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Pussort, Paris

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continued on back flap

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JAMES HENRY RUBIN

ABBREVIATIONS

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

Height precedes width in dimensions cited.

Amenmesse: An Egyptian Royal Head of the Nineteenth Dynasty in the Metropolitan Museum

PATRICK D. CARDON

Administrator for Curatorial Affairs, The Brooklyn Museum

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM of Art has in its Egyptian collection an unusual life-size head of a king, which has been the subject of much debate (Figures 1–4).¹ As a result of my recent discovery of the statue to which this head belongs and of Frank Yurco's reading of the inscriptions carved on the statue and five companion pieces, both head and statues must now be reexamined. The staff of the Department of Egyptian Art of the Metropolitan Museum, aware that Yurco and I were concerned with the same ancient Egyptian material, was responsible for bringing us together. Our respective researches are embodied in this and the following article. Mine is an art-historical discussion of the head, after a brief and general introduction to the period; Yurco's is concerned with inscriptional evidence bearing on the identification of the king represented as well as with the original context and creation of the statues. Joint scholarly efforts of this sort are not common in the field of Egyptology, but they are of considerable value and should be undertaken whenever possible to present the opinions of both art historians and philologists attempting to reach a balanced conclusion.

The period we are concerned with is the Nineteenth Dynasty in the New Kingdom of ancient Egypt. The New Kingdom, the third major division in ancient Egyptian history, lasted approximately five hundred years from about 1570 B.C. to about 1070

B.C. and was ruled by Dynasty XVIII through Dynasty XX.² The Nineteenth Dynasty was begun by Ramesses I (ca. 1293–1291), who had been an officer under Horemheb, the last ruler of the Eighteenth Dynasty (ca. 1321–1293), made famous by such personalities as Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III, Amenhotep III, Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and Tutankhamun.

We know of eight monarchs in Dynasty XIX who reigned over a period of some 108 years (ca. 1293–ca. 1185). Following Ramesses I was Sety I who is known for, among other things, the building of a temple at Abydos decorated with exquisite raised reliefs and

1. Rogers Fund, 34.2.2. Painted quartzite, 48 (face 14.1) × 27.4 × 33 cm. H. E. Winlock, "Recent Purchases of Egyptian Sculpture," *MMAB* 29 (1934) p. 186, ill. on cover. Often illustrated in the *MMA Guide to the Collections*, general histories of Egypt, and art-historical publications. Later discussed by J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* (Paris, 1958) III, pp. 394, 410, pl. CXXVI.4; W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* (MMA, New York, 1959) II, pp. 341–342, fig. 216.

I am grateful to Christine Lilyquist, curator of the Department of Egyptian Art, for giving me permission to publish this head, and to her colleagues Thomas Logan, Yitzhak Margowsky, and Edna Russmann for their valuable comments. I am also grateful to William J. Murnane of Chicago House at Luxor for his help in photography and measuring, and for supplying much information in the preparation of this article.

2. For the purpose of this article the dates are those given by E. Wente and C. van Sichen, "A Chronology of the New Kingdom," *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 39 (Chicago, 1976) pp. 217–261.



FIGURE 1
Head of King Amenmesse (1202–1199 B.C.), Dynasty XIX. Painted quartzite, H. 48 cm. (face 14.1 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 34.2.2 (photo: David A. Loggie)



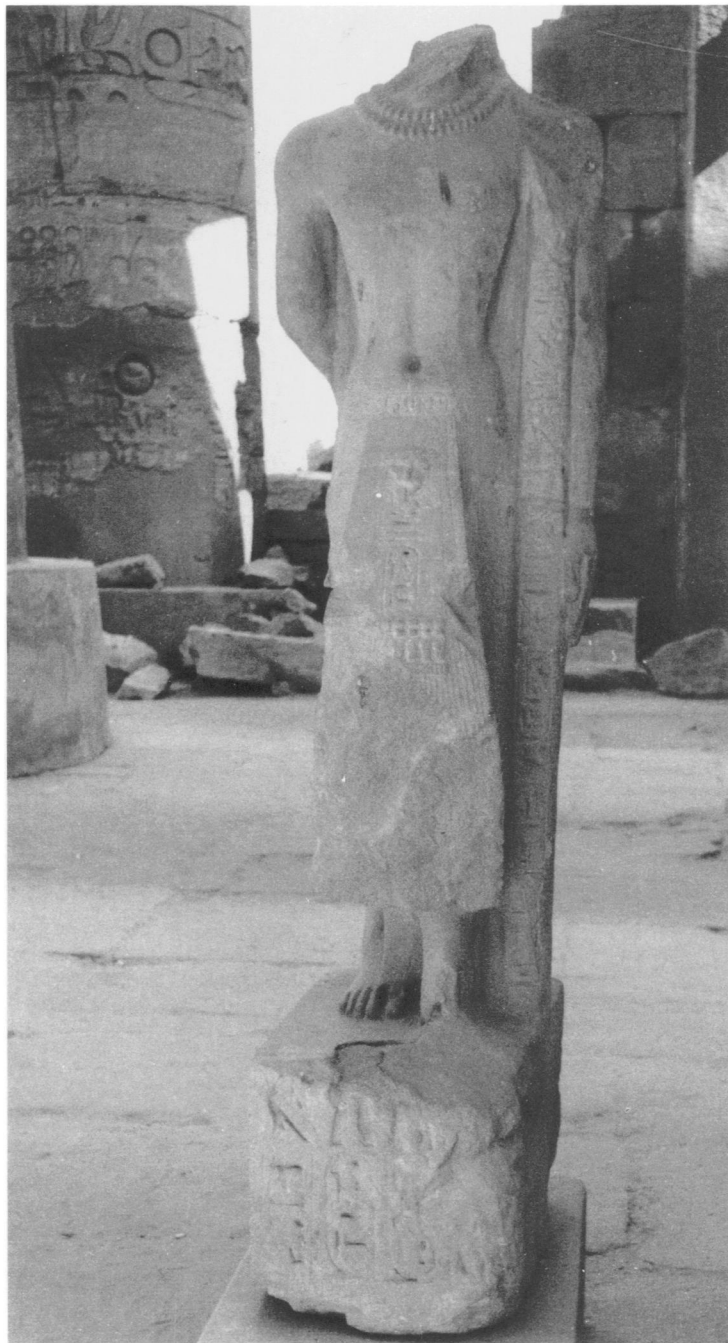
FIGURE 2
Head of Amenmesse, right side

FIGURE 3
Head of Amenmesse, left side

FIGURE 4
Head of Amenmesse, back (photo: David A. Loggie)



FIGURE 5
Statue of Amenmesse usurped by King Sety II
(1199–ca. 1193 B.C.). Quartzite, H. 197.7 cm. Kar-
nak, Temple of Amun, Hypostyle Hall (photo: Wil-
liam J. Murnane)



for the decoration of the Hypostyle Hall at the temple of Amun at Karnak. Sety ruled for eleven years, to 1279, and was succeeded by his son Ramesses II who is without any doubt this dynasty's celebrity. His rule lasted some sixty-seven years, ending in about 1212. In that time he established his reputation as a fearsome warrior and a prolific builder.

Ramesses was succeeded by his thirteenth son, Merenptah, who ruled for approximately ten years to about 1202. Following Merenptah were some dynastic disputes, resulting first in Amenmesse's rule (ca. 1202–1199), and then in Sety II's ascent to the throne, which he held until about 1193. After Sety's brief reign Egypt was ruled jointly by Siptah and Queen Ta-wosre for eight years until about 1185. Following a short interregnum, the first king of Dynasty XX, Setnakht, came to the throne in 1185.

After this brief historical review of Dynasty XIX, a few general comments about the sculptural tradition of Egypt are necessary. To begin with we must understand that the tradition is a cumulative one. This does not mean that the later sculpture is of better quality than the earlier but rather that it must be viewed as an evolution which incorporates the knowledge gained from earlier productions. Therefore it is reasonable to assume, for example, that sculpture of the Middle Kingdom will reflect that of the Old Kingdom, that both traditions will be reflected in sculpture of the early Late Period, and, more specifically, that the sculpture of the Nineteenth Dynasty will reflect that of the Eighteenth.

At the same time, another point should be stressed. With each beginning in ancient Egypt, whether it be the change from one kingdom to the next, or from one dynasty to another, or from one ruler to his successor, the representation of the human face will vary. With each changeover the sculptors have a new and subtly different style, though ultimately it remains within the encompassing sculptural tradition. This tradition, described above as cumulative, is what makes the underlying feeling, the ethos that properly belongs to ancient Egypt and that cannot be captured by other sculptors at any other time.

Thus, as we study this royal head at the Metropolitan Museum, some of the questions we have to consider are: Since the man represented is an Egyptian ruler, who is he? How does this head fit into the Egyptian sculptural tradition? What is its iconography de-

rived from? The search for the answers in this case is further complicated by two problems.

The Nineteenth Dynasty was a troubled one because of the squabbles among members striving to become pharaoh. Once in power each diligently went about trying to establish a proper reputation for the future. This is reflected in an inordinate amount of usurped art, that is, art produced under previous rulers, taken over and reinscribed by the reigning pharaoh to promote his own image. The second difficulty may be called, for the sake of convenience, that of emulation. Quite often an Egyptian king harked back to a past ruler and wished to copy his greater deeds. But this was not limited to deeds only; statues would also tend to look like the admired potentate. The royal head at the Metropolitan Museum is a case in point.

Both usurpation and emulation are practices that cause difficulties for the historian. It is for this reason that collaboration between a philologist and an art historian has been so helpful in arriving at our present conclusions; researched independently, they would have taken far longer to establish.

In the winter of 1973, I was studying three royal statues in the Hypostyle Hall at the temple of Amun at Karnak. The sculptures, made of quartzite, are headless and were usurped through reinscription by Sety II (ca. 1199–1193).³ A question that came to mind as I measured and photographed was whether a head existed that might fit one of them. The exercise is one that tests our methodology, a sort of sleuthing which starts from a few given facts such as the type of stone, the evidence on the body for the kind of headgear worn, the size of the object and of the break, the inscription, and the period in which the sculpture was carved. In the present case the only candidate I could think of was the life-size royal head in the Metropolitan Museum. But there were some problems: its au-

3. B. Porter, R. Moss, and E. Burney, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*: II. *Theban Temples*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1972) pp. 51–52. See Frank J. Yurco, "Amenmesse: Six Statues at Karnak," *MMJ* 14/1979 (1980) nos. 1–3, figs. 1–6; and my Figure 5. The kneeling statue originally had a head with a *nemes*; the two standing figures show no traces of a wig on the shoulders. Usurpation is quite clear in the middle areas of the back-pillars, which are sunk and rougher compared to the edges.

thenticity had been doubted by some scholars,⁴ while others believed it to be a likeness of Sety I (ca. 1291–1279) or of Ramesses II (1279–1212).⁵ To check the possibility of a join I approached the Centre Franco-Egyptien and obtained a latex mold of the break at the neck of the life-size striding statue which faces west (Figure 5).⁶ Despite the fact that a fragment is missing from the back-pillar, the mold was found to match the break at the neck of the Metropolitan Museum head.

The discovery was an exciting one, but the problems concerning the identification of the king represented were far from resolved. As the figure was reinscribed for Sety II, it had to be usurped from a king who preceded him. For some, as already mentioned, the head appeared to be that of Sety I or of Ramesses II, yet its iconography did not fully support these hypotheses. In fact, the head and body could have been dated stylistically anywhere from late Ramesses II (ca. 1225) to Merenptah (ca. 1212–1202); Amenmesse, the predecessor of Sety II, was not considered since no statuary ascribed to him was known. Publication of the discovery was therefore postponed until more evidence could be gathered leading to identification of the pharaoh originally represented. This happened when Yurco, in his work on historical

problems of the late Nineteenth Dynasty, discovered traces of the names of the king from whom this statue and its companion pieces in the Karnak temple had been usurped: Amenmesse.⁷

The head in the Metropolitan Museum was acquired from an English private collection,⁸ and the provenance from Karnak hitherto surmised can now be confirmed.⁹ It represents a king wearing a *khepresh*-helmet, or Blue Crown. Carved in a light brownish-red fine-grained quartzite,¹⁰ it has suffered remarkably little damage. The head of the uraeus, parts of the left side of the crown and ear, and a portion of the back-pillar are missing. Some chips are also missing from the back ridge of the crown. Traces of paint survive: yellow—probably meant to remind the viewer of the gold ornaments usually worn—and blue on the helmet,¹¹ red on the face except for the unpainted eyes.

The *khepresh*-helmet is high and smooth. It is narrow, deep, and rather bulbous at the top, closely resembling in shape the helmet of Ramesses II in Turin (Figure 6), the one on the statue of Ramesses II at Mit-Rahineh (Figure 7), and those in the representations of the king above the entrance to his temple at Abu Simbel.¹² The *khepresh* of the Metropolitan head has yellow on the band over the forehead as well as

4. Hayes, *Scepter II*, p. 342: "the surprisingly crude handling of the eyes has even led some connoisseurs to cast doubt upon its authenticity." Hayes himself accepts the piece as genuine but as "one of our not completely solved problems" (*ibid.*).

5. The identification of this head as Sety I or Ramesses II depends upon comparisons with the statue in Turin (Museo Egizio, no. Cat. 1380, see Figure 6). As Vandier explains (*Manuel III*, pp. 393–394), the statue in Turin was believed by some, despite the inscription, to have been made originally for Sety I, then appropriated by his successor Ramesses II. B. V. Bothmer, who is mentioned by Vandier (p. 393, n. 7), has since changed his opinion and now believes the statue to be an original of the early part of Ramesses II's reign, probably reflecting the likeness of Sety I. Hayes and Vandier both see close connections to the sculpture in Turin, which they believe to have been made for Ramesses II. Vandier further places both in his first group (*Manuel III*, p. 394).

6. Porter-Moss, *Theban Temples*, p. 52. This is the statue north of column seventy-one (H. 197.7 cm.; the base measures 42.1 × approx. 43.5 × approx. 60 cm.). See Yurco, "Six Statues," no. 1. The other standing statue in the Hypostyle Hall, being over life-size, was not considered as a candidate for the join. I would like to record my appreciation of the help given me by the late Ramadan Saad and my gratitude to M. Lauffray, director of the Centre, and his staff for their assistance.

7. The statues are dealt with comprehensively by Yurco, "Six Statues."

8. Winlock, "Recent Purchases," p. 186.

9. Hayes, *Scepter II*, p. 341.

10. A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London, 1962) pp. 62–63, describes quartzite as "a hard, compact variety of sandstone. . . ; it varies considerably both in colour and in texture and may be white, yellowish, or various shades of red and either fine-grained or coarse-grained." He also gives several sites for the provenance of the material.

11. The "minute flecks of blue" had been noted by Winlock in 1934 ("Recent Purchases," p. 186) and can still be found on the crown.

12. *Ramses le Grand*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1976) p. 150, lower fig. As can also be seen on the stela of the Year 400, Cairo, no. JE 60539 (*ibid.*, pp. 34, 36, 37), an odd sort of recutting is clear at the top of the *khepresh*. Though an error by the sculptors is possible, the coincidence that two similar mistakes were made at Tanis and Abu Simbel is improbable. I would suggest rather a change in style or fashion. It is, however, not clear where the correction in plaster was made. There must have been a central workshop from which rulings on style originated or were approved but it is difficult to identify the geographical origin of this detail.



might lead to some corrosion of the stone. So it is much more likely that the quartzite was picked with a pointed instrument and purposely left rough where the ocher was to be applied.¹⁴ Yellow ocher "will adhere to . . . stone to some extent if applied dry, and

13. These uraei are further discussed below but we should note now that they may indicate that the statue faced east at the time of this commission and not west as it does at present. The directional or geographical influence on reliefs carved at Karnak is evident in many instances. For statuary we have only to think of the inscriptions on sphinxes or on obelisks placed on either side of a gate (H. G. Fischer, "Archaeological Aspects of Epigraphy and Palaeography," in R. Caminos and H. G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography* [MMA, New York, 1976] p. 32). But see Yurco, "Six Statues," for a different opinion on the placement of the statue.

14. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, pp. 65–74.

FIGURE 6

Statue of King Ramesses II (1299–ca. 1212 B.C.), detail. Turin, Museo Egizio, no. Cat. 1380 (photo: Marburg)

FIGURE 7

Statue of Ramesses II, detail. Mit-Rahineh (photo: Yurco)

on the edge of the flanges beginning above the temples and sweeping back to the top. On both the upper and lower surfaces of the edge are incisions that probably aided the artist in separating the blue and yellow colors of the crown. The uraeus, which has traces of yellow upon it, is carved to show the details of the cobra's hood; its body has a single loop on either side of the hood and rises vertically, with slight bends, to the crest of the helmet. On the rounded tabs of the helmet, in front of the ears, are interesting renderings in relief of two uraei: on the right side they wear the crown of Upper Egypt, on the left that of Lower Egypt (Figures 8, 9).¹⁵ These uraei also bear traces of yellow.

Under close examination with a raking light it is clear that all the areas to which the yellow pigment was applied are rough compared to the smooth face and crown, which had different coloring. It is out of the question that ocher can affect the surface of crystalline quartzite so as to leave it pitted. Only concentrated hydrochloric acid, after lengthy application,



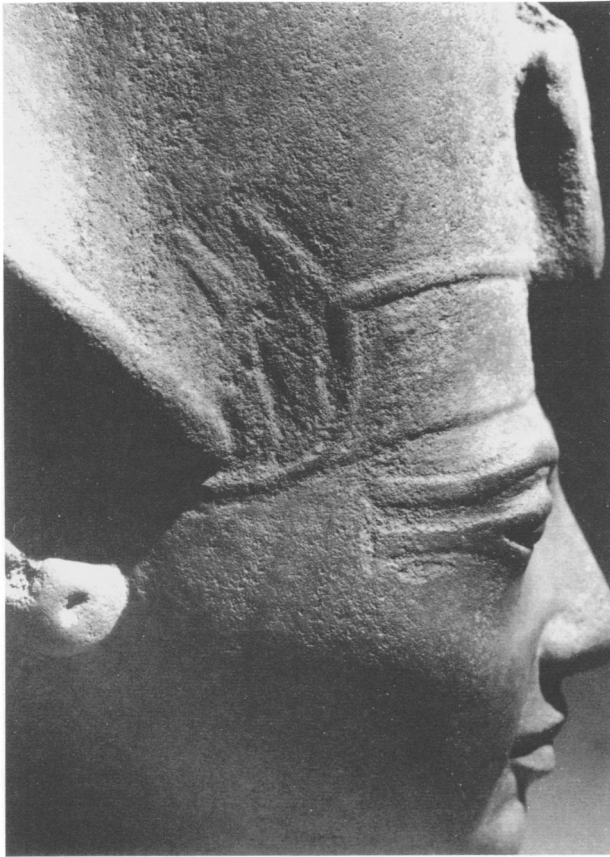


FIGURE 8
Head of Amenmesse, right side, detail showing uraei with the crowns of Upper Egypt (photo: Cardon)

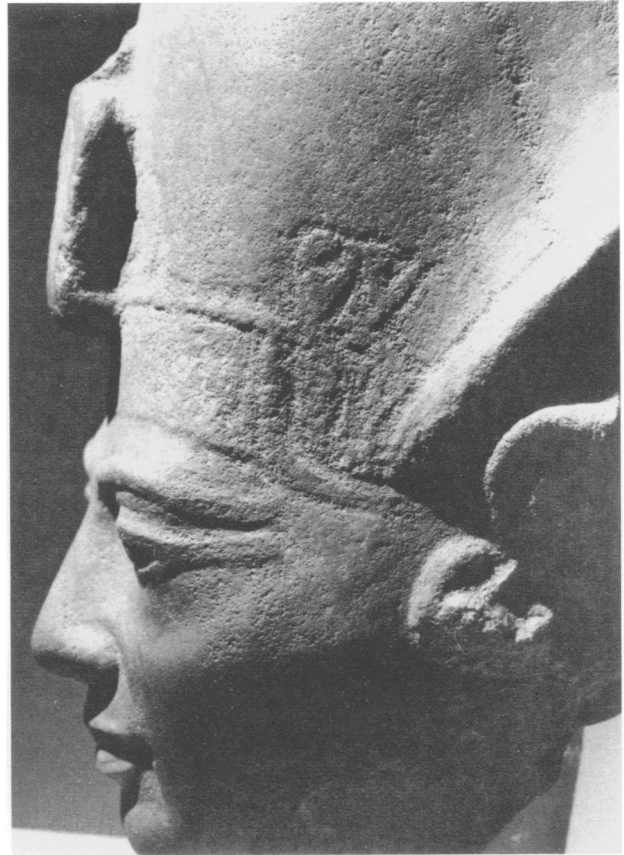


FIGURE 9
Head of Amenmesse, left side, detail showing uraei with the crowns of Lower Egypt (photo: Cardon)

although the ochres will adhere still better if wetted, others of the ancient pigments, such as azurite, malachite, and blue and green frits, will not normally adhere without some binding material.”¹⁵ Since it was unnecessary for the artist to use a binding substance in working with ocher, areas of the head to be colored yellow were probably left rough so that the pigment would have a surface to “bite” into and remain in place.

The method in which the side uraei were carved is of interest. They are not in true raised relief. Instead, the area of the crown around them has been cut back at an angle so that they appear to be so. In reality, they are at the same level as the rest of the crown and have a wide beveled border.¹⁶ Are these uraei part of the original composition or were they added by the usurper, Sety II? The question cannot be definitively

answered because there is limited extant evidence of the use of such uraei and most of it exists in two-dimensional art forms. Moreover, these representations in relief are of little help in dating because they range from Sety I to Ramesses III (Dynasty XX, ca. 1185).¹⁷

15. Ibid., p. 351.

16. This work-saving device, of which many examples could be cited, is mentioned by W. Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore, 1965) pp. 73–74, in reference to the relief decorations of the temple of Ny-user-ia at Abu Gurab (Dynasty V).

17. Sety I: A Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos* (London, 1933) III, pl. 38. Merenptah: an instance is unpublished but has been recorded by Yurco who has found such uraei painted on the sides of the *khepresh* at Abydos. Ramesses III: C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien . . .* (Berlin, 1849–58) Abth. III, pls. 215, 299(69); from Thebes, Valley of the Kings.

On sculpture in the round, another, somewhat similar occurrence of this feature—a single uraeus bearing the crown of Upper Egypt—can be seen on the head of Ramesses II from Tanis, now in Cairo.¹⁸ It is probable that the tradition began in two-dimensional art forms and later was transferred to statuary. That the uraei on the sides of the Metropolitan Museum head date from the sculpture's first owner is supported by the fact that the space in the tabs in front of the flange is much broader than usual and was evidently planned as such. We need only compare these tabs with those of the Turin helmet, for example, where the space available for carving is limited by the flange, in its more normal place at the center of the tab (Figure 6). The roughness of the surface around the side uraei cannot be used as an argument for their later addition because, as we have seen, all the parts of the helmet to which yellow pigment was ap-

plied have been left rough. The evidence suggests, therefore, that the helmet was not recarved during Sety II's reign.

The type of *khepresh*-helmet seen on the Metropolitan Museum head—without circlets in relief over its surface, with a uraeus that has single loops on either side of the hood of the cobra, and with uraei in relief on the sides—is indeed rare for the Nineteenth Dynasty. It appears to be a Blue Crown which combines several features of earlier ones and some details normally found on other types of crown made at that time. The trend as the dynasty goes on is toward simplicity. If we consider other dated heads, and thus far they are all of Ramesses II, few helmets are smooth, all of them have coiled uraei, and only the one from Tanis mentioned above has uraei on the sides.¹⁹ Throughout the Nineteenth Dynasty the uraeus with one loop on either side of the hood appears to be as-

18. Cairo Museum Temporary Journal no. 27/5/67/1; W. M. F. Petrie, *Tanis* (London, 1885) I, pl. 14(2), p. 15, where it is called "probably Ramses II." The photographs in that publication are poor and the uraeus on the side of the crown does not show up in the illustration of the head. I know of it from an old photograph in the Department of Egyptian and Classical Art at The Brooklyn Museum, in which only the uraeus on the right side is visible. A single uraeus where the Metropolitan head has two uraei, it differs also in being a simple, incised line representation. The *khepresh* flange ends at the back of the tab so as to leave space for the carving of the uraeus.

19. The heads with a *khepresh* we may consider dated to Ramesses II are in the Cairo Museum garden (a triad, no. 8/2/21/20), the head in Cairo mentioned above (see note 18), a head in Kansas City (Nelson Gallery of Art-Atkins Museum, no. 32-194), the statue in Mit-Rahineh (Figure 7), the Turin statue (Figure 6), and a wooden statue in Paris (Louvre, no. E.16277). The helmets of this shape with circlets in relief and coiled uraei appear to originate at the end of the reign of Amenhotep III (Brooklyn, acc. no. 48.28, Vandier, *Manuel III*, pl. civ.2,3), unless the royal head in Leipzig (no. 1640) is attributed to Tuthmosis IV. That Ramesses II may have had the helmets of Amenhotep III imitated is explained by his desire to emulate his predecessor, as has already been noted by Y. Margowsky in his talk at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, 1978. After Amenhotep III, during the Amarna period, the shape of the helmet is accentuated in height and it is worn tilted further back than in the Ramesside Period (Louvre, no. E.11076, Vandier, *Manuel III*, pl. cxi, 6; Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, no. AEIN 1640, O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues et statuettes égyptiennes* [Copenhagen, 1950] p. 27, pl. 51). During the Late Period there is a return to the pre-Amarna shapes of *khepresh*-helmets, though these never have a coiled uraeus. Both the pre-Amarna and Late Period *khepresh* are much squatter (cf. the pre-Amarna helmet in the Cleveland Museum of Art, no. 52.513, Vandier, *Manuel III*, pl.

cv.5, with the Late ones of Philadelphia, University Museum, no. E.14303 and Paris, Louvre, no. E.8061, both in B. V. Bothmer et al., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* [Brooklyn, 1960] pls. 50 and 69 respectively).

Of the Ramesside Period are several other heads with the *khepresh* but these are only datable stylistically. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 22.107 (G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture* [Baltimore, 1946] no. 139), *tempus* Ramesses II; Rome, Barracco, no. 21, a young Ramesses II (?); a damaged head in Bologna, Museo Civico, no. B.1802 (S. Curto, *L'Egitto antico*, exh. cat. [Bologna, 1961] p. 73, no. 25, pl. 18, thought therein to represent Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten; republished by E. Bresciani, *La collezione Egizia . . . Bologna* [Bologna, 1975] p. 39, pl. 16, as "probably Amenhotep III,") has a round face characteristic of Dynasty XIX and an orbital configuration comparable to that of Ramesses II in Turin (no. Cat. 1380); New York, Collection Kelekian, an unpublished head known from the Kodachrome collection at The Brooklyn Museum, which has a coiled uraeus and cannot be of Dynasty XXVI. Two other sculptures should be mentioned because they have been given early New Kingdom dates by some archaeologists: MMA, no. 44.4.68 (Hayes, *Scepter II*, p. 145, fig. 80, "Amun-hotpe II (?"); and Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 22.229 (Steindorff, *Catalogue*, no. 104, pl. 20). I believe both to be later than Dynasty XIX and part of the revival of Dynasty XVIII types occurring in Dynasties XX and XXI; Vandier attributes the former to Dynasty XX (*Manuel III*, p. 405, pl. cxxx.5). I do not think that the metal bust of a king in Hildesheim (Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum, no. 384) is one of Ramesses II (H. Kayser, *Die Ägyptischen Altertümer . . .* [Hildesheim, 1966] p. 70, no. 384, fig. 61; *ibid.*, 2nd ed. [1973] p. 70, fig. 70, col. pl. vi).

A royal head presently on loan to The Brooklyn Museum is of interest in connection with this study (Brooklyn, acc. no. L78.17.36). It is carved in yellowish-brown quartzite and bears an incomplete Blue Crown. The king's face is rounded. He has a protruding forehead, rounded eyeballs, naso-labial folds, and

sociated with other headdresses such as the *nemes* or the civil wig.²⁰ That it is found on the Metropolitan head is a clue that this head must have been made later than the reign of Ramesses II.

Behind the helmet, near the top, is what remains of the trapezoidal end of the back-pillar (Figure 4). Only a small part of its back surface survives and there is no evidence of inscription on it.

The right ear of the king is well modeled, deeply carved, and has a drilled lobe, whereas the left one is very flat, pushed forward, and cursorily executed (Figures 2, 3). In working on the left ear, the sculptor was probably hindered by the staff that once extended up to the edge of the crown's flange on that side of the head (Figure 5).²¹

A noteworthy feature is the protruding forehead, a bony bulge upon which the eyebrows are carved (Figures 2, 3). This seemed so strange at one time that it was believed to be evidence for recutting, either ancient or modern. Yet there are several other heads ranging in date from Sety I to Merenptah that share the same peculiarity.²² A modern reworking of the face would presumably have allowed more stone for the recarving of the nose had it been damaged; the fact that it is intact has also been a reason for doubting the head's authenticity. A forger, however, would

have cut back the head, face, and crown, and would not have carved either the side uraei or the bulge in the brow.²³ All this considered, the most reasonable conclusion is that the face as it appears now was carved in ancient times and that the protruding brow is an intrinsic part of the physiognomy.

The eyebrows are rendered plastically following the brow line, and their ends are squared off on the sides of the face. They are paralleled by the squared-off cosmetic lines.²⁴ The upper eyelids project slightly and are incised so as to indicate the separation between the eye socket and the brow. The upper lids have a flattened rim, beneath which are small rounded eyeballs set into straight, buttonhole sockets. Viewed from the side, the eyeballs are undercut and give the impression of looking down.

In the smooth, lower part of the face the philtrum is deeply carved and the mouth, with a thicker lower lip, is wide and gentle. A thin, plastically rendered edge separates the lips from the face. The corners of the mouth are slightly pulled up and they are drilled. Below, a squarish chin, set off by two lines coming down from the corners of the mouth, gives a sense of the strength of character of the king represented.²⁵

Two creases are indicated in the neck. These are not mere incised lines; on the contrary, a rounded

corners of the mouth which are drilled. On the basis of these features a stylistic attribution to Dynasty XIX is possible. Further, the remnants on the left side of the head show that the king probably held a standard. It is possible, therefore, that we have here another representation of Ramesses II or of one of his successors, including Amenmesse.

20. Vandier, *Manuel III*, pls. CXXVI–CXXX.

21. A standard-bearing statue wearing a *khepresh* is not common. Vandier (*Manuel III*, pls. CXIX, CXX) illustrates two earlier examples of the end of Dynasty XVIII (British Museum, no. 37639 and Cairo CG 42095). The second standing statue in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak must also originally have had a *khepresh*-helmet (Yurco, "Six Statues," no. 2) as does the statue of Ramesses II at Mit-Rahineh (Figure 7).

22. Sety I: MMA, no. 22.2.21 (Hayes, *Scepter II*, p. 335, fig. 210); relief in Sety's tomb (K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Egypt* [New York, 1968] pls. 217–219). Ramesses II: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 89.558, Ramesseum, colossal head in black granite (both illustrated in Vandier, *Manuel III*, pls. CXXVI, CXXVII). On ostraca of Ramesses II the feature is clearly visible, perhaps exaggerated: Cairo CG 25121 and CG 25124 (*Ramses le Grand*, pp. 128, 130). It is also quite prominent on two heads stylistically datable to Ramesses II: Ptah (Munich, Gl.80, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst* [Munich, 1972] p. 34, pl. 12); and the head in Baltimore (Walters Art Gallery, no. 22.107, see note

19 above). Merenptah: Cairo CG 607 (*Ramses le Grand*, col. pl. 55, pp. 270–273). Although the published photographs are of poor quality, it appears from a survey of them that this feature is more frequent in the sculpture of Sety I and Ramesses II.

23. An aspect of forgeries to bear in mind is that pointed out by B. V. Bothmer in "The Head that Grew a Face: Notes on a Fine Forgery," *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 (1972) pp. 25–31: in many cases, though certainly not in all of them, we find that a forgery has a life-span. By now it would have been evident to us if the Metropolitan Museum head were a forgery.

24. The cosmetic lines carved in the Ramesside Period have a detail peculiar to them, which needs further research as additional dated material is brought forth. The lower incision of the cosmetic line continues partly under the eyes and stops neatly a little further in than the outer corners of the eye. This detail is found also on dated sculpture from Sety I (MMA, no. 22.2.21, Hayes, *Scepter II*, fig. 210) to Merenptah (Cairo CG 607, *Ramses le Grand*, pp. 270–273); but, as with the protruding brow, it is more common under Sety I and Ramesses II. This is once again probably a device to aid in the application of color to the stone, since there seems to be a difference in the preparation of the eyelids between hard and soft sculpture.

25. Both in the "jeunesse souriante" mentioned by Vandier, *Manuel III*, p. 394, and in the downward glance of the eyes, the head compares well with the Turin statue (Figure 6).

fold of flesh accentuates the region of the Adam's apple (Figures 2, 3).²⁶

Thus, the face of the Metropolitan Museum king is composed of features that fall into three categories: some are individualistic, others can be associated with the early Nineteenth Dynasty, and still others appear to belong to the later part of the same dynasty.²⁷ In its general impression the head resembles that of the Turin Ramesses II (Figure 6), as other scholars have suggested, but in the details of the face there are many anomalies which make a direct connection to Ramesses II difficult. From our knowledge of the iconography of Sety II, we can claim with some certainty that the face of the king at the Metropolitan was not recut to match it, since the face bears no resemblance whatsoever to securely identified heads of Sety II.²⁸ The latter has narrower eyes and a firmly set mouth which endow him with a mean expression not visible in the king at the Metropolitan, who in his "sweeter" look more closely resembles Ramesses II. It can be noted also that the torso to which the Metropolitan

head belongs was not recut by Sety II; had it been, it would have a very strong median line in keeping with Sety II's iconography (Figure 5).

These conflicting elements were resolved when Frank Yurco discovered traces of Amenmesse's name carved on the five companion statues of the king at Karnak. Amenmesse, it appears, had reason to strive toward establishing a firm line of descent from Ramesses II. Thus, that Amenmesse's head has some resemblance to that of Ramesses II is as logical as its lack of similarity to Sety II, the pharaoh who deposed Amenmesse and reinscribed his statues. It is also appropriate that the representation should be one of a man who ruled between Ramesses II and Sety II, since the statue harks back to the iconography of the former while foreshadowing that of the latter. With this discovery, The Metropolitan Museum of Art has in its Egyptian collection the first known representation in the round of King Amenmesse, who ruled after Ramesses II and Merenptah, from 1202 to 1199 B.C.

26. This can be found on most of the sculpture of the period listed in the preceding footnotes.

27. See above, notes 19, 22, and 24.

28. British Museum, no. 616, Louvre, no. A 24, and the colossal statue in Turin, no. Cat. 1383 (Vandier, *Manuel III*, pl. CXXX, 3, pl. CXXVIII, 5, and Giulio Farina, *Il R. Museo di antichità di Torino, sezione egizia* [Rome, 1938] p. 38, respectively). Their inscriptions have been collated by Yurco, who confirms that they are all original of the time of Sety II.

Amenmesse: Six Statues at Karnak

FRANK J. YURCO

THE ROYAL RAMESSIDE HEAD in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (no. 34.2.2) has been shown by Patrick Cardon to belong to one of three related statues in the Hypostyle Hall in the temple of Karnak.¹ Of these, Maurice Pillet published a short note about the statue now situated north of column four, representing the king kneeling and holding an offering table.² He found this statue in excavations near the girdle wall of the Thutmoside part of the temple, near Taharqa's edifice, north of the Sacred Lake at Karnak. It was moved to a location inside the Hypostyle Hall following Pillet's suggestion that it originally belonged to a group that included the two standing statues located north of columns seventy and seventy-one in the south half of the hall. Pillet had proposed that the north-south axis of the hall was lined originally with a set of reddish quartzite statues, similar to the surviving three.³ Shehata Adam and Farid el-Shaboury, in their description of the restoration of these statues, stated that their original lo-

cation was uncertain.⁴ Pillet, however, had discovered additional evidence in support of his proposal,⁵ and indeed, the photograph that Adam and el-Shaboury took before the restoration shows the statue north of column seventy-one—the one that matches the Metropolitan Museum's head—still standing on what appears to be its original base.⁶ Pillet's proposal regarding the grouping and location of the statues therefore seems the more reliable.⁷

All three statues were usurped, that is, appropriated and surcharged with respect to their inscriptions, by Sety II from an earlier pharaoh. Three other red quartzite statues at Karnak were similarly usurped. At present, two of these stand before the porch of the Second Pylon at Karnak, on the north and south sides respectively of the main processional axis of the temple.⁸ The third now stands in the Festival Hall of Thutmose III, just west of the entrance to the sanctuary of the hall.⁹ The six statues were carved in a reddish quartzite of uniform texture and

A list of abbreviations is given at the end of this article.

1. P-M II, pp. 51–52. This group excludes Cairo statue CG 1198, which came from a different part of the Hypostyle Hall; see below and notes 13–18.

2. Pillet, *ASAE* 24, pp. 73–74; Barguet, *Temple* (Cairo, 1962) pl. viii.

3. Pillet, *ASAE* 24, p. 74.

4. Adam and el-Shaboury, *ASAE* 56, p. 49, n. 1.

5. Pillet, *ASAE* 24, p. 74; he mentions finding a third base (besides those under the statues in the southern half of the hall), and fragments of the same reddish quartzite of which the statues are fashioned at another emplacement along the north-south axis of the hall.

6. Adam and el-Shaboury, *ASAE* 56, pl. xviiB (incorrectly captioned “after restoration”).

7. I doubt, however, the accuracy of the location of the kneeling statue in the Hypostyle Hall. Another virtually identical statue of reddish quartzite survives in the Festival Hall of Thutmose III, just before the sanctuary (P-M II, p. 110, no. 341); it too was usurped by Sety II (Barguet, *Temple*, p. 178, n. 4), and is of the same scale. It also held an offering table, now almost totally broken away. In fact, the two statues form a complementary pair. As Pillet found the kneeling statue outside the Hypostyle Hall in a secondary context, I would suggest that it belongs with the statue in the Festival Hall, the pair probably flanking the sanctuary entrance.

8. P-M II, p. 38, no. 137; Legrain, *Temples*, p. 140 (although both Porter-Moss and Legrain mention only one statue, there are in fact fragments of two; see Pillet, *ASAE* 24, p. 74, and Adam and el-Shaboury, *ASAE* 56, p. 50, n. 1).

9. P-M II, p. 110, no. 341; Barguet, *Temple*, p. 178, n. 4.

quality, and are roughly of the same scale (slightly over life-size); their usurpation by Sety II is indicated by their back-pillar inscriptions which are secondary, carved over erased original texts.¹⁰ I would propose, therefore, that all six statues were erected and inscribed originally by one and the same pharaoh, probably at key points along the processional routes of the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak.

A number of historical studies by various scholars have mentioned the statues,¹¹ but they have yet to be published adequately; and for this reason the inscriptions of all six will be presented and discussed here.

Vandier, contesting a verbal reference given by Edgerton to Gardiner, suggested that the Karnak statues with Sety II's name had not been usurped.¹² His main argument focused on another statue bearing inscriptions of Sety II, now in the Cairo Museum but originally from Karnak, namely Cairo CG 1198.¹³ This statue is usually grouped with the three from the Hypostyle Hall,¹⁴ in spite of the fact that the red quartzite of which it is carved is of a somewhat darker shade,¹⁵ and the scale is approximately twice life-size, markedly larger than the others. The queen on its left side is sculpted, whereas queens on three of the six statues are carved in sunk relief. Moreover, it is clear from a remark made by de Morgan about the discovery of this statue in the season of 1892–93 that it does not belong with the three statues in the Hypostyle Hall; apparently it was found in the hall, but under the debris of a pylon.¹⁶ Lacking any more definite statement concerning its findspot, I would surmise that de Morgan's reference means under the debris of the Second Pylon; it was in fact found in a ruinous state, partially collapsed into the west end of the Hypostyle Hall.¹⁷ The Cairo statue should not, there-

fore, be classed with the three statues in the central part of the hall. Since its texts have already been published by Borchardt,¹⁸ it will not be included with the group of six that are our concern here; I will, however, comment below on the question of the usurpation of its texts.

The copies of the texts from the six Karnak statues presented in this study are based upon photographs and controlled hand copies made over the years 1974–77 in Egypt, when I was a member of the Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute.¹⁹ Rubbings of usurped texts were made in order to confirm the earlier traces. In addition, the usurped texts were measured in order to establish how much material had been removed in the erasure of the original inscriptions; where traces of these had survived, the measurements also helped to determine to what depth they had been carved. This procedure proved useful for differentiating between the original and the palimpsest versions.

STATUE NO. 1

Reddish quartzite standing statue of a king, with usurping texts of Sety II, located at present in the southeast quadrant of the Hypostyle Hall north of column seventy-one, facing west. The king is represented wearing a long pleated skirt, holding a standard, broken at the top, against his left shoulder. The statue's head is broken off, but head no. 34.2.2 from The Metropolitan Museum of Art matches the break. The statue's overall dimensions, minus the head, are: 197.7 × 43.5 (max.) × 60 cm.

10. All the inscriptions on the six statues are incised. To obliterate an incised text, two techniques are possible: either it is plastered over, making a blank surface for the surcharging text; or it is scraped away, lowering the level of the stone. The second technique was used to usurp the six statues under discussion.

11. Most recently, Gardiner, *JEA* 44, p. 17, and Vandier, *RdE* 23, pp. 181–183.

12. Vandier, *RdE* 23, pp. 181–182; Gardiner's reference based upon Edgerton is found in *JEA* 44, p. 17.

13. Vandier, *RdE* 23, pp. 181–182; Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten . . .*, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (Berlin, 1934) part IV, pp. 97–99, pl. 169.

14. E.g., P-M II, p. 52; Vandier, *RdE* 23, p. 181; Gardiner, *JEA* 44, p. 17.

15. Contrary to the statement in Gaston Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire*, 4th ed. (Cairo, 1915) p. 169 (top), which describes it as carved in red granite.

16. Jacques de Morgan, "Compte rendu des travaux archéologiques effectuées par le service des antiquités de l'Égypte et par les savants étrangers pendant les années 1892–1893," *Bulletin d'Institut d'Égypte*, 3rd ser. 4 (1893) p. 413; P-M II, p. 52, lists the year of the volume erroneously as 1894.

17. Legrain, *Temples*, p. 128, fig. 79; and p. 133, fig. 85.

18. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, IV, pp. 97–99, pl. 169.

19. I wish to express sincerest thanks to the directors of the Epigraphic Survey during my years with the expedition, Kent R. Weeks, and Charles C. Van Siclen III, for permitting me to use the expedition's equipment. Special thanks are owed to Patrick Cardon whose photographs have been used in this study.

