeches and long, fitted vests. The procession passes by two seated figures, their backs to the viewer and dressed in ragged clothing, who beg for alms by extending small plates. The setting of the painting is limited to the walls of the church and a patch of bare ground, which concentrates attention on the figures of the participants in the procession, on their costumes, and especially on their faces.

Pardons are religious events that have been held for centuries in various parts of Brittany, at which indulgences for remission of sins are granted. The ceremonies generally include a mass followed by a procession around the church, which is the part of the event that Dagnan has chosen to depict here. Beggars are apparently a common sight. Pilgrims arrive from throughout the region and can be identified by the details of their costumes, which vary from parish to parish;³ participants and spectators even come from other parts of France. In Dagnan-Bouveret's day Brittany was a popular destina-

tion for artists, who regarded the area as primitive and exotic; the Breton pardons in particular were seen as living remnants of the distant past, and many artists and other outsiders were fascinated by their mysticism and spectacle.⁴

Dagnan-Bouveret himself first traveled to Brittany in 1885, returning often over the next several years. He painted several Breton-themed works during his career, including a second major composition on the subject of the pardon: *Breton Women at a Pardon*, 1887, exhibited at the Salon of 1889 (Figure 2). This second work depicts a different aspect of the pardon: a group of women sit on the ground waiting for the ceremonies to begin, and two men stand to the side, looking on. The men wear the same type of hat seen carried in the Metropolitan picture, and the women wear a variety of white headdresses, as do the women in the New York painting. These traditional costumes are especially associated with pardons, although they are also worn at a few other special events such as weddings. The church in the Lisbon painting has been identified as the one at Rumengol, in the department of Finistère, in Brittany. Three major pardons take place at Rumengol each summer. The strange protrusions seen on the steeple in the painting are also faintly visible in a photograph of the site taken during Dagnan's stay there in 1886—perhaps they were associated with some aspect of the pardon ceremonies.⁵

On the back of the Metropolitan canvas are two drawings and inscriptions never before published. In the upper right quadrant formed by the crossbars of the stretcher is a drawing depicting the head of the young woman third in line, just behind the elderly man, in the painting on the front of the canvas (Figure 3). Below the drawing is the inscription: "MARIA WALTER, MA FEMME. / ORMOY H^{ic} Saône / Juillet—Novembre 1886 / PAJ· DAGNAN." In the lower right quadrant is a drawing depicting the head of the older woman in the foreground of the painting (Figure 4). Below this drawing is the inscription: "Jeanne Claude Jobard mère de mon ami Gustave COURTOIS."

Dagnan-Bouveret and Anne-Marie-Marceline Walter, called Maria, married in 1879. They were

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Figure 1. Pascal-Adolphe-Jean Dagnan-Bouveret (French, 1852–1929). *The Pardon in Brittany*, 1886. Oil on canvas, 114.6 x 84.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of George F. Baker, 1931 (31.132.34). See also Colorplate 5



Figure 2. Pascal-Adolphe-Jean Dagnan-Bouveret. *Breton Women at a Pardon*, 1887. Oil on canvas, 125.1 x 141 cm. Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon, inv. 206 (photo: Museu Calouste Gulbenkian)

introduced by Dagnan's friend Gustave Courtois, whom Dagnan had met while they were art students together in Paris. Dagnan met Walter, a cousin of Courtois, during a visit he made with Courtois to the latter's family home in the Franche-Comté, the area of northeastern France that includes the department of Haute-Saône. After their marriage, Dagnan and Walter often spent time with her family in the same region, and later settled there permanently.⁶

Careful measurement reveals that each of the two drawings on the back of the Metropolitan Museum canvas is exactly the same size as the corresponding head in the painting on the front of the canvas. The inscriptions identifying the figures are in Dagnan-Bouveret's distinctive handwriting, as can be demonstrated by comparing

them with the signatures and inscriptions on others of his works. The simple linear quality of the drawings, coupled with the fact that their dimensions exactly match those of the two heads in the painting, leads to the conclusion that the artist used either a photograph or a drawing to create the two heads in the painting, and then used that same photograph or drawing to reproduce the heads on the back of the canvas. Gabriel Weisberg has discussed the role of photographs and drawings as aids in the creation of Dagnan's compositions.⁷ Dagnan either copied the figures from a photograph or a drawing onto tracing paper, cut out the silhouettes, and then traced them onto the canvas; or, more probably, rubbed charcoal across the back of the drawings, placed the drawings on the canvas, and then traced the outlines.