FIGURE 1

Statue no. 1, detail of back-pillar showing erasure of the original inscription. Karnak, Temple of Amun, Hypostyle Hall (photo: Cardon)

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Hoyningen-Huene and Steindorff, fig. p. 131
P-M II, p. 52

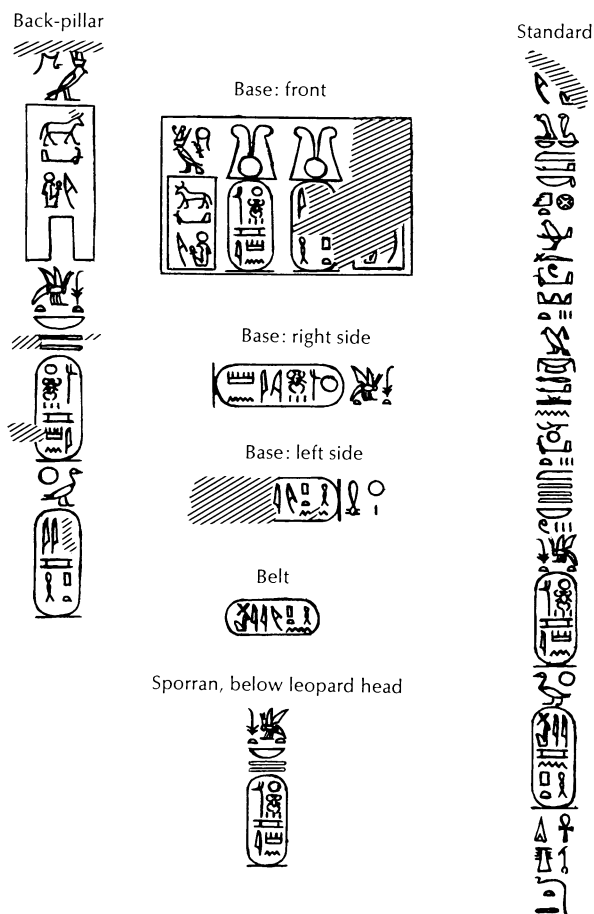
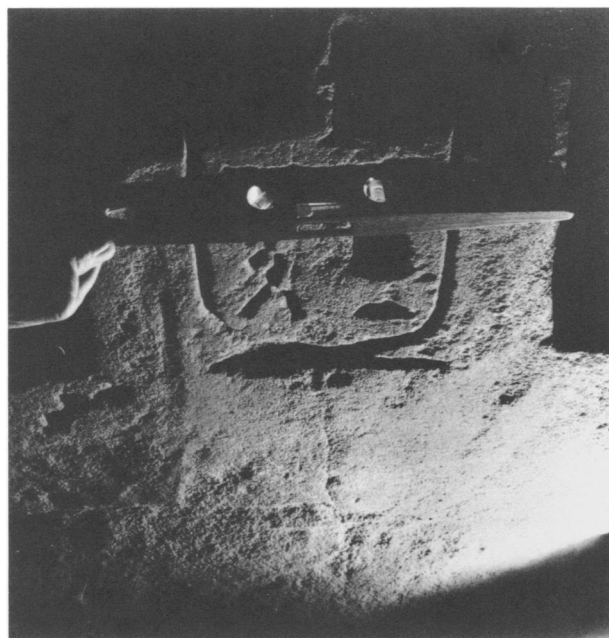
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Vandier, J., *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne: III. Les grandes Epoques: La statuaire* (Paris, 1958) pp. 394 with n. 2, and 410 with n. 5 (described as Ramesses II), pl. CXXVI, 4
Winlock, H. E. “Recent Purchases of Egyptian Sculpture,” *MMAB* 29 (1934) figs. pp. 181, 186

The fact that this statue was usurped was recognized by Barguet. Inspection of the inscriptions in the course of copying them confirmed this; the back-pillar inscription had been erased and recarved along its whole length to a depth of 0.5 to 0.7 cm. (Figure 1); no traces of the earlier inscription survived. The front of the base did not reveal the characteristic dip in level of a usurped text. Either the text of Sety II is original here, inscribed onto a blank surface when he usurped the statue, or the entire base was cut back and reinscribed anew. The inscriptions on the right and left sides of the base may be secondary. The surface on both sides is very rough; on the left side, a dip in the level of the surface to a depth of 0.4–0.5 cm. may suggest that original texts were erased from here. The cartouche on the belt, minus the characteristic tie, seems to have been erased and reinscribed

FIGURE 2

Statue no. 1, inscriptions (drawing: Yurco)



for Sety II. The sporran text likewise is secondary; the lines showing the pleats of the sporran have been erased, suggesting that the whole surface has been lowered. With the text on the standard, recutting is more difficult to determine as a curved surface is involved. The titulary now visible is entirely that of Sety II (cf. Gauthier, *LdR* III, p. 138, no. xvii—the titulary, which is not usurped, is from Karnak, from the stela between the sphinxes on the north side of the *dromos* to the quay). If the standard was usurped, it was only by cutting back the entire surface. It is possible also that the standard was not inscribed originally and that Sety II's titulary was added to a blank surface. (For the inscriptions on the statue, see Figure 2.)

In Adam and el-Shaboury's photograph of the statue prior to restoration (pl. xvib), the statue, which possesses a high base (42.1 cm.), is shown standing on a second block of almost the same height. One reason for this building up of the base was perhaps to equalize the total height of the statue with that of statue no. 2. Minus their heads, the present height of the statues (including bases) is: no. 1, 197.7 cm.; no. 2, 258.4 cm. A parallel raising of the base of a statue may be seen at Luxor, in the First Court, where colossus no. 60 (P-M II, p. 312, nos. 60, 61) has a built-up base that serves to make it the same total height as colossus no. 61.

STATUE NO. 2

Reddish quartzite standing statue of a king (Figure 3), bearing the secondary texts of Sety II; it is located in the southwest quadrant of the Hypostyle Hall, north of column seventy, facing east. The king is represented wearing a short pleated kilt with sporran, holding a standard, the top of which is broken away, against his left shoulder; the statue's head is broken off and missing. Behind the advancing left leg of the king, the figure and titles of Queen Takhat (*T3ḥt*) are carved in sunk relief (Figure 4). She appears wearing a long diaphanous robe and a flat-top crown, surmounted by a Mut-vulture with wings outspread and a large uraeus-type cobra before it. In addition to the standard uraeus on her brow, she also wears a short wig with a sidelock falling over her left shoulder. In her left hand she holds a lotus flower. Her present inscription identifies her as a "king's daughter (and)

king's wife." The statue's overall dimensions are: 258.4 × 67.5 × 95 cm.

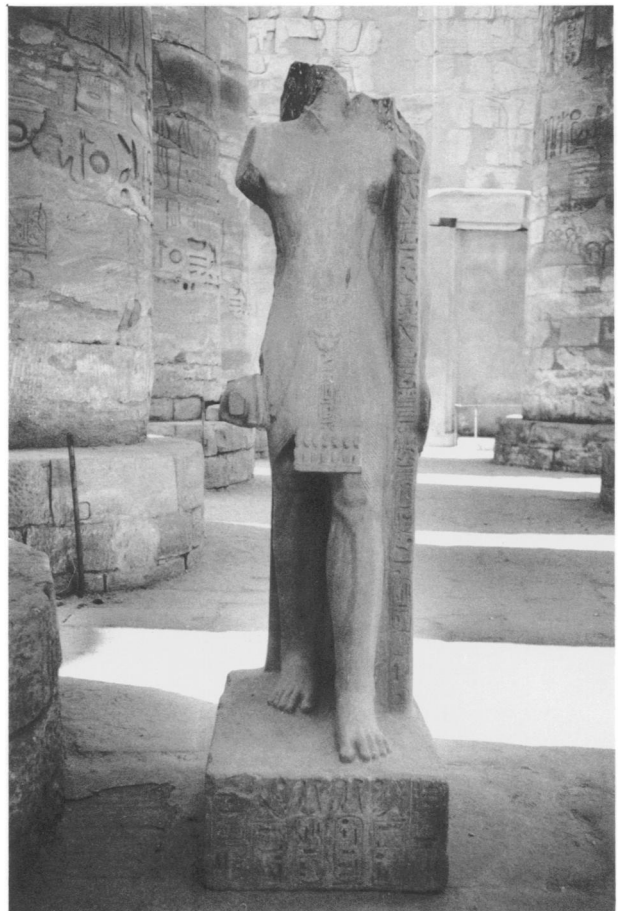
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 Michalowski, *Karnak*, pl. 23
 Pillet, M., *Thèbes: Karnak et Louxor* (Paris, 1928) fig. 34 P-M II, pp. 51–52
 Robichon, C., and Varille, A., *En Egypte* (Paris, 1937) pl. 87
 Samivel and Audrain, M., *The Glory of Egypt*, trans. J. E. Manchip-White (London, 1955) pl. 34

Barguet recognized that this statue was usurped, but the alteration of the queen's second title has not been noted previously. When examined closely, the back-pillar was found to have been erased over its entire inscribed surface, to a depth of 0.5–0.8 cm.; some traces of the original version survive at a depth of

FIGURE 3

Statue no. 2. Karnak, Temple of Amun, Hypostyle Hall (photo: Cardon)



Statue no. 2, detail of back-pillar showing erasure of the original inscription and its surviving traces, reading "Amun-Re, king of the gods" (photo: Cardon)

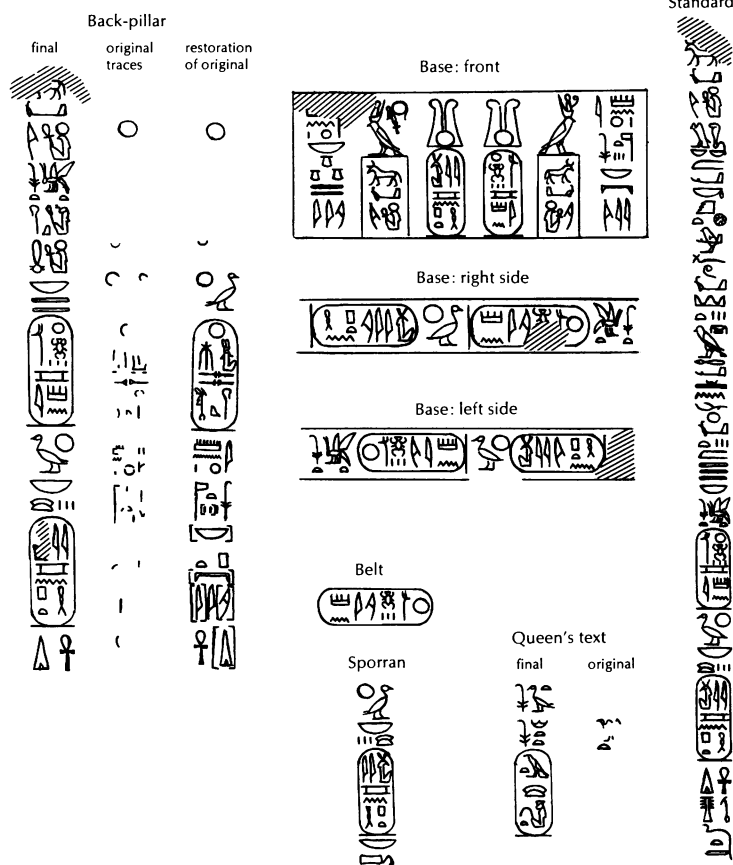
The circular trace beneath *Mry-R'* of Sety II's titulary may belong to Amenmesse's prenomen [*Mn-mi*]-*R'*-[*stp-n-R'*]. Starting with the traces below *nb-t3.wy*,



Statue no. 2, left side, figure of Queen Takhat
(photo: Cardon)



Statue no. 2, inscriptions (drawing: Yurco)



the original text is preserved more extensively; *s3-R^c* and a nomen may be read; the nomen is Amenmesse's in a variant form (see Gauthier, *LdR* III, p. 128, no. IVA). It takes up about three groups of signs. Below the original nomen, clear traces of *'Imn-R^c*, *nsu.t ntr.w* and somewhat scantier traces of *nb pt mry, di' nh* are preserved (see Figure 5). Regarding Sety II's nomen, it is of interest to note that only on the back-pillar has the Seth-hieroglyph of his nomen been mutilated.

The front of the base shows no clear evidence of recutting; Sety II's texts may have been added to an originally uninscribed surface, or alternately, the entire front of the base may have been cut back, so that none of the usual signs of usurpation would be present. The right and left sides of the base show an uneven surface; they may have been cut back and completely reinscribed, or Sety II's inscriptions may have been added to a previously unused surface.

The belt cartouche, minus the customary tie, seems to have been recut, as shown by its lowered surface. It has been reinscribed with Sety II's prenomen. The surface of the inscription on the sporran shows a dip throughout, about 0.2 cm., suggesting that it was erased and reinscribed.

As on statue no. 1, erasure of the standard that the king holds would be difficult to detect because of the curving surface, but again the entire titulary is that of Sety II and not Amenmesse's; if usurped, it has been recut over its entire surface.

As for the queen's text (Figures 4, 6), of the title *mw.t nsu.t* (𓄎 𓏏) the Mut-vulture was altered to *hm.t* (𓄎). The surface around this group reveals about 0.3–0.35 cm. of erasure. In the altered version of the title, the final 𓄎 may serve as a complement for 𓄎. It belongs to the original version, however, as indicated by its skewed position relative to the secondary group 𓄎.

STATUE NO. 3

Reddish quartzite kneeling statue of a king (Figure 7), inscribed at present with usurping texts of Sety II, located in the northeast quadrant of the Hypostyle Hall, north of column four (not its original location), facing west. The king is represented wearing a short pleated kilt, holding an offering table. His head is

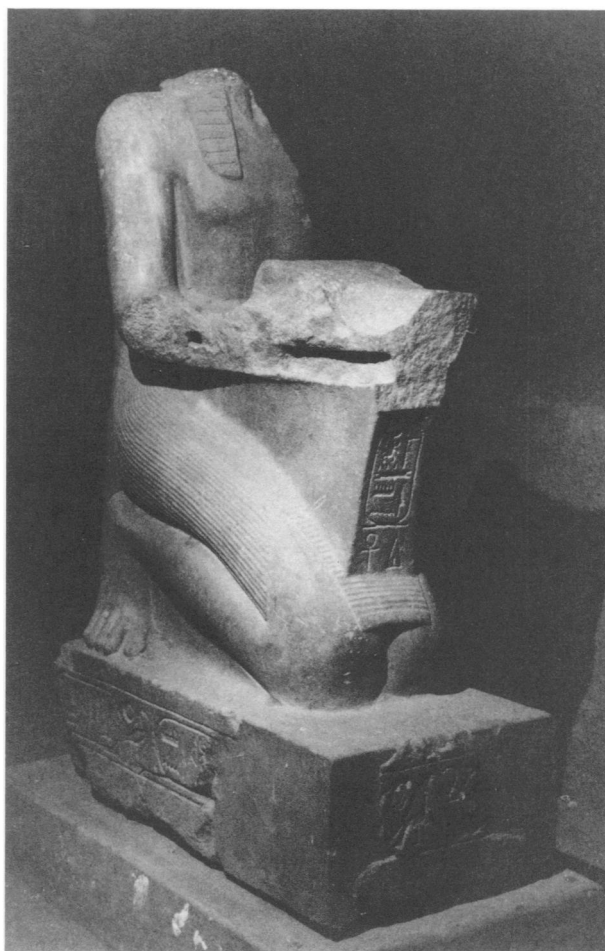


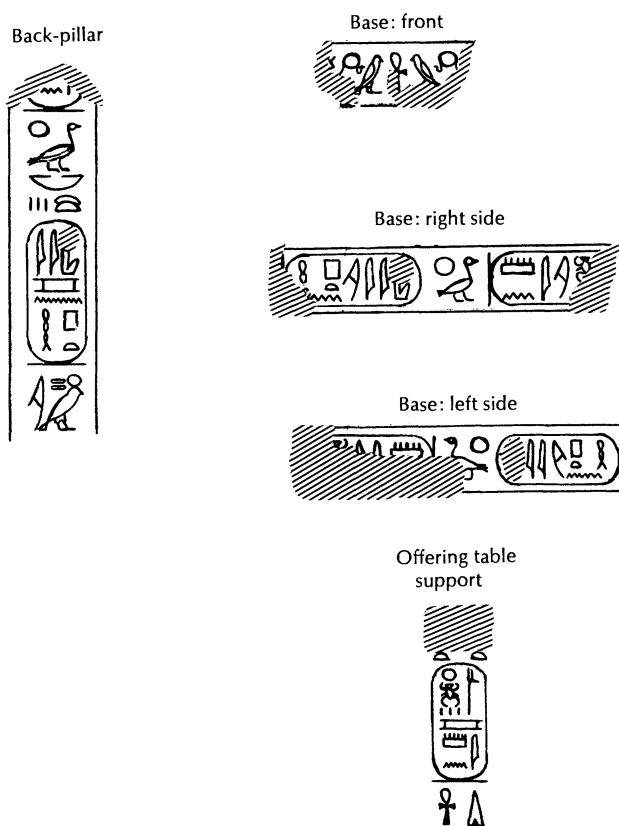
FIGURE 7
Statue no. 3. Karnak, Temple of Amun, Hypostyle Hall (photo: Cardon)

broken off and missing, but that he was shown wearing the *nemes*-headcloth is certain from the traces of the striped ends still remaining on the shoulders. The statue's overall dimensions are: 139.7 × 49.2 (max.) × 98.5 cm. It resembles statue no. 6 (Figure 14) so closely that the two may be regarded as a pair.

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Michalowski, *Karnak*, pl. 21
Pillet, *ASAE* 24, pp. 73–74 (provenience given)
P-M II, p. 52

FIGURE 8
Statue no. 3, inscriptions (drawing: Yurco)



That the statue had been usurped was recognized by Barguet; reexamination of it confirmed his findings. The entire text on the back-pillar has been erased to a depth of 0.5 cm. and reinscribed for Sety II. The surface of the text area is also quite rough, another indicator of usurpation. No traces of the original inscriptions were found under Sety II's texts (Figure 8).

Only the beginning, standard portion of the royal titulary is preserved on the front of the base, and this shows no evidence of having been altered. From the preserved traces, it appears that the titulary was continued along the two sides. All that remains, however, on each are the prenomen, nomen, and connecting titles. On the right side, the entire original text has been erased to a depth of 0.6–0.7 cm.; the rough surface also indicates that the existing texts are usurped; the secondary version contains the names of Sety II.

No traces of the original texts are preserved. The cartouche on the table support reveals no traces of erasure; possibly it was added to a surface previously uninscribed.

STATUE NO. 4

Reddish quartzite standing statue of a king (Figure 9), with secondary texts of Sety II superimposed over erased inscriptions of the original king, now located before the porch of the Second Pylon, on the north side, facing south toward the processional axis of the temple. The statue, which is broken off at the waist, represents the king in a long pleated skirt with a sporran; unlike statues nos. 1–3, he is wearing sandals. Originally he was shown holding a standard against his left shoulder, but this is now broken away almost completely. The figure and titles of a queen are carved in sunk relief behind the king's left leg (Figure 10). She wears a long garment knotted just below her right breast and a broad collar. In her left hand she holds an *nh*-sign and a lotus flower. Damage to the statue has obliterated her crown, except for a uraeus at the brow. Her titles are those of a chief royal wife, but her name has been expunged utterly; originally there was a cartouche just below her right, extended arm, but only a trace of the oval remains. The statue's overall dimensions are: 141 (max. preserved) × 59.5 × 102.8 cm.

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 Michalowski, *Karnak*, pls. 10 and 13 (beside Taharqa's column)
 Pillet, *ASAE* 24, p. 74 (mentions fragments of two statues)
 P-M II, p. 38 (fragment of only one statue mentioned)

Scholars have hitherto not recognized that this statue was usurped. When examined closely, the central column of inscription on the back-pillar was found to have been erased to a depth of 0.5 cm.; however, no traces of the original inscription are preserved. The surface of the cartouche on the front of

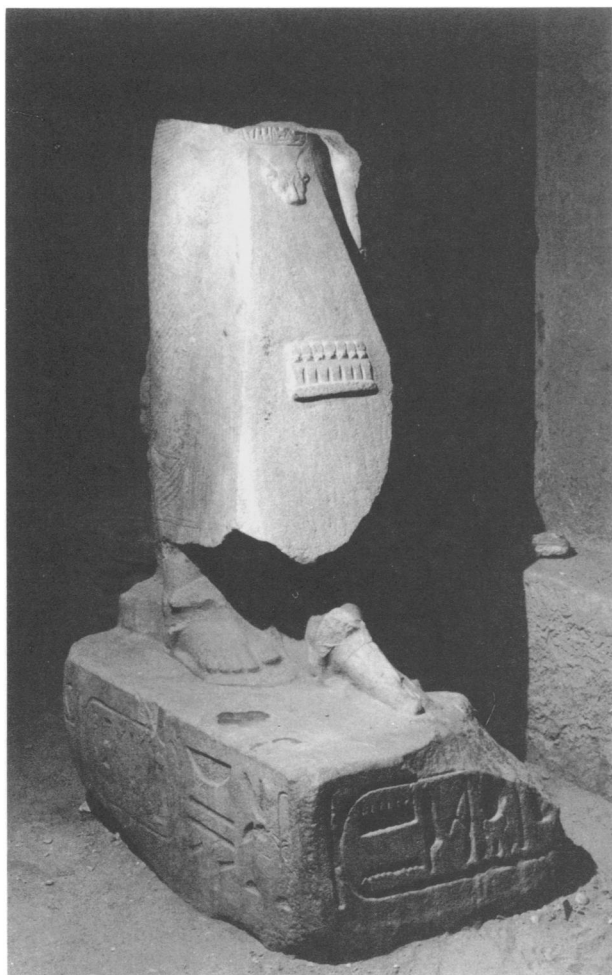


FIGURE 9
Statue no. 4. Karnak, First Court (photo: Cardon)

the base revealed a dip of 0.5 cm., and so it too has been erased. Sety II's prenomen was inscribed here secondarily, but no traces of the original text were found. On the right side of the base, Sety II's text appears to be original; the entire surface here is very uneven, and may have been cut back completely for the secondary inscription, or left blank to begin with. The inferior quality of the workmanship visible in the carving of the hieroglyphs, by contrast with the details of the king's costume which are certainly representative of the original workmanship, likewise indicates that Sety II's texts are secondary. In this regard, note especially the skewed position and shape of the *nb*-sign of *nb-t3.wy*, and the overall sloppy cut-



FIGURE 10
Statue no. 4, left side, figure of a queen, probably Bakt-en-werel (photo: Cardon)

ting of the signs of Sety II's nomen. The left side of the statue seems not to have been inscribed at all.

The cartouche on the belt, minus the customary tie, has probably been erased and reinscribed. No inscriptions or decoration, aside from the leopard head and the cobras, remain on the sporran, but the surface is rough, suggesting that a text situated between the leopard head and the cobras has been expunged. From the overall roughness of the sporran surface, it may be surmised that the conventional representation of the pleating has also been erased.

The standard is too fragmentary to render an estimate of recutting possible, but the extant traces suggest that the present titulary is entirely that of Sety II.

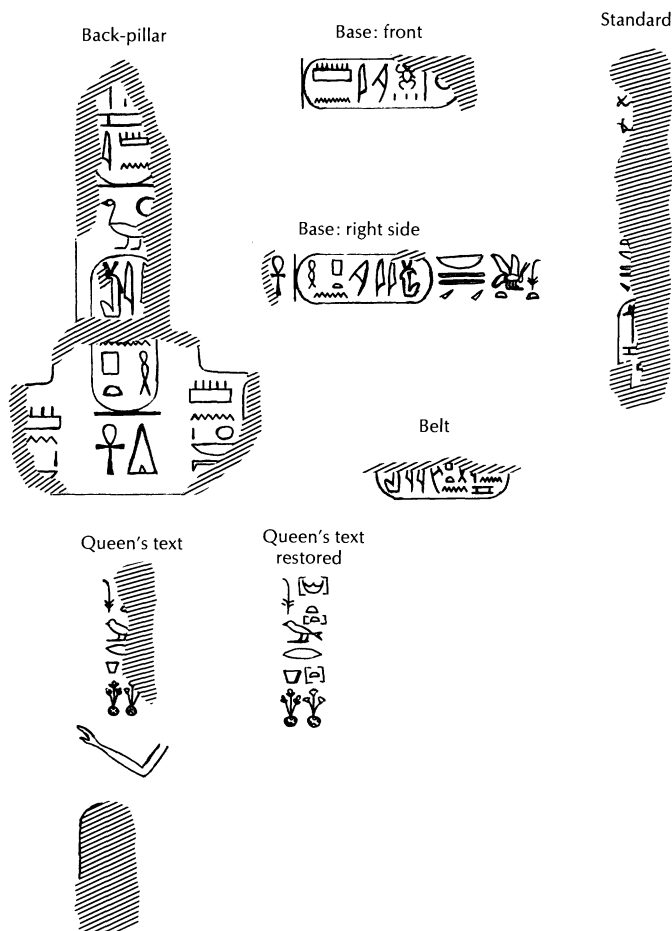


FIGURE 11
Statue no. 4, inscriptions (drawing: Yurco)

It too is probably secondary, and either the entire surface has been erased or else it was not inscribed originally.

The queen's name, originally inscribed in a cartouche below her right, extended arm, has been erased thoroughly, leaving but a few meager traces of the cartouche oval. The surface here reveals a dip of 0.28–0.3 cm.; the remainder of the queen's texts, consisting of her titles, was not touched; the depth of the hieroglyphs is 0.3 cm., and as the cartouche was probably cut to the same depth, it is understandable that no traces of her name survive. A reconstruction of her titles is included in Figure 11. The texts suggest that she was the chief queen of the king whom

the statue represented originally. In accordance with the historical interpretation offered below, I would identify her as Bakt-en-werel, wife of Amenmesse (see Gauthier, *Ldr* III, p. 130, no. XIII).

The location of this statue is alluded to by Pillet and mentioned briefly by Legrain; the latter is quoted by Porter-Moss. Of its location, Legrain states that it was reerected near the place where it had been excavated. That his reference concerns statue no. 4 is fairly certain, for he mentions only one fragment, whereas statue no. 5 is broken into two pieces. So the provenience of statue no. 4 is clearly from the area between the porch of the second pylon and Taharqa's colonnade, and statue no. 5 was probably found there also, as is suggested by Pillet's allusion and Legrain's photograph. Is this the original spot where the statues were erected? I believe not. The area of the court where Legrain reerected statue no. 4 has been subject to much alteration, and the fact that the left side of the base has not been inscribed, either by Amenmesse or by Sety II, may suggest that it was not erected originally where Legrain's photograph shows it, or for that matter in the court at all. Perhaps Sety II moved the two statues (nos. 4 and 5) from inside the Hypostyle Hall in conjunction with his work on the Triple Shrine and the quay; but subsequent extensive rearrangement of the area under the Bubastides and Taharqa makes it difficult, if not impossible, to state precisely where Sety II may have relocated them. Note that in modern times, both statues have been moved from beside Taharqa's columns to their present location (see J. Leclant, "Fouilles et travaux en Egypte, 1957–1960," *Orientalia* n.s. 30 [1961] pl. xxviii, fig. 14).

STATUE NO. 5

Reddish quartzite standing statue of a king with usurping texts of Sety II, now located before the porch of the Second Pylon, on the south side, facing the processional axis of the temple. Like no. 4, this statue is broken off above the waist; the surviving portion consists of two pieces; and the whole front of the figure is missing. The king was probably represented wearing a long pleated garment with a sporran, similar to that worn by statue no. 4; the nature

of the break in front suggests the form of the garment. The figure of a woman holding a lotus flower in her left hand is carved in sunk relief behind the king's left leg (Figure 12). Her name and titles, as well as her upper body, are broken away completely. Overall measurements of the statue: 131.2 × 61 × 67 cm. (maximum preserved; a certain amount of the statue is missing from the broken area, as suggested by the gap in the inscription on the right side).

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- Adam and el-Shaboury, *ASAE* 56, p. 49, n. 1
 Drioton, E., and Sved, E., *Art égyptien* (Paris, 1950) pl. 124
 Legrain, *Temples*, p. 140 and fig. 38 on p. 51
 Michalowski, *Karnak*, pls. 10 and 13 (in shadow of Tahrqa's column)
 Pillet, *ASAE* 24, p. 74
 P-M II, p. 38

None of the cited publications recognized that this statue had been usurped (for the inscriptions, see Figure 13). Examination revealed that the column of text on the back-pillar, containing the royal titulary, had been erased to a depth of 0.4–0.6 cm. and reinscribed for Sety II. No traces of the original inscription were found. On the front of the base, the surface around the vertical cartouche is too badly damaged to permit assessment of recutting; but since the back-pillar texts of Sety II are secondary, the same should be true of this cartouche. The other texts on the front of the base are conventional; they could be adapted for either king and would not have been subject to recutting. The text from the front of the base carries over onto the right side; the area around the cartouche for Sety II on this side seems to have been erased to a depth of 0.75 cm. at the deepest point, making the cartouche a secondary one. Accordingly, the part of

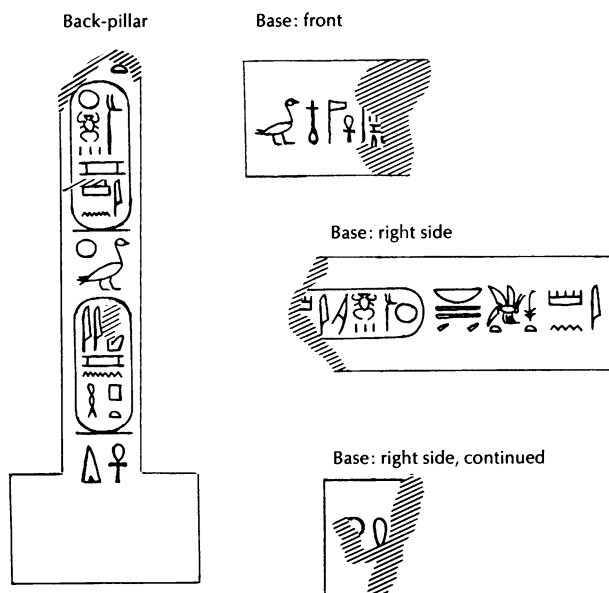


FIGURE 12

Statue no. 5, left side, remains of the figure of a royal lady. Karnak, First Court (photo: Cardon)

FIGURE 13

Statue no. 5, inscriptions (drawing: Yurco)



the text reading *ntr nfr s3 'Imn nswt bity nb t3.wy* is part of the original inscription. The epithet *ntr nfr s3 'Imn* for Amenmesse is known from elsewhere (see Ricardo Caminos, "Two Stelae in the Kurnah Temple of Sethos I," in O. Firkow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien* [Berlin, 1955] p. 19, for example), and it would be particularly suitable for him, considering his nomen. The left side of the base is now uninscribed; as is the case with the left side of the base of statue no. 4, it may not have been inscribed in either version. The front of the base is too damaged to estimate whether a text matching the one on the right side of the base existed on the left as well. Since it is the left side of the base, facing west, that is uninscribed, while the side facing the porch is inscribed (and seems to have been inscribed also in the original version), again the possibility arises that this statue, like its complement, no. 4, was not placed in the court originally. Perhaps it and statue no. 4 were located, rather, along the transverse axis of the Hypostyle Hall. Pillet indeed found a foundation block for a third statue along the north side of the transverse axis in a position which would have paralleled that of the two statues north of columns seventy and seventy-one.

Since the front of the statue is missing, the belt and sporran with their inscriptions have not survived; nor have the inscriptions accompanying the figure of the woman on the left side of the statue. Her upper body and head have also vanished with the break, so that neither her identity nor her titles can be established, although it is very likely that she was related to the pharaoh whom the statue originally represented.

STATUE NO. 6

Reddish quartzite kneeling statue of a king (Figure 14), with palimpsest cartouches of Sety II. The king is depicted wearing a short pleated kilt. Although his head is missing, traces of striped lappets on the shoulders show that he wore the *nemes*-headcloth as well as a broad collar. The arms are broken off, but a trace of stone on the king's lap suggests that he held an offering table similar to that of statue no. 3. The overall measurements of the statue are: 115.8 × 46.5 × 74.5 cm. (all maximum preserved). In scale, pose, and dress, this statue is virtually a duplicate of statue no. 3 (Figure 7).



FIGURE 14
Statue no. 6. Karnak, Festival Hall of Thutmose III
(photo: Cardon)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barguet, *Temple*, p. 178, n. 4
Michalowski, *Karnak*, pl. 71
P-M II, p. 110, no. 341

The fact that this statue had been usurped was recognized by Barguet, who proposed that it originally represented Amenmesse. Detailed inspection of the texts on the statue (made jointly with William J. Murnane in April 1977) confirmed Barguet's suggestion. The cartouches, but not the connecting titles, on the back-pillar were subject to erasure and recutting by Sety II; they show a dip to a maximum of 0.7 cm.; no traces of the earlier king's names survive.

On both right and left sides of the base, again the

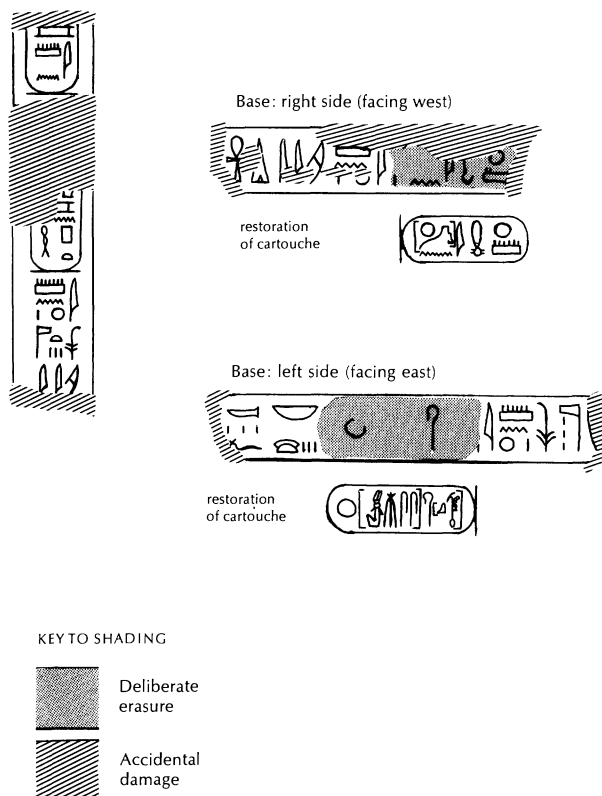


FIGURE 15
Statue no. 6, inscriptions (drawing: Yurco)

cartouches but not the connecting titles were erased; in this case, however, they were not reinscribed. The surfaces of the cartouches dip to 0.4–0.45 cm.; as the other, unaltered parts of the inscriptions were carved 0.5–0.65 cm. in depth, traces of the original cartouches were preserved despite the erasure. Reconstructions are included in Figure 15.

On the left side of the base, I would interpret the top sign in the group preceding *nb ḥ.w* as a falcon's wing (A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. [London, 1957] p. 474, sign list H 5), possibly representing the word *dnḥ.w*, "wings"; see A. Erman and H. Grapow, eds., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1926–31) V, pp. 577–578.

As noted above, the scale, pose, and dress of this statue closely parallel those of statue no. 3. Since the latter was found in a secondary context (Pillet, *ASAE* 24, pp. 73–74), it should perhaps be paired with

statue no. 6 and relocated inside the Festival Hall of Thutmose III, flanking the doorway into the sanctuary. There is evidence that a Ramesside pharaoh—most probably Amenmesse—enlarged the entrance and vestibule to the Festival Hall. Barguet (*Temple*, pp. 158, 168) had realized this, but suggested that Sety II was the king responsible. He noticed, however, that certain scenes inside the vestibule had been usurped by Sety II from Amenmesse (*ibid.*, p. 169, n. 2), and personal inspection of the cartouches in question, in April 1977, confirmed his observation. Further, the two Osiride colossi that flank the entrance to the Festival Hall, and that Barguet (*ibid.*, p. 158) stated were usurped by Sety II from Thutmose III, were in fact usurped by Sety II from Amenmesse. Again, personal inspection of these colossi on several occasions and under differing light conditions during 1975–77 revealed traces of Amenmesse's nomen only, beneath Sety II's painted version. The cartouches had been erased to a considerable depth, however, and it is probable that a double usurpation is involved here; Amenmesse from Thutmose III initially (probably to take credit for his alterations to the entrance), and then Sety II, in paint, from Amenmesse. At least some of the erasure visible in the cartouches was an attempt by Sety II's agents to destroy the traces of Amenmesse's name; the depth of the erasure averages 1.0 to 1.4 cm. inside the cartouches, but the unaltered portions of the text outside the cartouches average only 1.0 cm. in depth, while the surviving traces of Amenmesse's name within the cartouche lie at a depth of 1.3 cm. (measured from the surface to the base of the cut). Thus the evidence suggests that Sety II removed more material from the cartouches than would have been required to erase only Thutmose III's names, and accordingly that the cartouches had already been usurped once, by Amenmesse, perhaps in plaster and paint. It seems clear, therefore, that Amenmesse executed the alterations to the entrance and vestibule of the Festival Hall, and he may also have placed a pair of statues, nos. 3 and 6, to flank the entrance into the sanctuary.

CONCLUSIONS

The preserved traces of the original inscriptions on statues nos. 2 and 6 indicate that these two were dedicated originally by Amenmesse and usurped later by

Sety II. As the six statues form a closely related group—in the material of which they are fashioned, in scale, and especially in their usurpation by Sety II—I would propose that they were all dedicated originally by Amenmesse. The head in the Metropolitan Museum that matches statue no. 1 would then depict Amenmesse's features; it is unique in this respect, for no other sculpted heads of this pharaoh are known at present.²⁰ The Museum's head displays details which are not exactly paralleled in the features of any other late Nineteenth Dynasty king.²¹ The proposed identification should help to resolve doubts about the identity of the head, and even those about its authenticity that have arisen because of some of its unique stylistic elements.

With Amenmesse established as the king who originally dedicated these statues, the related question of their use and original location arises. As stated earlier, nos. 1 and 2 seem to be positioned in their original locations, along the north-south transverse axis of the Hypostyle Hall.²² There is other evidence that the transverse axis was a focal point for statues. Barguet, on the basis of inscriptions on the adjacent columns, proposed that Ramesses II had erected statues at the point where the main and transverse axis of the hall intersect.²³ I have also suggested, using as a point of departure Pillet's evidence that four of the quartzite statues were situated along the transverse axis,²⁴ that nos. 4 and 5 formed a pair and were originally located inside the Hypostyle Hall. Several additional points of evidence may be marshalled to support this proposal, and also its corollary, that nos. 1, 2, 4, and 5 form a distinct subgroup. Although there can be no doubt that Sety II usurped the statues, most of his

inscriptions on the bases of nos. 1, 2, and 4 appear to be original, that is, not carved over an area that had been erased, but probably onto a surface previously left blank. For a usurping king to increase the number of inscriptions on an appropriated monument is a well-attested phenomenon.²⁵ The four statues also present a certain unity as a subgroup: all are standing figures, with standards held against the left shoulder, and their bases show a relatively narrow range of variation in height²⁶ and width.²⁷ Statue no. 1, resting originally upon a built-up base, was a special case. It probably was carved from an undersize block of stone and another block was inserted beneath the socle so that it would be equal in height to statue no. 2.

From these observations, it appears that statues nos. 1, 2, 4, and 5 formed a subgroup located inside the Hypostyle Hall, positioned north of columns seventy and seventy-one on the south side, and north of columns three and four on the north side. Accordingly, statue no. 3, now occupying the spot north of column four, should probably be located with statue no. 6, inside the Festival Hall of Thutmose III.²⁸

Why did Amenmesse erect four statues at this particular location on the transverse axis? First, the axis must have been a processional route through the hall, along with the main axis. This is indicated by the fact that Ramesses II, when he added his large horizontal cartouches to the columns of his father in the north half of the hall, had them oriented in such a manner that anyone walking down the transverse axis would be confronted squarely by them. Second, this was the logical route to the temple of Ptah, located north of the Hypostyle Hall. Another reason perhaps lies in the observation made by Barguet that Ramesses II

20. Heads of the other five statues in this group have not been found. Certain reliefs at Karnak, originally decorated by Amenmesse and usurped by Sety II, may depict Amenmesse's features. Unfortunately, all the heads of the king represented in these reliefs are badly damaged or are missing completely.

21. Hayes, *Scepter*, II, pp. 341–342 and fig. 216, expressed reservations about identifying the head as Ramesses II (in spite of earlier claims, i.e., Hoyningen-Huene and Steindorff, p. 179, and pls. on pp. 134 and 137). More recently, my two colleagues in New York, Cardon and Yitzhak Margowsky, both expressed serious reservations about dating the head to the reign of Ramesses II because it displays too many stylistic features peculiar to the late Nineteenth Dynasty.

22. The evidence presented by Pillet, *ASAE* 24, pp. 73–74, supports this point.

23. Barguet, *Temple*, p. 77, n. 2.

24. Pillet, *ASAE* 24, pp. 73–74.

25. For example, in a number of statues that Ramesses II and Merenptah appropriated from Amenhotep III; one of these is discussed by Mekhitarian, *CdE* 31, pp. 297–298, and fig. 28 on p. 297.

26. No. 1, 42.1 cm.; no. 2, 32 cm.; no. 4, 33.5 cm.; and no. 5, 30 cm.

27. No. 1, 60 cm.; no. 2, 68 cm.; no. 4, 59.5 cm.; and no. 5, 61 cm.

28. The measurements suggest that they are a pair: base height: no. 3, 27.5 cm.; no. 6, 21.2 cm.; base width: no. 3, 49.1 cm.; no. 6, 44.6 cm. (estimated); width of back-pillar: no. 3, 23.4 cm.; no. 6, 25.0 cm. Note also that both show clear evidence of having portrayed the king wearing the *nemes*-headcloth; and that of the six, both definitely had texts of Amenmesse carved on their bases that were usurped by Sety II.

had erected statues at the intersection of the transverse and main axis of the hall.²⁹ In view of Amenmesse's relationship to the royal family through his mother, Takhat, a daughter of Ramesses II, it seems quite consistent that he should erect his own statues in proximity to those of his illustrious ancestor. Such a stress upon his ancestry would likewise help clarify the reasons for the strong stylistic resemblance of the head of statue no. 1 to the work of Ramesses II.³⁰

Queen Takhat's presence on statue no. 2 provides additional evidence for assigning this statue to Amenmesse originally. Her title originally read "king's daughter (and) king's mother" and in the element "king's mother" it parallels the title of Amenmesse's mother, Takhat, as it is written beside her representation in his tomb (Valley of the Kings, no. 10).³¹ Her appearance on statue no. 2, in conjunction with these titles, presents the first certain evidence that Amenmesse's mother was a royal princess. Gardiner's suggestion that Amenmesse was of royal ancestry is thereby vindicated.³² Further, much of the doubt that has persisted about the identification of the Queen Takhat who is represented on Cairo statue CG 1198 with Queen Takhat, the mother of Amenmesse, is removed.³³

In spite of Vandier's claim to the contrary, CG 1198 shows clear traces of usurpation.³⁴ The back-pillar, sporran, and belt all have unequivocal signs of alter-

ation of the inscriptions. The back-pillar reveals a noticeable dip along its entire preserved height, suggesting that a complete titulary has been erased and replaced with that of Sety II. The lines indicating the pleats of the sporran, adjacent to the column of inscription that runs down its center, have also been partially erased, probably in the process of removing the original text; likewise, the cartouche oval on the belt reveals a lower surface than the surrounding area. The inscriptions along the sides of the back-pillar are carved onto a rough surface that may have resulted from the erasure of an earlier inscription. The texts on the base of the statue show no clear evidence of erasure, but the base may not have been inscribed originally, or the entire surface may have been removed and inscribed anew (in fact, the surface of the sides of the base has a rough finish, in keeping with this possibility). As for the standards that the king holds in both arms, their surfaces are curved, and to establish the recutting of an entire inscription on such a surface is not possible. Nonetheless, the evidence from the back-pillar, sporran, and belt cannot be refuted, so that the opinion of Gardiner, based upon Edgerton's notes, is fully vindicated.³⁵ Consequently, it is proposed that Cairo statue CG 1198 was dedicated originally by either Ramesses II or Merenptah.³⁶ Repeated examinations of its texts have disclosed no traces of the original inscriptions;

29. Barguet, *Temple*, p. 77, n. 2.

30. For comments on this point see Cardon, "An Egyptian Royal Head." Such stylistic imitation may explain why for so long it was suspected that this head might portray the features of Ramesses II. See also *ibid.*, fig. 7, a granite statue of Ramesses II from Mit-Rahineh (Memphis), for a graphic illustration of the resemblance of this head and statue type to the work of Ramesses II.

31. Gauthier, *LdR* III, p. 129, no. XII.

32. Gardiner, *JEA* 44, p. 17.

33. Especially, Vandier, *RdE* 23, pp. 181–185; von Beckerath, *JEA* 48, p. 70, n. 9; and L. Christophe, "La Fin de la XIXe dynastie égyptienne," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 14 (1957) p. 10, n. 6.

34. Vandier, *RdE* 23, p. 182. This statue was examined on several occasions between 1974 and 1979 by myself alone and in the company of my colleagues, James F. Romano, William Murnane, and Rolfe Krauss.

35. Gardiner, *JEA* 44, p. 17.

36. Sety II could have been the first usurper of Cairo CG 1198 or the second, following Amenmesse, in either case. Positive identification of the original dedicator is hedged with difficulties. If he was Ramesses II, no certain parallels exist for Sety II's usurpation of a monument directly from him; nor are any examples known to me of Amenmesse usurping material from

Ramesses II, although there are plenty of Sety II usurping from Amenmesse. To Lanny Bell, however, I owe the suggestion that Amenmesse might have usurped the statue from Ramesses II because of the figure on it of his mother Queen Takhat. If the original dedicator was Merenptah, Sety II's father, Sety II did not usurp material from him except where Amenmesse had first usurped or erased his name. Thus Sety II could well be the secondary usurper of the statue but Takhat's presence on it adds a complication. This would make Merenptah Amenmesse's father, and would mean that Amenmesse, whose frequent erasure or usurpation of Merenptah's name I have discovered in my research, turned against his father's memory. (Ramesses II had usurped some of the works of his father Sety I, but on a limited scale, both in extent and geographical distribution, and not from hostility toward him.) The statue *cannot* be an original work of Amenmesse because Queen Takhat is depicted with the title of king's wife and not king's mother, and inspection of her inscription reveals no trace of alteration. The queen might be more easily regarded as Merenptah's second principal wife (his first, Isis-nofret, having perhaps predeceased him) than as a chief wife of Ramesses II, who it seems was outlived by his last-known chief wife, his daughter Bint-Anath (see Cruz-Urbe, *GM* 24, pp. 30–31). Stylistically, according to Cardon and Margowsky, Cairo CG 1198 is also more likely to be the

Sety II's agents executed their work well in this instance.

With the evidence of the Karnak statue no. 2, the objections to identifying the Queen Takhat of Cairo CG 1198 with Amenmesse's mother are minimized. In reply to von Beckerath's objection,³⁷ Takhat is not called "king's mother" on Cairo CG 1198 because this statue was dedicated originally by either Ramesses II or Merenptah, and Takhat would not have acquired the title until Amenmesse's accession.³⁸ It can be concluded with a high degree of certainty that Queen Takhat of Karnak statue no. 2, of Cairo CG 1198, and of the Valley of the Kings tomb no. 10³⁹ is one and the same woman—Amenmesse's mother—and daughter almost certainly of Ramesses II,⁴⁰ and either his chief wife, or Merenptah's.

The identity of the queen on the Karnak statue no. 4 must be considered at this point. Her titles describe her as "king's great wife, mistress of the Two Lands." If the statue originally represented Amenmesse, as has been proposed above, then the queen was probably Bakt-en-werel, who is attested as Amenmesse's chief wife in the Valley of the Kings tomb no. 10.⁴¹ It is not surprising that on the statue her name should be erased when Sety II usurped the piece, for her only claim to the royal family may have been through Amenmesse.⁴² What is puzzling, however, is that Sety II did not substitute his own chief queen's name in the erased cartouche.⁴³

A final question in regard to the queens concerns

the status of Takhat. On both the Karnak statue no. 2 and on Cairo CG 1198, her name was left untouched when Sety II appropriated the statues. That his agents were not unaware of her is suggested by the fact that on the Karnak statue they took the time and effort to alter her title from "king's mother" to "king's wife." Why was the name of the mother of a pharaoh who had usurped the throne spared when the king against whom the usurpation was aimed appropriated the statue? An answer is perhaps to be found in the status indicated by her titles. Both the Karnak statue no. 2 and Cairo CG 1198 show that she was a king's daughter, and her father can be only Ramesses II, or much less likely, Merenptah. She had also been at some point the chief queen of a fully legitimate pharaoh, again either Ramesses II or Merenptah.⁴⁴ It is therefore quite possible that Amenmesse used his relationship to her and through her to Ramesses II in order to claim the throne, but that she took no active part in his attempt. If so, Sety II would have had no special motivation to eradicate her memory, as he had with Amenmesse; rather, he may have been moved to respect her because she was a princess and queen of the legitimate royal line and association with her might therefore strengthen his own hold on the throne, a hold that Amenmesse's effort had rendered rather shaky. This explanation of Takhat's position can only remain a theory, but it is one that suits all the points of evidence presented by her figures and inscriptions and by what befell them.

work of Merenptah than Ramesses II. In short, Cairo CG 1198 probably represents Amenmesse's father, but provides no decisive evidence as to whether he was Ramesses II or Merenptah.

37. von Beckerath, *JEA* 48, p. 70, n. 9.

38. As indicated above (note 36), there is no evidence that Queen Takhat's name or titles were altered on Cairo CG 1198. Nor is it likely that her figure and inscriptions were added secondarily to the statue. Her figure is sculpted in the round, from the same block of stone as the king's. Moreover, the anticipatory use of the title "king's mother" has been challenged convincingly by Vandier, *RdE* 23, p. 185 and n. 9, and more recently by E. Wente, "Thutmose III's Accession and the Beginning of the New Kingdom," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 34 (1972) p. 270, with n. 41. Even this last possible exception must now be excluded; see M. Gitton and J. Leclant, "Gottesgemahlin" in W. Helck and E. Otto, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1976) II, fasc. 6, col. 807, n. 25.

39. The limited space in the scene in tomb no. 10 (C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* . . . [Berlin, 1849–59] III, p. 202f) may explain why Takhat has only the titles "The

Osiris, god's mother (and) king's mother." In her son's tomb, these titles would have the greatest relevance.

40. W. Spiegelberg, "Ostraca hiératiques du Louvre," *Recueil de Travaux* 16 (1894) pp. 65–67. An outside possibility is that Takhat, like the son of Prince Setherkhepeshef and Nofretari on the companion ostrakon (Louvre no. 2261), was a grandchild of Ramesses II who had been inducted into the ranks of the king's children.

41. Gauthier, *LdR* III, p. 129, no. XII.

42. Of the few inscriptions that survive with her name, none describes her as king's daughter or king's sister, although in Amenmesse's tomb (Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, III, p. 202g), she is shown wearing the sidelock.

43. Unless it was inscribed only in plaster and paint which have since fallen out. There is, however, no evidence of this, such as scoring of the surface to improve the hold of the plaster. Note also that the erased cartouches on statue no. 6 seem not to have been reinscribed.

44. As indicated by her titles on Cairo CG 1198. Amenmesse and all subsequent kings are excluded.

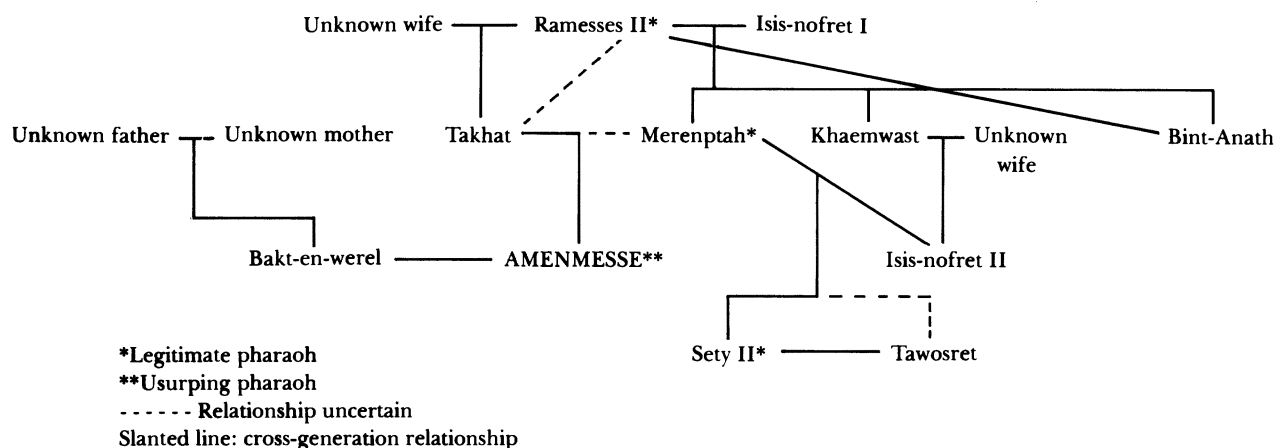


FIGURE 16
 Familial relationships of Amenmesse

How then are we to interpret such a possible association of Takhat with Sety II in view of Tawosret's role as his chief queen? First, Takhat was not necessarily related to Sety II as his "great wife"; on the Cairo statue, CG 1198, that title pertained to her relationship with its original owner, not Sety II. More to the point, on the Karnak statue no. 2, where Sety II's agents changed her title, they altered it to "king's wife," and not "king's great wife." Secondly, her age, as it may be estimated, may have minimized her threat to Queen Tawosret. An ostrakon in the Louvre, no. 666, on which she appears as a princess, may be dated securely to year 53 of Ramesses II (1226 B.C.).⁴⁵ This would make her at least twenty-seven years old in Sety II's first year of rule and in fact she was proba-

bly closer to forty-five.⁴⁶ She was Amenmesse's mother, and it is unlikely that Amenmesse was a minor when he tried to usurp the throne.⁴⁷ As daughter and queen of one of the earlier pharaohs whose legitimacy was not in dispute, her importance would have been great enough to warrant respect from Sety II.⁴⁸ If, as has been suggested, she was a daughter of Ramesses II, Sety II would have been able to claim a closer line of descent from him through association with Takhat.

The implication that Amenmesse was of royal ancestry, derived from the evidence presented in this study, helps to clarify the reasons for the stress that he placed upon his relationship to Ramesses II and Sety I (Figure 16).⁴⁹ Amenmesse was in a position to

45. Spiegelberg, "Ostraca," pp. 66–67; though undated, the ostrakon is written in the same hand as ostrakon no. 2261 in the Louvre, dated the year 53 of Ramesses II, and bears most of the names of the royal scribes that appear on it.

46. The ostrakon on which her name appears is simply a list of princesses; it is not likely that it indicates her birth that year.

47. In Papyrus Salt 124 (J. Černý, "Papyrus Salt 124 [Brit. Mus. 10055]," *JEA* 15 [1929] p. 246, and esp. p. 255) it is stated that *Msi*—generally agreed, following Černý, to be Amenmesse—received a complaint and fired a vizier, hardly the action of a minor.

48. Bint-Anath, Merenptah's elder sister, although not his own wife, was represented on one of his statues at Luxor, while a companion statue shows Isis-nofret, his chief queen. Bint-Anath's titles on the statue reflect clearly her status both with respect to Ramesses II and to Merenptah; see Cruz-Uribe, *GM* 24, pp. 30–31. (Contrary to Cruz-Uribe's opinion, based on the

observation of Van Siclen III, my own inspection of the two statues in Luxor in 1976–77 suggests that both were usurped from Amenhotep III and not Ramesses II; see also Mekhitarian, *CdE* 31, pp. 297–298 with fig. 28 on p. 297). So Bint-Anath's representation is definitely contemporary with the usurpation of the statue by Merenptah, and she was still alive at the time, as indicated by the epithet appended after her cartouche. On the statue, her figure and titles were carved onto what had been an unscribed and undecorated surface.

49. It is expressed clearly in two stelae that he dedicated in the Gurnah temple of Sety I; see Caminos, "Two Stelae in the Kurnah Temple," *Ägyptologische Studien*, pp. 17–29. The relationship is expressed also through Amenmesse's titulary, which will be discussed at length in my doctoral dissertation, "The Nineteenth Dynasty after Ramesses II," for the University of Chicago, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations.

claim a more direct maternal line of descent from Ramesses II than could be claimed by Sety II. The latter was Ramesses II's grandson on his father's side, but only a great-grandson on his mother's side, assuming that she was Isis-nofret, the chief queen of Merenptah.⁵⁰ Consequently, the resemblance of the Museum's head to the work of Ramesses II can be explained as still another manner in which Amen-

messe stressed his relationship to Ramesses II, by imitating the style characteristic of Ramesses II's reign. Patrick Cardon's discovery of the join between the head and the body of statue no. 1 assumes great importance, not only for the art history of the late Nineteenth Dynasty, but also because it increases our understanding of the often confusing history of this politically troubled era.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank William J. Murnane, who during the years we spent together in Luxor accompanied me on numerous occasions while I was gathering evidence from these statues, as well as Edward F. Wente, George Hughes, and Lanny Bell, who all provided valuable advice and commentary. After the paper was completed, I gained access to Edgerton's notes, alluded to above, and it was gratifying to discover that his findings were in agreement with mine, although both had been arrived at independently. Despite the fact that I never studied under him, much of his knowledge of epigraphy was passed on to me by the Epigraphic Survey through his colleagues, George Hughes, Charles F. Nims, Edward F. Wente, and my own colleague, Dr. Murnane. So this study owes much to all those named but especially, *in memoriam*, to William F. Edgerton.

ABBREVIATIONS

Adam and el-Shaboury, *ASAE* 56—S. Adam and F. el-Shaboury, "Report on the Work of Karnak during the Seasons 1954-55 and 1955-56," *ASAE* 56 (1959)
ASAE—*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* (Cairo)
 Barguet, *Temple*—P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak* (Cairo, 1962)
CdE—*Chronique d'Égypte* (Brussels)

Cruz-Uribe, *GM* 24—E. Cruz-Uribe, "On the Wife of Merenptah," *GM* 24 (1977)
 Gardiner, *JEA* 44—A. H. Gardiner, "Only One King Siptah and Twosre Not His Wife," *JEA* 44 (1958)
 Gauthier, *LdR* III—H. Gauthier, *Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, III, *Mémoires d'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, 19 (Cairo, 1914)
GM—*Göttinger Miszellen* (Göttingen)
 Hayes, *Scepter* II—W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* (MMA, New York, 1959) II
 Hoyningen-Huene and Steindorff—Hoyningen-Huene and Steindorff, G., *Egypt* (New York, 1943)
JEA—*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London)
 Legrain, *Temples*—G. Legrain, *Les Temples de Karnak* (Brussels, 1929)
 Mekhitarian, *CdE* 31—A. Mekhitarian, "Enquêtes: Statues d'Amenophis III?" *CdE* 31 (1956)
 Michalowski, *Karnak*—K. Michalowski, *Karnak* (New York/Washington/London, 1970)
 Pillet, *ASAE* 24—M. Pillet, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak, 1923-24," *ASAE* 24 (1924)
 P-M II—B. Porter, R. Moss, and E. Burney, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings: II. Theban Temples*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1972)
RdE—*Revue d'Égyptologie* (Paris)
 Vandier, *RdE* 23—J. Vandier, "Ramsès-Siptah," *RdE* 23 (1977)
 von Beckerath, *JEA* 48—J. von Beckerath, "Queen Twosre as Guardian of Siptah," *JEA* 48 (1962)

50. Cruz-Uribe, *GM* 24, pp. 24-25.

Sasanian Seals in the Moore Collection: Motive and Meaning in Some Popular Subjects

CHRISTOPHER J. BRUNNER

THE COLLECTION of stamp and cylinder seals gathered by Mrs. William H. Moore has been on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art since 1955.¹ It includes a small number of Sasanian stamp seals. Although these objects were published in 1940 in the catalogue of the Moore collection, the data given were incomplete.² Moreover, the interpretation of Sasanian seals has, since then, advanced considerably; and so it is appropriate to present this small but interesting corpus with full details.

The descriptions of the seals below are coordinated with the classification scheme used in the author's catalogue of stamp seals in the Metropolitan Museum's Sasanian collection.³ The identifying numbers assigned in that catalogue to various seal features are cited in parentheses, so that quick comparison may be made between the Moore seals and the larger body of material. The discussion of motifs below seeks to supplement and expand upon that given in the catalogue. One additional measurement is here introduced

for the sake of precise description. It is termed the "proportion of the hole" and is determined by dividing the lengthwise diameter of the seal's perforation by the full length of the seal across that diameter. The other two measurements are of the sealing surface (its horizontal axis by its vertical axis) and of the height of the seal from sealing surface to back. The seals are identified with their Metropolitan Museum accession numbers, followed by their Moore inventory and Eisen's catalogue numbers.

ANIMALS REAL AND IMAGINED

1. L 55.49.107 (Moore 100/Eisen 112), Figure 1. SHAPE: Ellipsoid with thick profile, somewhat elongated, with tapered back (*Stamp Seals*, shape II.A.2). MATERIAL: Quartz, agate. DIMENSIONS: 16 × 12 mm.;

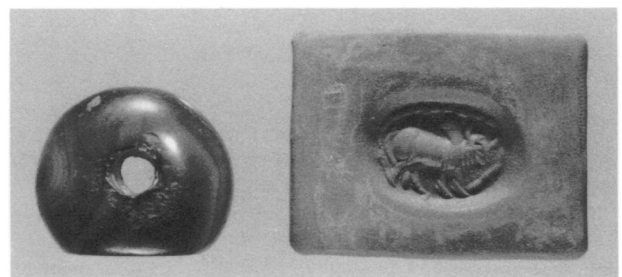


FIGURE 1
Profile and impression of Moore seal 100. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, from the Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore, lent by the Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr., L 55.49.107

A list of abbreviations is given at the end of this article.

1. The writer is grateful to Bishop Paul Moore, Jr., of the Episcopal Diocese of New York for permission to republish the present seals. On the collection and for examples of its materials, see Elizabeth Williams Forte, *Ancient Near Eastern Seals: A Selection of Stamp and Cylinder Seals from the Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore* (MMA, New York, 1976).

2. Gustavus A. Eisen, *Ancient Oriental Cylinder and Other Seals with a Description of the Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore*, University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications, XLVII (Chicago, 1940) pl. XI, pp. 155–156 (descriptions), p. 83 (inscriptions read by E. Herzfeld and M. Sprengling).

3. See the list of abbreviations at the end of this article under *MMA* and *Stamp Seals*.

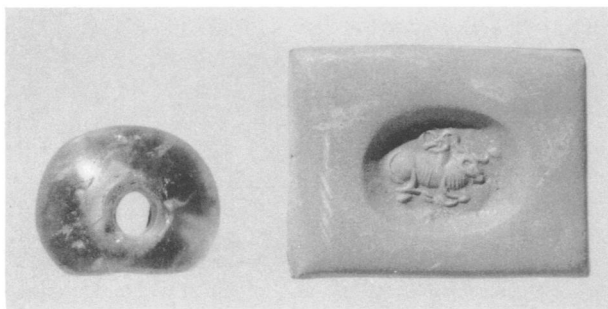


FIGURE 2
Profile and impression of Moore seal 100A. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, L 55.49.108

H. 20 mm. Proportion of the hole: .26 ($6 \div 23$ mm.). MOTIF: Bull zebu (*Bos indicus*) standing in right profile (*Stamp Seals*, motif 3 aa). DECORATION: Border of elongated beads. STYLE: Conventional, i.e., the rendering is clear but standardized; shape and modeling are slightly simplified in comparison with the naturalistic style, but details of the image are depicted accurately. The style tends toward the devolved. DATE: Fifth to early sixth century A.D.

2. L 55.49.108 (Moore 100A/Eisen 113), Figure 2. SHAPE: Ellipsoid similar to no. 1 (*Stamp Seals*, II.A.2). MATERIAL: Quartz, rock crystal. DIMENSIONS: 14 × 10 mm.; H. 16 mm. Proportion of the hole: .26 ($5 \div 19$ mm.). MOTIF: Bull zebu lodged in right profile (as in *Stamp Seals*, 3 ab), with, in place of a hump, a ram's head in left profile. STYLE: Conventional. DATE: Fifth to early sixth century.

Animals furnished numerous and diverse subjects for Sasanian art, as they had for Achaemenid and Arsacid. On seals they seem to be depicted largely for their own sake. Complex hunting scenes, such as are

4. The seal most similar in motif to the silver vessels (Pope, pl. 256D) was the property of a noble; it bears a proper name and, as title or honorific, the term *Kay* (kdy) "prince." The more common, crude hunt scenes on seals (see *Stamp Seals*, motif 2 f) may well be mythic, rather than realistic. For hunt scenes on silver, see Prudence O. Harper, *Royal Imagery on Sasanian Silver Vessels: A Source for the History and Culture of the Sasanian Period* (MMA, New York, 1980); and the reference below in note 5. For the reliefs, see the discussion below of Sar Mashhad, and S. Fukai and K. Horiuchi, *Taq-i-Bustan*, Tokyo University Iraq-Iran Archaeological Expedition Report 10 (Tokyo, 1969–72) I (plates).

5. See, e.g., *Sasanian Silver*, nos. 31, 32, 35, 39–41.

6. More precisely, it is mythical to the eye of the modern observer. The name *sēn-murw* (Avestan **saēnō mərəgho*) in itself has a quite naturalistic ring. Compare the seemingly similar Middle Persian term *fraš-murw* ("peacock," in the text *Xusraw ud*

frequently found on silver vessels and sometimes observed on royal reliefs, are few;⁴ and this sparseness may be dictated by the popular nature of seals, reflecting their use by an extensive range of middle-class people, more than by the limited area of the sealing surface. The seal-cutting profession observed the artistic conventions of animal poses; and it is true that animals are most often shown singly, and only sparingly in pairs of the same or of two different animals. Thus, this medium would seem to lack the scope for intricate combinations of animal motifs and floral elements within a geometrical frame, such as occur on late and post-Sasanian silverware.⁵ But the "shorthand" patterns of knot, cross, and triskele (discussed below), whatever their further significance, surely reflect also the Sasanian aesthetic appreciation of animals.

Some animals on seals seem to have a purely aesthetic significance (e.g., peacock, pheasant, duck, crane) or an exotic interest (elephant). Such animals as the lion, eagle, stag, antelope, and bear held an import easily inferred from their natural qualities. The same may be said of the "Sēn bird," which, although purely mythical, is treated with the same familiarity as a natural animal.⁶ Such motifs as the scorpion may be apotropaic, while others possibly have a folkloric meaning. The crow, for example, a beneficial scavenger and also "the cleverest of all birds," is often depicted; and the hare occurs, not only alone or with family, but also between the legs of larger quadrupeds.⁷ But most important were the animals most closely associated with human life and most highly valued—the bull, horse, and ram. Inevitably these animals acquired a religious significance in addition to their economic one. As partners with

rēdag 25; see J. M. Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts* [Bombay, 1897] I, p. 29). Etymologically the name is "spotted bird" and may be of Avestan origin (**paršaṭ mərəgha*; cf. H. W. Bailey, "To the Zamasp-Namak II," *BSOS* 6 [1930–32] pp. 596–597); an Avestan compound *paršaṭ gāv* ("dappled cow") is used as a man's name in *Yāšt* 13.96 and 127. But in Middle Persian the name *fraš-murw* was not more easily analyzable than *sēn-murw*; and it was not readily apparent that the former term contained a color designation, while the latter did not (see M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* [Heidelberg, 1970] III, fasc. 22, p. 385). Cf. another name with a color term on seal no. 7, below.

7. On the crow (*Stamp Seals*, motif 4 i), see the Middle Persian *Bundahišn* XXIV.33, p. 155.7; trans. p. 201). A notable depiction of the hare (*Stamp Seals*, motif 3 m) is Pirouzan 4.22; on Pirouzan 3.4 it figures between an antelope's legs; on a seal in a New York collection, it is between a water buffalo's.

man they assisted in the cosmic conflict against the evil adversary Ahriman and his demon forces. They were, additionally, linked with major divinities: the bull with Māh, the moon; the horse with Xwar, the sun; the ram with Xwarrah, Fortune. The ram was also the preeminent sacrificial animal; and, finally, the images of the bull and ram evoked the “watery” (and therefore fertilizing) zodiacal signs of spring, Aries and Taurus.⁸ The dog and the cock, though likewise closely associated with man and meaningful in Zoroastrianism, are only sparingly depicted.⁹

Seal no. 1 typifies the bull zebu image, defined by the large hump, horns of moderate length, and a stylized heavy dewlap. Other *bovidae* on seals are rare; a water buffalo (*Bubalus bubalus*) occurs on B.M. EM 1 and on the seal mentioned in note 7. The domination in Iran of *Bos indicus*, as opposed to the humpless, longhorn cattle of Scythian art, may already be signaled in the art of Amlash. Both types of bull occur in the art of Persepolis; but it is *Bos indicus* that is depicted in the realistic tribute procession on the *apadāna* stairway reliefs, while the humpless bull is found in the conventional combat motif with a lion (which seems symbolic in intent, rather than naturalistic). In the Arsacid period *Bos indicus* is shown on a bulla from Nisa and a coin of Walgaš I (ca. A.D. 147–191).¹⁰

Seal motifs utilizing knot, cross, and triskele patterns place *Bos indicus*, visually, in its zoological context and thus supplement the Middle Persian account of animal taxonomy in *Bundahišn* XIII. Bovines were

designated, with sheep, goats, horses, and donkeys, as “cattle” (*gōspand*, Avestan *gaospānta*) in the widest sense of that term. But the *Bundahišn* more closely affiliates *bos*, *ovis*, and *capra* as genera within the “family” (*kardag*, lit. “division”) of grazing animals, “tribe” (*ēwēnag*, lit. “form”) of cloven-hoofed animals. This close relationship is expressed by a knot of alternate bull and ram heads on B.M. MA 1, MMA 81, and QAN D.25. A more general depiction of the “family” occurs on Pirouzan 5.9; there a knot joins the heads of a bull (large, domestic) and a stag (large, wild) on one side, and those of a ram (small, domestic) and an antelope (small, wild) on the other. A variety of other combinations may be observed (see *Stamp Seals*, motifs 6 b, 6 c); some of them include a human head, thus referring to the ends the animal kingdom serves and hence its full meaning.

The motif of seal no. 2 shows a (so far) unique manner of imaginatively combining the two chief sorts of domestic, food-giving cattle. On Sasanian seals the usual alternative to the knot, cross, or triskele of heads was combination through the joining (usually inverse to one another) of animal foreparts (*Stamp Seals*, motif 6 a). This pattern seems to display a rotational principle, as do the cross and triskele; the knot, by contrast, is static, displaying simply a four-way division of space. The crossing of two animals (salient horses in MMA 189, rampant lions in Pirouzan 4.10) is a sparingly used method of attaining another sort of static, four-cornered design.¹¹ Of course,

8. See further in *Stamp Seals*, motifs 3 a, b, e. The bull and horse occur with the vehicles of their associated divinities on the seals Göbl 7d (in Munich) and Pope, pl. 255EE (Berlin). Sheep are allotted to fire temples in Šāpūr I's Ka'ba-yi Zardusht (ŠKZ) inscription from lines 24 (Middle Persian), 19 (Parthian), and 44 (Greek); see Sprengling, p. 17; on blood-sacrifices, see M. Boyce, “Ātaš-zōhr and Āb-zōhr,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1966) pp. 104–110. A ram forms part of an altar scene on B.M. BD 16, Berlin 1079, and Göbl 4c(1). The ancient Iranian concept of Fortune is studied especially in H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books* (Oxford, 1943) pp. 1–77. The association with it of the ram appears in the text *Kārnāmag ī Ardašīr ī Pābagān*, ed. E. K. Antia (Bombay, 1900) ch. III; the text is slightly emended by comparison with the *Šāhnyāma*, V, pp. 290f., vv. 278ff.

9. See *Stamp Seals*, motifs 3 l, 4 c. The dog occurs chiefly with Gayōmard, the primal man (2 d, e). On *Foroughi* 68 two cocks draw a vehicle; the bust above it is presumably the god Srōš, whom both the dog and cock assist (*Bundahišn* XXIV.48).

10. Amlash figures: R. Ghirshman, *The Art of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1964) nos. 34, 40. For *Bos indicus* on the *apadāna* tribute procession reliefs, see E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, Univer-

sity of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications LXVIII (Chicago, 1953) I, pls. 31, 40; cf. pl. 47 and the bull-lion combat, pls. 20, 132, 153, 165ff., etc. Nisa: M. E. Masson and G. A. Pugachenkova, “Ottiski parthyanskikh pečatei iz Nisy,” *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* 50, no. 4 (1954) fig. 17. The coin of Walgaš: D. Sellwood, *An Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia* (London, 1971) no. 84/103. For the Scythian variety of bull, see especially the Maykop figure: E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, 1913) p. 144; cf. a head in M. Artamonow, *Goldschatz der Scythen in der Eremitage* (Prague, 1970) fig. 60. The Urartian type is similar: B. B. Piotrovskii, *Urartu: The Kingdom of Van and its Art* (London, 1967) pl. 1 and figs. 22–25.

11. The static design might refer, but only vaguely, to the cardinal points of the disk-shaped material world. It is tempting to view the rotational design as symbolizing the cycle of organic life, the determination of temporal fate by the movements of the heavenly bodies, or (more piously) the measured elapsing of the limited time designated for combat between good and evil. See *Bundahišn* I, V, V.A and, for the latter chapters, D. N. MacKenzie, “Zoroastrian Astrology in the *Bundahišn*,” *BSOAS* 27 (1964) pp. 511–529.

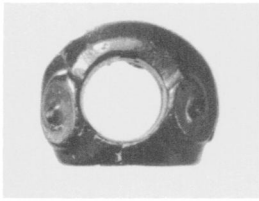


FIGURE 3
Profile and impression of Moore seal 148. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, L 55-49.156

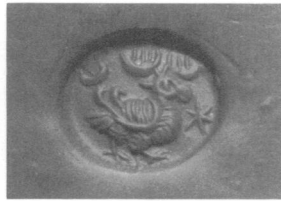


FIGURE 4
Impression of MMA 69. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Anonymous Gift, 62.66.24

the attaching of animal protomes to projecting points of a main figure (shoulders, tail, antlers, etc.) is quite familiar on Luristan bronzes and, to an extent, in Scythian art. For example, a stag on a gold quiver cover in the Hermitage has a common form of stylized antlers with a row of curled prongs; the rear prong terminates in a ram's head.¹² If *Bos indicus* had occurred in these earlier arts, it might well have been treated in the same manner as on the present seal, except that the added protome would probably be oriented in the same direction as the head of the main figure; compare a golden plaque showing a lion with a second head sprouting from its back.¹³

3. L 55-49.156 (Moore 148/Eisen 111), Figure 3. **SHAPE:** Carved ellipsoid of thick profile, with rounded back and large perforation (*Stamp Seals*, II.A.1.a.i). The back is shaped into five facets, which terminate at either end in a double scroll. **MATERIAL:** Hematite. **DIMENSIONS:** 13 × 11 mm.; H. 14 mm. Proportion of the hole: .41 (7 ÷ 17 mm.). **MOTIF:** A fantastic animal formed with a duck's body and a stag's head. **SUBSIDIARY ELEMENT:** A six-pointed sun-star is to the right, a moon crescent to the left. **STYLE:** Conventional. **DATE:** Fifth century.

A better attested method of imaginative invention on Sasanian seals (as compared with that on no. 2) is the combination of different parts from different animals. Such motifs seem purely whimsical in inspiration, and no symbolic interpretations suggest

themselves. These inventions would be quite distinctive personal emblems, contrasting with the many routine naturalistic motifs; for some people not of a family entitled to a heraldic device, such original images may have been a happy alternative. The influence of grylli occurring on Roman seals is uncertain, although a Roman model may have inspired the more complex combination of B.M. MG 4. The closest analogy to the present seal is the duck body with ram's head of B.M. MG 3; compare the cock with ram's head of Berlin 1486.¹⁴ A human head may be introduced into such combinations, just as it may occur in knot motifs; a seal in the Foroughi collection joins a human head to a cock's body,¹⁵ while MMA 69 places one on, apparently, a hawk's body (Figure 4). These imaginative creations must be carefully distinguished from the putto, discussed below under "The Lady and the Tulip," who sometimes has animal features but is almost always clearly defined by his attributes of ring, diadem, or tulip.

PORTRAIT BUSTS

Three of the Moore seals fall within this motif category. First may be considered an example not genuinely Sasanian; it is presumably of early modern (nineteenth-century?) manufacture.

4. L 55-49.157 (Moore 149/Eisen 107), Figure 5. **SHAPE:** Round ring bezel with slightly convex surfaces. The back edge has been cut to facilitate setting; and it is now framed in a gold ring. Shape and proportions are non-Sasanian. **MATERIAL:** Crypto-crystalline quartz. **DIMENSIONS:** 20 mm. diameter; 3 mm. thickness. **MOTIF:** Male bust in right profile; it is cut in a purplish layer of the stone, contrasting with the lighter, reddish surface. The style of the bust is vaguely Greco-Roman, with bare and modeled shoulders. The ragged beard is non-Sasanian, but there is

12. Minns, *Scythians*, p. 203; Artamonow, *Goldschatz der Scythen*, fig. 234.

13. Ghirshman, *Art of Ancient Iran*, no. 326.

14. Also illustrated in J. Lerner, "A Note on Sasanian Harpies," *Iran* 13 (1975) pl. II, no. 6. For the duck, see *Stamp Seals*, motif 4 f. The curved wing tips, in contrast with the cock's blunt ones, are characteristic. A duck's feet are not distinguished from a cock's. Cf. the grazing animals, among whom the only differentiation in feet is between the single-toe hoof of horses and the cloven hoof of the *Artiodactyla* (bull, stag, ram, goat).

15. Lerner, "Sasanian Harpies," pl. II, no. 5.



FIGURE 7
Profile and impression of Moore seal 101. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, L 55.49.109

and bottom, thus giving a strongly convex impression. The woman's hair is in normal Sasanian style—straight on top and bound above the forehead; two ribbons float behind the head (see more clearly on no. 7, below). On the sides the hair is tied into four braids, two falling on each shoulder. The dress is shown with slight modeling of the breasts and routine indications of horizontal drapery folds. (Compare, generally, MMA 6 and 57.) STYLE: Devolved; general accuracy is maintained, but simplified cutting techniques lose detail and produce rough, schematized features. INSCRIPTION: A somewhat clumsy execution of the intermediate script style. It begins, abnormally, at 12:00 on the seal margin, rather than at 5:00; this led to a misreading of the inscription in the Eisen catalogue.

𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥

ḥm(?)'pst'ny 'L yzd'n. "Reliance on the gods!" In view of the somewhat erratic execution throughout the inscription, the first two letters could be regarded as the carver's false start (reading: 'p'pst'ny). But the second letter offers the possibility of reading the adverb *ham*, "also, the same," which would render the pious phrase more emphatic. DATE: Fifth to sixth century.

The animal motifs discussed above have suggested that some degree of individual expression emerged in the popular art of seals in the Sasanian period. It is not known to what extent such expression was predetermined by prospective seal-owners rather than the seal-cutters. In any case the proliferation of Sasanian portrait seals (and of representations of heraldic devices) points to the importance of the seal impression as a statement of the owner's identity. The

"Document of 1,000 Decisions" (*Mādiyān ī hazār dādistān*) refers to a "document with the seal of judges or mobads"; and an affidavit (*saxwannāmag*) is said to be made official by a seal.¹⁷ It seems clear from this source that private individuals, in addition to officials, had frequent need of seals; a great variety of contractual arrangements (e.g., business partnerships, loans, marriage and divorce, estate settlement) would have to have been certified. The complex family relationships of Sasanian Iran no doubt gave abundant scope for litigation; and any propertied person, in addition to the overlapping classes of the landed aristocracy and the clergy, would be involved in legal transactions such as the above. There is a recurrent seal inscription, *ruwān dīd* ("seen by [my] soul"), which seems to refer to the witnessing function of seals as directly as do personal names and portraits (see *Stamp Seals*, inscription 10). The artistic innovation of widespread portraiture is not observed at Arsacid Nisa (first century B.C.); and it presumably reflects the cumulative impact on Sasanian Iran of Hellenistic and Roman art as disseminated through Mesopotamia—the economic heart of the empire and the source for much of its administrative talent.

If a seal implies that its owner was a propertied person, then the occurrence of female portraits is of added interest. Such portrait seals, and other women's seals of the same type as no. 7 below, must usually have belonged to chief wives. These were designated as "authoritative" (*pādxšāyihā*) wives, and they held a legal and social status as "the family's mistress of the house" (*dūdag kadagbānūg*) which sharply distinguished them from subordinate (*čagar*) wives.¹⁸ The text of a model marriage contract in Middle Persian, even though late, probably reflects Sasanian usage accurately; it relates to a prospective "authoritative" wife, and in it the future husband pledges to support the woman and to maintain her "secure as mistress of the house" (*pad kadagbānūgih awestwār*).¹⁹ An "author-

17. The text cited is *MHDA*, p. 18.17ff.; Bartholomae, IV, pp. 14, 16. For consideration of the categorization of seals as private or official, see R. N. Frye in *QAN*, pp. 47–52, and R. Göbl, *Die Tonbullen vom Tacht-e Suleiman: Ein Beitrag zur spätsāsānidischen Sphragistik* (Berlin, 1976). On the cutting of an official seal, see D. N. MacKenzie in *BSOAS* 37 (1974) p. 472.

18. *MHD*, p. 67.10ff.; Bartholomae, III, p. 23. Royal female portraits had an additional function, that of confirming the authority of officials in their service. See examples in note 31.

19. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, I, p. 142.5–6; D. N. MacKenzie and

This statement seems to give considerable theoretical scope for women's economic activity; presumably it was sometimes carried out in practice. Moreover, a woman might gain control of property in other ways—by a divorce settlement (the amount having already been specified in the marriage contract) or, as a widow, from her husband's estate.²⁰ A woman was also entitled, if authorized by her father, to administer an estate as the *stūr* or legal trustee (*MHD*, p. 36.9–12; Bartholomae, V, p. 11). Thus it is evident that, while fewer women than men can have entered into legal relationships regarding real property, crops, commercial goods, etc., those who did must have needed and employed seals in precisely the same manner as men.

A. G. Perikhanian, "The Model Marriage Contract in Pahlavi with an Addendum," *K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Golden Jubilee Volume* (Bombay, 1969) p. 106. Cf. Central Asian usage in the Sogdian marriage contract studied by V. A. Livshits, *Sogdiiskie dokumenty s gory Mug II. Yuridicheskie dokumenty i pis'ma* (Moscow, 1962) pp. 17-45.

20. Cf. MacKenzie and Perikhanian, "Model Marriage Contract," pp. 107-108, and Bartholomae, III, pp. 44-45.

THE LADY AND THE TULIP

7. L 55-49-155 (Moore 147/Eisen 110), Figure 8.
SHAPE: Carved ellipsoid of thick profile, with rounded back and large perforation. (*Stamp Seals*, II.A.1.a.i). The back is carved with a design of two stemmed tulips (Figure 9); a similar design is found on B.M. BD 3 (p. 143 of the B.M. catalogue). MATERIAL: Quartz, chalcedony (cloudy to brown). DIMENSIONS: 18 × 21 mm.; H. 24 mm. Proportion of the hole: .30 (9 ÷ 30 mm.). MOTIF: A woman stands in right profile, raising to her face a tulip which is grasped between thumb and forefinger of the right hand (*Stamp Seals*, motif 1 ba). Her hair is arranged in a style similar to that on seal no. 6. She wears a triple-bead earring. Her long dress, flaring at the ankles, is belted at the waist; both vertical and horizontal folds are depicted, and the train of the dress is grasped in the woman's left hand. A necklace with a single large pendant is worn; and a cloak descends over the woman's back, only its border being visible. A quite similar figure is on Berlin 2168 (Figure 10). STYLE: Naturalistic; shape and contour are carefully indicated, and an attempt is made to show an individualistic image. INSCRIPTION: Written in uncial style.

1511, 2025, 2025, 2025

wlč'ndwḥty ZY bw(l)sy. "Daughter of Warāzān, Bōrasp." DATE: Fourth century. OTHER PUBLICATIONS: Pope, pl. 256G; Göbl 12a(1).

A woman's full name, like a man's, consisted of a personal name and a patronymic; their order seems optional, but the few seals with a woman's full name prefer to give the patronymic first. A man's patronymic was formed of the father's name plus the attributive suffix *-ān*; while a woman's was a compound of the father's name plus the word *dux*t, "daughter." Apparently the father's title or epithet would do just as well as his proper name. *Foroughi* 74 is inscribed (g)zylptdwhṭy ḥwmṭly, "Humih, daughter of the *gazidbed*" (i.e., the administrator of the *gazid* [Arabic *jizya*], the empire's head-tax). The fourth-century B.M. seal CC 1 bears the name "Armindux," literally "daughter of Armenia," which may be understood as a shortening of "daughter of the Arminānšāh" (king of the Armenians). The viceregal title Arminānšāh is well attested in the fourth century, having been borne by the princes Hormizd-Ardašir and Narseh before



FIGURE 8
Profile and impression of Moore seal 147. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, L 55.49.155



FIGURE 9
Tulip design carved on the back of Moore seal 147

FIGURE 10
Drawing of impressions of seals from the collection of the Berlin Royal Museum (after Horn and Steindorff, 1891)



they attained the Sasanian throne.²¹ The present seal contains a patronymic with *warāz* ("boar"), a word common in the Sasanian period both as a name and as an epithet indicating courage. With the literal "daughter of Warāzān" (or "daughter of the Warāz family") attested here one may compare the figurative sense of Warāzduxt, a daughter of King Xusraw

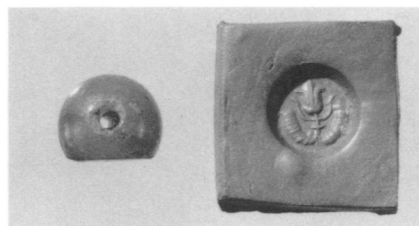


FIGURE 11
Profile and impression of Moore seal 99. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, L 55.49.106

II (A.D. 591–628).²² The personal name Bōrasp ("Having bay horses") is of ancient Iranian lineage. The Sasanian name might have been drawn from scriptural tradition (Avestan *Bawrō.aspa, cf. the name Bōrgāw, "Having bay cattle," from scripture); but it may equally well derive from a continuous, secular Median tradition (cf. the hellenized Scythian form, Bōraspos).²³

8. L 55.49.106 (Moore 99). The seal which at present bears these numbers replaces the one illustrated under Eisen 114; the latter, whose present location is unknown, shows a spray of three tulips. Figure 11. SHAPE: Dome (*Stamp Seals*, III.A.2). MATERIAL: Quartz, carnelian. DIMENSIONS: 9 × 10 mm.; H. 10 mm. Proportion of the hole: .17 (2 ÷ 12 mm.). MOTIF: A single tulip (cf. *Stamp Seals*, motif 7 b). The conventional depiction of three visible segments of the perianth is carefully done. Flanking the tulip from the stem are two long, thin leaves; the stem ends in a base, from which a ribbon rises on either side. Cf. especially Pirouzan 4.30. STYLE: Conventional. DATE: Fifth to sixth century.

The tulip, when depicted alone, may be regarded as a purely aesthetic motif; the same seems true of

21. ŠKZ 23 (Middle Persian), 18 (Parthian), 40–41 (Greek); Sprengling, p. 17. See the remains of Narseh's Paikuli inscription in E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli* (Berlin, 1921) lines 2, 6 (Middle Persian).

22. Cited in F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895) p. 350, from the Armenian historian Faustus of Byzance.