Figure 3. Inscription and drawing on upper right quadrant of verso of Figure 1



Figure 4. Inscription and drawing on lower right quadrant of verso of Figure 1

Aside from the question of exactly *how* the two tracings were created, it is interesting to consider the question of *why* the artist would have repeated the tracings on the back of the canvas. Any experimentation with the process of transferring the two figures from one surface to another seemingly could have been carried out more conveniently on a sheet of paper. In fact, the best explanation for the existence of these two rather mysterious but touching images may be that it was important to Dagnan-Bouveret to record the identities of the sitters: Maria Walter, his wife, and Jeanne-Claude Jobard, the mother of his close friend and a connection of his by marriage.⁸

Though sentiment may explain why Dagnan-Bouveret went to the trouble of including these two tracings on the back of the canvas, their presence serendipitously helps to explain the artist's working method, and specifically the process of creation of *The Pardon in Brittany*. It is unlikely that these two figures are the only instance of Dagnan's employing tracings to create figures or other elements in his paintings. The technique was used successfully for *The Pardon in Brittany* and was probably repeated for subsequent works and perhaps introduced in earlier compositions as well. Weisberg has already reported that Dagnan used multiple pieces of tracing paper to arrange the figures in his second pardon painting, and that he squared photographs into grids to transfer figures to canvas;⁹ now we see further evidence of Dagnan's creativity and the various methods through which he achieved the desired final composition.

The date July–November 1886 in the first inscription on the back of the Metropolitan Museum painting records the span of time during which Dagnan-Bouveret worked on the composition. In July, the time of year when many of the pardons are held, he was in Brittany, but we know that he had recently returned home to the Franche-Comté, on the other side of France, by September 1.¹⁰ So although he may have made preliminary studies on the spot in Brittany, the final canvas was undoubtedly painted at his country home in Ormoy, as the inscription in fact records. We do not know if Walter went with Dagnan to Brittany, but it is very possible that she remained at home, so that Dagnan could only have begun to include her in the composition after he returned from Brittany. The identification of the two models makes it clear that it is not Breton peasants whose features appear on the faces in Dagnan's painting (no matter how his figures were interpreted by the contemporary press¹¹). As a naturalist painter, a close friend of Jules Bastien-Lepage (by whom he was heavily influenced), it was evidently more important to Dagnan to depict real



Figure 5. Pascal-Adolphe-Jean Dagnan-Bouveret. *Woman from Brittany*, 1886. Oil on canvas, 36.9 x 28 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. Potter Palmer Collection, 1922.442 (photo: The Art Institute of Chicago)

individuals than stock depictions of Breton types, so he used models who were near to hand, available to pose at home in his studio.¹² These are the only two figures who have been identified (Walter often posed for her husband throughout his career), but others probably also reflect the features of his friends and family at home in the Franche-Comté.¹³

There is in the Art Institute of Chicago a painting entitled *Woman from Brittany* (Figure 5); it is dated 1886, the same year as the Metropolitan picture.¹⁴ The features of the young woman in the Chicago painting are the same as those of the young woman in the New York painting; both works depict Maria Walter, the artist's wife. She wears the same costume in both pictures, undoubtedly brought to her from Brittany by her husband: elaborate, highly starched white head-dress with delicate flowered insert; plain white blouse with broad collar lying like wings across the shoulders; dark bodice; and fitted jacket with decorative border.¹⁵ Walter is even wearing the same necklace in the two



Figure 6. Dagnan painting at his easel while Walter poses, 1886. Photograph. Archives de la Haute-Saône, fonds Dagnan-Bouveret, Vesoul, France (photo: Phox Photo Simon)



Figure 7. Dagnan and Walter in front of Dagnan's easel, 1886. Photograph. Archives de la Haute-Saône, fonds Dagnan-Bouveret, Vesoul (photo: Phox Photo Simon)

pictures. Although the costume and model are the same, the pose varies: the head in the New York picture is bowed, whereas in the Chicago work, Walter's gaze engages us directly. She is watching her husband as he paints her.