23. Ibid., p. 70; J. Harmatta, *Studies in the Language of the Iranian Tribes in South Russia* (Budapest, 1952) p. 41. Bōrgāw occurs as a man's name in the *Dēnkard*, p. 613.16–17; trans. M. Molé, *La Légende de Zoroastre selon les textes Pehlevi* (Paris, 1967) pp. 26–27.

other illustrations of flowers on seals or on Sasanian stucco.²⁴ For the Sasanian period one is dependent on the art for indications of esteem for the tulip's beauty, but in Islamic Iran many literary references occur as well. The tulip is a standard part of the *Šāhnāma*'s springtime imagery; and the epic's rather conventional formulations may well go back to Middle Persian oral literature:

*ču āmad bahār u zamīn gašt sabz
hama kūh pur lāla u dašt sabz
hawā pur zabr u zamīn pur za xvīd
jahānī pur az lāla u šambalīd*
(*Šāhnāma*, IV, p. 172, vv. 1987, 1993)

When spring came and the earth turned green,
All the mountains were full of tulips and the plains of
green.
The air filled with clouds and the earth with verdure,
The world was filled with tulips and fenugreek.

A demon sang to Kay Kā'ūs an alluring "song of
Māzandarān":

*ki dar bōstān-iš hamīša gul-ast
ba kūh andarūn lāla u sumbul-ast
Day u Bahman u Ādar u Farwardīn
hamīša pur az lāla bīnī zamīn*
(*Šāhnāma*, I, p. 488, vv. 30, 35)

In whose gardens are always flowers;
On the mountains, tulips and hyacinths.
[Whether in the months] Day, Bahman, Ādar, or Far-
wardīn,
You will always see the land filled with tulips.

Apart from poetic conventions, a notable example of the appreciation of tulips is furnished in the memoirs of the Mughal emperor, Bābur. Discussing the region around Charikār (north of Kabul in modern Afghanistan), he says:

Tulips of many colours cover these foot-hills; I once counted them up; it came out at thirty-two or thirty-three different sorts. We named one the Rose-scented, because its perfume was a little like that of the red rose; it grows by itself on Shaikh's-plain, here and nowhere else. The Hundred-leaved tulip is another; this grows also by itself, at the outlet of the Ghūr-bund narrows, on the hill-skirt below Parwān.²⁵

If an analogy is drawn between classical (and modern) Iranian sensibilities and those of the Sasanian

period, then the primary significance of the tulip is its intrinsic beauty; and its primary associations are with fertility, growth, and general prosperity. The frequent occurrence on seals of woman, man, and putto figure with a tulip likewise argues for these associations; they are in harmony with such common seal inscriptions as *abzōn* ("prosperity"), as well as with the general tenor of Zoroastrian religion. The tulip might, secondarily, be assigned specific symbolism. Thus the Middle Persian *Bundahišn* names it as the special flower of the divinity Aštād ("Rectitude"), and the *Šāhnāma* relates it to the virtue of patience.²⁶

The depictions of the full female figure, with which the tulip is often associated on seals, comprise an involved and varied group. Without a systematic study of them and analogous male figures, it is impossible to identify their meanings with assurance. In spite, however, of the rarity of evident divinities on seals (see note 8, above), the woman standing or sitting in right profile has been freely regarded as the goddess Anāhīd. Presumably this tendency is due to Anāhīd's prominent place in the Sasanian dynastic cult, the vivid and unique description of her in the Avesta (*Yašt* 5. 126–129), and her undoubted Sasanian images in other media. Of these, the earliest is on a *drahm* coin of King Hormizd I (A.D. 273). His investiture is depicted on some reverses either with the god Mihr or with Anāhīd; the latter is shown with a high crown and, as in the Avesta description, holding the ritual *barsom* bundle.²⁷ A more detailed image occurs on the investiture relief of King Narseh (A.D. 293–302) at Naqsh-e Rostam: it is Anāhīd, instead of the high god Ohrmazd, who extends to the king the characteristic ring;²⁸ she wears typical Sasanian formal dress and a fluted crown. Finally, the late (sixth-century) investiture relief in the higher grotto at Taq-i Bustan depicts her with a smaller coronet but with her hair all the more prominently gathered in a bunch on top of the head. She holds the jewel- or pearl-studded ring in

24. See *Stamp Seals*, motifs 7 a–c.

25. *Bābur-Nāma (Memoirs of Bābur)*, trans. A. S. Beveridge (London, 1921) p. 215. The occurrence of the wild tulip in Afghanistan is now rather reduced, and the flower was officially protected under a law of the Republic of Afghanistan (1973–78).

26. *Bundahišn* XVI.A.2; text, p. 119.13. *Šāhnāma* IV, p. 488, v. 1542.

27. R. Göbl, *Sasanidische Numismatik* (Brunswick, 1968) nos. 36 and 37 (with Mihr), 38 (with Anāhīd).

28. E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications, LXX (Chicago, 1970) III, pl. 90.

her right hand; with the left she pours a libation from a water-jug.²⁹

These three illustrations imply a consistent, queenly iconography for the goddess; and the attempt to identify her in female figures on seals must ignore the significant absence of a crown in the latter and their clear similarity to the portrait seals. Such an approach is exemplified by E. Herzfeld's comparison of Berlin 1116 (Figure 10), showing a man, woman, and child, with Narseh's investiture relief; Herzfeld also found Anāhīd on Berlin 2168, whose motif is nearly identical with that of no. 7 above, and even cited the double portrait seal B.M. BB 1 for support.³⁰ The problem of classifying the seal images is clearly demonstrated in Göbl, group 12: the various motifs of a woman alone or with a child are shown, and described variously as "Anāhīd, Potnia Thērōn [presumably meaning the goddess Nanaia], goddess, queen, lady, dancer, worshipper." The "Anāhīd" is apparently no. 7 above. The "Potnia Thērōn" is indeed a high noble or princess; her hair is bunched, and she holds the beribboned ring; above her head is a common subsidiary motif, the moon crescent. The remaining seals, setting aside the dancer, have evident elements (pose, gesture) in common with the first two; and the basis for distinguishing divine from human remains undefined.

The rare crowned figures on Sasanian seals do not, in fact, encourage the Anāhīd thesis: (a) a seal formerly in Milan presents an unidentified royal image;

29. Fukai and Horiuchi, *Taq-i-Bustan*, II, pls. II, III, xx–xxxII.

30. F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs* (Berlin, 1910) pp. 86–88. For similar approaches, see, e.g. in Pope, p. 795, and under Geneva 98. More extreme identifications of Anāhīd have been made, e.g., a nude woman who is grasped by and attends a mythic eagle on a silver plate in the Hermitage; see V. Lukonin, *Iran* (Cleveland/New York, 1967) II, no. 195.

31. (a) Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, I, p. 75, no. 4, not inscribed. (b) R. Curiel and P. Gignoux, "Sur une intaille sasanide du Cabinet des Médailles de Paris," *Studia Iranica* 4 (1975) pp. 41–49. She wears a headdress with ram's horns. This feature is associated with the Kūšānšāh Wahrām but did not pertain exclusively to his viceregal office; see *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, part III, vol. VI, portfolio I, ed. A.D.H. Bivar (London, 1968) pl. VII, no. 2; C. J. Brunner, "The Chronology of the Sasanian Kūšānšāhs," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 19 (1974) p. 154. Cf. a similar prince's crown on a silver plate in the Hermitage: Lukonin, *Iran*, II, no. 147; Harper, *Royal Imagery*, pl. 23; E. Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins*, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 38 (Calcutta, 1938) p. 23. The queen on a silver plate in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, wears a similar crown but with the device of a pomegranate (*Sasanian Silver*, no.

(b) a seal in the Bibliothèque Nationale may show the wife of a Sasanian Kūšānšāh; (c) while Queen Dēnag (wife of King Ardašīr I, A.D. 226–240) is shown with a modest diadem.³¹ A Transoxanian queen on B.M. BB 2 wears a distinctive, rayed crown. All are realistic, secular portraits. The restrained coiffure of Dēnag may be compared with that of a royal lady on the Barm-i Dilak relief of Wahrām II (A.D. 276–293). Apparently the queen, she is said to be identified by an inscription as "Ardašīr-Anāhīd, daughter of Wahrām [I]."³² Wahrām II is noted for the depiction of his consort beside him on coin obverses, facing him on reverses. The queen is also shown, wearing a high *kulāf* headdress, on his Sar Mashhad relief; and this figure has recently been asserted to be Anāhīd.³³ Such an identification ignores Sasanian conventions for the juxtaposition of human and divine figures. The king familiarly holds the queen's arm, while, with his back to her, he attends to the attacking lions. She stands, with equal familiarity, in front of two nobles.³⁴ The significance of this relief may more easily be found in its literal representation than in alleged recondite symbolism. The Hajjiabad inscription of Šāpūr I (A.D. 242–272), commemorating his exceptional bowshot in the presence of his court, is a reminder of the importance of prowess in the arts of hunting for royal prestige.³⁵ The numerous hunt scenes on Sasanian silverware further underscore this aspect of traditional Iranian ideology. Wahrām is shown on the Sar Mashhad relief as having already dispatched one an-

13), while the Kūšānšāh has a lotus, and the queen on the Paris seal a leaf cluster. The Paris seal belonged to the chief ambassador (*mahist frēstamag*) of King Šāpūr III (A.D. 383–388), who bore the honorific title "Šāpūr [is] dear to the gods" (Yazdānfriy-Šāpūr). (c) Leningrad 2; Lukonin, *Iran*, II, no. 59. The seal belonged to the queen's personal eunuch; another eunuch's seal, in a New York private collection, similarly bears the portrait of his mistress.

32. W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (Berlin, 1969) p. 218; see pls. 136, 137, 139. Cf. also the royal female portrait busts on silver vessels; see P. O. Harper, "Sasanian Medallion Bowls with Human Busts," *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy, and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles* (Beirut, 1974) pp. 61–81.

33. Göbl, *Sasanidische Numismatik*, nos. 58, 59, 63–71. L. Trumpelmann, *Iranische Denkmäler*, Lieferung 5, Reihe II, A. *Das sasanidische Felsrelief von Sar Mashhad* (Berlin, 1975).

34. These are variously identified; cf. Trumpelmann, *Sar Mashhad*, and Hinz, *Funde*, pp. 215–216.

35. Ed. and trans. H. S. Nyberg, "Hājjiābād-Inskriften," *Øst og Vest . . . A. Christensen* (Copenhagen, 1945) pp. 62–74. See also references above in note 4.



FIGURE 12
Impression of MMA 93. The
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Purchase, 86.11.43

imal, as is often the case with the image of a king on silverware. In the presence of the queen and an abbreviated court he delivers a full-armed descending cutting stroke, and this too is a convention familiar in the art of silverware.³⁶ The presence of the queen would emphasize her importance and so be in harmony with Wahrām's coins.

One suggested basis for viewing at least some of the ladies on seals as the queenly Anāhīd is the presence of an enclosing pillared arch (Figure 12; see, e.g., A.D.H. Bivar in B.M., p. 25). While this detail is significant, it occurs on only seven of the eighty-six seals listed below and cannot outweigh the considerable continuity between the female images. The arch is otherwise observed on seals as framing a fire altar, with or without attending priests (Göbl 4b); clearly, in this context, it indicates a temple. The arch is also found on the problematic B.M. BE 5, which shows a nude, hirsute male figure walking in right profile and carrying a stylized tulip or plant. This image is probably a variant of the putto (*Stamp Seals*, motif 2a), who usually occurs in this pose and shares with the woman the attributes of ring or tulip. His arch probably has the same significance as the lady's. It might designate the house of which she is mistress;³⁷ this would not be

36. See the Hermitage plate mentioned in note 31(b); also Lukonin, *Iran*, II, no. 148, and Harper, *Royal Imagery*, pl. 24; and two British Museum plates: O. M. Dalton, *The Treasury of the Oxus* (London, 1905) pl. xxiv, and Harper, *Royal Imagery*, pl. 25; and Harper, *Royal Imagery*, pl. 13. Preparation for the stroke is shown in a scene of a zebu hunt on a plate in a New York collection; the king's right arm is upswept as he reaches for the charging bull's horn with his left (Harper, *Royal Imagery*, pl. 26).

37. The arches which figure in the festive "wine and song" motifs of Sasanian silver bottles and other vessels are certainly most easily interpreted as a family estate house. See, e.g., the note on the Kalar Dasht bottle in the Tehran museum, "Bouteille d'argent sāsānide," *Āthār-ē Īrān* 3 (1938) pp. 291–300 and Lukonin, *Iran*, II, nos. 183–190. Cf. the related imagery without arches in *Sasanian Silver*, nos. 17–23. See discussion in R. Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic*

inconsistent with the interpretation of the woman as praying, for it could be an apt illustration of a woman's *kadagbānūgih* to show her reciting the "grace before meals" (*bāj ī nān*).³⁸ Or if her prayer is for offspring, as is here suggested, then the context of the house which seeks the blessing is as appropriate as that of the temple which receives an offering.

The woman is occasionally seen to pray explicitly with hands raised in the manner of priests; cf. Berlin 1094, Berlin 1098 (Figure 10), and perhaps B.M. CC 13 with the men of B.M. BD series. The armed bust of B.M. BA 6 is clearer; it seems a compromise between the simple portrait (which does not specify, in itself, any pious context) and the full-length figure. The woman extends her hands, palms upward, and is accompanied by an inscription: "I invoke you for the name of Mnwl-Nanā; my hands are yours" (or "my Fortune is yours").³⁹ This seems clearly a prayer for bearing children. Another invocation occurs on B.M. CC 5: the woman holding a tulip is named as Rōšn-Pand, and there follows the phrase "may the god be mindful" (*yazd andēšād*). Such inscriptions seem to sharpen the message intended, in contrast to the rather general "reliance on the gods" (*abestān ō yazdān*) which is found so abundantly. The latter could also express the hope for offspring, but additional meanings are conceivable—for example, the pledging of true witness.

The pose with a tulip is itself unhelpful to the Anāhīd theory. The gesture is a generalized one, not restricted to women, which expresses salutation or propitiation directed to a partner or superior. The gesture may be religious; compare the offering and exchange of flowers in the Zoroastrian *āfrīnagān* rites.⁴⁰ But it also has a wider social function. Thus

World (Leiden, 1972) pp. 3–10; and the Anāhīd interpretation in C. Trever, "A propos des temples de la déesse Anahita en Iran Sassanide," *Iranica Antiqua* 7 (1967) pp. 121–133.

38. See Mary Boyce and Firoze Kotwal, "Zoroastrian Bāj and Drōn—II," *BSOAS* 34 (1971) pp. 298–299.

39. *Xwānēm ō tō pad nām mnwl(?) nanā um dast/xwarrah tō*; cf. A.D.H. Bivar's discussion. The verb *xwāndan* regularly translates Avestan *zba*, "invoke," and establishes prayerful intent. Cf. a somewhat different construction in the Middle Persian translation of *Yasna* 15.1: *Pad hammoxtišn . . . amahrspandān pad ān weh nēk nām xwānēm*, "according to doctrine . . . I invoke the Amahrspands by those good, beautiful names" (ed. B. N. Dhabhar, *Pahlavi Yasna and Vispered* [Bombay, 1949] p. 89).

40. See J. J. Modi, *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees* (Bombay, 1937) pp. 373–377.



FIGURE 13
Impression of MMA 25.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers
Fund, 22.139.41

the queen at Barm-i Dilak is saluted by a prince who raises toward her a flower (possibly, but not certainly, a tulip). The front-rank nobles attending Šāpūr I on the Dārāb relief hold flowers or sprigs of plants between thumb and forefinger in the conventional manner.⁴¹ On seals, the lone noble of MMA 25 (Figure 13) makes the same gesture, as does the armed bust of QAN D.48. A man may make the gesture in a domestic context, e.g., reclining on a couch (Leningrad 132, B.M. BE 4)⁴² or holding a ring in his other hand (*Foroughi* 73, inscribed “Bābē; reliance on the gods”). Thus, whether explicitly praying or holding a tulip, the woman is shown in a manner that has analogies in quite human and male figures.

If no attribute defines the lady with tulip as Anāhīd, her meaning must be determined from the sum of her seal imagery. The following table, chart, and catalogue organize the data for eighty-six published seals. These show the following features:

(a) The woman may occur alone (57 examples), with one or more children (9), juxtaposed with a man (19), or with both man and child (1). See examples in Figure 10.

(b) When a man is not present, the woman may (i) stand in right profile, against a plain background (42) or within an arch (6), or (ii) sit in profile (plain background, 7; arch, 1). One example is a bust with head in profile. Accompanying a man, the woman may also be found in left profile (e.g., MMA 44, Figure 14).

(c) The woman always wears “formal” dress, as on no. 7, above.

(d) She is usually characterized by a comotif, sub-

41. L. Trümpelmann, *Iranische Denkmäler*, Lieferung 6, Reihe II, B. *Das sasanidische Felsrelief von Dārāb* (Berlin, 1975) pls. 1, II.

42. Cf. Göbl, no. 16a(2), where the reclining man simply makes a gesture, his hand raised and held palm inward.

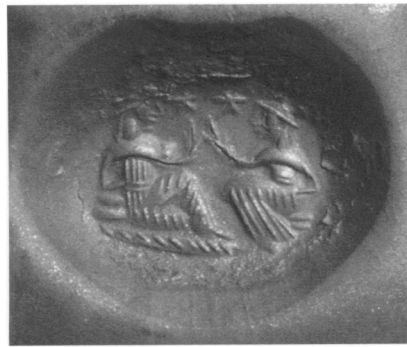


FIGURE 14
Impression of MMA 44. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 93.17.42



FIGURE 15
Impression of MMA 100. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, X.305.3

motif, or accessory. By comotif is simply meant a man. By submotif is meant a nonhuman image which may occur on other seals as principal motif. Of these there are, essentially, four: (i) The ring, with or without ribbons (e.g. Figure 10, and MMA 100, Figure 15), or the scarf tied into a diadem. On less well executed seals, the latter is not easily distinguishable from the ring. (ii) The tulip, usually one, but occasionally two or in a spray with the ring. (iii) The gesture of the raised hand. Normally the palm is raised in prayer or outward in salute. The handclasp between man and woman (Berlin 1110, Figure 10) may be regarded as an allomorph of the gesture. (iv) The leafy branch, a very general vegetal motif, parallel to the tulip. Accessories are images which are not seen to occur on other seals as principal motif. These are: (i) one or two children; (ii) the couch (either or both accessories occur in association with the tulip, ring, and gesture); and (iii) an object here designated as a

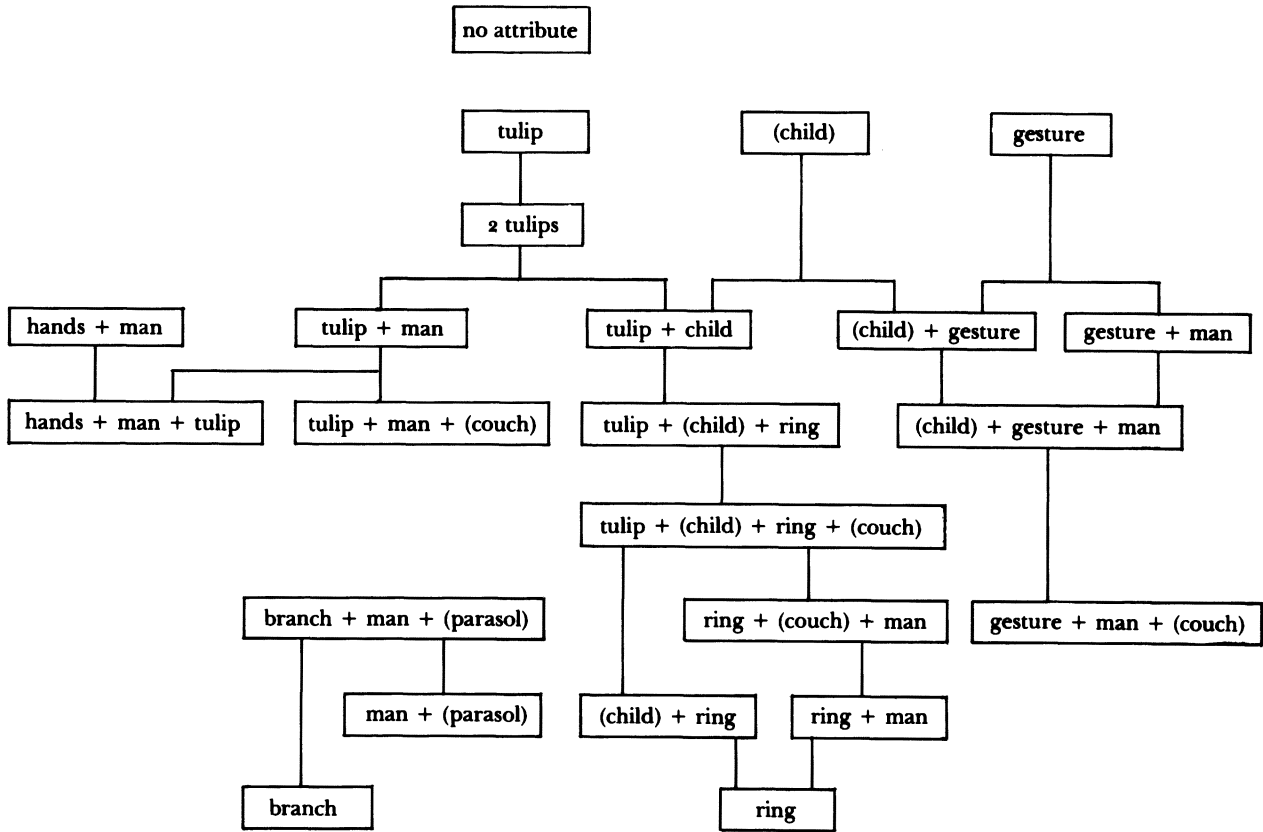
“parasol”; it is held up by a man and woman together and perhaps was a ritual object of the wedding festivities. (On B.M. CG 4 it is seen in a context of dancing.)

(e) Inscribed seals which show a woman or woman and child usually bear a woman’s name. The motif thus appears to be especially appropriate to women, which would not necessarily be the case if the figure were Anāhīd.

The table at the right gives the overall frequency of this imagery.

The chart below shows the parallelism (substitutability) of the submotifs. Vertical relationships indicate the thematic overlap between complex combinations, while the horizontal levels align element combinations that are similar in complexity. Each box cites the motif or accessory elements which are present in a depiction in addition to the posed woman; accessories are distinguished by parentheses.

seals with:		woman		
		alone	with man	total
submotif	tulip	4 ¹	5	46
	gesture	12	3	15
	hands clasped	—	4	4
	ring	8	6	14
	branch	2	1	3
accessory	child	9	1	10
	couch	1	4	5
	parasol	—	3	3
no attribute		2	—	2



The catalogue below indicates the precise distribution of submotifs and accessories. Except where noted, the woman is shown standing and against a plain background. Inscriptions are given in parentheses; and the abbreviation “r.o.g.” is used for the formula “reliance on the gods.”

The close relationship between the tulip, ring, and gesture submotifs is notable. They occur in common to bind together man and woman, and they are further associated as principal motifs. On *Foroughi* 209 the ring is enclosed in a diadem, which in turn is wreathed with five tulips (compare the inscription,

tulip			ANS B.5 (“Farnbag”). Berlin 1097 (“r.o.g.”), 1099, 1100, 1101 (hwy), 1102, 2168 (“Mārdōē”). Birmingham 82. B.M. CC 2 (effaced), 3 (smzn’y), 4 (“Dast-Ādur the mage”), 5 (“Rōšn-Pand. May the god be mindful”), 6 (“righteousness”), 7, 8, 11, 13. <i>Foroughi</i> 74 (see above). Louvre A.1428, 1429. <i>MMA</i> 122, 141. Moore no. 7 (see above). Within arch: B.M. CB 1 (“Pērōzduxt, Mihr-Sarēnān-nazd[?]” ⁴³). Ghirshman, pl. xxxix/2. Sitting: B.M. CD 3 (“Bōzan”), 5, 6. Göbl 12a(8–10, the last is inscribed). Leningrad 182. Sitting within arch: <i>MMA</i> 93. Holding two tulips: B.M. CA 4, 5; CC 9, 12. <i>MMA</i> 134. With child: B.M. CC 1 (“Armindux”).
tulip	+ man		Pirouzan 5.6, 5.7 (both “r.o.g.”). Busts: <i>Foroughi</i> 80. ⁴⁴ With couch (both holding tulips, sitting): <i>MMA</i> 44.
tulip	+ man	+ hands	B.M. CG 6.
tulip		+ ring	With children: Berlin 1115 (“Gušnasp Anāhīd”). With child and couch (sitting): B.M. CD 1 (“Hūpand, r.o.g.”).
	man	+ ring	B.M. CG 4. Louvre A.1432. Mordtmann, pl. iii/55 (“r.o.g.”). Pope, pl. 256 pp. With couch (both sitting): B.M. CF 2 (“Mihršāhag [and] Anagduxt. The gods!”). <i>MMA</i> 100.
		ring	ANS C’.2 (“seal of Bagč[ihr]”). <i>Foroughi</i> 76 (“Spandarmad the pious” [klpkwny]). Göbl 12a(2) with a short inscription. Leningrad 115 (“righteousness [is] best”). Mordtmann, pl. iii/84 (“true”). With child: Göbl 12b(1) with inscription.
		gesture	ANS D.2 (“protection in the gods”). Berlin 1094, 1098 (“Wahrām, r.o.g.”), 2157(?). B.M. CA 2 (’ydwdy BRH bwtydy), CE 1. Louvre D.253(?). Mordtmann, pl. i/23 (“Ādur-Šāpūr”). Within arch: Louvre A.1431. Bust with arms: B.M. BA 6 (see above). With child: Thomas, nos. 53, 54 (both, now lost, were inscribed).
	man	+ gesture	Göbl 17a(3) with inscription. With child: Berlin 1116 (proper name plus “there is reliance” [’pst’n ’YT]). With couch (the man sitting): B.M. CF 1 (“r.o.g.”).
	man	+ hands	Berlin 1110 (“Ohrmazd Wahman Kōhzād”), 1112. Busts: Göbl 17a(2).
branch			B.M. CC 10 (or tulip). Within arch: Geneva 98.
branch	+ man		With parasol: <i>Foroughi</i> 62.
	man		With parasol: Berlin 265, 1111.
no attribute			Within arch: B.M. CB 2. <i>MMA</i> 121. With child (sitting): B.M. CD 2. Göbl 12b(4). Mordtmann, pl. iii/26. (“Tīrdād the scribe”).

43. The reading suggested here for the word after the patronymic is mtrs(l)y(n)nzd(y), possibly a legal term meaning “next of kin of the Mihr-Sarēn family.” It would be formed by analogy with the term *nabānazdišt*, “next of kin,” which renders

Avestan *nabānazdišta* in *Yasna* 1.18, etc. Such a term might indicate that the owner of the seal was acting as trustee (*stūr*) in the administration of an estate. As observed above, a woman could perform this function with her father’s permission; thus the



FIGURE 16
Impression of MMA 39.
The Metropolitan Museum
of Art, Purchase, 86.11.44



FIGURE 17
Impression of MMA 49.
The Metropolitan Museum
of Art, Dodge Fund,
36.106.5

the proper name “Rāymad,” with *Stamp Seals*, inscription 25). This seal recalls the ring wreathed with tulips on B.M. CD 1 which is grasped by a child held by a woman on a couch. On MMA 39 (Figure 16) the diadem occurs with three tulips and a fourth replacing the ring in the center. The spray of five appears again on B.M. CH 7, but within the diadem a right hand makes the gesture of salute with thumb and forefinger touching. The gesture often occurs as the sole motif or is further specified by the tulip. Usually the left hand is shown, with palm out (e.g., B.M. CH series and MMA 49, Figure 17). But examples with the right hand do occur, e.g., *Foroughi* 56 and 57. The latter shows two tulips and bears the interesting inscription “true perception” (*bōy ī rāst*).

Through these submotifs the depiction of the woman alone or with a child is closely interrelated with that of a man and woman, a type commonly thought to represent a matrimonial scene. The sharing of a ring by a man and woman seems analogous in meaning to the royal investiture reliefs of Ardašīr I, Šāpūr I, Wahrām II, and Narseh, in which a divinity holds out a ring to the king. The coins of Wahrām II show the ring grasped either by a young prince (on the obverse) or by the queen or both queen and prince (on the reverse).⁴⁵ Already the Parthian stele from Susa establishes the authentic authority of the

satrap, Xwasak, by presenting him as receiving a ring from the king; and the reclining ruler shown at Tang-i Sarwak prominently displays a ring.⁴⁶ All these situations have in common the delegation of (or succession to) authority; hence the ring may be regarded as most immediately expressing the notion of contract (*mihr*) involved in each case: between god and king, king and prince or official, and husband and wife. The idea of “Fortune” (*xwarrah*) may well be associated with these situations (especially with regard to the king); but its symbolization seems limited to animal forms. These are the hawk (see the Avestan *Yašt* 19.35–38; it is also a form of the god *Vərəθragna*, “Victoriousness,” in *Yašt* 14.19) and the ram (in the Middle Persian *Kārnāmag ī Ardašīr ī Pābagān*). It is not clearly manifest in these scenes.

If depictions of a man and woman on seals commemorate a marriage and perhaps seek divine blessing on the union, they also seem intended for use by either husband or wife, since they may bear the names of both. A woman’s own seal, showing her in a context of prayer and offering, should signify an aspect of marriage that is her special concern. This can scarcely be anything but the safe bearing of male offspring.⁴⁷ As in traditional Islamic societies, the wife needed sons to secure the marriage and fulfill the expectations of the husband and his family. Only as a

presence of the patronymic on this seal could have legal significance.

44. The inscription is *bwh̄t̄wb̄(̇)n̄ w̄hl̄(̇)n̄* . . . *mt̄y*, i.e., a proper name: . . . -Mihr, plus the honorific “of saved soul [is] Wahrām.” The same honorific was given to the priest Kirdēr by Wahrām II, presumably in pious remembrance of Wahrām I (Ka’ba-yi Zardusht inscription, line 9); Sprengling, p. 51, gives the translation usually followed; cf. P. Gignoux, “L’Inscription de Kartir à Sar Mašhad,” *Journal Asiatique* 256 (1968) pp. 394, 413. This term, in fact, parallels *anōšruwān*, “of immortal soul, deceased,” used as a simple adjective in the Persepolis funerary column inscription (J. de Menasce, “Inscriptions pehlevies en écriture cursive,” *Journal Asiatique* 244 (1956) p. 429.

45. Göbl, *Sasanidische Numismatik*, nos. 67–71.

46. R. Ghirshman, “Un Bas-relief d’Artaban V avec inscription en pehlvi arsacide,” *Monuments Piot* 44 (1950) pp. 97ff.; idem, *Iran, Parthians and Sassanians* (London, 1962) fig. 70; W. B. Henning, “The Monuments and Inscriptions of Tang-i Sarwak,” *Asia Major* n.s. 2 (1952) pls. ii, iii.

47. Cf. D. Menant’s observation regarding the Parsis: “Le but du mariage étant d’avoir des enfants, plus l’alliance est féconde, plus elle est heureuse” (*Les Parsis: Histoire des communautés zoroastriennes de l’Inde* [Paris, 1898] p. 115). On the preference for sons, see Firoze M. P. Kotwal, *The Supplementary Texts to the Šāyest Nē-Šāyest* (Copenhagen, 1969) XII.14. The menace to pregnant women from demons is implied in the same text, XII.11–13.

mother could her role as authoritative wife be successful and her status and future security guaranteed. The frequency of the “lady and tulip” motif would thus be quite natural, and the depiction of a child with her would add the element of thanksgiving for past blessings. Such a brief inscription as “may the god be mindful” (B.M. CC 5) would be quite explicit in this context.

It is a familiar Zoroastrian dictum that marriage is preferable to nonmarriage (*Widēwdād* 4.47). The social pressure to produce offspring is expressed in, for example, the prayer: “May [the day] Frawardīn give you offspring who will carry the name of the lineage”; and since the virtuous deeds of the children bring merit to the parents, one is exhorted “to be active in the begetting of children.”⁴⁸ Pressure was greater on a woman:

A man, if he does not take a wife, is not a “mortal” sinner. A woman, if she does not take a husband, does become a “mortal” sinner. Because, except by her intercourse with a man, a woman has no offspring; and no lineage proceeds from her. But when a man not in contact with a woman recites the Avesta (as it is stated in the *Widēwdād*), a lineage to the Future Body issues forth.⁴⁹

Thus a man’s ultimate duty in the situation of cosmic conflict envisaged by Zoroastrian tradition could be fulfilled ritually, as well as by proxy; but a woman’s accomplishment of duty rested with the fact of child-bearing. The “Document of 1,000 Decisions,” with its careful enumeration of cases and rulings relating to marriage, inheritance, and other aspects of family life, illustrates the legalistic aspect of the concern in Sasanian times for the stability of the family and the continuity of the lineage. The close involvement in this concern of a woman’s ambition and self-esteem

48. Ibid., XXII.19 and XII.15.

49. *Šāyast-nē-šāyast* X.19, here slightly revised from the translation of J. C. Tavadia (Hamburg, 1930) p. 136. A systematic study remains to be made of changes in the status of Zoroastrian women and of matrimonial mores between the Sasanian period and the eighth to ninth centuries A.D., when most of the Pahlavi texts were compiled. The idea of a wife’s punishment in hell by a hedgehog, for instance, “if she withholds herself and bites” (*ka gazišn bē kunēd ud abāz awistēd*), is clearly old. It occurs in the Middle Persian *Yasna* 53.7 (just quoted) and *Dēnhard* IX, II, p. 806.8ff.; trans. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, IV, p. 205; from this scriptural tradition it entered *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag* LXX (ed. and trans. Destur Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa and Martin Haug [Bom-



FIGURE 18

Impression of MMA 174. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 86.11.41

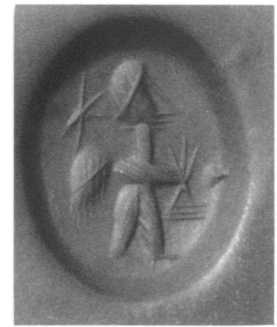


FIGURE 19

Impression of MMA 60. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 93.17.40

may reasonably be viewed in the whole body of seals for which the “lady and tulip” theme is typical; their flashes of ritual and fragments of prayers are not incompatible with the frequentation of saints’ shrines by women in modern Iran and Afghanistan.

Apparently associated with the whole category of “marriage contract” motifs is the putto. This variable figure (immature or adult, human or half bird or with animal hair) is usually consistent in his pose. He walks in right profile, bearing a tulip, ring (usually with ribbons), or diadem (Figures 18, 19).⁵⁰ Whether viewed as a mythical messenger or a guardian spirit (*frawahr*) of the unborn son, he may be understood to carry the symbol of the marriage compact divinely blessed with the promise of offspring. The putto seems, interestingly, to have an affinity for the motif of Gayōmard, the primal man (*Stamp Seals*, motifs 2 d, e). The latter is an ithyphallic, semianimal figure, who may occur

bay/London, 1872]). But the power of a man to marry his sister or daughter by force is a later innovation (B. T. Anklesaria, *The Pahlavi Rivāyat of Āturfarnbag and Farnbag-Srōš* [Bombay, 1969] I, pp. 206–207; the translation in vol. II, p. 56, is evasive). The *Šāyast* passage probably represents an old tradition developed on the narrow basis of *Widēwdād* 18.46–51 (see Tavadia’s comment, *Šāyast-nē-šāyast*, p. 136).

50. *Stamp Seals*, motif 2 a. See B.M. BK 6,7 for the part-bird figures, MMA 60 (Figure 19) for one with animal hair. Cf. the Victory figure on Parthian coins and sealings, who apparently may bestow a ring instead of the more usual diadem (Masson and Pugachenkova, “Ottiski,” nos. 42, 45).

FIGURE 20

Impression of MMA 114. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 93.17.7

FIGURE 21

Impression of MMA 78. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 36.30.23

alone, with a dog (Figure 20), or in group scenes involving animals and a dancing human couple (Figure 21). One might view all these as having eschatological meaning. Yet primal man, the ultimate source of all human life, may also have been a fit person to invoke for fertility. The occurrence together of both putto and Gayōmard motifs on MMA 60 would then share a common motivation.

The motif of the dancer (*Stamp Seals*, motif 1 bb, Figure 22) occurs sparingly on seals; and she too has been termed "Anāhīd." She is depicted (a) alone; (b) nude or in tight, transparent garments, but also in formal dress (as also on silver vessels); (c) in motion; (d) carrying a long scarf above the head or else a flower (on *Foroughi* 75). This seems to be a man's motif; at any rate B.M. CA 1 carries the name "Buxt-Šāpūr." The few examples (see also B.M. CB 3, 4 and Leningrad 113, 114) can be compared with the much more complex and varied images on silver vessels.



FIGURE 22

Impression of MMA 114. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 99.22.53



The general theme which emerges both from these seals and from the silver vessels would be in harmony with the marriage motifs, although it probably applied to all festive occasions.

ABBREVIATIONS

- ANS—Gerd Gropp, "Some Sasanian Clay Bullae and Seal Stones," *The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 19 (1974) pp. 119–144
- Avesta—K. F. Geldner, ed., *Avesta: The Sacred Books of the Parsis* (Stuttgart, 1891–96) 3 vols.
- Bartholomae—C. Bartholomae, "Zum sasanidischen Recht," parts I–V, in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse (1918) Abh. 5 and 14; (1920) Abh. 18; (1922) Abh. 5; (1923) Abh. 9
- Berlin—Paul Horn and Georg Steindorff, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine* (Berlin, 1891)
- Birmingham—W. G. Lambert, "Ancient Near Eastern Seals in Birmingham Collections," *Iraq* 28 (1966) pp. 64–82

- B.M.—A.D.H. Bivar, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Stamp Seals: II. The Sassanian Dynasty* (London, 1969)
- BSO[A]S—*Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies*
- Bundahišn—B. T. Anklesaria, ed., *The Bundahishn* (Bombay, 1908); trans. idem, *Zand-Ākāsīh: Iranian or Greater Bundahišn* (Bombay, 1956)
- Dēnkard—D. M. Madan, ed., *The Complete Text of the Pahlavi Dinkard* (Bombay, 1911) 2 vols.
- Foroughi—R. N. Frye, ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, part III, vol. VI, Plates: portfolio II. *Sasanian Seals in the Collection of Mohsen Foroughi* (London, 1971)

- Geneva—Marie-Louise Vollenweider, *Catalogue raisonné des sceaux cylindres et intailles* (Geneva, 1967) I
- Ghirshman—R. Ghirshman, *Terrasses sacrées de Bard-e Nechandeh et Masjid-i Solaiman: L'Iran du Sud-Ouest du VIII^e s. av. n. ère au Ve s. de n. ère*, Mémoires de la délégation archéologique en Iran, XLV, Mission de Susiane (Paris, 1976) 2 vols.
- Göbl—R. Göbl, *Der sāsānidische Siegelkanon* (Brunswick, 1973)
- Leningrad—A. Ya. Borisov and V. Lukonin, *Sasanidskie gemmy* (Leningrad, 1963)
- Louvre—Louis Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres, cachets, et pierres gravées de style orientale: I. Fouilles et Missions* (Paris, 1920); II. *Acquisitions* (Paris, 1923)
- MHD—Mâdigân-i-Hazâr Dâdistân (Bombay, 1901)
- MHDA—T. D. Anklesaria, ed., *The Social Code of the Parsees in Sasanian Times* (Bombay, 1912)
- MMA—C. J. Brunner, *Sasanian Stamp Seals in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1978). This abbreviation is used to refer to seal catalogue entries; see also *Stamp Seals*
- Mordtmann—A. Mordtmann, "Studien über Geschnittene Steine mit Pehlevi-Inschriften," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 18 (1864) pp. 1–52
- Pirouzan—Philippe Gignoux, "Intailles sassanides de la collection Pirouzan," *Acta Iranica* 6, *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg*, III (Tehran/Liège, 1975) pp. 13–32
- Pope—A. U. Pope, ed., *A Survey of Persian Art from Pre-historic Times to the Present* (Oxford, 1938) 4 vols.
- QAN—R. N. Frye, ed., *Sasanian Remains from Qasr-i Abu Nasr: Seals, Sealings, and Coins* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973)
- Šāhnāma—J. Mohl, ed., *Le Livre des Rois par Abou'l-kasim Firdousi* (Paris, 1838–78) 7 vols.
- Sasanian Silver—*Sasanian Silver: Late Antique and Early Medieval Arts of Luxury from Iran* (Ann Arbor, 1967)
- ŠKZ—Šāpūr I's Ka'ba-yi Zardusht inscription: A. Maricq, "Res Gestae Divi Saporis," *Syria* 35 (1958) pp. 295–360. For facsimiles and plates, see next entry
- Sprengling—Martin Sprengling, *Third Century Iran: Sapor and Kartir* (Chicago, 1953)
- Stamp Seals—C. J. Brunner, *Sasanian Stamp Seals in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1978). This abbreviation is used for reference to text discussion; see also MMA
- Thomas—E. Thomas, "Notes Introductory to Sassanian Mint Monograms and Gems, With a Supplementary Notice on the Arabico-Pehlvi Series of Persian Coins," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 13 (1852) pp. 373–428
- Widēwdād—see Avesta
- Yasna—see Avesta
- Yašt—see Avesta

The Fudō Myō-ō from the Packard Collection: A Study during Restoration

BARBRA TERI OKADA

in collaboration with KANYA TSUJIMOTO

IN THE RECENTLY ACQUIRED Harry G. C. Packard Collection of Asian Art at the Metropolitan Museum is a wood statue of the powerful Buddhist deity called Fudō Myō-ō (Sanskrit: Acalāgrā Vidyarājā). It is the object of this paper to investigate the origin, iconography, stylistic development, and construction of the sculpture, and to compare it with similar figures, in order to determine its date.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Fudō Myō-ō was introduced into the Japanese Buddhist pantheon in the ninth century, at the beginning of the Heian period (A.D. 794–1185). His origins may be traced to India, where he was known in Hinduism as Shiva or Acala, “The Immovable One.” In the eighth century, Fudō appears in Chinese Buddhist iconography associated with the Chen-yen or Mi-chiao sect, which incorporated much of the magic ritual and spells of India’s Tantric Buddhism.

In 804 the Japanese monk Kūkai, also known as Kōbō Daishi (774–835), visited China to further his studies of Buddhism. Shortly after his arrival in Ch’ang-an, he met the master Hui-kuo (746–805), who immediately accepted him as a disciple. For the next two years, Hui-kuo imparted to his pupil all the secrets of the *mikkyō*, or esoteric form of Buddhism, known in Japan as Shingon (Sanskrit: Mantrayana), or the “True Word.”

Kūkai returned to Japan in 806, following Hui-kuo’s death, bringing with him all the basic textual

and iconographical material necessary to transmit Shingon tenets. Among the documents and paintings he carried back were drawings by the painter Li-chen and ten other artists, as well as many ritual objects. Art, using strong colors and imagery, became the primary vehicle by which Shingon beliefs were transmitted.¹

By the first quarter of the ninth century, there were several forms of exoteric Buddhism that centered their doctrines on Shakyamuni, the historical Buddha. Esoteric Buddhism, however, secretly transmitted to initiates only, claimed that Shakyamuni was but one aspect of the all-encompassing esoteric deity known as Vairocana Buddha (Japanese: Dainichi Nyōrai). Shingon also differed from the more gradual approach inherent in exoteric Buddhism by advocating the possibility of enlightenment in one lifetime. Both the philosophical and visual grandeur of this dynamic religion, as well as the offer of quick salvation for those willing to earn it, appealed to the sensitivities of Heian Japan, and Shingon rapidly took root.

Included in the material that Kūkai brought back from China were the two basic schemata, or mandalas, that embodied all the religious concepts of the Shingon sect. They demonstrated visually different

1. “The abbot informed me that the Esoteric Buddhist scriptures are so abstruse that their meaning cannot be conveyed except through art” (“A Memorial Presenting a List of Newly Imported Sūtras and Other Items,” *Kōbō Daishi Zenshū*, in Yoshito S. Nakada, trans., *Kukai’s Major Works* [New York, 1972] p. 148).

aspects of the cosmos. The Womb Mandala represented the esoteric or spiritual aspect and appeared as a symbolic diagram of Buddhist thought. It was based on the *Dainichi-kyō* (Sanskrit: *Mahāvairocana sūtra*). The Diamond Mandala contained the more practical and material aspects. It provided a format for the study of esoteric rites and was based on the *Kongōcho-kyō* (Sanskrit: *Vajrāsekhara sūtra*), also known as the Diamond Sutra.

These mandalas in brilliant color served as focal points of meditation for the initiate, and a pupil's ability to explicate them indicated to his master his state of understanding. Basic iconographic descriptions of Fudō with his designation as a Myō-ō, or "King of Light," were first given in the "Dai Birushana Jobutsu Shimpun Kaji-kyō" section of the *Dainichi-kyō*, translated by Zenmui (637–735, Sanskrit: Subhākarasīma) in 724. Further elaboration appeared subsequently in the *Dainichi-kyō-so*, a commentary on the *Dainichi-kyō*, written by Zenmui and his disciple Ichigyō (683–727, Chinese: I-hsing) between 725 and 727.

In Japan the worship of Fudō took various forms in the Heian period. For example, there was a ritual in which an initiate would first purify body and spirit under a plunging waterfall, then build a fire on an altar-hearth, offer prayers, and perform austerities. Such burnt-offering ceremonies (*goma*) originated in India, were adopted by the Chinese, and continued by practitioners of Shingon in Japan. Usually a table containing a metal basin to hold offerings was set up on a small platform before the image. Fragrant wood, oils, incense, and other similar substances were burnt. The celebrant assumed the correct hand gesture (*mudrā*) for worship, usually emulating certain hand and body positions of the deity he was worshipping.

The masculine aspect of the rituals made them especially attractive to the many ascetics in rural and mountain districts, as well as to the population of more urban areas, resulting in a great increase in the popularity of the deity during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The primary agents for the dissemination of Shingon in the mountainous areas at this time were the Yamabushi, literally "those who sleep among mountains." These ascetics formed a loose association called Shugendō, a hermit sect devoted to Shinto, Shingon, and their mysteries, and some of them espoused Fudō worship in particular.

As Fudō became more popular in the ninth cen-

tury, he emerged as a single deity housed in his own hall (*Goma-dō*). According to various scriptures, Fudō had numerous disciples and *dōji* (child servants) in attendance.² Their number was quickly reduced to two, however, in the early Heian period, when Kongara Dōji (Sanskrit: Kinkara) and Seitaka Dōji (Sanskrit: Cetaka) soon emerged as his customary attendants.

ICONOGRAPHY

Descriptions of the physical appearance of Fudō vary. For example, a passage in the *Dainichi-kyō* states:

He holds the sword of wisdom and a lasso. A pile of hair hangs on his left shoulder. In a glance he observes everything clearly. He looks very angry and there is a furious flame of fire from his body. He is [exists] on a rock in safety. On his forehead there are water waves. His figure is like a fat boy. Such a figure is the one who has the perfect wisdom.³

The *Dainichi-kyō-so*, written two years later, expanded the iconography to read:

His figure is like a child. In his right hand he holds the great sword of wisdom and in his left hand he holds the lasso. On the head there is a pile of hair (*mage*) and hair hangs down his left shoulder. The left eye is slightly closed⁴ and the lower teeth bite the upper lip at the right side. The left lower lip protrudes. On the forehead are grooves like waves. He sits on a rock.⁵ He looks humble and is fat. He is extremely angry.⁶

2. In the "Fudō-mandala-shū," a collection of mandalas on Fudō, references are made to his numerous servants and attendants, but the authority for some of the statements is not clear. However, images of Kinkara and Cetaka are clearly mentioned in two cases. See Takakusu Junjirō and Ono Gemmyō, eds., *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō-zuzō* (Tokyo, 1933) VI.

3. Ibid., XVIII, no. 848, p. 7B.

4. This trait is called the *tenichi-gan* expression, literally translated as "one eye looks at heaven, the other at earth."

5. It is interesting to note the change of character used to describe Fudō's position. The sutra says "exists on a rock" or "is on a rock." The commentary changed the characters to read "sits on a rock." This variation allowed the deity to appear in both seated and standing positions, as either text could be the iconographic source.

6. Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyoku, eds., *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* (Tokyo, 1914–32) XXXIX, no. 1986, section 5 of commentary, p. 633b. I would like to thank Reverend Hozen Seki of the New York Bukkyōkai for help in translating these references, and Professor Yoshito S. Hakeda of Columbia University for further clarifying their meaning.

The Fudō Myō-ō in the Packard Collection (Figures 11–14) complies with the iconographic details specified in the *Dainichi-kyō* and the *Dainichi-kyō-so*. The face is chubby and boylike, with the heaven-to-earth (*tenichi-gan*) style of eyes and teeth: the right eye is open and bulging, looking straight ahead, with the bottom right tooth pointing up; simultaneously, the left eye is narrowed, looking down, and the top left eyetooth is extruding down. The long knotted lock of hair falls gracefully to the left shoulder. The body is soft and voluptuous, conveying a sensuality typical of the Heian period; this kind of fleshiness is also characteristic of the Japanese interpretation of a child's figure. Originally, the overall color of the body was blue-green,⁷ and the statue must have held the appropriate attributes of a sword (*ken*) in the right hand and a lasso (*kensaku*) in the left.⁸ Finally, the Packard Fudō stands astride a formation of rocks,⁹ a detail which completes the iconography as expressed in the sutra.

STYLE

When Kūkai established the Kongobū-ji in 816 on Mount Kōya, Fudō appeared as one of the two Myō-ō images in the group of seven statues placed in the Lecture Hall.¹⁰ Six statues were arranged around the Ashuku Nyōrai (the Buddha Askobhya), evidently according to Kūkai's own guidelines.

The Lecture Hall and its statues were destroyed by fire in 1926. Until that date, the Fudō in the group was the earliest wooden image of the deity in Japan.

7. Blue is one of the colors discussed in the various representations of Fudō. See *Dainichi-kyō*, ch. 2 (cited above, note 3), and *Dainichi-kyō-so*, ch. 9 (cited above, note 6).

8. The present sword is an Edo replacement. The lasso was made by Mr. Kanya Tsujimoto, senior restorer at the Metropolitan Museum from 1973 to 1978, in the course of his restoration of the statue.

9. The present base is an Edo replacement, but a technical study of the statue shows that it was constructed to stand on some kind of base. As a rule, Fudō is always shown seated or standing on a rock formation, see above, note 5.

10. The other Myō-ō represented was Gōsanze.

11. This must have been considered by Kūkai to be the epitome of controlled anger, made fierce by inner tension. See Sawa Takaaki, *Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, trans. Richard L. Gage, Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art (New York/Tokyo, 1972) fig. 62.

It portrayed him with bulging eyes, and with prominent front teeth and fanglike projections biting over the lower lip, rather than in the more typical interpretation of the iconography of the sutra.¹¹ Kūkai's alteration of the iconography seems to have lain principally in his interpretation of the facial characteristics, which became known as "Kūkai's style." The rest of the body followed the standard specifications. The style of undercutting seen in the drapery is known as *hompashiki*, or "rolling wave pattern."¹²

In 823 the Emperor Saga made Kūkai abbot of the Tō-ji temple in the capital, and it soon became the seat of the Shingon sect. Kūkai was a man of great imagination and innovation. Translating the Diamond Mandala into sculptural imagery, he created a three-dimensional object of worship far more striking than a painting hung flat on the wall. The impact of this imposing group of statues in the Kōdō (Lecture Hall) must have been awesome when first seen. Certainly it was the primary stimulus for the development of sculpture in Shingon. Within the group Fudō appears as a seated image elevated on a central platform above four standing, companion images. Collectively, they are known as the Five Great Kings of Light (Godai Myō-ō), representing the wrathful aspects of the five great Buddhas.¹³ The wooden statue of Fudō (Figure 1) is carved in the *ichiboku* or single-block technique. While the general facial appearance is the same as that of the Kongobū-ji image, an attempt has been made to carve striations in the hair, resulting in a smoother transition from forehead to hairline.¹⁴

For the next two centuries Fudō images show only

12. Heian sculpture may be dated by the style of *hompashiki* employed in carving the drapery. During this period it had a high rounded ridge followed by a short, sharp tip forming a lower ridge. As time progressed, this style became less sharply delineated, and by the late Fujiwara period it is hardly noticeable or nonexistent.

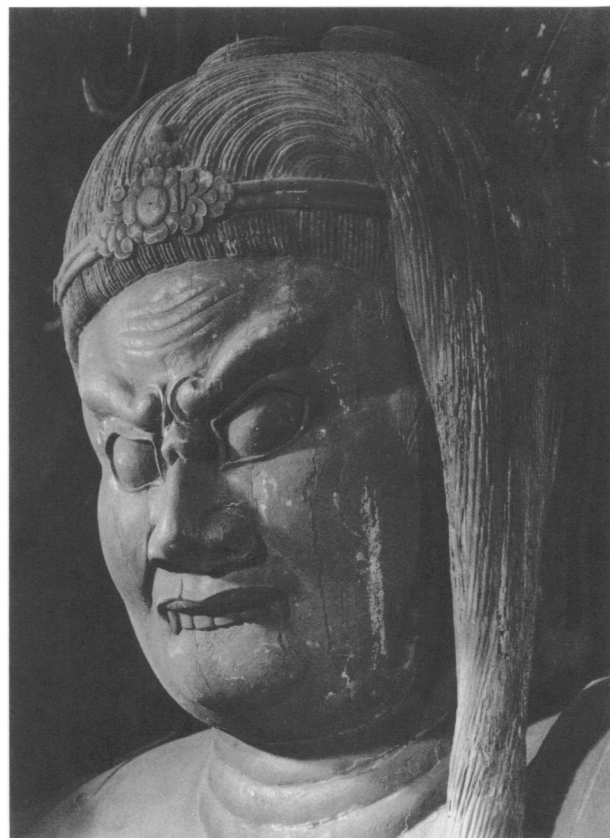
13. For a more comprehensive discussion of the Godai Myō-ō, see Julia Meech, "A Painting of Daiitoku in the Bigelow Collection," *Boston Museum Quarterly* 67 (1969) pp. 21–30. The group is illustrated in Takaaki, *Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, figs. 64, 147–149.

14. The seated image at Kongōbu-ji had a lotus flower (*shake*) on the head, but the larger, later image in the Kōdō at Tō-ji does not. Scriptural sources for this attribute are based on the commentaries rather than the original sutra. After Kūkai's death the *shake* returns to the head of all Fudō images, although the flower also undergoes stylistic modifications.



FIGURE 1

Fudō Myō-ō, ca. A.D. 839, upper torso. H. 173.2 cm. Kyoto, Tō-ji (Lecture Hall) (photo: courtesy Kanya Tsujimoto)



minor stylistic variations (Figure 2)¹⁵, and were always sculpted in a seated position. Standing figures of Fudō begin to appear in the eleventh century.¹⁶ Nakano states that the statue in the Seigo-in dating from the end of the eleventh century is the oldest standing Fudō extant (Figure 3).¹⁷ That image and the standing Fudō (Figures 4–8) in the Myōō-ji Temple in the Takidani section of Osaka, dated 1095, are almost identical in appearance. They represent a new development in sculpture during the eleventh century, *yosegi* or the multiple-block technique, which facilitated the creation of larger figures.

The Takidani Fudō serves as a prime example of the early Fujiwara style¹⁸ in headdress and facial characteristics as well as stance. The figure stands

with feet apart, the left slightly in front of the right, and one hip higher than the other. His features are closer to the description in the *Dainichi-kyō-so*. These changes also represent the establishment of the Japa-

15. The seated Fudō Myō-ō dated 1005 in the Doshū-in at Tōfuku-ji (Figure 2) introduces a small circlet suggesting a crown and emphasizing a change in hair style.

16. The only standing Fudō which may be earlier is the Namikiri Fudō on Mount Koya, which Kūkai is supposed to have brought from China. Whether or not the statue as we see it today is the original brought by Kūkai is questionable.

17. Nakano Genzo, *Fujiwara Chōkoku* (Tokyo, 1970) p. 50.

18. Historically, the Heian period is 794–1185, subdivided into the Kōnin-Jōgan (794–897) and the Fujiwara (897–1185). Artistically, the time periods are termed Heian and Fujiwara, and are not so stringently defined.

FIGURE 2
Fudō Myō-ō, ca. 1005, detail of head. H. 265 cm. Kyoto, Dōshu-in Tōfuku-ji (photo: courtesy Kanya Tsujimoto)



FIGURE 3
Fudō Myō-ō with two guardian figures (*dōji*), end of 11th century. Kyoto, Seigo-in (photo: courtesy Shoichi Uehara)

nese (*wa-yō*) style, as opposed to “Kūkai’s style,” whose Indian flavor was due to its origins on the continent. Among the specific points to be noted are the flower on Fudō’s head,¹⁹ which has changed in appearance from a high crested lotus to a flattened petal shape, and the transition from long, striated hair to small seashell-shaped curls.²⁰ In addition, the *tenichi-gan* formation of the eyes and teeth follows the sutra’s traditional iconography.

19. The Takidani image was restored by Mr. Kanya Tsujimoto, who reports that the high lotus flower shown in Figures 5, 7, and 8 was an Edo replacement. He personally removed it and restored the original flat flower (Figure 4).

20. The sutra specifies only the long lock.

The early years of the Fujiwara period brought renewed vitality to religious sculpture. The facial expression of the Takidani image conveys a feeling of strength and purpose. The broad and massive body also suggests a great spiritual force. The rolling wave pattern in the drapery is modified, completing the stylistic evolution during this period. The next fifty years show little dramatic change in Fudō imagery.

The Fudō Myō-ō at Bujō-ji (Figure 9), created sixty years later in 1154, represents the late Fujiwara style. Only 50 centimeters high, the sculpture lacks the dynamic power inherent in earlier Fudō imagery. It has a graceful, refined line, but the elaborate decoration seems to detract from its elegance of form and the Wheel of Life on the navel is a piece of artistic license.



FIGURE 4
Fudō Myō-ō, dated 1095, after restoration. Osaka, Takidani, Myō-ō-ji (photo: after Maruo Shōzaburō et al., eds., *Nihon Chōkoku-shi Kiso Shiryō Shūzei*)



FIGURE 5
Takidani Fudō Myō-ō, before restoration and replacement of Edo *shake* (photo: courtesy Kanya Tsujimoto)

FIGURE 6
Takidani Fudō Myō-ō, inscription inside back, dated 1095 (photo: courtesy Kanya Tsujimoto)

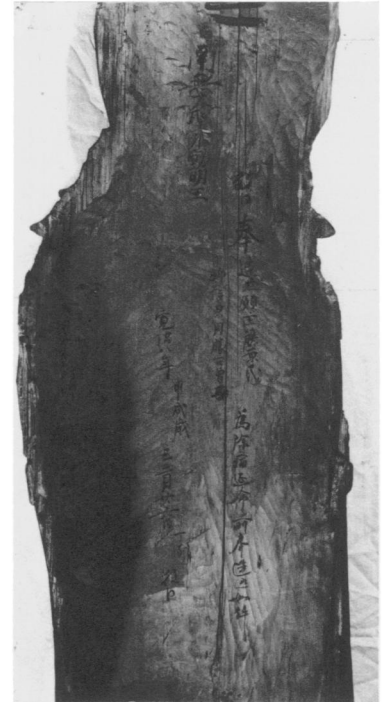


FIGURE 7
Takidani Fudō Myō-ō, before restoration, left side (photo: courtesy Kanya Tsujimoto)

FIGURE 8
Takidani Fudō Myō-ō, before restoration, back (photo: courtesy Kanya Tsujimoto)

FIGURE 9
Fudō Myō-ō with two guardian figures, dated 1154. H. 50.5 cm. Kyoto, Bujō-ji (photo: courtesy Kanya Tsujimoto)

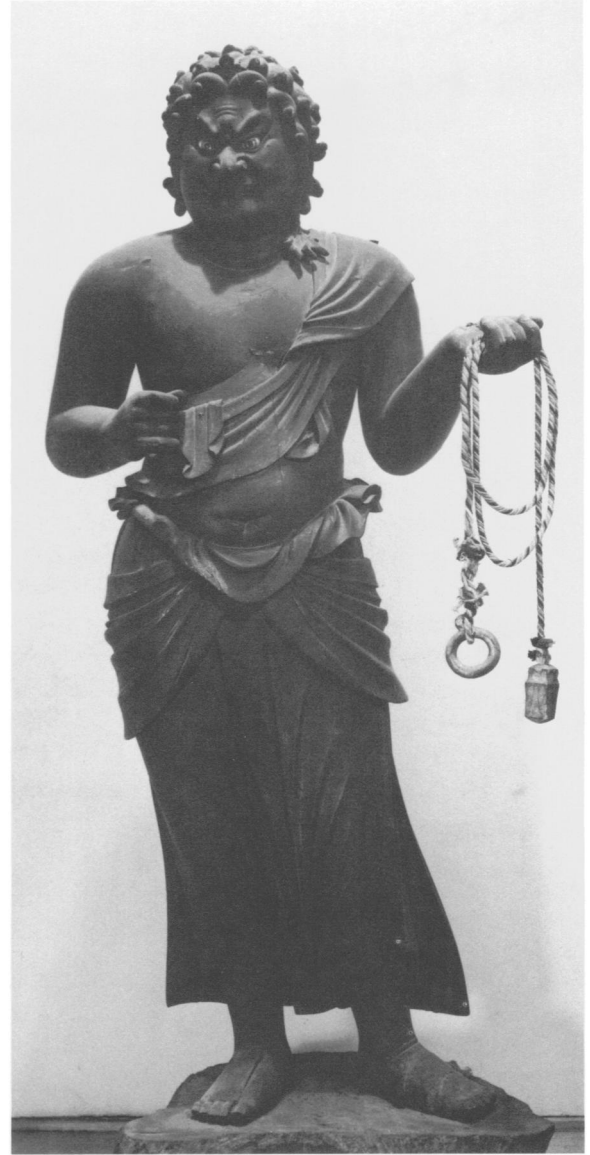


FIGURE 10
Fudō Myō-ō by Unkei, dated 1186. H.
136.5 cm. Shizuoka Prefecture, Ganjōju-
in (photo: courtesy Shoichi Uehara)

FIGURE 11

Fudō Myō-ō, after restoration, late 12th century. H. 172.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Harry G. C. Packard Collection of Asian Art, Gift of Harry G. C. Packard, and Purchase, Fletcher, Rogers, Harris Brisbane Dick, and Louis V. Bell Funds, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and the Annenberg Fund, Inc. Gift, 1975.268.163

Thirty-two years after the Bujō-ji Fudō, in 1186, a tall standing figure of the deity was carved by Unkei for the Ganjō-ju-in in Shizuoka prefecture (Figure 10). This Fudō is infused with renewed strength. His glaring crystal eyes, massive shoulders, and sharply defined, realistically carved costume with its flowing waist frill are indications of the emergence of a new vitality and vigor characteristic of the Kamakura period.

Until recently the Packard Fudō Myō-ō (Figures 11–14) belonged to the Kubon-ji Temple near Kyoto.²¹ The figure is tall and imposing. In addition to those traits which are essential to the Fudō Myō-ō, such as the boyish fat, the bulging eyes, and the long lock on the left shoulder, the sculpture has traits peculiar to itself. The flattened lotus flower nestles in Fudō's curled hair. The scarflike garment (*jō-haku*) is draped diagonally from the left shoulder and ties in front. The skirt, which ties in a bow on the belly below the navel, falls in repetitious, slightly stiff folds ending below the knee. The waist frill flares out from the body, giving a feeling of motion and reality to the fabric it represents. There are no signs of the *hompashiki* technique in the drapery. The underpart of the polychromed skirt is exposed in front, showing evidence of an applied cut gold leaf technique known as *kiri-kane*.

The image, whose body bears traces of its original blue-green pigment, stands with feet slightly apart on a rocky formation, in a modified hip-slung position. The limbs are childlike, matching the physiognomy. The fleshiness of the belly is slight compared to the sensual quality more evident when the sculpture is viewed from the back.

This is a gentle, personable figure, not as intense in expression as the Takidani Fudō and not as deep in

21. The Kubon-ji Temple is located about twenty miles outside present-day Kyoto. Its exact address is 47 Funasaka Daimon, Sonobe-cho, Funai-gun, Kyoto fu. Kubon-ji was established in A.D. 810 by Kūkai. It flourished during the 1080s, went into a decline, and was repaired and rebuilt in 1623, according to Zen Nihon Bukkyokai and Jiin Meikan Kanhokai, eds., *Zenkaku Jiin Meikan* (Tokyo, 1970) p. 179.



body volume. The Fudō at Bujō-ji of 1154 is very similar in appearance to the Packard Fudō and would seem to be the closest to it in date. The only major stylistic difference between the two, apart from the more elaborate decoration of the Bujō-ji Fudō, is the flair at the waist in the skirt of the Packard statue. The same kind of flair occurs in Unkei's Fudō of 1186, but the latter shows a return to the Kūkai style of facial characteristics. On stylistic considerations alone, therefore, it seems reasonable to date the Packard Fudō in the third quarter of the twelfth century, making it a transitional example of late Fujiwara sculpture.

TECHNIQUE

Various materials and techniques have been employed in the creation of Japanese sculptures. In the Nara period (A.D. 645–794), statues were made of bronze, clay, dry lacquer, and wood, or a combination of these materials. As taste and demand changed, metal and clay fell into disuse. A combination of wood and dry lacquer became the predominant medium.

By the Kōnin phase (794–897) of the Heian period (794–1185), wood had become the dominant medium

FIGURE 12
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, right side



FIGURE 13
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, left side

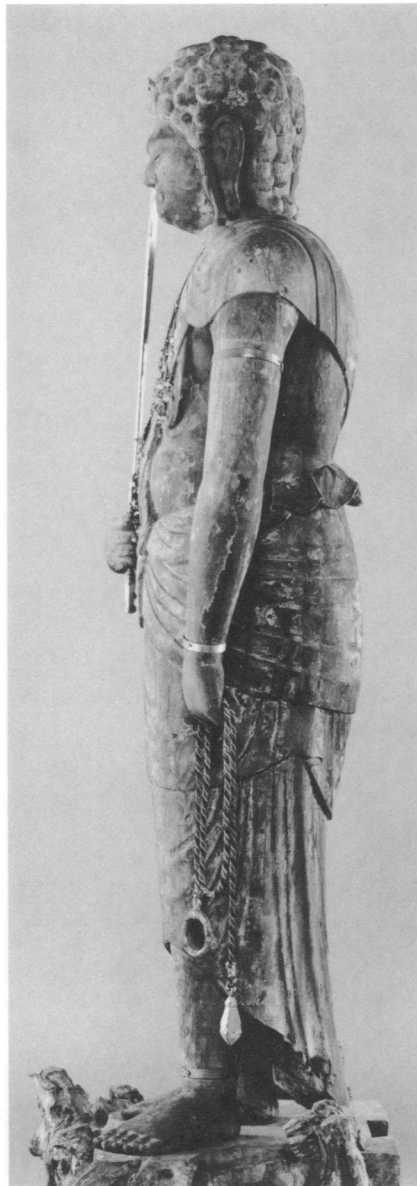


FIGURE 14
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, back



for religious images,²² with lacquer (*kanshitsu*) only sparingly applied on occasion. In Shingon Buddhism, the preparation of wood for religious statuary included a solemn ritual as well as a purification ceremony for the sculptor and his tools.²³ Cypress wood (*hinoki*) was readily available and its relative softness, durability, and beautiful graining made it the favored material for Heian sculpture.

As we have seen, early Heian sculptures of Fudō were usually carved in the *ichiboku-zukuri* or single-block technique, in which the head and body are one unit. This technique was also used in conjunction with what is termed the *yosegi-shiki-ichiboku-zukuri*, in which the arms and occasionally a leg or the knees were added to the trunk as separate pieces.

The *yosegi-zukuri* (multiple-block technique) of creating sculpture did not become popular until the Fujiwara period²⁴ with the advent of Jōchō (994–1057), the regent Fujiwara Yorimichi's favorite sculptor. This respected artist perfected a method of creating large wood sculptures by "schematically dividing the work into parts and joining them according to certain principles."²⁵ Sculpture, freed from the restrictions imposed by the single-block technique, could now incorporate more intricate shapes and could thereby become more expressive.²⁶

Formerly, all work done on a statue by one sculptor was performed in situ, as the wood required was heavy and not easily transported. The new method included the hollowing of the separate components by several artisans. This resulted in the speedier production of a more portable image in a workshop distant from the site.

In 1022 Jōchō was accorded the title *Hōgen*, an ecclesiastical rank never before given to a sculptor, and

he was further elevated with the title *Hōkkō* in 1048. All sculptors (*bussshi*) benefited from his recognition. They became organized into corporations called *buss-sho*, which grew in importance, gaining control over all production of sculpture. Jōchō's original principles remained a *buss-sho* secret. *Yosegi* is now a generic term applied to any manner of assemblage, whether the figure is seated or standing, in which the head is separated from the trunk and then reinserted.²⁷ When and how this is done remains a secret to this day.²⁸ The following summary of the method, therefore, can only be a generalization:

1. Drawings of the image are prepared and presented to the patron, or the patron himself may supply them.
2. A schematic drawing is prepared.
3. The center log is cut into a rectangular shape.
4. The head and body are roughly carved from a center block, and other blocks are joined to it by means of clamps and/or a peg system.
5. Depending on which of several approaches is used, the figure is split from head to foot and opened.
6. The open halves or sections are hollowed out to a thickness of two or three centimeters.
7. The pieces are rejoined permanently and final carving is completed.
8. Final modeling and finishing are followed by a coat of lacquer, and coloring and gilding are added.

The early *yosegi* technique used in the Takidani Fudō (Figures 4–8) is amazingly uncomplicated, considering the size of the figure. Only one block was used for the head, torso, and leg area. The block was first split down the middle forming two halves (Figure 15a), and the head was removed. After the head and body were hollowed, arms were joined to the

22. Noma Seiroku, *Japanese Sculpture of the Heian Period* (Tokyo, 1950) p. 3: "Clay and dry-lacquer were regarded as unholy, while big old trees deep in mountains appeared sacred." It seems probable that the naturalistic overtones found in the development of Shingon sculpture were a reflection of the simultaneous emergence of Shinto sculpture.

23. Ibid.

24. The Bodhisattva at the Chūgū-ji, dated ca. A.D. 650, is an early example of the multiple-block technique. However, the technique was not commonly utilized until the Fujiwara period.

25. Kuno Takeshi, ed., *A Guide to Japanese Sculpture* (Tokyo, 1963) p. xlv.

26. The new technique enabled studios to mass-produce statuary. Jōchō attempted to standardize construction procedures, but after his death only the principles of the technique were retained, while the specifics became as variable as the

works created. See studies of restorations published in Maruo Shōzaburō et al., eds., *Nihon Chōkoku-shi Kisō Shiryo Shūzei: Heian Jidai-Zōzō Meiki* (Tokyo, 1966–71) I–VIII.

27. The Amida image in the Phoenix Hall of the Byōdō-in, dedicated in 1053, has always been considered a fine example of Jōchō's *yosegi* style. Mr. Tsujimoto, who restored the Amida statue in 1954, states that the technique used in its construction was *ichiboku-yosegi-zukuri*, as it was comprised of four main blocks. When split open and hollowed, only the back of the head was removed, leaving the front attached to the front block, which remained one unit. Thus, the technique does not qualify as true *yosegi*.

28. Even today there is no written transmission of the exact methods of construction. Any information must come from observations made during restoration of early works.

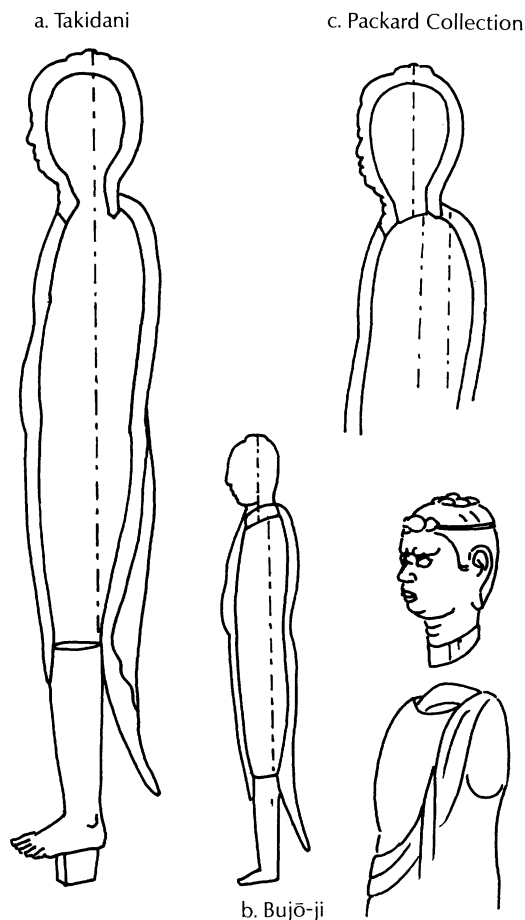


FIGURE 15
Construction of Fudō Myō-ō figures at: a. Takidani, Myō-ō-ji; b. Būjō-ji; c. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Packard Collection (drawing: Kanya Tsujimoto)

torso, and the head was replaced. The legs were carved from the same block as the head and trunk, and two small pieces were added to form the toes. The entire image was thus composed of only five pieces before the main block was split.²⁹

The Fudō Myō-ō at Bujō-ji (Figure 9) represents the next step in the evolution of the *yosegi* technique. An additional piece was joined to the center block forming the head, torso, and legs (Figure 15b). The head was then removed, split open, and hollowed out. The torso was split, the legs were removed, and the two body components hollowed. The head was then rejoined to the body,³⁰ arms and legs were inserted, and the back was replaced. The entire struc-

ture was prepared for decoration by the application of a coat of lacquer. Color and heavy gilding were then added.

The first step in the construction of the Packard Fudō was probably the provision of sketches showing different views of the image from which the sculptor then made schematic drawings, defining his use of material for the front, back, and sides.³¹ Since the center block was not so wide as the intended image, two pieces were added on either side of it (Figure 16, D and E), and two sections on the back in order to make the body deeper (Figure 16, B and C). The “sandwich” construction in depth (note position of B in Figure 16) constitutes a further step in the development of *yosegi-zukuri*, and is more commonly found in sculpture of the succeeding Kamakura period.

The original construction of the head and body consisted of six pieces, the back (Figure 17, c) being made of two separate pieces. The arms and toe sections were added later. The head, body, and legs, therefore, including the little extensions below the feet, were cut from one block. The two sections added to the width formed the additional hip and drape area of the body.

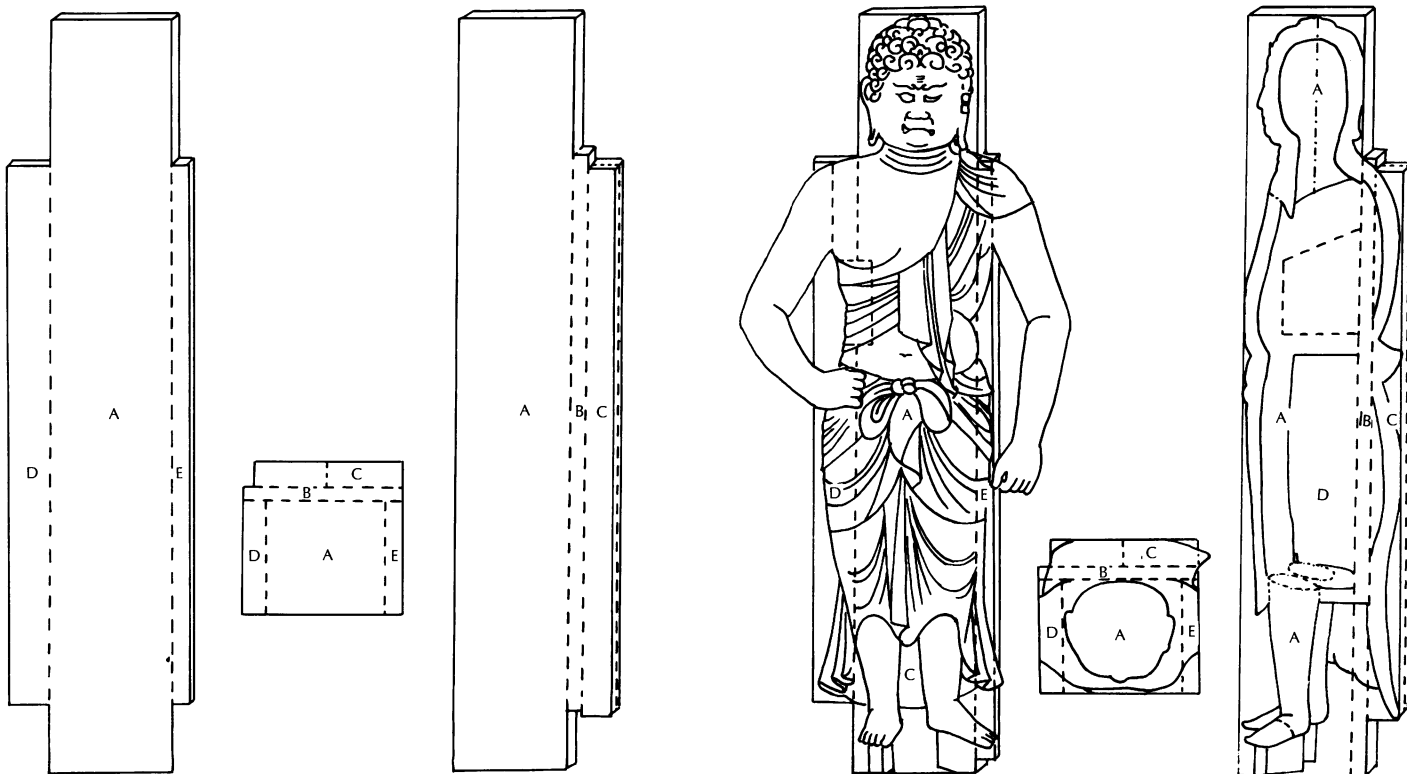
After all the pieces were temporarily joined by dowels, the rough carving was completed. The head and neck element was then severed and worked on separately (Figures 18, 19). The legs were also separated from the center block at this time (Figure 18).

The head was split open behind the ear along the grain, hollowed out (Figure 19), then glued back together (Figure 20). At the same time the body, now divided into two uneven pieces (Figures 21, 22), was also hollowed to within three centimeters of the outer surface, creating a hull. During this hollowing process, the sculptor slipped and broke through, making

29. The two pieces joined by staples which can be seen in Figure 8 are a repair made necessary by the back section splitting at a later date.

30. According to Nakano Genzo, *Fujiwara Chōkoku*, Nihon No Bijitsu (Tokyo, 1970) p. 21, the “neck is rather narrow and is pushed into the opening of the body.” The insertion of the narrow neck is an important factor presaging the *sashi* (“thrust between”) technique (Figure 15c), which becomes more popular in the Kamakura period. Mr. Tsujimoto’s drawing of this image shows that Mr. Genzo’s description is not exact. Unfortunately, further data concerning the statue’s construction are not available.

31. All the information in this section is due to Mr. Kanya Tsujimoto, who also supplied the drawings.



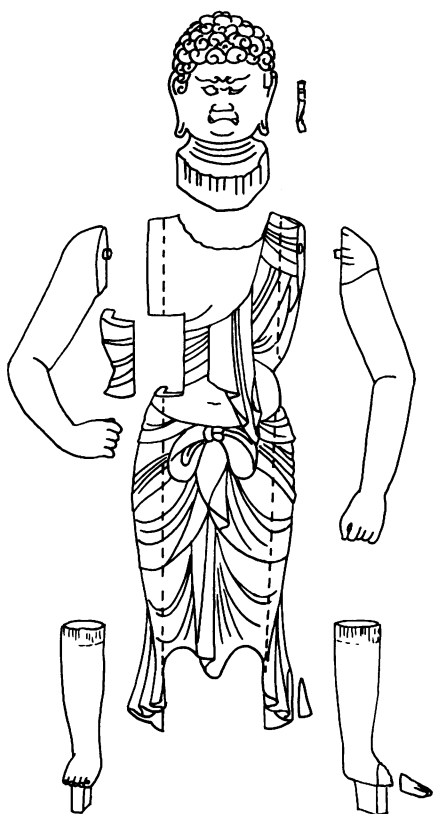


FIGURE 16

Packard Fudō Myō-ō, diagram showing construction blocks from the front, top, and side (drawing: Kanya Tsujimoto)

FIGURE 17

Packard Fudō Myō-ō, diagram of the external and internal construction (drawing: Kanya Tsujimoto)

FIGURE 18

Packard Fudō Myō-ō, diagram of the disassembled components (drawing: Kanya Tsujimoto)

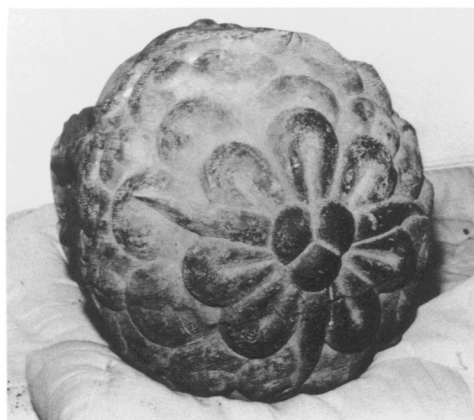


FIGURES 19a–d

Packard Fudō Myō-ō, disassembled components of head, showing external and internal sculpting (photos: Barbra Okada)

FIGURE 20

Packard Fudō Myō-ō, head reassembled, showing *shake* (photo: Barbra Okada)



a hole in the center of the right side; to conceal this, an additional piece of wood was added to the inside of the main structure (Figure 23). Arms were then inserted into the hollowed body. The legs, carved separately, were left solid and two additional pieces added to finish the front of the feet, including the toes and part of the projections underneath (Figure 24). The legs were inserted and braced in place (Figures 25a–c).

Next, the head and neck section was rejoined to the body (Figure 26), and two small wedges were inserted to brace the neck in place (Figure 27). Staples and nails as well as a gluelike substance known as *nikawa* were used for the permanent rejoining of the ele-

ments. Small pieces were added as an edge on the skirt and the lock of hair between the head and left shoulder (Figure 18). Finally, the statue was lacquered, color applied to the entire body, and *kirikane* added for a touch of elegance.

CONCLUSIONS

It is evident that the *yosegi-zukuri* method of sculpture construction underwent a definite evolution in the Fujiwara period. Jōchō's new technique provided an innovative approach to seated images which could be applied to the construction of larger standing images

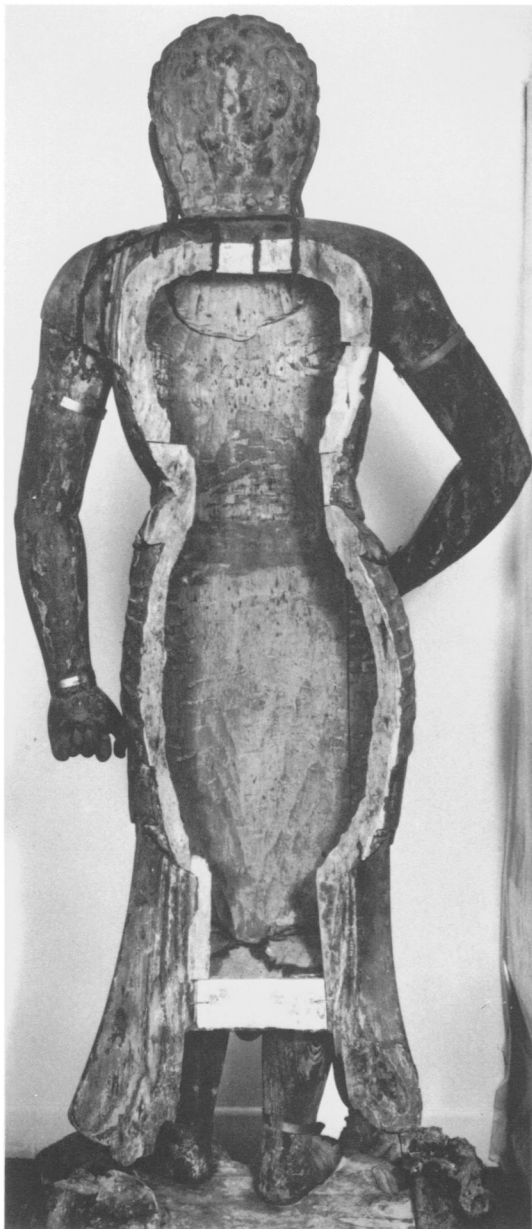


FIGURE 21
Packard Fudō Myō-ō with
back removed (photo:
Otto E. Nelson)

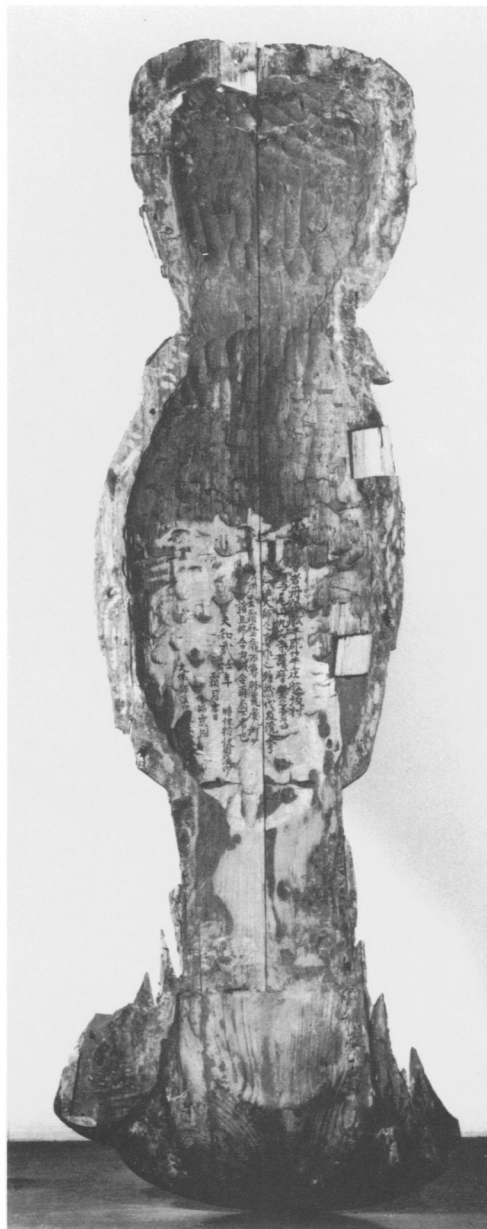


FIGURE 22
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, in-
terior of back with in-
scription dating from
restoration of 1682
(photo: Otto E. Nelson)



FIGURE 23
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, original repair to main structure (photo: Otto E. Nelson)

FIGURE 24
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, reassembled components of foot and projection underneath (photo: Barbra Okada)



FIGURES 25a-c
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, reassemblage of legs and body, with brace (photos: Barbra Okada)

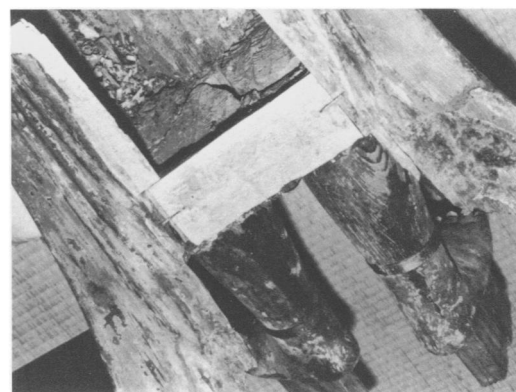


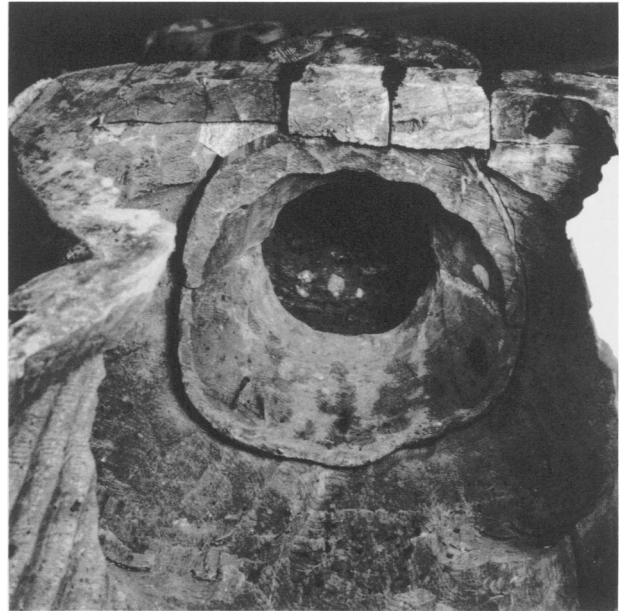


FIGURE 26

Packard Fudō Myō-ō, head and neck restored to body (photo: Otto E. Nelson)

FIGURE 27

Packard Fudō Myō-ō, reassemblage of neck and body, with wedges as brace (photo: Otto E. Nelson)



as well, as exemplified by the Takidani Fudō Myō-ō. More complicated variations were introduced until the advent of the “sandwich” technique apparent in the Packard Fudō, and more commonly found in dated works of the Kamakura period.