Despite the Breton subject matter, the Chicago picture, like the Salon painting, was probably painted in the Franche-Comté rather than in Brittany. Dagnan-Bouveret certainly took home with him at least Walter's costume, since it appears in photographs taken in the artist's improvised outdoor studio at Ormoy.¹⁶ The two photographs of Maria are anecdotal in character, one showing her posing in her costume while her husband works on the Salon painting on his easel at left (Figure 6), and the other showing her wearing the costume while standing with Dagnan in front of the unfinished painting on its easel (Figure 7). Walter's costume is described in more detail than those of the other women in the painting; this may be due to the fact that Dagnan could work from the actual clothing, whereas for the others he had to rely on studies made in Brittany.

A third photograph depicts Jeanne-Claude Jobard

posing in Dagnan's studio in an attitude almost identical to that of her figure in the finished painting (Figure 8). Unlike the two photographs of Walter, this one must have played an important role in the creation of the Salon painting, probably being used by the artist as a study when the model was not available to pose (as Weisberg has pointed out).¹⁷ In the photograph, Jobard wears a plain dark dress similar to the one seen in the painting and holds a long white candle, but she does not wear the distinctive collar and headdress of the pardon costume. In fact, Jobard's own discarded bonnet, adorned with flowers, appears on the chair behind her. If Dagnan had brought back from Brittany the headdress and collar Jobard wears in the painting (as he did Maria's costume), he would probably have posed her in them in this study photograph. We know that there must have existed a study, probably a drawing as opposed to a photograph, that did include the collar and headdress, since its outlines appear in the tracing on the back of the Metropolitan Museum canvas (Figure 4). Walter was presumably always available to pose for her husband; a study photograph of her figure is not known. A painted study



Figure 8. Jeanne-Claude Jobard posing, 1886. Photograph. Archives de la Haute-Saône, fonds Dagnan-Bouveret, Vesoul (photo: Phox Photo Simon)

for Jobard's figure is likewise not known. The Chicago painting may have been begun as a study for the figure of Walter in the Salon painting, but somewhere along the way it was given a finish beyond the need of a mere study and also acquired a context separate from that of the pardon painting.¹⁸

An interesting relationship also exists between the Metropolitan painting and a study recently discovered in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Abbaye Royale de Chaalis, near Ermenonville, northeast of Paris (Figure 9). The Chaalis work depicts an elderly man closely related to the one in the Metropolitan picture: each wears the same pardon costume and holds a cane in the right hand, a candle in the left, and a hat in the crook of the left arm. Each is barefoot and elderly, with a wrinkled face and long, sparse white hair. The facial features in the two works may differ, and the figure in the Chaalis study is turned at an angle, unlike the figure in the Metropolitan painting. Dagnan apparently had trouble with this figure, which might explain in part the differences between the study and the final Salon painting.¹⁹



Figure 9. Pascal-Adolphe-Jean Dagnan-Bouveret. *Study of an Elderly Breton Man at Pont-Croix*, 1886. Oil on canvas, 84 x 41 cm. Musée Jacquemart-André de l'Abbaye Royale de Chaalis, Fontaine-Chaalis, France (photo: Photographie Bulloz, Paris)

The Chaalis picture is signed and inscribed at bottom left: "A [mon cher?] HENRI AMIC. P.A.J. DAGNAN B." Above this is an inscription including the word "Pontcroix" and a date of 188[6?] preceded by the word "Juillet" or "Juin."²⁰ Pont-Croix is a village in Brittany; as already noted, the costume depicted in the New York painting (and thus in the Chaalis study) is



Figure 10. Pascal-Adolphe-Jean Dagnan-Bouveret. *Head of a Woman in Breton Costume*, 1887. Pastel on canvas (?), 31.5 x 27 cm. Musée Jacquemart-André de l'Abbaye Royale de Chaalis, Fontaine-Chaalis (photo: Photographie Bulloz, Paris)

identical to that worn by men in Pont-Croix.²¹ This study must have been painted in Brittany, unlike the other works discussed here. Henri Amic was a collector and friend of Dagnan and other artists; he owned numerous works by Dagnan.²² Dagnan frequently corresponded with Amic during the time he was working on *The Pardon in Brittany* and often discussed his progress with his friend; Amic must have especially enjoyed owning a study for the work in whose creation he had been vicariously involved. Amic bequeathed his home and collection to the Académie Française in 1924, and the collection has been displayed at the Abbaye de Chaalis (like the Académie, part of the Institut de France) since 1996.²³