The latter period also witnessed a change in the number of pieces used in the construction of a statue. Whereas in the Heian period only a few large blocks were used, so that an arm, for example, would be carved from a single piece, in the Kamakura period appendages were carved in several separate segments and then joined together. The Packard image is composed of only six pieces, which would tend to indicate that it is of Heian rather than Kamakura origin. The absence of *hompashiki* is evidence of Fujiwara origin, yet the flair of the short skirt at the side of the waist is characteristic of the Kamakura style.

In the examination of external pigments, a sample of the original white color showed it to be from a clay

base (*hakudo*) rather than shell (*gofun*). *Gofun* began to be used at the end of the fourteenth century, which confirms indications that the statue dates from an earlier period.³²

On balance, the study of both construction and style makes it probable that the Fudō Myō-ō in the Packard Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art dates from the latter part of the twelfth century, possibly between the Shōan and Angen periods (1171–77). Exemplifying the transitional style and technique of the late Fujiwara to early Kamakura periods, it is the only figure of its kind in any museum in America, and its restoration has thrown valuable light on the traditions of Japanese sculpture.

32. Extraneous materials such as glue, staples, and iron do not provide any relevant information concerning the date of the statue, because it was restored in 1682 and the original hardware was replaced at that time.

Marble Jar-Stands from Egypt

ELFRIEDE R. KNAUER

DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF KURT ERDMANN
AND RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN

EXHIBITED IN THE ISLAMIC galleries of the Metropolitan Museum is a marble stand of peculiar shape and unknown provenance (Figures 1–3), acquired in 1920.¹ Carved from a single block of yellowish-white marble with gray veins, it consists of a hollow trunk, chamfered octagonally on the outside, which rests on four hoof-shaped feet. These descend from a calyx of fleshy, rimmed tongues and the spans between them are bridged by tricusped arches. A drawerlike basin that juts from the front of the stand communicates with the hollow of the trunk through an opening which is also bridged by a tricusped arch.

The carved decoration of the stand is rather worn and two roundels in the panel above the basin seem to have been deliberately damaged. Below the front edge of the basin is a flat feline mask. Two bosses at the side of the basin are paralleled by two at the upper edge of the side panels of the trunk. The basin's rather massive rim is carried over to the trunk, where it is continued in a double band framing the side and back panels. The former are carved with two superimposed hexagons emerging from the canals of a

twin volute and formed by double striped interlacing bands. An upright three-lobed tree or leaf motif on a rectangular base occupies the center of the back panel (Figure 2). The four remaining chamfers of the trunk, narrower than the others and placed diagonally, form shallow niches. Those on the front show crudely carved cross-legged figures on low stools, apparently clad in turbans, caftans, and trousers, who seem to hold beakers in their right hands. In the rear niches are striding figures, symmetrically posed, with odd animal-shaped packs on their shoulders (Figures 2, 3).

Its decorative features leave no doubt that the object is a product of Islamic art. Few stands of this kind are on view in European and American museums, which may account for the fact that no comprehensive investigation of them as a group has ever been undertaken. Their actual use is frequently misunderstood, although it was clearly described as far back as 1947 by Nikita Elisséeff in a short article dealing with a stand (Figure 4) and jar on loan from the Boston Athenaeum to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.²

A list of frequently cited sources appears at the end of this article.

1. It was bought from D. G. Kelekian. In the files of the Islamic Department the object is described as 14th-century Egypto-Arabic and the measurements are given as 12 × 19 in. The stand has never been illustrated but is mentioned in: *A Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts* (MMA, New York, 1930) p. 85; Dimand, p. 103; Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, cat., Feb. 3, 1977, note to lot 44 (see below, note 2; this reference supplied by Catherine Struse Springer).

I am indebted to the late Richard Ettinghausen for having generously given me permission to publish the stand, and for many valuable suggestions. He was also kind enough to help me in establishing contact with the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo.

2. Elisséeff, figs. 1 and 2, illustrates the stand with the jar and gives the dimensions of the former as 34.9 × 36.8 × 52.1 cm. The Boston Athenaeum has since sold both stand and jar, Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, cat., Feb. 3, 1977, lots 44 (stand) and 45 (jar); the stand alone reappeared in the same salerooms, June 15, 1979, lot 316 (reference supplied by Joan R. Mertens). I am obliged to Donald Castell Kelly, Art Department of the



FIGURES 1–3
Islamic marble stand, or *kilga*.
30.8 × 30.9 × 47.7 cm. The
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Rogers Fund, 20.176

FIGURE 1
Front view, showing cross-
legged figure

FIGURE 2
Back view, showing tree or
leaf motif flanked by load-
bearers

FIGURE 3
Man carrying a load, detail of
Figure 2



The stands were intended as supports for large unglazed terracotta water jars. The porous clay allowed water to seep from the more or less pointed bottom of the jar resting in the hollow trunk of the stand. The water, filtered in the process and cooled by evaporation, was collected in the projecting basin, from which it could then be ladled as needed. Any visitor to southern countries where modern conveniences such as refrigerators are as yet rare will have observed the use of unglazed clay vessels as containers for drinking water. Awkward as it may seem to a Westerner, the thoroughly soaked and slippery condition of such vessels when full is in fact a desirable feature that enhances evaporation and thus the cooling of the liquid.

When describing the Boston stand Elisséeff rightly pointed out that it did not belong with the alabaster jar perched on it at the time. On stylistic grounds the jar would have to be dated in the seventeenth century whereas the stand was clearly older. The nonporous stone vessel would not, of course, allow water to pass through, thus nullifying the stand's original function.

In order to fix a date for the manufacture of the stand Elisséeff cited three other examples known to him, one in the National Museum in Damascus, and two in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo, one of which bears a mutilated date that places it in the nineties of the sixth century of the Hegira, i.e., in the decade between A.D. 1193 and 1203 (this stand remains the only dated example known to be extant). The disposition of the Kufic inscription on the Boston stand, as well as the stepped leaf or tree motif in the diagonal niches of the trunk, a shape echoed in the arches between the legs, led him to date supports of this kind in the Fatimid period (fifth to sixth century of the Hegira or eleventh to twelfth century A.D.). When discussing the faulty inscription,³ where the formula *bar-*

Boston Athenaeum, for the information that the stand, listed by the Museum of Fine Arts as no. 331, was purchased from the Castellani "collection of antiquities at rooms in Memorial Hall, Philadelphia, 1876. The card describing the two pieces says 'Water-Jar with marble support (alabaster lustral vase and stand [antique]) Fountain for ablution, from Cairo'" (letter, May 28, 1978). For the activities of the Castellani family see Arthur E. Gordon, *The Inscribed Fibula Praenestina: Problems of Authenticity*, University of California Publications: Classical Studies (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1975) app. I, esp. pp. 68ff.

3. See Elisséeff, pp. 35f., for a transcription of the text, which has a total length of 117 cm.

4. E.g., the Boston jar, *ibid.*, p. 37.



FIGURE 4
Kilga, formerly in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, on loan from the Boston Athenaeum (photo: courtesy Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc.)

aka kāmila wa-ni 'ma shāmila ("everlasting blessing and enfolding favor") is repeated eight times, Elisséeff cites a *waqf* text of Caliph al-Hakim of A.D. 1010. This records the pious donation of jars for the mosque al-Azhar in Cairo—still today the center of Koranic studies for the Moslem world—to be set up beside the cistern and filled with water for the ritual ablution since running water was lacking. The two Cairene stands he mentions are known to have come from two mosques in that city; Elisséeff assumed that the stands were produced in Cairo and regarded them, together with their original earthenware jars—not one of which has survived—as connected with ablution rather than drinking water.

There exist, in fact, many more of such jar-stands. Some of them, like the one formerly in Boston, are equipped with stone vessels which may bear inscriptions recording their donation. These stone vases are at times provided with open or sealed holes in the lower wall or on the bottom,⁴ occasionally also with faucets, and it may well be that they served as containers of water for ablution. That this was not the original purpose of the stands is proved not only by stylistic divergences that render a contemporary

manufacture of stand and stone jar impossible, but also by a special feature found in the Boston stand and several others (Figures 4, 9, 25, 31, 37). It is a slope descending from the bottom of the hollow trunk to the level of the basin, which passes under the arched opening of the trunk, and is frequently shaped like a miniature flight of stairs with a wider stepped center flanked by strips of narrower steps; at times the center steps are replaced by a chevron pattern (Figures 25, 37). The feature would be pointless were it not meant to lead the water dripping from the bottom of the jar into the hollow trunk from there to the basin. The sight and the sound of the precious liquid trickling down the “stairs” (*salsabil*)⁵ would please both eye and ear.

5. For further discussion of this feature see below and note 89.

6. The word, which Elisséeff quotes as *kelga*, does not appear in the standard Arabic dictionaries. Gerhard Böwering, University of Pennsylvania, points out that the Arabic language includes the word كَيْلَجَة (*kailaġatun*), a measure of capacity for dry substances, which occurs in classical Arab literature. See, e.g., E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1855) I, p. 2628; R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 3rd ed. (Leiden/Paris, 1967) II, p. 506; J. Krämer et al., *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 1970) I, pp. 508f. For the measure of capacity Böwering refers to W. Hinz, “Islamische Masse und Gewichte,” *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, supp. I:1 (Leiden, 1955) pp. 40f., and S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886) p. 204. It does not seem impossible that the hollow trunk of the *kilga* may have caused it to be called after a measure of capacity. We do not, however, know what such measures looked like or when the word was first used for a jar-stand. Dr. Böwering, to whom I am indebted for advice on this and other questions of Arabic, further suggests that it may be asked whether the word *kilga* can be related to the particular usage of خَلِيقَة (*khaliqa*): “a well in which is no water: or a hollow, cavity, pit or hole, formed by nature in the ground: or a small hollow or cavity, in which water remains and stagnates” (Lane, *Lexicon*, I, p. 802). According to Mrs. Serageldin (Laila ‘Ali Ibrahim), “كَيْلَجَة or كَلْجَة is a colloquial word particular to Egypt of Turko-Persian origin—*Kil-gāh* (mud-place)” (letter, Jan. 1979); the details will be discussed in Mrs. Serageldin’s forthcoming catalogue (see below, note 7).

I would like to thank Robert Kraft, University of Pennsylvania, for investigating the possibility of a Coptic origin of the word.

7. With few exceptions, the *kilgas* in the museum have never been published, although a comprehensive catalogue, including those in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, by Laila ‘Ali Ibrahim (Mrs. Serageldin) is due to appear in the first issue of a new bulletin of the Museum of Islamic Art in the near future. I am obliged to the former director, the late Mrs. Waffiyya ‘Izzi, and vice-director (now director) Mr. Abd al-Ra‘uf A. Yusuf for the

That water once filled the basins is clearly indicated by their smooth and worn interiors and the streaks left on the outside by its overflow (unglazed terracotta is not so porous that any overflow of water would ever have been excessive). Occasionally there are scrape marks at the bottom of the basins—at times even holes (Figure 8)—which were obviously caused by the action of metal cups used to scoop up the water.

The bulk of such stands, locally called *kilgas*,⁶ is preserved in the Museum of Islamic Art⁷ and the Coptic Museum⁸ in Cairo. Seventeen have come to my attention in the Museum of Islamic Art, twenty-three in the Coptic Museum. Extensive walks through Old Cairo and the medieval city center added another dozen; two were found in the northern Fayum;

information that there are eighteen stands in the museum, of which three were photographed, described, and measured for me in 1977. On a visit to Cairo in June 1978 I was given permission to study the stands and to take photographs; these unfortunately suffered from radiation during airport security checks. I have not inspected the museum’s files or accession book. In some cases the inventory numbers on the stands have faded.

Ten of the museum’s *kilgas* are listed in Max Herz Bey, *Arab Museum, Catalogue of the National Museum of Arab Art*, ed. Stanley Lane-Pool (London, n.d. [preface 1896]) pp. 11, 15–17; nos. 32, 33, 98, 107, 108 (see illus. p. 11) 109, 130–133. The descriptions given are too brief to be related with certainty to the pieces I have seen and photographed. Nos. 32, 33, 107, and 108 are said to come from mosques. See also idem, “Jarres et supports,” *Catalogue raisonné des monuments exposés dans le Musée national de l’art arabe . . .*, 2d ed. (Cairo, 1906) p. 49, nos. 132–155 and fig. 12; several stands are illustrated in the photograph of “Salle II” facing p. 40. Here the author is a little more detailed: “Ces jarres se trouvaient toujours dans une niche des couloirs qui conduisent à l’intérieur des mosquées. Elles servaient, d’après Prisse d’Avennes, à contenir l’eau nécessaire aux ablutions des grands personnages. Cependant la place qui leur est réservée dans l’enceinte *tâher*, ‘pure,’ de la mosquée, et de plus leur nom de *zir ‘jarre’* nous portent à croire qu’elles étaient plutôt destinées à contenir l’eau potable.” See also idem, “Le Musée national du Caire,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd ser. 28 (1902) pp. 50f. Herz seems to have taken the stylized lion heads frequently found on the stands for turtle heads and their legs as reminiscent of that animal’s feet. This erroneous notion must have caught on and is often repeated, e.g., Gaston Wiet, *Musée national de l’art arabe; Guide sommaire* (Cairo, 1939) p. 32; *Album*, text to no. 11.

I would like to thank Sarah Pomeroy for kindly checking some details for me in the Museum of Islamic Art in 1977.

8. The short official guidebook, P. Labib and V. Girgis, *The Coptic Museum and the Fortress of Babylon at Old Cairo* (Cairo, 1975), makes no mention of the stands. I examined them and acquired some photographs from the museum’s photographer in June 1978.

I know of several stands in private houses in Cairo. Three are on show in the Benaki Museum in Athens, four are in the reserve collection of the Islamic Department of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.⁹ One exists as a complete stray in the Museo Etrusco Guarnacci among the Roman marbles from the theatre of the ancient hilltop city of Volterra in Tuscany. Already mentioned is the stand in the museum in Damascus, which comes from the great Umayyad mosque. Yet another is preserved in the Ikonenmuseum of the city of Recklinghausen in West Germany. Thus, well over sixty *kilgas* have been located at this time. Many more must be hidden in Cairene houses or private collections.¹⁰

There can be no real doubt about the purpose of these objects, which have no parallels anywhere else and seem to be a uniquely Egyptian creation. Over the millennia Egypt has turned to the Nile for drinking water. Even today the womenfolk of the fellaheen fetch water from the river, and owe their regal carriage to the balancing of coarse clay jars (the so-called *qullas*)—oblique when empty, upright when full—on cloth chaplets on their heads. Until recently, the city of Cairo, which had no springs, only brackish wells or fountains fed by aqueducts, shared this dependence on the Nile, a fact to which the Arab historian and topographer al-Maqrizi (1364–1442) is a witness.¹¹ In his *Geography and History of Egypt* al-Maqrizi speaks of the unhealthy quality of the Nile water south of Cairo, especially that of the canal al-Khalig (filled in between 1897 and 1900) contaminated by the refuse dumped in the vicinity.¹² Describing various methods

of treating the water to make it potable, he quotes extensively from the medical topography of Cairo written in the early eleventh century by Ibn Ridwan.¹³

If the water appears contaminated by some noxious substance, have it boiled and let it cool in the open air, in the cool of the night. Then purify it with the ingredients we have already mentioned [bitter almonds, apricot pits, alum, etc.]. The best thing is not to use this water until it has been purified several times [by boiling and filtering]. . . . the purified part is placed in a jar; only what seeps through the porosities of the jar will be used. In summer, the jar which is to contain this water will be of clay or of terracotta prepared in the [winter] month of Tobé; filters of rock or hide or any other material that cools can also be employed. In winter, glass or porcelain receptacles will be used. . . . The best Nile water is that of the month of Tobé, when the weather is at its coldest; the Egyptians know [that] well from experience . . . many of them store it in receptacles of glass or porcelain and use it all year round; they claim that it does not spoil and do not even take the trouble to purify it, convinced as they are that it is altogether pure. But do not rely on that and purify it all the same, because water that is stored certainly spoils.

Apparently various types of clay were used for making water jars, some allowing for speedy passage through the porous walls.¹⁴ Ibn Ridwan unfortunately omits to mention the stands for such jars, which were no doubt a commonplace feature and one that in any case lay outside his concerns as a physician. His graphic report on the storage and filtering of Nile water is, however, contemporary with most of

9. Information kindly supplied by Michael Rogers, London. According to Volkmar Enderlein of the Islamisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, one of these is badly damaged (letter, Oct. 13, 1978). Thanks to his description of the other three, I am able to include them in the typology below.

10. Mrs. Wanda Assem, Cairo-Zamalek, kindly tells me of a collection of about ten *kilgas* in a private home in Cairo. Eight seem to be of the simplest kind. Two apparently bear floral decoration and have stalactite side panels; one of the two shows an eagle in a shield on the back panel.

11. For al-Maqrizi see *Encyc.*, s.v. (C. Brockelmann).

12. See al-Maqrizi [Makrizi], *Livre des admonitions et de l'observation sur l'histoire des quartiers et des monuments ou description historique et topographique de l'Egypte*, trans. Paul Casanova, Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, IV: 4 (Cairo, 1920) p. 53.

13. For Ibn Ridwan (998–ca. 1061) see *Encyc. n.e.*, s.v. (J. Schacht). A native of Giza, he spent all his life in the city and,

though self-taught in medical matters, was made chief physician of Egypt by one of the earlier Fatimid caliphs. The passage quoted is translated from Maqrizi, *Description topographique et historique de l'Egypte*, trans. U. Bouriant, Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française du Caire, XVII:1 (Paris, 1895) pp. 181–183.

14. The two words used consistently in this passage are *khazaf* and *fakhhār*, which Bouriant (see note 13) translates indiscriminately as *terre glaise* and *terre cuite*. The standard dictionaries also fail to make any distinction between them, giving: *pottery, earthenware, clay; terre glaise, terre argileuse, brique, terre cuite*. Since Ibn Ridwan obviously wanted to distinguish between the two types of clay, their properties must have been different. I suspect that various degrees of porosity were implied. Jars for storing water required another, “denser” clay than those meant for filtering and cooling it by seepage through the walls. For a description of the properties of clays see J. V. Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery* (New York, 1965) pp. 1–5.



FIGURE 5
Water transported in animal skins in modern Cairo. The Gothic doorway, a trophy from Acre, leads to the mausoleum of Sultan Muhammad an-Nasir, ca. 1300 (photo: Knauer)

the *kilgas* under discussion and is all the more valuable.¹⁵

Accounts of Cairo in the early nineteenth century mention its water carriers, who supplied clay jars standing in the customer's courtyard with water from the Nile,¹⁶ which was transported in animal skins.¹⁷ It comes as a surprise to the traveler that water carriers are still to be seen in the city and elsewhere in Egypt,

15. For more literature on the Nile as a source of drinking water see A. Wiedemann, *Das alte Ägypten*, Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek, II (Heidelberg, 1920) pp. 295f. and *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1936) s.v. *Nil* (Honigmann).

16. See Edward William Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, Written in Egypt during the Years*

FIGURE 6
Water being carried in an animal skin in Esna, Upper Egypt (photo: Knauer)



as they ferry their black goatskins—no longer filled, of course, with water from the river but from safer sources—around on two-wheeled carts or carry them on their backs (Figures 5, 6). The water still goes into huge earthenware jars, frequently resting on makeshift stands (Figure 7), sometimes on more solid ones made of brick, and occasionally even on marble *kilgas* of exactly the type we are considering. Many of these stands must have been in use for centuries. A lid on top of the jar often carries a metal cup as a scoop for the water (Figure 8). Jar-stands of all varieties, from simple to sophisticated, are indeed still so common in rural Egypt that this may account for the limited at-

1833–34, and '35 . . . (London, 1856) I, p. 12 (cf. fig. p. 15, two jars on supports in a niche of the courtyard) and pp. 203ff.

17. John Lloyd Stevens (*Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and the Holy Land* [New York, 1837; Norman, 1970] p. 150), on his way from Cairo to the Sinai in 1836, reported that his "store of provisions consisted of . . . two of the largest skins containing the filtered water of the Nile."

FIGURE 7

A modern makeshift jar-stand on the bank of the Nile at Esna, Upper Egypt (photo: Knauer)



tention which has been paid to them by art historians.¹⁸

Although the design of the *kilgas*, quite a few of which bear auspicious inscriptions, remains basically the same, they show a great variety of ornament. A clear division according to decorative patterns is difficult because of the overlapping of motifs. Even so, a study of the patterns and their parallels elsewhere, particularly in architecture, will provide some clues for the approximate dating of the pieces.

Often the *kilgas'* feet and basins are damaged, as a natural result of being the more fragile projections of an otherwise bulky object. The carved decoration, on

18. The water jar and makeshift stand in Figure 7 were photographed in 1978. The clay jar does not allow for water to seep through, but its general porosity enhances the evaporation and cooling of its contents. The supports of such jars leave as much of the surface exposed as possible to aid evaporation.

19. See below, note 65.



FIGURE 8

Kilga and water jar in the courtyard of the mosque of Sultan al-Mansur Qala'un, Cairo (photo: Knauer)

the other hand, frequently betrays willful mutilation, especially of human heads and figures, and also of animals. This too can help to establish a date for the manufacture of the stands, during a period when Islamic art was less apt to take offense at the representation of animate beings than in more orthodox times.

With only one dated example at hand,¹⁹ there is no sure way of reconstructing a convincing typology. For convenience in the classification that follows, the sparsely decorated examples are described before the more complex ones.

1. Of the simplest kind is a big battered stand still in use in the courtyard of the mosque of Sultan al-Mansur Qala'un built at the end of the thirteenth century

(Figure 8). The decoration consists of nothing but tri-cusped arches above the basin and between the feet. This simple motif occurs already in a blind arcade below the crenellation of the two semicircular towers protecting one of the city gates, the Bab Zuwayla, constructed between 1087 and 1092.²⁰ It becomes more complex in time, with multiple steps and curves in the arch.

There are a number of equally simple stands to be found in the Coptic Museum and in the mid-seventeenth-century house of Sheikh es-Sihaimi (Figure 9). (As in many other stately houses in Cairo, the courtyard of this mansion is overhung by fine examples of *moucharabies*, graceful, elaborate, wooden latticework windows. Their sills are frequently provided with inlets sawn out to receive small clay jars of drinking water in order to expose them to the faintest breeze. The cooling effects of evaporation are thus exploited in yet another way.)

20. Creswell I, pls. 72c,d, 73. Through the kindness of Mrs. Serageldin and Michael Rogers I have the manuscript of an article by the former due to appear in *Kunst des Orients*: Laila 'Ali Ibrahim and 'Adil Yasin, "A Tūlūnid Ḥammām in Old Cairo." The steam room of that bath, built in the late ninth century, had three arched niches in a recess in one of its walls; "The central niche is flat and taller than the side ones, which are concave and

2. Closely related to the plain *kilgas* are stands with one or two feline heads carved in the round on the front panel above the basin and a bosslike projection at the center of the upper edge of the side panels (Figure 10). These bosses can also assume the shape of stylized feline heads. There may be one or two carved fillets turning at right angles to enclose the upper part of the side and back panels (Figure 10, right-hand *kilga*). Such continuous moldings are found in the pre-Islamic architecture of North Syria and in Egypt at the late eleventh-century Fatimid fortifications of Cairo already mentioned, apparently built by Syrian masons. The moldings are then often met as frames of *mihrāb* niches.²¹

3. Slightly more elaborate is a type of *kilga* with either one or two engaged half-columns projecting from the side panels. The stray piece in Volterra may serve as an example (Figures 11–13).²² Typically, the

have broken arched hoods." This is a very early instance of such an arch.

21. Creswell I, p. 211 and pls. 72c,d. For a *mihrāb* niche framed with a continuous double molding see that of the mosque of Ibn Tulun in Cairo, PKG 4, pl. 131.

22. The stand bears no number. Approximate dimensions: 32.5 × 29.7 × 44 cm. Attempts in May 1976 to consult the files



FIGURE 9

Kilgas in the courtyard of the house of Sheik es-Sihaimi, Cairo (photo: Knauer)



FIGURE 10

Kilgas with marble vases in the house of Sheik es-Sihaimi, Cairo (photo: Knauer)

FIGURES 11–13

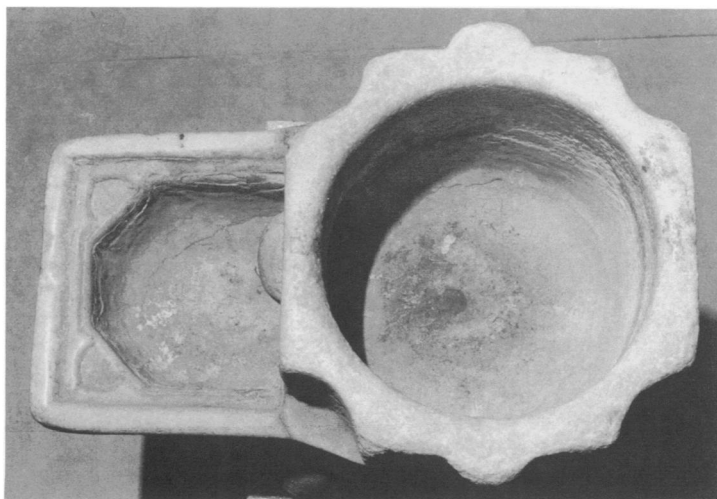
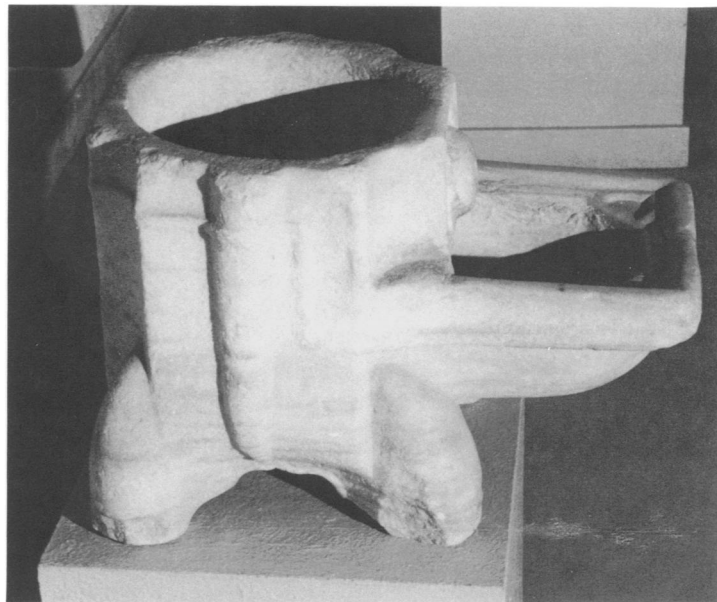
Kilga, seen from the side, above, and front. Volterra, Museo Etrusco Guarnacci (photos: Knauer)

wide rim of the basin is continued in the carved fillets framing the side panels. When seen from above, the stand displays the standard ornament filling in the front corners of the basin: arched recesses sunk in the width of the rim, a feature invariably encountered in all the groups to be discussed.²³ The Volterra *kilga* and its kin have close parallels in the courtyard and house of Sheik es-Sihaimi (Figures 9, 10), in no. 9414 of the Museum of Islamic Art, and in the first room of the Coptic Museum.²⁴ The columned type may be further enriched by bulbous bases in addition to capitals and may have auspicious inscriptions running along the rim of the basin and in a crenellated pattern along the side and back panels (Figure 14). These inscriptions thus take the place of the continuous moldings mentioned in group 2. Early instances in

for its provenance and history led to nothing since the then director of the Museo Guarnacci, Professor Enrico Fiumi, was ill. In a letter from the museum (Oct. 14, 1976) after his death, I was told: “noi possiamo dirle solamente che il reperto in questione fa parte dell’antico fondo del Museo, quindi supponiamo che non provenga dagli ultimi scavi del Teatro Romano iniziati 1950. In caso di nuovi accertamenti, sapremo farlielo noto.” I have not heard since. The guidebook by Enrico Fiumi, *Volterra, Il Museo Etrusco e i monumenti antichi* (Pisa, n.d. [1976]), makes no mention of the stand when discussing the holdings of Sala X where it is exhibited (pp. 84f.); for the history of the collection see pp. 27f. As most of the objects given by citizens to the community of Volterra since 1732 come from local excavations, the *kilga* may have been donated by someone with Egyptian connections—no rare occurrence in Italy.

23. This feature may be explained as a shorthand version of the often complex polylobate shapes of contemporary fountain basins, see below, note 30. Garden ponds could be similarly shaped; see, e.g., J. Dickie, “The Islamic Garden in Spain,” pl. xxii, fig. 17, in *The Islamic Garden*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture IV, ed. Elisabeth B. MacDougall and Richard Ettinghausen (Washington, D.C., 1976), a lobulated pool in the Patio de Machuzo of the Alhambra. Compare also their reflections on Persian garden carpets; see, e.g., the carpet fragment in Berlin, of ca. A.D. 1700, and its discussion in Eva Börsch-Supan, *Garten-, Landschafts- und Paradiesmotive im Innenraum: Eine ikonographische Untersuchung* (Berlin, 1967) pl. 102 and pp. 127f.

24. Another example stands at the right edge of the flight of stairs leading up to the modern Greek Orthodox church of St. George in Old Cairo.



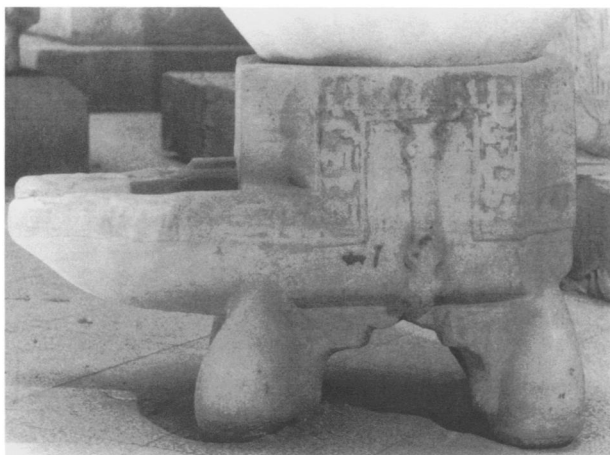


FIGURE 14
Kilga, no. 106. Cairo, Museum of Islamic art (photo: Knauer)

architecture of twin columns with clock- or lotus-shaped bases occur in the mosque of al-Hakim (990–1013).²⁵

FIGURE 15
Kilga and marble vase, no. 465 (inv. nos. 10834, 10835). Athens, Benaki Museum (photo: Knauer)



4. This group is characterized by the appearance of small half-columns in the diagonal niches of the trunk, which have invariably been left plain in previous categories, and by the fluting of the hooved feet of the stand (e.g., Benaki Museum, no. 465, Figure 15).²⁶ The feline mask above the inlet of the basin may be replaced by one or two plain disks, at times perforated in the center. The most important innovation, however, is the smooth or stepped cascade (*salsabil*) leading from the hollow trunk down into the basin.²⁷ The crucial role of the *salsabil* in determining the stand's use has already been discussed. The miniature cascades have their models in indoor fountain niches with ridged sloping marble slabs "down which the water from a tap . . . would run in a thin film and cool the air by a slight evaporation."²⁸ Such installations have been excavated in houses in Fustat and are still extant in old Cairene houses: a fine seventeenth-century example can be seen in the Benaki Museum in Athens. The monumental type (*shādhawān*)²⁹ has survived, and still functions, in the Norman-Arabic palace of the Zisa in Palermo (Figure

25. Creswell I, p. 78, pl. 21a. Such bases occur already in the painted arcades in Samarra (Ernst Herzfeld, *Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra*: III. *Die Malereien von Samarra*, [Berlin, 1927] pls. VII, VIII).

26. The stand and the marble vase, though bearing the number 465, are filed with inv. nos. 10834/10835; the provenance is unknown. This and two other stands (nos. 463 and 464) were published in the *Benaki Museum Guide* (Athens, 1936) now out of print (information kindly supplied by the museum). The *Guide* was not accessible to me. The fluting of the feet may occasionally look like a curved tongue pattern (e.g., Figure 1), which can be compared with the pattern on the foot and lid of a 14th-century brass vase in Cairo (Museum of Islamic Art, no. 130); see *Album*, no. 53.

27. The *salsabil* occurs already in the less ornate stand in the Sheikh es-Sihaimi courtyard (Figure 9, foreground). It must be emphasized that a chronological sequence is not implicit in the present classification of *kilgas*.

28. Creswell I, p. 124, when describing House III in Fustat; cf. fig. 59 (opp. p. 202), see also pp. 69f., fig. 60. The Tulunid *hammām* in Old Cairo investigated by Mrs. Serageldin already contained a *salsabil* in the central niche of the steam room, see note 20.

29. For *shādhawān* see Eilhard Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, preface and indexes by Wolfriedrich Fischer, Collectanea, VI (Hildesheim/New York, 1970) I, pp. 291f. (I owe this reference to Michael Rogers). For a 15th-century example in the Museum of Islamic Art see *Album*, no. 10. See also Ettinghausen, introduction to *The Islamic Garden*, p. 9.

16), built by William I and his son in the second half of the twelfth century.³⁰ When the Normans wrested Sicily from the Arabs in the later part of the eleventh century, they took over a prosperous island deeply impregnated by Islamic civilization. Cherished by the Norman kings, much of this tradition lived on and barely anywhere in the Islamic realm have such splendid examples of secular architecture survived intact. The twelfth-century court art of the Norman kings was under strong Fatimid influence.³¹ As we shall see, however, the origin of those cascades must be sought in an even remoter past.

5. Yet another variety of stands features arched empty niches in the side and back panels. These panels, which offer the most space for ornamentation, are the place for the more striking decorative innovations (e.g., Museum of Islamic Art, nos. 685 and 14097). The latter is a boxlike *kilga* notable for the treatment of its feet and the spans between them, which resemble woodwork (Figure 17).³²

Occasionally, the diagonal niches of these stands show the outline of an upright three- or multi-lobed tree or leaf pattern on an oblong support (the pattern

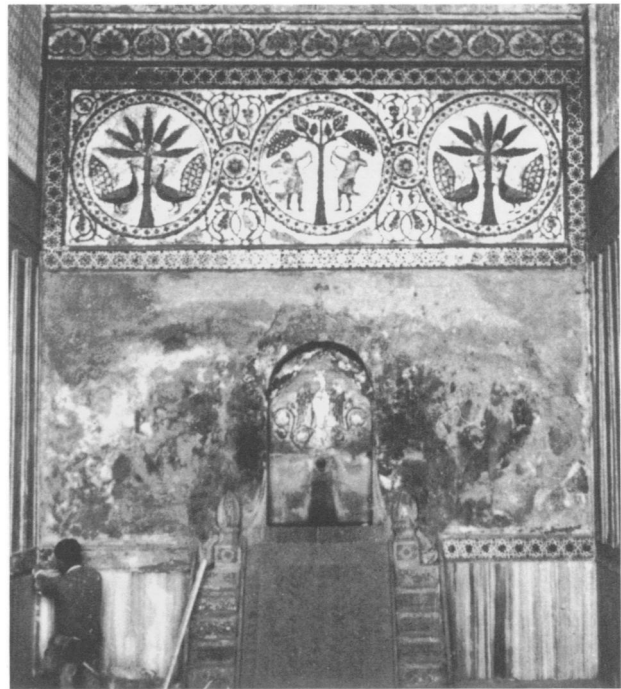


FIGURE 16

Wall fountain (*shādhawān*) in the Norman palace, the Zisa, at Palermo, A.D. 1154–60 (photo: Knauer)

30. Creswell I, p. 124, lists another intact example of the second half of the 12th century in Damascus. There is a *salsabil* with a lion-head spout and a quatrefoil basin depicted in the ceiling of the 12th-century Cappella Palatina in Palermo (Ettinghausen, fig. p. 48, text p. 47). The shape of such basins may have influenced the morphology of the sunk recesses of the rims of *kilga* basins; see above, note 23 and Figure 12. A similar but surely more sophisticated painting of a *salsabil* existed in the vault decoration of the cemetery mosque Qarafa of A.D. 978 in Cairo, according to Maqrizi, who describes the intentional optical illusion created by that painting; see Monneret de Villard, pp. 15f, who cites *Hiṭaṭ* II, p. 318 of the Bulaq edition of 1853. See also G. Marçais, "Salsabil and Šādirwān," *Etudes d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal* (Paris, 1962) II, pp. 639–648.

There is no doubt in my mind that the shape of the *kilga* basins is closely related to monumental stone basins of the kind found in the Qal'a, the palace of the Banu Hammad, the Islamic Berber dynasty reigning in eastern Algeria from the 10th to the 12th century. See R. Bourouiba, "Note sur une vasque de pierre trouvée au palais du Manar de la Qal'a des Bani Hammad," *Bulletin d'Archéologie Algérienne* 5, 1971–75 (1976) pp. 235–245; dimensions: H. 55 cm.; 130 × 130 cm. (without projections); 152 × 152 cm. (with projecting semicircular niches). Not only do we have the complex quatrefoil shape, with plastic lions seant spouting up water in the four niches that jut out from the axes of the rectangular basin; the side view of this fountain reveals the basic formal similarity of those projections with the projecting knobs (often fashioned into lions' heads) at

the axes of the *kilga* basins. Bourouiba has himself unearthed an apparently similar "vasque quadrilobé" of the 12th century in Kirghizia, at the tomb of Shah Fadil in Safid Balan (*ibid.*, p. 240). He assumes that the Berber rulers in Algeria, "les émirs sanhadjiens du Maghrib Central," derived their model for such fountain basins from Fatimid Egypt. The top of the wall of the basin found in the Manar palace is hollowed out like a channel to allow water to flow in it. We meet this peculiar feature again in the channellike handrailing of a flight of stairs in the Generalife in Granada.

31. See PKG 4, pp. 99f., 254. For a discussion of the close contacts between the crusaders in Syria and the Normans in southern Italy and Sicily in the early 12th century, see Monneret de Villard, p. 48. Marçais, "Salsabil and Šādirwān," pp. 646f., sees the art of Norman Sicily as rather more deeply influenced by that of eastern Barbary than of Fatimid Egypt.

32. For a similar design, see the feet of two 14th-century hexagonal brass tables in the Museum of Islamic Art (*Album*, nos. 46, 47). The round object below the keel arch of the carved empty niche of no. 14097 could be a central hanging lamp in a *mihrāb* niche. Cf. Grube, no. 123, a 12th/13th-century Iranian *mihrāb* tile with molded relief decoration; see also Grube's reference, p. 176, n. 1, to the definitive study on the *mihrāb* motif being prepared by Professor Fehérvári. One is also reminded of the stucco niche (M2) on the pillar next to the *dikka* in the mosque of Ibn Tulun (Figure 18), see K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* (Oxford, 1940) II, p. 349, pl. 123b; for the position see fig. 257.



FIGURE 17
Kilga, no. 14097. Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art
(photo: Knauer)

FIGURE 18
Stucco niche in the mosque of Ibn Tulun, Cairo
(photo: Knauer)

that occupies the back panel of the *kilga* in the Metropolitan Museum). The stand formerly in Boston (Figure 4) is an example. Comparable *kilgas* are no. 24402 in the Museum of Islamic Art and no. 463 in the Benaki Museum (Figure 19),³³ though the latter lacks an inscription. In another *kilga* in the Museum of Islamic Art (no. 32), the oblong support of the leaf motif has been replaced by a double volute. That leaf, the *Leitfossil* of the group, occurs early in architecture as a purely decorative device, again in the Bab Zuwayla (1087–92), where it fills a blind arcade at the flanks of the projecting towers of the gate.³⁴

6. An interesting variation occurs in a group of

33. Inv. nos. 10831, 10832; provenance, Ispenian; date, 13th–14th century (Benaki Museum, letter, Sept. 7, 1978).

34. See Creswell I, p. 273 and pls. 72c,d; for further instances see p. 256 and pl. 89b, *ṣaḥn*-portico in the mosque al-Azhar, about A.D. 1150, and dome, pl. 91a; Bab al-Akhdar, A.D. 1153, pl. 96d. See also Creswell II, pl. 19b. For a related motif in Islamic pottery see Grube, p. 282, no. 229.

35. I owe the photograph to the kindness of the Director General of Antiquities and Museums, Dr. Afif Bahnassi, who also supplied the dimensions of the stand (H. 36 cm., L. 61 cm.) and the information that it came to the museum from the



stands which features the leaf pattern in the diagonal niches and a very characteristic upright geometric pattern in the framed side panels: this consists of either one or two superimposed loop-shaped hexagons formed by intersecting bands which may terminate in half-leaves or volutes. The group includes the elegant stand in Damascus (Figure 20),³⁵ two examples in the Coptic Museum (nos. 3890 and 4111), one at the left of the staircase leading up to the modern Greek Orthodox church of St. George in Old Cairo, and nos. 3110 and 3111 in the Museum of Islamic Art.³⁶ The panels of this last example are framed with a plaited band, and show the leaf motif above the formula *baraka kāmila* on the sides and the

Umayyad mosque in 1928 (letter, May 28, 1977). I am much obliged to James B. Pritchard for his efforts to trace the stand in Damascus in 1977. It is cited by Elisséeff, p. 35, col. 2, n. 2, as no. 66 in *L'Inventaire du Musée Syrien de Damas*; and referred to in M. Ab-l-Faraj Al-'Ush, A. Joudi, B. Zoundhi, *Catalogue du Musée national de Damas* (Damascus, 1976) p. 257, 23, no. A2: "Jarre en marbre de forme sphérique posée sur une base. 13e siècle. Trouvée dans la mosquée des Umayyads à Damas."