A date of 1886 for the Chaalis study is supported by several facts: the work is closely related to the Metropolitan Museum painting of that year; we know Dagnan was in Brittany in the summer of 1886; and in the 1930 catalogue of Dagnan-Bouveret's oeuvre there is a work entitled *Etude de vieux breton à Pont-Croix*. It is

listed with the works of 1886 (immediately preceding the Chicago picture) and can almost certainly be identified with the Chaalis study.²⁴ Summer is the season of pardons, so the appearance of either "June" or "July" in the inscription also makes sense.

Another picture by Dagnan in the Amic collection at Chaalis that relates to his second pardon painting, *Breton Women at a Pardon* (Figure 2), illustrates yet another type of study made by the artist for a finished painting. It is a work (unpublished, as far as I know), squared for transfer, of a woman wearing a Breton headdress and collar (Figure 10). It appears to depict the same model as the second figure from the right in the finished painting,²⁵ and even though the position of the head shifts slightly from the drawing to the painting, the Chaalis work must be a study for the Lisbon canvas.

In spite of the way his work was perceived by nineteenth-century reviewers, Dagnan's pardon paintings were more than simple depictions of authentic

Breton customs and characters. He used a complexity of means to achieve the results he desired. It has been shown that at least two, and probably more, of the figures in *The Pardon in Brittany* are not Breton. He did not paint the picture in Brittany, nor did he make all of the studies—painted, drawn, or photographed—for this work in Brittany. He must have made other preparatory studies in all media for such a major composition. If they still exist and can be located, they would undoubtedly reveal additional information about the working method of this naturalist painter.

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NOTES

1. This is the name order always used by the artist in signing his works, although the order given on his birth certificate (Archives Départementales de la Haute-Saône, Vesoul) is Jean-Adolphe-Pascal.
2. See, for example, Maurice Hamel, "Le Salon de 1887," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 2, 35 (1887), p. 486; and G. Ollendorff, *Salon de 1887* (Paris, 1887), p. 73.
3. Charles Sterling and Margareta M. Salinger, *French Paintings: A Catalogue of the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 2, *XIX Century* (New York, 1966), p. 221, have pointed out that the costume of the young woman third in line is similar to that depicted in plate 37 of the book *Costumes et coiffes de Bretagne: Cent photographes d'après les compositions de Hippolyte Lalaisse*, preface by Louis Hourticq (Paris, [1932?]). Plate 37 depicts a woman from Saint-Thégonnec, in the department of Finistère, which is at the tip of the Breton peninsula. Plate 35 shows a costume from Rosporden, also in Finistère, which is even closer to that of the young woman. Plate 27 depicts a man from Pont-Croix in Finistère—his costume is identical to that worn by the elderly man in the center.

4. For other artists who depicted these pardons, see Gabriel P. Weisberg, "Vestiges of the Past: The Brittany 'Pardons' of Late Nineteenth-Century French Painters," *Arts Magazine* 55 (November 1980), pp. 134–38.
5. Gabriel P. Weisberg, "P. A. J. Dagnan-Bouveret and the Illusion of Photographic Naturalism," *Arts Magazine* 56 (March 1982), pp. 103, 105 n. 26, fig. 13.
6. Walter was related to the Courtoises on her mother's side of the family. Jeanne-Claude Jobard, Gustave Courtois's mother, was not married to Étienne Courtois, Gustave's father. Catherine Boisset, "Dagnan-Bouveret peintre (1852–1929): Répertoire numérique de la sous-série 12J" (Archives Départementales de la Haute-Saône, Vesoul, 1994), p. 6.
7. Weisberg, "P. A. J. Dagnan-Bouveret and the Illusion of Photographic Naturalism," pp. 100–105; and idem, "Making it Natural: Dagnan-Bouveret's Constructed Compositions for the Paris Salon of the 1880s," *Scottish Art Review* 15 (November 1982), p. 13.
8. The identity of the two figures in the painting has already been established by Weisberg from photographs at the Archives Départementales de la Haute-Saône. See Weisberg, "P. A. J. Dagnan-Bouveret and the Illusion of Photographic Naturalism," p. 102.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 103, figs. 17, 18.
10. Letter to Henri Amic, September 1, 1886, Archives Départementales de la Haute-Saône, inv. no. 860901.
11. See note 2.
12. This is in direct contrast to an artist such as Augustin-Théodule Ribot (1823–1891), who in paintings such as his *Breton Fishermen and Their Families* (MMA, acc. no. 48.187.736), was concerned with depicting the Breton peasant "type."
13. Dagnan may have used a Parisian model for the figure of the elderly man in the foreground of the picture. This suggestion was made to me by Pauline Grisel, formerly of the Archives Départementales de la Haute-Saône, Vesoul, in a letter of September 18, 1999, on the basis of a letter from Dagnan to his friend Amic of October 29, 1886. Grisel also states that Walter posed for a second figure in the painting, that of the seated female beggar seen from the rear; see Pauline Grisel, "P. A. J. Dagnan-Bouveret à travers sa correspondance," mémoire de D.E.A., Université de Lyon 2, 1987, p. 54.
14. The Chicago painting must have been bought soon after it was painted by Jules Roederer of Le Havre (he died on February 6, 1888). Roederer's collection was sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, on June 5, 1891, where this work was included as lot 7, *Bretonne*.
15. Another painting in The Metropolitan Museum of Art depicts the same costume, but the headdress is not as stiffly starched: *Breton Brother and Sister*, 1871, by Adolphe-William Bouguereau (acc. no. 87.15.32). Because the girl in the Bouguereau is not wearing a jacket, one can see that the striped material is an apron; the same fabric in both paintings by Dagnan-Bouveret probably represents an apron, as well.
16. Published first in Weisberg, "P. A. J. Dagnan-Bouveret and the Illusion of Photographic Naturalism," p. 102, figs. 9, 11.
17. See *ibid.*, pp. 102–3, fig. 10.
18. In the Chicago painting, Walter is seated in an interior, holding scissors and with a bundle of cloth in front of her; in the *Catalogue des oeuvres de M. Dagnan-Bouveret (Peintures)* (Paris, 1930), p. 24, the title of the work is given as *Couturière (bretonne)*.
19. Grisel, "P. A. J. Dagnan-Bouveret à travers sa correspondance," p. 53.

- In the letter to Amic of October 29, 1886 (see note 13 above), Dagnan mentions that he had originally envisioned the figure as a blind beggar. This aspect of the figure is not immediately apparent in either the study or the Salon painting, but such an idea makes sense if, as Sterling and Salinger (*French Paintings*, p. 221) suggest, Dagnan meant specifically to suggest the pardon of Saint-Jean-du-Doigt, in Finistère. This pardon was especially known for miraculous cures of eye diseases (Weisberg, "Vestiges of the Past," pp. 136–37).
20. The inscription is almost indecipherable in places. Mme Bautier, at the museum in Chaalis, recorded the inscription as "Ponteroi. juillet 1890" in a letter to me of July 25, 1999.
 21. See note 3.
 22. Grisel, "P. A. J. Dagnan-Bouveret à travers sa correspondance," p. 138, lists nineteen works. Eleven pictures by Dagnan are included in the Henri Amic collection at the Abbaye de Chaalis; not all of these correspond to works on Grisel's list. The study of the old man was reproduced in the article "Dagnan-Bouveret," a sentimental appreciation of the artist by his friend Prince Bojidar Karageorgevitch, in the *Magazine of Art* 16 (1893), p. 122, with the caption: "A Study / (By Dagnan-Bouveret. By Permission of Monsieur Amie.)" It is not mentioned in the text of the article. "Amie" must be a typographical error for "Amic."
 23. This information was provided by Mme Bautier at the Musée Jacquemart-André, Chaalis.
 24. *Catalogue des oeuvres de M. Dagnan-Bouveret (Peintures)*, p. 24.
 25. Weisberg publishes other studies for this figure in "Making It Natural," p. 14, figs. 18, 19.

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COVER ILLUSTRATION: Swiss, Austrian, or Ger-
man sculptor, active in Russia ca. 1703–4. Bust of
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H. (with socle) 78.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum
of Art, Wrightsman Fund, 1996 (1996.7)

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