36. For no. 3110, a more sober type, see *Album*, no. 12. No. 3111 was exhibited in Zurich in 1961 (*5000 Jahre Aegyptische Kunst*, exh. cat. [Zurich, 1961] nos. 491/2, pl. 98).



FIGURE 19
Kilga supporting marble vase, no. 463 (inv. nos. 10831, 10832). Athens, Benaki Museum (photo: Knauer)

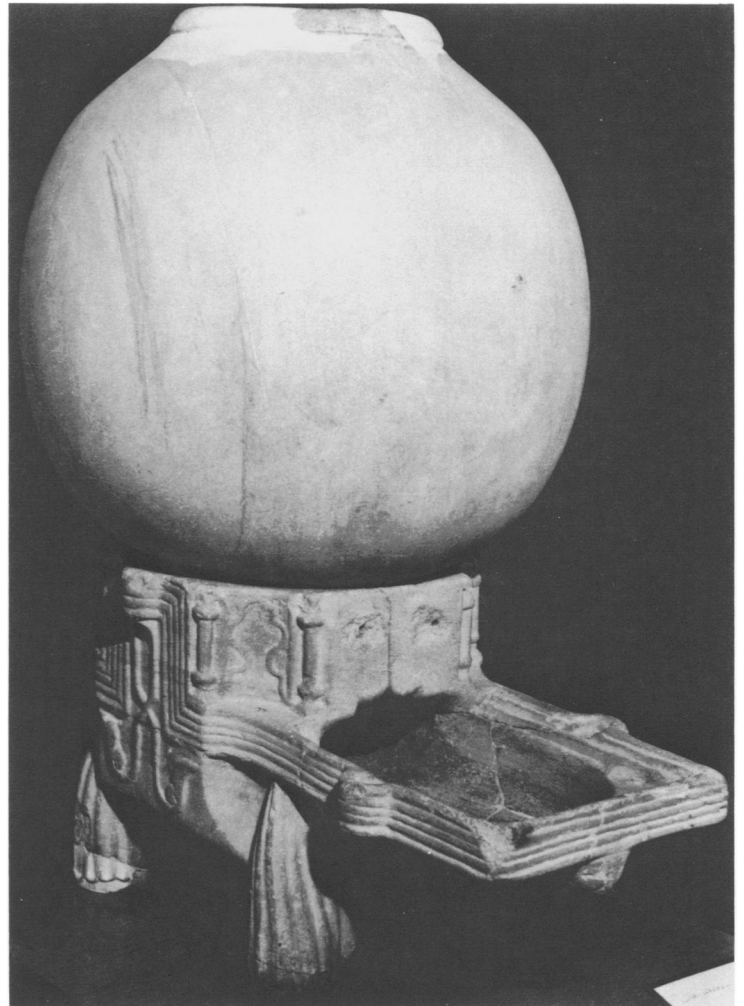


FIGURE 20
Kilga and marble vase from the Umayyad mosque. Damascus, National Museum (photo: courtesy National Museum)

FIGURE 21
Kilga, no. 3111. Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art (photo: Knauer)

loop at the back (Figure 21). In this group an additional boss emerges from both sides of the basin's rim.

The hexagonal loop made of double striped interlacing bands ending in vegetal shapes is an ornament developed from decorative friezes, for instance on the monumental entrance and minaret of the mosque of al-Hakim (990–1013).³⁷ Isolated and placed vertically it becomes a much favored motif of Islamic art in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as on the facade of the mid-thirteenth-century Seljuq Ince Minare Madrasa in Konya (Figure 22).³⁸

A new element is introduced by the stand in the



37. See Creswell I, p. 70, figs. 24, 25, pl. 17.

38. The motif terminates in half-leaves above and a leaf shape below; cf. the New York stand (volutes), the one in Damascus, and no. 3111 of the Museum of Islamic Art (Figures 1, 20, 21).



FIGURE 22

Facade of the Seljuq Ince Minare Madrasa, mid-13th century. Konya (photo: Knauer)

Metropolitan Museum, which features carved figures—the cross-legged drinkers and the striding porters—along with the loop motif characteristic of the group (Figures 1–3).

It is one of the striking aspects of Seljuq and Fatimid art that human and animal figures suddenly intrude into and merge with the purely abstract decorative designs of earlier Islamic artifacts. The Iranian heritage, which had already deeply influenced Abbasid art, was revitalized by the political supremacy of the Turkish tribes.³⁹ Since Abbasid times Turks had formed the—often unruly—élite of the caliph's armies.⁴⁰ In Egypt their role was to be all-important. It culminated in the mid-thirteenth century in the accession of the dynasty of the Mamluks, the enfranchised slaves of Turkish, Circassian, and Kurdish origin who had constituted the sultan's court and headed his armies. Egypt had, moreover, at various times harbored refugees from the Middle East, many

of them craftsmen raised in the Iranian tradition. The immigrants came first when the Seljuqs established themselves in Persia and Anatolia in the eleventh century, and again in the thirteenth century when the Mongol invasion swept away the caliphate in Baghdad and brought death and destruction to most of the highly civilized Islamic realm. The Mamluks alone succeeded in checking the Mongols and holding the borders of Egypt against them.

The old Central Asian heritage with its rich iconography had thrived particularly under the dynasty of the heterodox Fatimids who ruled Egypt for two hundred years (972–1171).⁴¹ Although the representation of humans and animals is not explicitly forbidden in the Koran, it was discouraged by other traditional sayings of the prophet and shunned accordingly. The Fatimid sultans of Egypt adhered to the less rigorous Shiite denomination, which allowed the occasional inclusion of human and animal figures—though never within the sacred or pure (*tāhir*) precinct of the mosque. Even under the Ayyubids, after Saladin had restored Egypt to the orthodox Sunna in 1171, the production of objects featuring animate beings does not seem to have been curbed at once, as is shown by the dated stand already mentioned, from the decade 1193–1203.⁴² Rather it con-

39. Dimand, pp. 94–96, 100–101; PKG 4, pp. 102ff., Grube, pp. 127–131.

40. See David Ayalon, *Studies on the Mamlūks of Egypt (1250–1517)* (London, 1977).

41. Oleg Grabar, "Imperial and Urban Art in Islam: The Subject Matter of Fatimid Art," *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire*, 27 March–5 April 1969 (Gräfenhainichen, 1972) pp. 173–189, has tried to explain the sudden appearance of the figure style in 12th-century Egypt by the dispersal of Fatimid treasures and their impact on a wealthy urban society, following the Fatimid decline in the mid-11th century. Richard Ettinghausen kindly drew my attention to Marilyn Jenkins, "Western Islamic Influences on Fatimid Egyptian Iconography," *Kunst des Orients* 10 (1975) pp. 91–107 (esp. p. 104), who disputes that thesis and points to the earlier figure style tradition of the North African predecessors of the Fatimids.

42. For a discussion of the problem see Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven, 1973), "Islamic Attitudes towards the Arts," chap. 4 (pp. 75–103); and for the most likely date of the incipient prohibition of figural representations (between A.D. 680 and 720), Rudi Paret, "Die Entstehungszeit des islamischen Bildverbots," *Kunst des Orients* 11 (1976/77) pp. 158–181. The provenance of a *kilga* "ornamented with mythical animals with human faces" is given as from the mosque of Zayn-al-din in the Darb-al-Gemamiz by Herz, *Arab Museum*, p. 15; since the provenance of so few *kilgas* is known, this information is particularly valuable.

tinued through the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and only under the later Mamluks did Egyptian arts and crafts revert to the abstract designs favored by orthodoxy.

The New York *kilga* with its human representations must belong in the Fatimid or Ayyubid period. It has recently been suggested that in the graphic and ceramic arts such figures were shorthand ciphers of a symbolic iconography and were meant to evoke and glorify the life style of the Islamic prince. The banqueter may stand for the pleasures of life at court; the porter carrying a load for “men in the service of the court,” and for the abundance of provisions; the variety of diversions—the hunt foremost—for the whole wide range of entertainment of the palace.⁴³ But perhaps, less ambitious, the drinker simply stands for the pleasures offered by fresh water and the porter with his crudely shaped load is the purveyor of the precious liquid carried in an animal skin. The notion may gain some support when we look at the possible ancestors of the stands a little later.

7. Among the figured *kilgas* are two curiously bare ones with crudely carved side and back panels, otherwise devoid of ornament. Both are in the Coptic Museum: no. 3776 shows a mounted knight hawking;⁴⁴ another displays a lion-headed eagle with wings spread, on its chest a minute naked human with raised hands (Figure 23).⁴⁵ The lion head, in high relief, occupies the place of bosses on other *kilgas*, namely the top center of the side panels. These bosses are often given the shape of stylized lion’s heads.

43. Grube, pp. 141f. and passim. For a man carrying a bovine, the spoils of a hunt, appearing already in a wall painting in Samarra, see Herzfeld, *Malereien von Samarra*, fig. 65.

44. The knotted tail of the horse is a typical Iranian or Central Asian feature, which occurs already on the Apadana reliefs in Persepolis. Hawking, much favored by the Islamic princes, was developed as a sport early in the first millennium B.C. in Inner Asia; see Johannes Hoops, *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, 2nd ed. rev. and enl. by H. Jankuhn et al. (Berlin, 1976) s.v. *Beizjagd* (K. Lindner). For a contemporary representation of hawking emirs see the 11th/12th-century ivory panels from Egypt in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst, PKG 4, pl. 191, text p. 261.

45. I have not examined this *kilga*. The lion-headed spread eagle, which occurs on other *kilgas*, is curiously reminiscent of the Sumerian legend of King Etana being carried toward the sun by an eagle in search of a magic herb. Although in the epic the eagle is not described as lion-headed, the art of Mesopo-

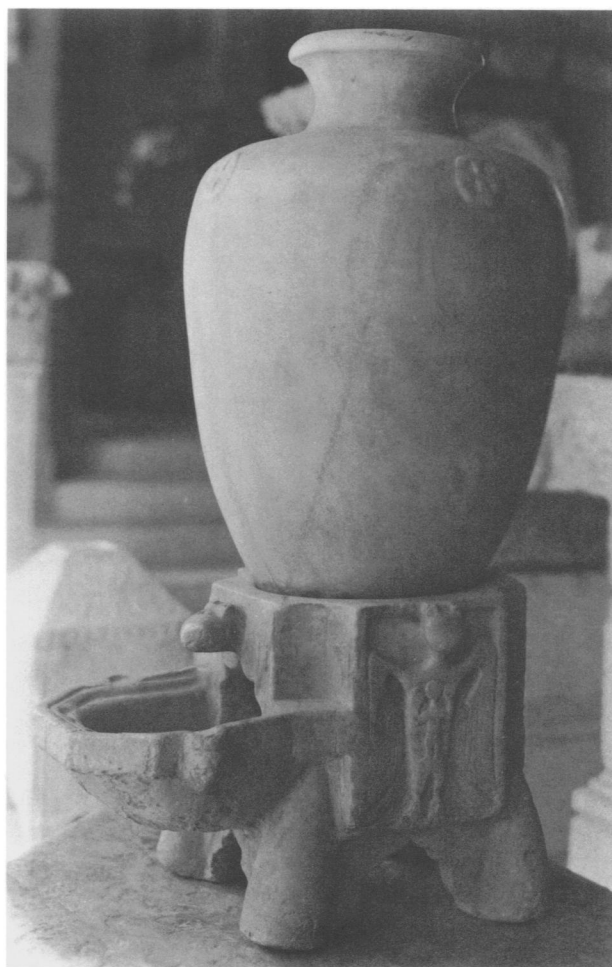


FIGURE 23

Kilga and marble vase. Cairo, Coptic Museum (photo: courtesy Coptic Museum)

tamia has many lion-headed spread eagles, the earliest from the mid-3rd millennium B.C. See Winfried Orthmann, *Der Alte Orient*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 14 (Berlin, 1975) pl. 78a, mace of Mesilim, about 2600 B.C.; pl. 88, relief with dedicatory inscription which not only shows the lion-headed spread eagle “Imdugud” dominating two heraldically addorsed lions (interestingly, the mythical bird has a jewel on its chest), but also a big twisted cable pattern, which occurs on our *kilgas* (Museum of Islamic Art, no. 104, Figure 32; Recklinghausen, no. 509, Figures 41, 42). The relief is dated about 2430 B.C. and comes, like the mace, from Girsu (Tellö). See also *ibid.*, pl. 97, the well-known Imdugud “coat of arms” of copper in London, showing the mythical bird, symbol of some godhead, with two addorsed stags, from Tell el-‘Obēd, about 2475 B.C.; and pl. 120, the same subject on the silver vase of Prince Entemena, from Girsu (Tellö), in the Louvre, dated about 2430 B.C. It is hard to determine how this heraldic iconography was passed on to Islamic



FIGURES 24 AND 25

Kilga, no. 105, from the back and side. Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art (photos: Knauer)

8. In this group unusual stress is laid on the diagonal niches with figures carved almost in the round. No. 105 in the Museum of Islamic Art has badly mutilated, long-haired nudes, standing with one hand on the lower belly and the other on the genitals (Figures 24, 25). The side panels show addorsed winged sphinxes with battered human heads, the back panel simply the lobed leaf.⁴⁶ The basin, into which drops an unusually steep, corrugated *salsabil*, is broken away. Even more badly damaged is no. 2671 of the

same museum (Figure 26). Standing figures in the three main panels have been all but obliterated. Spread eagles in very high relief, now headless,⁴⁷ occupy the diagonals with two lobed leaves above them. Instead of the normal cabrioled or straight legs the stand rests on crouching lions carved in the round. The basin with its inscription is broken away.

9. An important characteristic of this group is the niche with stalactite vault. Stalactites or alveoli

art. Once the caliphs had established themselves in Baghdad, there must have been monuments above ground in Iraq on which the artists could draw. See also below, note 58.

Yet the closest parallel to this modest *kilga* is surely the sumptuous and symbolically heavily fraught painting of the apotheosis of a ruler in the ceiling of the 12th-century Cappella Palatina in Palermo (Ettinghausen, fig. p. 46, text p. 50): an ascending eagle, frontal, two gazelles in his claws, is bridled by a human figure on its chest. See also Monneret de Villard, p. 47, who links the apotheosis picture with the Ganymede and the Garuda myths. The iconography of the apotheosis of the Roman emperors should also be taken into account. The arch of Titus, for example, showing the emperor on an eagle, was always above ground. Both *kilgas* of our group 7, the hawking rider and the "ascension," thus have parallels in the iconography of the Cappella Palatina (see Monneret de Villard, figs. 247, 248, 245).

46. For the sphinx motif in Islamic art see Grube, pp. 182–184, and Eva Baer, *Sphinxes and Harpies in Medieval Islamic Art: An Iconographical Study*, The Israel Oriental Society, Oriental Notes and Studies, no. 9 (Jerusalem, 1965). Sirens also occur

on the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina, see Monneret de Villard, figs. 241–244. They have halos. On this *kilga* their tails are vegetal, while the human heads may also have had halos. Halos are a fairly common feature for ordinary mortals in high medieval Islamic art and Byzantine models have been cited as the obvious source. Yet halos occur already in Kushan art in Central Asia, e.g., on the statue of King Kanishka in the museum in Mathura where a metal halo seems to have been attached to the sandstone sculpture; see H. Härtel and J. Auboyer, *Indien und Südostasien*, Propyläenkunstgeschichte 16 (Berlin, 1971) pl. 39, text p. 165, and John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (Berkeley, 1967). Halos are a standard attribute on Kushan coinage. It is interesting that this feature seems to appear in East and West at about the same time, in the early 4th century A.D.; see Robert Göbl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien* (Wiesbaden, 1967) II, p. 308–310, who refers to the halos of the late Roman emperors. The halo becomes a standard feature of the iconography of the islamized Turkish tribes.

47. It is impossible to tell whether the heads were those of

(*muqarnas*), created for domed buildings as devices to render the zone between cube and sphere optically richer and the transition less abrupt, are first encountered in Egypt in the later eleventh century.⁴⁸ Originally conceived for curved planes—pendentives or hoods of niches—they lend themselves equally well to the decoration and accentuation of transitional zones in less complex architectural units, for instance in shallow oblong niches or as cornices.⁴⁹

In this group of *kilgas* the flat stalactite niches, fitted into the square panels of the trunk, are often flanked by slender columns and pilasters supporting decorative plaited bands framing the upper part of the panel. They represent minute but complete units which have parallels in contemporary architecture, for example, in the facade of the mosque al-Aqmar of 1125 in Cairo (Figures 27–29).⁵⁰

An outstanding *kilga* in the group is no. 11544 of the Museum of Islamic Art (Figure 30). The edge of its basin bears a series of regularly spaced cushion-shaped knobs—unparalleled in other stands—which make for an even, curtainlike overflow; uniform streaks down the bulge of the basin attest to the prolonged action of water. This seems to copy what otherwise, to my knowledge, occurs only in far bigger hydraulic installations.⁵¹ The decorative effect of the bulging knobs can be compared with the peculiar

eagles or lions. Both types are encountered in medieval Islamic art, e.g., the spread eagles with heraldic animals on the two stone basins of the late 10th century from Madinat az-Zahira, Cordoba, and Marrakesh, Morocco (PKG 4, pl. 92, cf. pl. 93, and p. 199). The first relief is dated A.D. 987/8 and inscribed with the name of the patron, al-Mansur, in whose palace-city near Cordoba the basin served for religious ablutions. The basin in Marrakesh is almost identical; see Gaston Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman: Arts plastiques et industriels*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1927) fig. 89, p. 255. The heraldic birds occur on contemporary pottery, e.g., the gold lustre bowl by the potter Muslim from Fustat, on loan in the Metropolitan Museum (Dimand, p. 215); fragment of a lustreware bowl dated 11th/12th century (*Musée de l'art arabe du Caire: La Céramique égyptienne de l'époque musulmane* [Basel, 1922] pl. 38). Cf. also the 12th-century Persian sgraffiato ware bowl in Arthur Lane, *Islamic Pottery from the Ninth to the Fourteenth Centuries A.D. (Third to Eighth Centuries A.H.) in the Collection of Sir Eldred Hitchcock* (London, n.d.) no. 10, p. 21.

48. For the development of the stalactite pendentive see Creswell I, pp. 251–253, who considers it a local Egyptian feature occurring independently from Persia about 1100. For its later development see Creswell II, pp. 134, 146f. For the Seljuq origin see PKG 4, p. 284, text to pl. 226. The latest discussion is



FIGURE 26

Kilga, no. 2671. Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art (photo: Knauer)

cushion voussoirs in the arches of the fortified Fatimid city gates of the late eleventh century, for instance the Bab al-Futuh of 1087.⁵² Side and back panels feature an architecturally framed alveoled

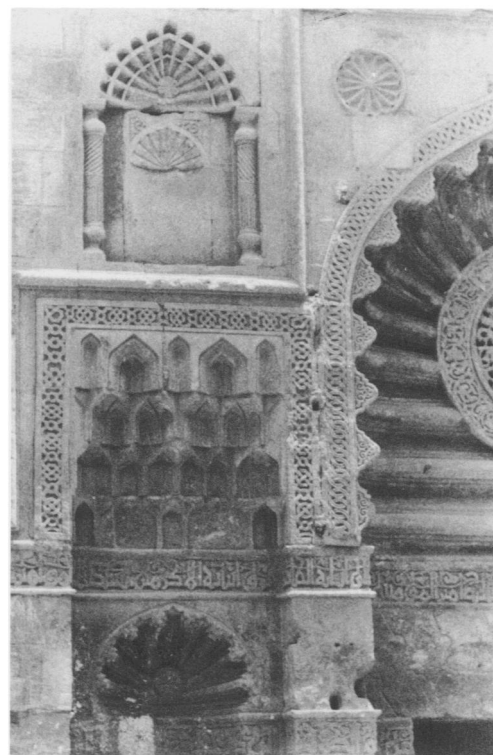
to be found in Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978) pp. 176ff.: "the origins of the *muqarnas* probably lie in the almost simultaneous but apparently unconnected development in north-eastern Iran and central North-Africa."

49. As decoration of oblong niches: the facade of the mosque al-Aqmar of 1125 (Creswell I, pl. 82c, cf. p. 243); a decorative panel on the facade of the madrasa of Sultan Salih Najm al-Din of 1242/3 (Creswell II, pl. 34, cf. p. 95), and similar panels on the mosque of Sultan Baybars of 1266–69, (Creswell II, pls. 49a, b). As a cornice: on the minaret of the Mashhad al-Guyusi of 1085 in Cairo (Creswell I, pp. 155ff., and PKG 4, pl. 171, text pp. 249f.). See also L. 'Ali Ibrahim, "The Transitional Zones of Domes in Cairene Architecture," *Kunst des Orients* 10 (1976) pp. 5–23.

50. See Creswell I, pp. 241ff., and PKG 4, pl. 176, text pp. 252f.

51. There is a modern fountain with such "cushions" at its rim in a square near the station in the provincial capital of Minya, which certainly copies earlier Islamic models. Features not unlike these can be seen on the huge Aghlabid cisterns at Qairawan; see Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, II, pls. 79b–d.

52. See Creswell I, pl. 64 and p. 212. The typically ribbed Fatimid hoods of niches, which display a similar propensity for plastic values, can be seen in Figures 27–29.

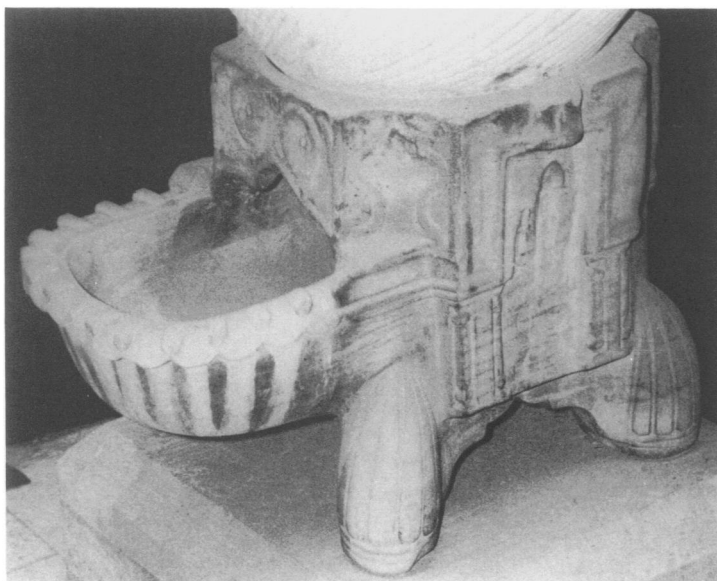


FIGURES 27–29

Details of the facade of the mosque al-Aqmar, Cairo, A.D. 1125 (photos: Knauer)

FIGURE 30

Kilga, no. 11544. Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art (photo: courtesy Museum of Islamic Art)



niche—a miniature *mihṛāb*⁵³—containing the customary upright lobed leaf, which also occurs in the diagonal niches.

This stand is related to nos. 14099 and 668 of the Museum of Islamic Art, to an unnumbered stand in the museum's courtyard, and to one in the house of Sheikh es-Sihaimi.⁵⁴ No. 14099 contains a stylized frontal eagle with a mutilated lion's head carved in the round in its back panel, thus forming the transition to a more ornate type with heraldic animals displayed within the stalactite niches in the main panels.

Among the fully developed examples of the group is no. 104 of the Museum of Islamic Art (Figures 31, 32).⁵⁵ In the side panels it has addorsed winged lions

53. For the *mihṛāb* motif see above, note 32.

54. A stand in the Islamisches Museum in Berlin (inv. no. I.7261) is also related. According to V. Enderlein, an inscription runs around the rim of its basin and the side panels; these feature stalactite niches, whereas the niches in the diagonal panels are empty (letter, Oct. 13, 1978).

55. The woodworklike treatment of the span between the feet of the stand is reminiscent of no. 14097 in the Museum of Islamic Art, Figure 17. The stand is published (no illustration) as no. 190 in *Islamic Art in Egypt 969–1517*, exh. cat. (Cairo, 1969) p. 199; dimensions: H. 48 cm., L. 75 cm. The feet are

sejant in a stalactite niche overhung by a mutilated boss. The diagonal niches at the front are occupied by spread eagles with frontal lions' heads, the niches in the rear with a variant of the leaf motif above a twisted cable pattern.⁵⁶ These are time-honored "heraldic" motifs of ancient Oriental ancestry. They enjoy a real renaissance in medieval Islamic iconography, which draws heavily on the vigorous and realistic Iranian iconography revitalized by the ascendancy of the Turkish tribes.⁵⁷ The upsurge of the motifs in Egypt may also have been fed by the survival of the Oriental tradition in the famous local textile industry. Here the continuation of Sasanian "heraldry" in woven goods—lost but for a few fine examples—must have stimulated an interest in that curious world of mythical animals.⁵⁸ Strangely static, they appear enmeshed in the magic woods of often symmetrically designed, fully developed arabesques. Yet the delicate scrolls, leaves, and buds seem as vibrant and real as nature.⁵⁹

described as "resembling legs of tortoise," for which see above, note 7. A related but simpler stand is no. 97 in the Museum of Islamic Art: it has addorsed winged lions in the side panels, with no niche around them, and a leaf pattern in the diagonal niches (see *Album*, no. 11).

56. For the cable pattern cf. the Sumerian relief mentioned in note 45. According to V. Enderlein's description, an otherwise undecorated *kilga* in the Islamisches Museum in Berlin has a chainlike band on the side panels (letter, Oct. 13, 1978). See also the stand in Recklinghausen (Figures 41, 42).

57. See above, notes 39 and 45.

58. How deeply the Abbasid art of Iraq was influenced by the splendor of Sasanian court art became apparent with the excavations of Samarra. The degree to which Egypt has absorbed the Persian heritage was revealed by the cemeteries of, for example, Antinoë in Upper Egypt. They testify to the import of Sasanian textiles and the impact of those models on the famed Coptic workshops, which continued to produce till Fatimid times. Cable patterns and plaited bands occur on Coptic textiles as early as the 3rd to 5th centuries; see M. Dimand, *Die Ornamentik der ägyptischen Wollwirkereien: Stilprobleme der spätantiken und koptischen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1924) esp. chap. V.1, "Das geometrische Ornament." For the role of textiles in the transmission of heraldic animals see Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1958) pp. 232f., and Roman Ghirshman, *Iran: Parthians and Sassanians* (London, 1962) pp. 283–339, "The Diffusion of Sassanian Art," esp. pp. 310f. For the Persian tradition in Coptic textiles see W. F. Volbach, "Koptische Stoffe," in *Kopt. Kunst*, pp. 147–152. See also E. Kitzinger, "The Horse and Lion Tapestry at Dumbarton Oaks: A Study in Coptic and Sasanian Textile Design," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 3 (1946) pp. 1–71.

59. Precursors of the classical arabesque can be found in Coptic manuscripts as early as the middle of the 7th century. For Coptic art in Islamic Egypt see Ernst Kühnel, "Koptische Kunst im islamischen Ägypten," in *Kopt. Kunst*, pp. 153–156.



FIGURE 31

Kilga, no. 104. Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art (photo: courtesy Museum of Islamic Art)

FIGURE 32

Kilga, no. 104, detail of right side. Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art (photo: Knauer)





FIGURE 33
Seljuq lion sculpture immured in the citadel of Kayseri (photo: Knauer)

There are countless parallels for the spread eagle and the winged lion of the *kilgas*, and for the human- or lion-headed bird, on fragments of contemporary local lustreware from the kilns in Fustat, excavated on that site.⁶⁰ As for lions carved in the round, encountered in the bosses and, more rarely, as the feet of *kilgas*, their ancestry seems very complex. The high degree of stylization clearly shows their derivative character. Live lions must have been a much less frequent sight for the Islamic craftsman than the already stylized host of big cats represented in the art of earlier civilizations that was still visible above ground in Syria, Anatolia, and Egypt itself (Figure 33).⁶¹

60. For the eagles see above, note 47. For winged lions see *Céramique égyptienne*, pls. 36, 42, 44, 81. There are further examples in the Museum of Islamic Art: room 4, vitrine 1, an 11th-century Fatimid lustre plate (the winged lion has a beak); room 13, vitrine 3, several examples, also of sirens whose tails end in half-palmettes. There is a fine fragment of a 12th/13th-century stucco frieze from Iran in the Metropolitan Museum (Dimand, fig. 56 and p. 93), with addorsed lions, sejant and gardant, clawing the air with one paw; their long tails, slung about their hind legs, then rise upward to fill the empty triangle between them with a lyre-shaped scroll ornament, which in turn sends forth fleshy leaves. This relief can profitably be compared with nos. 104 and 4328 in the Museum of Islamic Art (see below, note 66).

61. Some of the Hittite gate lions in Anatolia and North Syria were never totally buried and may have inspired later civilizations to take the lion, king of beasts, as a guardian animal, be it on tombs or in public architecture. For the lion's role in the art of the Ancient Near East see Frankfort, *Ancient Orient*, pp. 181ff. For the latest survey of Greek lions, including previous



FIGURE 34
Kilga, no. 464 (inv. no. 10833). Athens, Benaki Museum (photo: Knauer)

10. Though the stalactite motif connects this with the preceding group, the firmly framed stalactite niche has here given ground to several tiers of shallow, stilted alveoli.⁶² They may take up the whole field of the side panels or occupy only part, either at the top or at the foot of the panel, leaving room for other motifs, for instance the upright angular loop encountered in the New York stand and its kin. In this group the diagonal niches usually contain figures carved in rather high relief, frequently seated female nudes with raised hands. An example is no. 464 in the Benaki Museum (Figure 34).⁶³ On a badly mangled *kilga* in the Coptic Museum (no. 3090, Figure 35), the

literature, see V. M. Strocka, "Neue archaische Löwen in Anatolien," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1977) 4, pp. 481–512. The great sphinx at Giza and some of its smaller kin were, of course, always visible. For felines in Umayyad art see PKG 4, pls. 45a,b and p. 173, and for a Fatimid example in bronze, *ibid.*, pl. 195. For Coptic lions see below in the discussion of the bronze miniature stands and vases in the Benaki Museum, Athens.

62. For an early example of stilted keel arches in Cairene architecture see the mid-12th-century addition of Caliph al-Hafiz li-Din Allah to the al-Azhar mosque (Creswell I, pp. 36ff; PKG 4, pl. 164 and pp. 246f.). For stilted *muqarnas* see the cupola of the mausoleum of Sultana Shagar al-Durr of 1250 (Creswell II, pp. 136ff.; PKG 4, pl. 293, text pp. 325f.).

63. Inv. no. 10833; provenance, Ispenian; date, 13th–14th century (Benaki Museum, letter, Sept. 7, 1978). From V. Enderlein's description, a stand in the Islamisches Museum in Berlin belongs to this group: it has stalactite niches in the side panels, naked seated figures in the diagonal niches, and an inscription (letter, Oct. 13, 1978).



FIGURE 35
Kilga, no. 3090, partial view, on a Coptic jar-stand.
 Cairo, Coptic Museum (photo: courtesy Coptic Museum)

women wear nothing but pointed caps in the front niches and crosses on their heads in the rear ones; a corrugated *salsabil* leads into the basin, the rim of which is adorned with two carved fishes.⁶⁴ This is the first example surveyed to have oddly Christian connotations. Yet another *kilga* in the Coptic Museum is closely related: the diagonal niches house four standing figures in long caftans, their hands resting on the pommel of huge upright swords. Similar sword-bearers appear in the rear niches of the single dated *kilga*, whose mutilated inscription puts its manufacture in the decade between 1193 and 1203 (Museum of Islamic Art, no. 4328, Figure 36).⁶⁵ In the front niches

64. I was unable to obtain a photograph that showed the details of this important stand.

65. The dates cited are those considered by Michael Rogers to be the most likely. The piece is catalogued by Gaston Wiet, *Catalogue général du Musée de l'Art Islamique du Caire: Inscriptions historiques sur pierre* (Cairo, 1971) p. 41, no. 59–4328, pl. VIII; dimensions, 48 × 41 × 75 cm.; bought in 1916. Wiet's brief description deliberately abstains from remarks concerning style or iconography. Of the figures, he notes "ils sont en tous cas très curieux." His translation of the inscription reads: "Bénédictio parfaite. Bénédictio parfaite, faveur étendue, salut durable et gloire à son possesseur. . . . 500 et" from which he concludes: "Cette pièce, dont la date n'offre plus que la fin du chiffre des dizaines et celui de la centaine, est donc du VI^e/XII^e siècle." The inscription had been published earlier in Et. Combe, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* (Cairo, 1937) VIII, p. 279, no. 3185. See also *Album*, no. 13. For a somewhat more detailed description (no illustration) of the stand see *Islamic Art in Egypt 969–1517*, no. 191, which gives the date as A.H. 570 or 590 (A.D. 1192 or 1212,

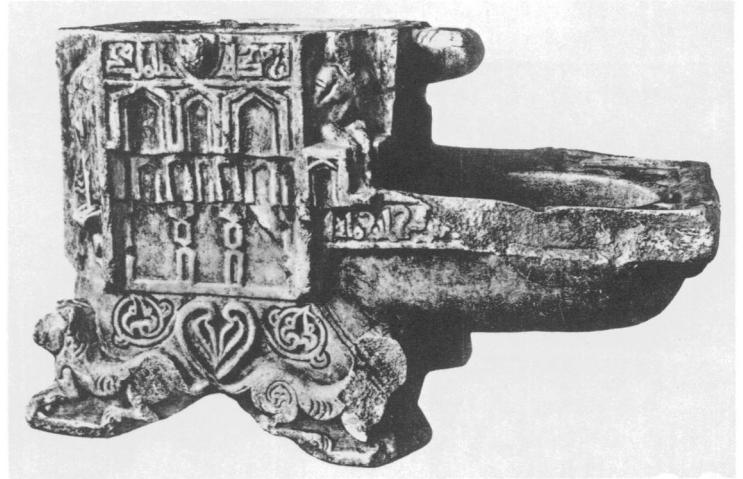


FIGURE 36
Kilga, no. 4328. Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art
 (photo: after Wiet, *Inscriptions historiques*)

the seated females, nude but for necklaces and armlets, hold their hands at the height of their breasts, one hand grasping an elongated object. The barefooted sword-bearers in the rear niches show *ṭirāz*-bands on the sleeves of their long gowns. The feet of the stand are formed by crouching addorsed lions, a feature encountered in group 8 (Figure 26). Their curved tails with shaggy ends entwine to form a heart-shaped pattern in the center, from which emerge two scrolls encircling trefoil buds. The same design is found on the joints of the lions' hind legs. Similarly adorned predacious animals occur several times on Egyptian monuments of the period.⁶⁶

i.e., already Ayyubid) and the dimensions as 48 × 48 × 75 cm. The discrepancy in the width from that given by Wiet, *Inscriptions historiques*, is readily explained by the fact that the stands with their bosses and bulges do not lend themselves easily to being measured.

66. For the composition cf. the stucco frieze mentioned in note 60. The vegetal motif on the lions' joints also occurs on two Fatimid lion reliefs found in Cairo and preserved in the Museum of Islamic Art (*Album*, no. 5, and Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, fig. 91, p. 261). It has a parallel in a lion relief decorating the bridge at Ludd. Cf. also that at Abu 'l-Munagga, of 1266/67, by Sultan Baybars al-Bunduqdari; see Creswell II, fig. 81 and pp. 150–154, who argues that the big cats, in this case apparently panthers, were a kind of blazon of the Mamluk sultan Baybars I on buildings presumably erected by him (*bars* signifies a predacious feline). The Seljuq rulers of Anatolia also seem to have felt an affinity to the king of animals, as attested by their names—Alp Arslan, the "Brave Lion," took Anatolia from the Byzantines. Seljuq monuments abound with lions (see Figure 33). Joint ornaments are already to be found on a late



FIGURE 37
Kilga, no. 6410. Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art
 (photo: courtesy Museum of Islamic Art)

Parallels, though not from Egypt, can be adduced for the sword-bearers,⁶⁷ but it is hard to account for the female nudes. Rare in Islamic art, they appear occasionally in the decoration of bathing establishments, for instance in the “desert castles” of Umayyad princes in Syria. Qusayr ‘Amra, built in the second quarter of the eighth century, furnishes the most striking examples.⁶⁸ The iconographic dependence of these baths on Roman *thermae* has long been recognized. Literary sources attest the survival of the Roman tradition into the tenth to twelfth centuries in Seljuq, Tulunid, and Fatimid baths, though we lack actual examples.⁶⁹ There is, however, a fairly close parallel to the *kilga* nudes in a unique glazed sherd with relief decoration from the excavations in Fustat.⁷⁰ It shows a standing female with raised hands, naked but for armlets and straps (of jewelry?) running over her shoulders and crossing in front of her body, not unlike the nudes on the Cairo stand. She

Hellenistic sphinx sculpture in the temple precinct of Medinet Madi (Narmouthis) in the southwestern Fayum.

67. Cf. the stucco sculptures of princes from Iran, about 1200, in the Metropolitan Museum, acc. nos. 67.119 (Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Lester Wolfe) and 57.51.18, (Cora Timken Burnett Collection of Persian Miniatures and Other Persian Art Objects, Bequest of Cora Timken Burnett, 1956). These have smaller parallels in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; no. A22-1928; cf. A20-1928.

68. See F. Zayadine, “The Umayyad Frescoes of Quseir ‘Amra,” *Archaeology* 31:3 (1978) pp. 19–29, with literature; and PKG 4, pls. 32, x, and pp. 157ff.



FIGURE 38
Kilga. Cairo, Coptic Museum, courtyard (photo: courtesy Coptic Museum)

was apparently represented between engaged columns. We will revert to this fragment, which seems to be part of a huge vase, later.

A special feature of the dated stand is the bull's mask below the front edge of the basin, reminiscent of the unusual corbel decoration at one of Cairo's northern city gates, the Bab al-Futuh, of 1087.⁷¹

11. The penultimate group in this survey shares several features with the preceding one. A damaged stand in the Museum of Islamic Art (no. 6410, Figure 37) lacks its feet—apparently crouching lions—and basin; only rudiments of a wide, chevroned *salsabil* are preserved. The side and back panels, narrower than in previous examples, rest on three tiers of alveoli and are framed by a band formed of a loosely tied cable pattern.⁷² The side panels contain crowned female nudes in an *orans* attitude. The back panel shows a turbaned guard with a huge sword; similar

69. See PKG 4, text to pls. xxxiva,b on p. 262. Mrs. Serageldin in her forthcoming article (“Ali Ibrahim and Yasin, “Ṭulūnid Ḥammām”) believes that the stucco *muqarnas* came not from the steam room of that Tulunid bath, but rather from the oblong room (*maslah*) or from another building.

70. Aly Bahgat and Félix Massoul, *La Céramique musulmane de l’Égypte* (Cairo, 1930) pl. LXI, 9 and p. 91. The piece cannot be dated exactly.

71. See Creswell I, pl. 66b.

72. I cannot find parallels to these loosely cabled bands in the decoration of monumental architecture. There the design of plaited bands is more angular, becoming less closely knit and

long-gowned figures occupy the wide, shallow diagonal niches in the rear, fully dressed *orantes*, complete with hats, those in the front. The front panel, frequently occupied by two roundels, here has four, two of which bear inscriptions.⁷³ Unusual stress is put on the architectural frame of the diagonal niches—engaged twin columns with bulbous capitals and bases; the innermost pair of columns has spiral fluting. A similar feature occurs on the facade of the mosque al-Aqmar of 1125 in Cairo (Figure 29).⁷⁴

There is a close counterpart to this *kilga* in the courtyard of the Coptic Museum (Figure 38). It differs by having spirally fluted feet and, in the decoration of the front panel, bulls' heads instead of the more frequent lions' heads; another bull's head appears at the front of the basin.⁷⁵ Otherwise there are the same crowned nudes on the sides, a male attired and crowned at the back, and four long-gowned guards with swords in the niches. Three tiers of *muqarnas* and the cable-band complete the parallel. A perfect *horror vacui* characterizes these stands.

12. In conclusion, there are two stands which, though retaining the general structure of a *kilga*, depart from the rest in the rough style of their carving and their patent Christian symbolism. In the courtyard of the Coptic Museum is a stand bearing on the side panels a lamb⁷⁶ facing a cross, and on the back a roundel with cross; at the same time it preserves an Islamic leaf motif flanked by spiraled columns in the rear di-

more "airy" in the 13th and 14th centuries. An early example are the bands on the mosque of As-Salih Tala'i of 1160 (Creswell I, pls. 97d, 98b, cf. pls. 106 b4 and 107 c4. For a "drier" and more angular type see Creswell II, pl. 22a, mausoleum of Imam al-Shafi'i, A.D. 1211. It also occurs on pottery (*Céramique égyptienne*, pl. 137). For the closest parallel see Strzygowski, no. 7338.

73. The inscription reads: *al-'izz al-dā'im* ("the eternal glory"). These roundels, for instance on the Damascus stand (Figure 20), seem to have given the zealots the impression of representing eyes and they have been damaged in consequence. On the Damascus stand and certain others the roundels have pierced centers, the purpose of which is unknown to me. Could they have served to fix metal cups on chains for scooping water? Inscribed roundels occur on the facade of the mosque al-Aqmar. In Mamluk art these round "cartouches" are often divided in three sections by horizontal bands (see *Album*, no. 69, and *passim*).

74. See above, note 50. For 11th-century spiral fluting see the wooden "*mihrab*" panel in the Museum of Islamic Art, no. 8464 (*Album*, no. 23).

75. Cf. the dated stand discussed above in group 10 (Mu-

agonal niches (Figures 39, 40). The shape of the marble stand in the Ikonenmuseum, Recklinghausen, is utterly simplified (Figures 41, 42).⁷⁷ It features lions with their prey in the side panels but their style has nothing to do with the heraldic beasts occupying the same place in many Islamic *kilgas*; it seems rather to hark back to classical models. Bands with cables and scrolls and spirally fluted columns occur—but how different from the balance and grace of a Muslim artifact. We are here in the realm of Coptic Christianity.

And yet there can be no doubt that the shape of the two *kilgas* is derived from Islamic models. They must have been fashioned for use by Copts in Egypt in the high Middle Ages. We can actually witness the overlapping of the two iconographic traditions, Islamic and Coptic, in a stand from group 10 (Coptic Museum, no. 3090, Figure 35), which combines *muqarnas* panels and a *salsabil* with fishes on the rim of the basin and nudes with crosses on their heads, and here in the stand which features Christian symbols in the side and back panels while retaining the Islamic leaf motif in the diagonal niches (Figures 39, 40). The "purest" Coptic stand, in Recklinghausen, has—besides its shape—nothing but the cable pattern linking it to Islamic examples.

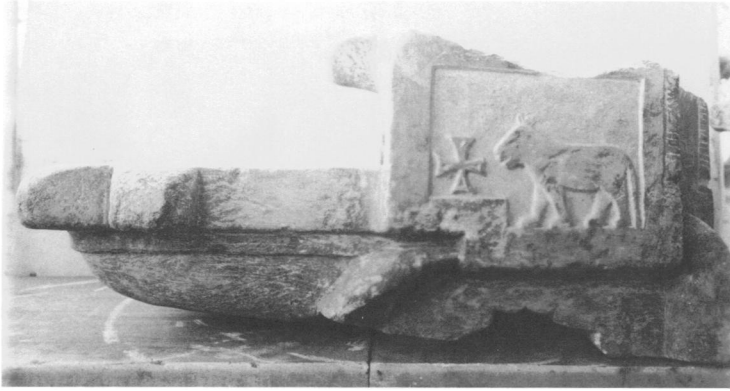
The indigenous Coptic tradition may in its turn help to explain the predilection for animate creatures or, stranger still, the nudes that occur in Egyptian art of the high Middle Ages.⁷⁸ The idiosyncratic character of Coptic art, which developed from the complex

seum of Islamic Art, no. 4328); for the bulls' heads see note 71.

76. The species of animal intended is hard to determine; it could also be a heifer.

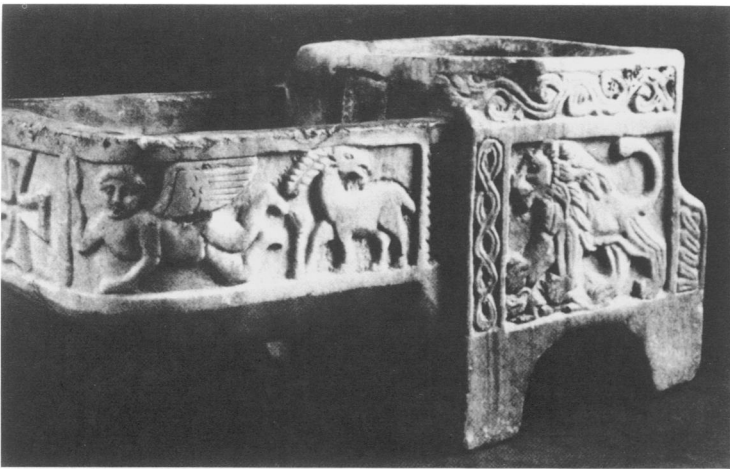
77. Inv. no. 509; dimensions, 21 × 19 × 39.5 cm.; provenance unknown. See K. Wessel, *Kunst der Kopten, Sammlung des Ikonenmuseums Recklinghausen: Kunstsammlungen der Stadt Recklinghausen, Koptische Sammlung des Ikonenmuseums* (Recklinghausen, n.d. [1962]). Wessel dates the stand in the high Middle Ages and compares it to undecorated stands from Islamic Egypt (he cites four examples) whose shape it imitates. As to its purpose: "Das Gerät dürfte kultischen Zwecken gedient haben. Vielleicht enthielt das Gefäß geweihtes Wasser zum Nachfüllen des Beckens (ägyptische Klöster bezogen oft ihr Wasser nicht aus eigenen Brunnen, sondern mussten es vom Nil holen oder in der Regenzeit in Zisternen leiten). Man verwandte daher schon in der Spätantike, vgl. Saqqara, kultische Gefäßständer." I suppose the stand was made for a Coptic church, but most likely to supply the faithful with drinking water and not to serve any cultic purpose. The stand appears as no. 127 in *Kopt. Kunst*, with no illustration.

78. Both types of nudes encountered on *kilgas*, the *orans* with raised hands and the "Ishtar" with hands about the breasts (a



FIGURES 39 AND 40

Kilga with Christian symbols, side and back views. Cairo, Coptic Museum, courtyard (photos: courtesy Coptic Museum)



FIGURES 41 AND 42

Coptic *Kilga*, no. 509, seen from the front and back. Recklinghausen, Koptische Sammlung, Ikonenmuseum (photos: after Wessel, *Kunst der Kopten*)

variation is the *Venus pudica* in the Museum of Islamic Art, no. 105, Figure 24) do, of course, occur already in the Ancient Near East. See, e.g., Orthmann, *Alte Orient*; pl. xiv, clay vase (in Paris) with incised nude *orans* among water animals, from Larsa, Iraq, first half of the 2nd millennium B.C.; pl. 366f, in Konya, lead statuette of the goddess Ishtar, a winged nude in *orans* attitude, from Karahüyük, about 1800/1750 B.C. See Frankfort, *Ancient Orient*; pl. 135a and p. 134, copper figure of a nude holding her breasts, from Tell Judeideh, first half of the 3rd millennium B.C. The "Ishtar" gesture occurs in the stucco decoration of the 8th-century Umayyad "desert castle" Qasr al-Hair al-Gharbi (D. Schlumberger, "Les Fouilles de Qasr el-Heir el-Gharbi, 1936–38," *Syria* 20 [1939] p. 349; PKG 4, pp. 171f.). Yet this seems a fairly tenuous link to the nudes of the *kilgas*. Coptic art instead offers not only female nudes derived from classical mythology in its sculpture, but also many examples among more modest objects of daily use, e.g., the doll-like nudes made from hollow bones

which contained *kohl*, the black eye cosmetic (Strzygowski, pp. 201–204, pl. xviii). Strzygowski dates these between the 8th and the 12th century and does not mention the use of some of them as toilet accessories. Quite a few have been found in Fustat, some are on show in the Museum of Islamic Art, some in the Coptic Museum; cf. also Benaki Museum, no. 10738. There are flat ones which cannot have served as *kohl* containers; many bear delicate black tattoo-like ornaments. Strzygowski (p. 33, "Nuditäten") calls the predilection for the nude typically Coptic. Nudes are also encountered on bronze implements; see *Kopt. Kunst*, no. 604, a lamp; no. 173, a patera. Most important for our context are nudes in conjunction with Christian symbols: in *Kopt. Kunst*, no. 172, a finial (nude dancer below a cross); in Strzygowski, no. 9101, pl. xxxi, handle of a patera (nude dancer lifting a cross). These bronze pieces are dated between the 4th and 6th century.

cultural conditions of the Nile valley during late antiquity, has led to its being taken for mere folk art. Only recently have this tradition and its contributions to the maturing of Islamic art been properly assessed. The Coptic influence is most obvious in the field of decorative ornament,⁷⁹ but it also affects certain iconographic features.

Of monophysite denomination, the large Coptic community was an important social group in Old Cairo where its members were employed especially as artisans by the Muslim conquerors. Their influence made itself felt until the twelfth century.⁸⁰ Our stands are a case in point.

The genesis of the *kilga*'s peculiar shape is as composite as its carved decoration. As we have seen, Egypt had always to rely on the Nile as its foremost source of drinking water. Heavy with silt, the water had to be purified and cooled. Stands were needed for the porous earthenware jars through which it filtered into a collecting vessel underneath. There are numerous Pharaonic representations of elegant jars perched on delicate stands, apparently fashioned of wood.⁸¹ In view of the conservative character of Coptic art, it comes as no surprise that several miniature bronze models in the Benaki Museum in Athens should present us with amphorae on stands, the latter clearly imitating woodwork, which seem to have preserved the design of their Pharaonic ancestors most faithfully.⁸²

Typically Coptic is the abundance of stylized animals: a bird on the lid of the jar, rampant felines—with characteristically scalloped flanks—as handles, and a feline protome jutting from the front of the stand (Figure 43). Whatever their date, these miniatures attest to the continuation of an age-old local shape. As the actual objects of wood and clay have long since perished, we are fortunate to have at least the small-scale versions.

There are two kinds of Coptic objects first assembled by Josef Strzygowski under the heading "Gefässtische," which present us with yet another solution for the storage and purification of drinking water.⁸³ One is a small group of terracotta jar-stands that are imitations of wooden models (Figures 44, 45). The salient features of these fired but unglazed clay supports are two or more circular openings in the top of the boxlike receptacle. Jars would be placed in the openings and the water caught below. Dated in the seventh to eighth centuries, these terracotta stands all have spoutlike outlets. In another, larger group of stone stands (Figures 46–48), which includes a Pharaonic spoil (Figure 48), the relevant features are ingeniously developed. These "jar-tables" are, in my opinion, direct prototypes of the *kilga*.

FIGURE 43

Miniature bronze model of Coptic jar and stand (inv. no. 11604). Athens, Benaki Museum (photo: Knauer)

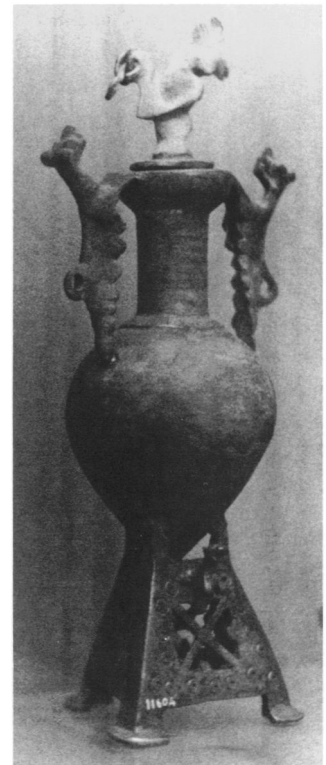
79. For ornament see above, note 58, and S. 158f. in *Kopt. Kunst*. Cf. also the patterns on Coptic woodwork of the 5th–6th century, Strzygowski, e.g., nos. 7369, 8780, 8792.

80. Ernst Kühnel, "Koptische Kunst im islamischen Ägypten," *Kopt. Kunst*, pp. 153–156. For a summary of Coptic art see *Encyclopedia of World Art* (London, 1960) s.v. Coptic Art (W. F. Volbach), and the recent sober assessment of C. C. Walters, *Monastic Archaeology in Egypt* (Warminster, 1974) covering the Coptic churches and monasteries from pre-Islamic to high medieval times.

81. See, for example, K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*, 4th ed. (London/New York, 1968) pls. xxv, xxvi (a tomb painting in Thebes), 166, 167, all about 1400 B.C. I noticed a wooden stand for four jars placed on vitrine M, room 34, in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

82. Nos. 11602, 11604; no. 10255 is a simpler model in wood; nos. 11603 and 11653 are bronze stands only. The height of the complete ones is approximately 20–22 cm. Information supplied by the Benaki Museum gives the date as 2nd–6th century, and the provenance as Egypt.

83. Strzygowski, pp. 240–242 (terracotta stands), pp. 88–94 (stone stands). Strzygowski's no. 7393, under the heading "Löwen," is in fact part of a stone jar-stand.



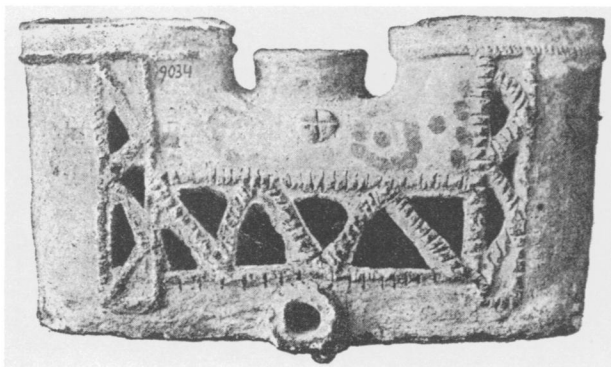


FIGURE 44
Coptic jar-stand of clay, no. 9034. Cairo, Egyptian Museum (photo: after Strzygowski)

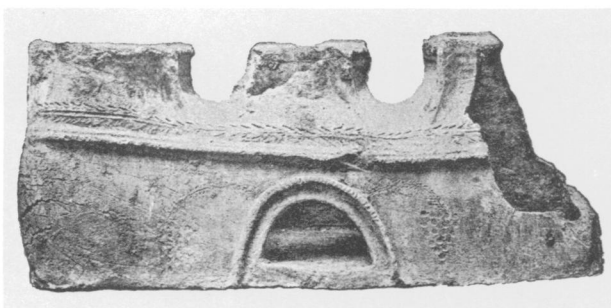


FIGURE 45
Coptic jar-stand of clay, no. 9036. Cairo, Egyptian Museum (photo: after Strzygowski)

Their simple mechanism is clearly illustrated by a stand on display in the current excavations in Fustat (Figures 49, 50). Decorated in front with a cross amid leafy tendrils and on the rim with a Coptic inscription,⁸⁴ it has circular depressions designed to receive one big flat-bottomed jar—presumably similar to a modern *qulla*—and two smaller jars with more pointed bases. These depressions communicate through small openings with a collecting basin in the middle of the stand, which is in turn drained by a hole in the front, just visible in the lower bar of the cross. The short legs of the stand allow for a drinking bowl to be put under this drainage hole. There is another, slightly simpler, example of the jar-table in the courtyard of the temple in Esna in Upper Egypt (Figure 51). A permanent installation in the refectory of the monastery of St. Simeon (Deir Anba Hadra) near Aswan, which may date from the tenth century, allowed the water to descend over different levels, thereby using it to the utmost (Figure 52).⁸⁵

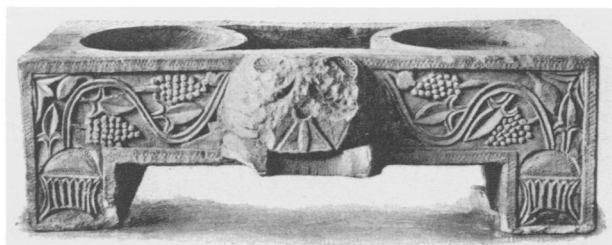


FIGURE 46
Stone jar-stand, no. 7374. Cairo, Egyptian Museum (photo: after Strzygowski)



FIGURE 47
Stone jar-stand, no. 7375. Cairo, Egyptian Museum (photo: after Strzygowski)



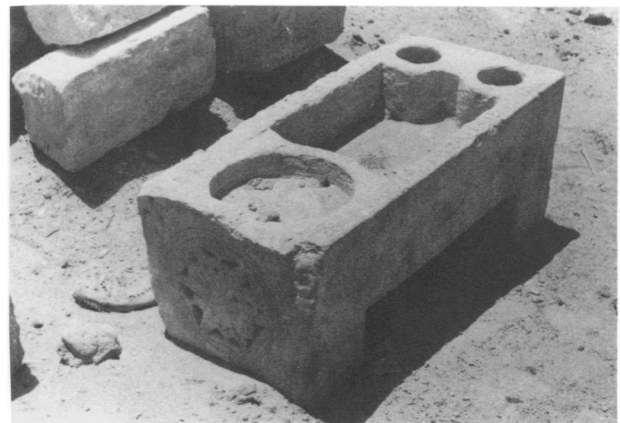
FIGURE 48
Front and back view of stone jar-stand, no. 7376. Cairo, Egyptian Museum (photo: after Strzygowski)

Many of Strzygowski's examples are furnished with lions' protomes or feline heads as spouts. Curiously, not all of these are perforated, which reduces them to mere ornament.⁸⁶ Also ornamental were the simi-

84. I did not copy the inscription.

85. See Walters, *Monastic Archaeology*, p. 241. Curiously, Walters (pp. 191f.) lists only two "water-stands" in Saqqara of the type Strzygowski calls "Gefässtische."

86. The stand illustrated in Figure 46 (Egyptian Museum, Cairo, no. 7374) has no spout. A very low example (21.5 × 78.5 × 43.5 cm.) with a single circular depression, the front decorated with a lion head in the round flanked heraldically by a hare and a hound in relief, is pictured in *Art islamique dans les collections privées libanaises*, exh. cat. (Musée Nicolas Sursock, Beirut, 1974) p. 61; provenance and date are given as Egypt, 13th or 14th century.



FIGURES 49 AND 50

Coptic jar-stand of stone, seen from the front and back. Fustat, Cairo (photos: Knauer)

lar protomes and heads on the small bronze models in the Benaki Museum. Is it possible that the feline heads on our *kilgas* hark back to those Coptic prototypes?⁸⁷

The spout side or front of the jar-tables is frequently carved in low relief with rather schematic vines or scrolls sprouting from fluted vases. Strzygowski places them between the fifth and ninth centuries and calls some of them “Coptic from the Arabic period.” They have, according to him, been continuously used through modern times. One wonders



FIGURE 51

Coptic jar-stand of stone in the temple precinct of Esna, Upper Egypt (photo: Knauer)

87. In all fairness it should be said that there is a tradition in Islamic art that associates lions with water installations, e.g., the 11th-century lions incorporated into the 14th-century fountain in the Alhambra (see PKG 4, pl. 275; for the date see Frederic Bargebuhr, *The Alhambra: A Cycle of Studies on the Eleventh Century in Moorish Spain* [Berlin, 1968] pp. 170–172; for a detail photo of one of the lions see Grabar, *Alhambra*, fig. 83). Other examples are the painted fountain in the Cappella Palatina (see above, note 30) and the painted fountains with lion-headed gargoyles on the ceiling of the 14th-century Sala de Justicia at the Court of the Lions in the Alhambra (Basilio Pavon Maldonado, *Arte Toledano islamico y mudejar* [Madrid, 1973] pl. 197f and fig. 157). See also the 12th/13th-century Seljuq hexagonal tile from Iran with applied lion masks, “clearly the central element of a fairly elaborate fountain” (Grube, no. 122, pp. 174, 176). Michael Rogers tells me of a 12th-century Ghurid clay jar in the British Museum with two lion heads at the neck. In his opinion, the zoomorphic decoration of *kilgas* is indebted to unglazed earthenware from Syria and the feline heads are influenced by Mesopotamian (especially Raqqa) unglazed ware, about 1100–1200. Cf. the jar fragments with lion heads in Baghat and Massoul, *Céramique musulmane*, nos. 2, 10, pl. LXI.

In the case of the *kilgas*, however, the Coptic models seem of greater relevance.



FIGURE 52

Built-in jar-stand in the refectory of the monastery of St. Simeon, near Aswan (photo: Knauer)

whether the crudely fluted vases on the legs (Figure 46) might not have inspired the Muslim sculptors of the twelfth century to provide the legs of their *kilgas* with tongue-like flutes.

The shape of one of Strzygowski's jar-tables is clearly determined by that of the reused architectural member it is fashioned from (Figure 48). This appropriation may throw some light on the formation of the *kilga*'s peculiar shape. Possibly it too was derived from the spoils of another defunct civilization—defunct but still with the power to fertilize a new genre. If so, it would not be an isolated instance in the development of Islamic art.

The place on the right bank of the Nile to which the Greeks gave the name of "Babylon in Egypt" was fortified by the Romans, and here, in A.D. 641, the Byzantines lost Egypt to 'Amr, general of Caliph Umar, one of the Meccan companions and the second successor of the Prophet. The bulky remains of the late Roman citadel in Old Cairo still convey today an impression of the physical surroundings the Muslim warriors encountered when leaving the desert for that unprecedented conquest. Marble, not native to Egypt, must have abounded on the site—above all, architectural members, columns, and architraves, imported for the adornment of public and private buildings.⁸⁸ Might not the fluted or chamfered drums of marble columns have suggested themselves as handy raw material for an Ur-form of the *kilga*, so far unrecorded?

88. How much the Islamic invaders of Egypt must have been impressed by the splendor of the architecture at the classical sites, e.g., Alexandria, is attested by several passages in Maqrizi, some of legendary character (see Bouriant's translation, *Description topographique*, pp. 424f., 429). The glare of the marble in that city was said to be such that the inhabitants were forced to wear black, curtains of green silk and black scarves were introduced to shield the eyes, and no lighting was needed on a moonlit night; "On raconte que le marbre était un véritable gêne pour les habitants."

89. I do not know when the term is first used to describe such cascades. "Salsabil is the name of a fountain in paradise, mentioned only once in the Kor'an in Sūra LXXVI, 18. 'And there shall they (the just) be given to drink of the cup tempered with ginger, from the fount therein whose name is salsabil.'" *Encyc.*, VII, p. 118 (T. W. Haig). See also Marçais, "Salsabil and Šādirwān"; and Ettinghausen, introduction to *The Islamic Garden*, p. 9 (the review of this book by John D. Hoag, *Artibus Asiae* 41 [1979] pp. 94f., stresses the classical antecedences).

90. For a recent compilation of nymphaea see: Bluma L. Trell, "Epigraphica Numismatica: Monumental Nymphaea on Ancient Coins," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 15:

That its developed shape should be a contamination of different types, the primitive, indigenous jar-stand and the Coptic "Gefässstisch," gains support when we look for the prototype of an important feature of the fully fledged *kilga*: the *salsabil*.

There is no doubt in my mind that the miniature cascade (*salsabil*),⁸⁹ as well as its monumental counterpart, the wall fountain (*shādhawān*), which both make their appearance in Tulunid/Fatimid times, are inspired by classical models encountered by the Arab invaders in the Roman East. Metropolises like Damascus, Antioch with its suburb of Daphne, and the Roman cities in North Africa were famous for their water supply and the uses made of it.⁹⁰ Though none of these installations has been preserved, we can form a picture of them from fountains of moderate size recovered from private dwellings in Pompeii and Rome. Two Pompeian examples—one of them a "proto-*shādhawān*"—have been fairly accurately reconstructed in the gardens of the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, California (Figures 53, 54).⁹¹ Three examples in the Vatican represent in particular the kind of model that must have furnished visual inspiration to the Muslim craftsmen (Figures 55–57).⁹² Almost square and carved from single blocks of marble, the fountain heads were fed from below through a vertical shaft in the center, which led into a jar-shaped container or reservoir on top. In the simpler models the overflow was drained through perforated scallops placed above miniature flights of steps. In

1–2 (1978) p. 148, n. 3; and *Der Kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike* (Munich, 1975) s.v. *Wasserspiele*. See also C. V. Daremberg and E. Saglio, eds., *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* (Paris, 1896) s.v. *fons* (E. Michon). The ruins of the Canopus in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, one of the many of the emperor's architectural recollections, in this case of Egypt, are extensive enough to visualize a monumental installation of that kind: a vaulted exedra contains a stepped cascade which feeds a canal-like pond, surrounded by a portico, in front of it.

91. For the original of Figure 53, dated about A.D. 50, see Hans Eschebach, *Pompeji: Erlebte antike Welt* (Leipzig, 1978) fig. 214. For Figure 54 see Norman Neuerburg, *Herculaneum to Malibu: A Companion to the Visit of the J. Paul Getty Museum Building* (Malibu, Calif., 1975) pp. [13, 22]. For other examples of stepped wall fountains and freestanding stepped fountain heads, including the originals of Figures 53 and 54, see Paul Zanker, "Die Villa als Vorbild des späten pompejanischen Wohngeschmacks," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 94 (1979) pp. 460–523.

92. See Walter Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* (Berlin, 1903) I, no. 192c, inv. 1110, pl. 29 (Figure 55); no. 58a, inv. 1135 (Figure 56); inv. 649 (Figure 57) lacks a num-

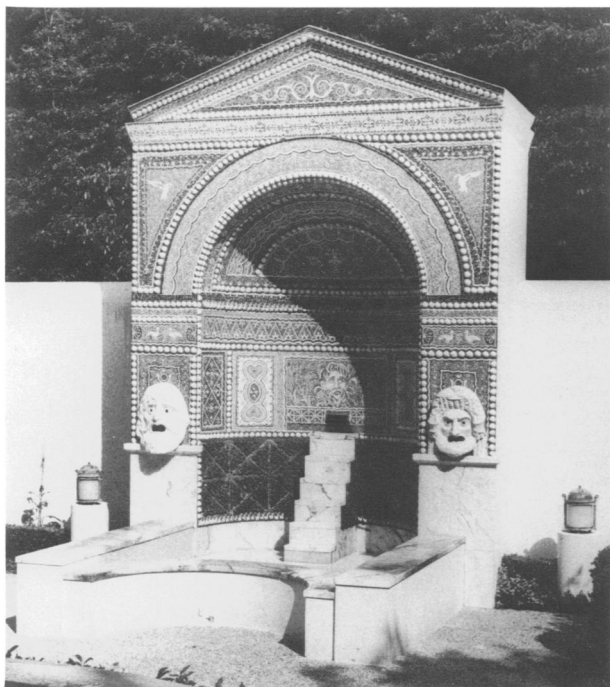


FIGURE 53
Replica of fountain in the House of the Large Fountain, Pompeii. Malibu, California, J. Paul Getty Museum (photo: Knauer)

more elaborate versions it sallied from tilted urns held by scantily clad nymphs asleep on rocky beds above the cascades, or from jugs and skins carried by heroic bearded nudes standing on small supports in the diagonal niches of the fountain head. Lions' and rams' heads at the corners and in the axes of the side and back panels complete the set of iconographic models that Cairene workshops must have drawn upon. That these Roman fountains were in turn de-

ber in Amelung. I owe this information to Georg Daltrop, who generously helped to locate the fountain heads—until the new wing of the museum was built, they were in the area in front of the Pinacoteca Vaticana—and gave permission to photograph them. (Anita Rieche, Rome, is apparently working on this subject; see A. Rieche, "Römische Zierbrunnen," *XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology, London, 3–9 September 1978: Final Programme* [London, 1978] p. 140; the paper was not read.) For further examples see Amelung, *Sculpturen*, no. 24, inv. 1134 (which appears in a drawing in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, fig. 3155), and no. 170, inv. 1103, pl. 29. There is also a fine terracotta cascade in the Villa Albani in Rome, made for connection to a fountain; lion heads flank the stairs and a figure of Oceanus rests on top (S. Settis, "Esedra e 'ninfeo' nella terminologia architettonica del mondo romano," *Aufstieg und Nie-*

FIGURE 54
Replica of fountain in the House of Loreius Tiburtinus, Pompeii. Malibu, California, J. Paul Getty Museum (photo: Knauer)



rived from Hellenistic prototypes can only be hinted at here. In the Kanellopoulos Collection in Athens is a small, boxlike, limestone fountain head (Figure 58).⁹³ Fed through a hole at one end, it let the water rush out over the stepped opening at the other, flanked by crudely carved dolphin heads terminating the two long sides.

It remains for us to consider the appearance of the jars that originally adorned the Cairene *kilgas*. They were surely not left plain like modern Egyptian water

dergang der römischen Welt [Berlin, 1973] I, fig. 19). An interesting unpublished piece in the Byzantine Museum in Athens, no. 94 (2998), about 30 × 30 × 40 cm., shows four stairways descending a hill crowded with carved animals and vegetation—the garden of Eden? It may have served as a baptismal font with the Good Shepherd as the—now missing—central figure, standing above the four rivers of paradise. Such an arrangement could be a Christian adaptation of a Roman fountain with Orpheus charming the animals. For references (excluding the Athenian piece) see Börsch-Supan, *Garten-, Landschafts- und Paradiesmotive*, p. 98.

93. Kanellopoulos Collection, no. 74; provenance apparently not known; dimensions approximately 15 × 18 × 32 cm. Georgios Dontas kindly allowed it to be photographed.



FIGURE 55
Roman fountain head, inv. 1110. Rome, Vatican Museum (photo: Knauer)



FIGURE 57
Roman fountain head, inv. 649. Rome, Vatican Museum (photo: Knauer)

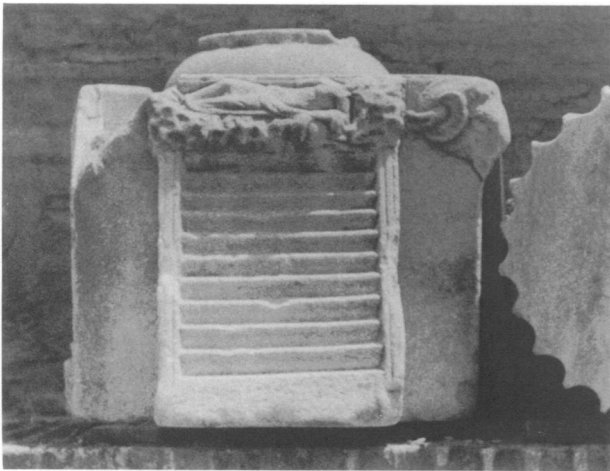


FIGURE 56
Roman fountain head, inv. 1135. Rome, Vatican Museum (photo: Knauer)



FIGURE 58
Hellenistic fountain head, no. 74. Athens, Kanellopoulos Collection (photo: Knauer)

jars. This is suggested by the elaborate carved decoration of the fully developed *kilga* which the jars would certainly have tried to match.⁹⁴

In contrast to the Greeks and Romans, the Islamic peoples did not place pottery in the tombs of their deceased.⁹⁵ Very few of the extant pieces of high quality have been found intact. The majority have had to be put together from fragments recovered in excavations, mostly from vessels broken while in use and then discarded on refuse heaps. Yet among the more ambitious pieces of Fatimid pottery salvaged at Fustat we lack fragments of vases of the size required for our stands, with one exception already cited: the

glazed and stamp-molded piece with the nude *orans* flanked by columns.⁹⁶ The vase it belonged to may have perished in the conflagration of Fustat at the end of the Fatimid period (1168) or later, when partisans of reinstalled orthodoxy would have taken offense at the sight. The sturdier *kilgas* have weathered

94. Even modest unglazed Fatimid clay jars for drinking water had delicate filters, worked *à jour* with animals on a background of arabesques, inserted in the necks. For the most part, only the filters have survived. There is a variety in the Museum of Islamic Art (*Album*, no. 77); see also Grube, nos. 78–81.

95. See Lane, *Account . . . of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 11.

96. See above, note 70.



FIGURE 59

Inscribed 15th-century marble vase on *kilga*, no. 125. Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art (photo: after Wiet, *Inscriptions historiques*)

zealotic attacks slightly better, although, as we have seen, most of those displaying “heretic” iconography show signs of willful mutilation. At a later date the surviving stands were fitted out with marble or alabaster jars; an example is the inscribed fifteenth-century vase in Cairo, coupled with a medieval *kilga* of simple design (Figure 59).⁹⁷

What would the complete jar to which the Fustat sherd belonged have looked like? As Egypt provides

97. See Wiet, *Inscriptions historiques*, no. 125, pl. xxxii, and Herz, *Catalogue raisonné*, p. 50. Both authors provide a translation; I quote Wiet’s: “Cette jarre a été constituée *wakf*, en faveur de la fontaine bénie, par notre maître le sultan el-Malik el-Ashraf Abul-Nasr Kaitbay, que sa victoire soit glorieuse, par Mahomet et sa famille.” Another example of a stand coupled with a marble jar of later date is the one formerly in Boston; see above and note 2. See also Figure 10.

98. Gerald Reitlinger, “Unglazed Pottery from Northern Mesopotamia,” *Ars Islamica* 15/16 (1951) pp. 11–22, lists more



FIGURE 60

Unglazed pottery jar (*habb*) from northern Mesopotamia. H. 81.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 32.150.51

no examples, these must be sought further afield. Interestingly enough, they are to be found in another area dominated by a great river—Mesopotamia, which furnishes a sequence of very large, unglazed clay jars (*habb*) with pear-shaped bodies and even more ornate molded openwork in the neck and handle zones. A fine example is on display at the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 60).⁹⁸ The jars seem to have been produced from the ninth through the late thirteenth

than forty examples; the Metropolitan piece is fig. 1. For more recent literature see Géza Fehérvári, *Islamic Pottery: A Comprehensive Study Based on the Barlow Collection* (London, 1973) p. 114, n. 2. There is a splendid example in Damascus with men and beasts, about 1300 (PKG 4, pl. 217 and p. 276). Among the ancestors of the group surely belongs the fragment of the neck of an unglazed Parthian clay jar from Niniveh in the British Museum, Near Eastern Dept., no. 98 862; it shows molded standing nudes with necklaces in front of a wave-pattern background.

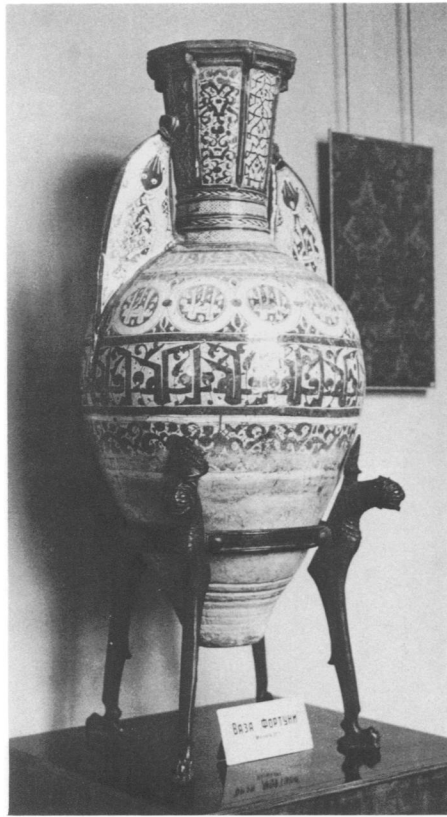


FIGURE 61
Lustreware amphora (the "Fortuny vase"), Malaga,
early 14th century. Leningrad, Hermitage (photo:
Knauer)



FIGURE 62
Detail of Figure 61 (photo: Knauer)

century. The relief decoration of the later examples consists of elaborate scrolls and vegetal bands, fabulous beasts and human beings, among them nude females, and formulaic inscriptions with auspicious wishes. The early examples, more restrained, display symbols related to the lifegiving sphere of water: women flanked by zigzag patterns, stylized plants, and animals. That they served as water jars whose porosity kept the liquid cool is attested by an inscription on one of them.⁹⁹ Because of their roundish bases these vessels are in need of a support, but no stands to go with them have been recovered. In the alluvial

99. On the very late, early 14th-century example, the Neskhī inscription reads: "I am a *habb* (jar) of water wherein there is healing. I quench the thirst of mankind. This I achieve by virtue of my suffering on the day I was cast among the fiery flames." See Reitlinger, "Unglazed Pottery," fig. 23, pp. 20f. The iconography of the high medieval examples is related to that of the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina and has parallels in the mythical

plain of Mesopotamia, stone was not readily available, and jar-stands may well have been of perishable material such as wood or mud. Their shape must in any case have been different from that of the Egyptian *kilgas*, which were made for jars with a more pointed base.

Large amphorae of the required shape are represented in an illuminated manuscript produced in Iraq in 1224, now in the Metropolitan Museum.¹⁰⁰ In a view of the interior of a pharmacy, a number of jars, lacking stands, seem precariously balanced on their tips. This is surely in order to depict them more

animals of the Cairene *kilgas*. For the transmission of these motifs and the artistic *koinē* in the Islamic realm see Monneret de Villard, pp. 47f. and Ettinghausen, pp. 42–56.

100. Cora Timken Burnett Collection of Persian Miniatures and Other Persian Art Objects, Bequest of Cora Timken Burnett, 1956, no. 57.51.21; from a manuscript of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica* (Ettinghausen, pp. 87f.; PKG 4, pl. 158 and p. 242).

clearly and not an attempt to portray reality. Even more appropriate in shape would be an unglazed jar from Spain, with stamped decoration at the shoulder, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, which is dated between the eighth and the fourteenth century.¹⁰¹

The nearest possible examples in size and shape—though somewhat too late in date—seem to be the Alhambra vases.¹⁰² Produced by workshops in Malaga in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, presumably for the Nasrid sultans of Granada, these large lustreware amphorae were apparently destined as reservoirs for drinking water to be placed on stands—which have not survived—in niches on both sides of doors and passages in the Alhambra. Extant inscriptions framing those niches refer to such precious vessels.¹⁰³ In one of the earlier examples of this series, the so-called Fortuny vase in the Hermitage in Leningrad (Figures 61, 62),¹⁰⁴ the whole lower third of the body is left free of slip. This more unsightly porous portion was surely let into a stand that covered it, while allowing the water to seep into a receptacle below.¹⁰⁵

Many of the Alhambra vases have an octagonal collar and lip, curiously reminiscent of the glazed Fustat fragment (a rim?).¹⁰⁶ This may have been part of a similar octagonal collar with stamp molding instead of lustreware decoration. One might ask what caused the potters of Malaga to adopt that unusually chamfered collar for which no real parallels are to be found. Was it perhaps to answer the shape of chamfered jar-stands, related to the Cairene *kilgas*?

Though we lack examples of jar-stands from Spain, they must have existed, not only in the splendid

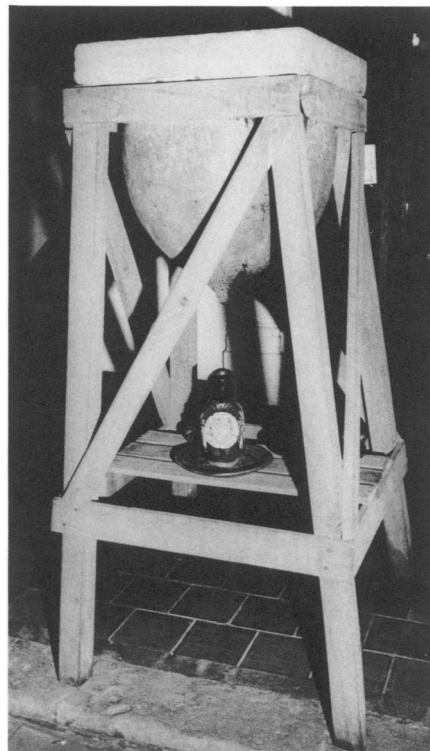


FIGURE 63

Porous sandstone water jar in wooden stand, with clay jar underneath to receive the filtered water. Pátzcuaro (Michoacán), Mexico, Posada de Don Vasco (photo: Knauer)

Moorish and Mudejar palaces but also as normal commodities in households which had to rely on purified water. This seems to be borne out by the examples still found today in rural Mexico. Quite a few

101. See *Encyc. n.e.*, IV, pl. XLIX, illustrating the very useful survey of Islamic pottery by Y. Crowe, s.v. *Khazaf*.

102. Leopoldo Torres Balbas, *Ars Hispaniae: Historia universal del arte hispanico* (Madrid, 1949) IV, pp. 216–219, figs. 232–237; Alice Wilson Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain* (New York, 1951) pp. 15–63, with good photos of the extant pieces. For the dating see Richard Ettinghausen, “Notes on the Lustreware of Spain,” *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954) pp. 133–156.

103. PKG 4, pl. LI and p. 333. See Grabar, *Alhambra*, p. 141, who gives a translation of the poems in the two small niches in which the jars stood at the entrance of the Sala de la Barca. Grabar does not comment on what the jars or their stands may have looked like. Cf. his fig. 92, which shows a niche for a water jar at the entrance to the Hall of the Two Sisters.

104. The height of the vase is 117 cm. Its bronze stand is not contemporary but is one of three that Mariano Fortuny, who recovered several of the vases, made for them (see Froth-

ingham, *Lustreware*, pp. 283 n. 24, 285 n. 40, figs. 8, 15, 31). For Fortuny as a collector see C. Gonzales Lopez, “Mariano Fortuny: Coleccionista de ceramica hispano-musulmana,” *Goya: Revista de Arte* 143 (1978) pp. 272–277 (reference supplied by James David Draper).

105. The slip-free part is higher than in any other of the Alhambra vases. As none of the publications makes mention of the following feature, I am ignorant of its consistency in the series: the Leningrad vase has a carefully turned, slightly stepped opening in its underside; whether this was used for occasional cleaning only or held a taplike fixture I do not know. See also PKG 4, pl. 300. That glazing, which reduces the porosity of jars, did not prevent them from being used as storage vessels for drinking water is clear from Maqrizi’s quotation of Ibn Ridwan (see above, and note 13).

106. See Frothingham, *Lustreware*, figs. 12, 14, 16, 20, 24, 25, 30, 33–35.

Islamic features have survived in Central and South America which can help to reconstruct the realities of life on the Iberic peninsula in medieval times. A water jar and stand, for instance, are to be found in the family house of the painter Diego Rivera in the city of Guanajuato, and there is another example (Figure 63) in the courtyard of a hacienda in Pátzcuaro (Michoacán), now a hotel (Posada de Don Vasco). The stands, which are of wood, support porous sandstone jars through which the water drips with remarkable speed into unglazed clay pitchers placed underneath.¹⁰⁷

In conclusion, although we lack as yet sufficient dated artifacts to chart the development of high medieval Islamic art with greater precision, the attempt to isolate the various decorative features of *kilgas* has led time and again to the eleventh and twelfth centuries for early occurrences of those motifs. As arts and crafts tend to follow trends rather than to lead them, especially where decorative concepts in monumental

architecture are concerned, it seems natural that motifs first encountered in architecture should recur with some delay on objects of the minor arts. This is borne out by the dated stand of about 1200.¹⁰⁸

A combination of several independent traditions for the storage, purification, cooling, and drawing of water seems to account for the development of the *kilga*. The concept of the Arab *salsabil*, derived from classical antecedents, was adapted to the indigenous jar-stand in its pre-Islamic Coptic shape to produce an object of perfect functionality. As these Cairene jar-stands form a fairly strictly circumscribed group, one may well wonder whether they were the "invention" of a single Fatimid workshop which continued producing at least into Ayyubid times, if not longer, and which may also have catered to Coptic clients or provided models for Coptic imitations. At their finest, these *kilgas*, designed for a practical purpose, attest to the well-founded reputation of Muslim craftsmen in the Fatimid to Mamluk periods for ornament superbly conceived and applied.

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107. Dr. Marlene Rall, Mexico City, has kindly written to inform me that the Spanish term for this filtering device is *destiladera* and that, although almost forgotten today, the device was formerly found in every Mexican household.

108. Though I was unable to obtain exact measurements for the majority of the stands (for the difficulties involved see above, note 65), there is a general tendency for the less ornate

or plain ones to be bigger than those more elaborately carved. It may be that the plainer stands were produced during the ideologically stricter Ayyubid and Mamluk periods and that they made up in size for the loss of ornament. It should be stressed again that the typology presented here was introduced to break down the mass of material into recognizable groups, and that it does not reflect a genetic development.

ADDENDA

The following observations, the result of recent travels in Italy and Tunisia, were gathered after this article had gone to press; they seem worth including as they bear on classical antecedents for certain features of the *kilga*.

In the discussion of the apotheosis iconography at the end of note 45, the second-century capitolium at Douggha in Tunisia, which displays an apotheosis in the pediment, can be cited as a Roman monument that must have been directly accessible to Islamic craftsmen.

Further evidence of the Roman origins of the *salsabīl* and *shādhawān* (note 90) can be seen in the *salsabīl*-like wall fountain in the nymphaeum adjacent to the spectacular octagonal room of the Domus Aurea of Nero in Rome. In Tunisia, moreover, I located, among many less well preserved examples, a fine stepped wall fountain feeding a basin in the Roman baths at Djebel Oust or Bab Khaled. Since the baths were in use until Byzantine times, the Arab invaders must have encountered this type of fountain almost intact. For a ground plan of the baths see M. Fendri, "Evolution chronologique et stylistique d'un ensemble de mosaïques dans une station thermale à Djebel Oust (Tunisie)," *La Mosaïque gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1965) I, pp. 157–173, pl. 1.

In addition to the Roman fountain heads in the Vatican Museum (note 92), there are two examples exhibited in the Chiostro of the Museo Nazionale delle Terme (nos. 674 and 860) and another on the staircase landing of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome.

Finally, as a matter of more general interest, I should

like to mention an article by A. A. Barb and A. R. Neumann, "Eine angeblich römerzeitliche Marmorlampe aus der Wiener Hofbibliothek," *Antike Welt* 10/4 (1979), pp. 44–45, figs. 1–6, which has been brought to my attention by Joan R. Mertens. The authors discuss a marble object (21 × 16–18 × 30 cm.) acquired in 1962 by the Ur- und Frühgeschichtliche Abteilung of the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien. Two noteworthy features of the piece emerge from the article. First, it was drawn and recorded in the eighteenth century by visitors who saw it in the imperial Hofbibliothek in Vienna. Second, it is inscribed on the outside with thirty-two signs and carved with two reliefs of a seated woman holding a *patera*, a figure that the authors derive from a type of Roman *pietas* adopted about 1550 on Milanese coins of the emperor Charles V. Owing to considerable traces of burning on the inside, the authors interpret the object as a lamp, which the signs and reliefs lead them to suppose was made in the sixteenth century for a secret society or brotherhood like the Rosicrucians. The most noteworthy feature of all, however, is one of which the authors are evidently unaware. In fact, the object is unmistakably a small *kilga*, whose present decoration must be far removed from the time and place of its original construction. The authors' comparison of this *kilga* with two marble lamps illustrated by Fortunius Licetus in his work of 1652 (*De lucernis antiquorum reconditis* . . . , see their n. 21) appears to me, from an examination of the original publication, to be untenable.

Patterns by Master f

JANET S. BYRNE

Curator, Department of Prints and Photographs, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

IN 1960 the late Rudolf Berliner said that an unidentified strapwork and leaf ornament drawing in the Metropolitan Museum might be by Master f (Figure 1). He thought it was related in style to the patterns attributed to Master f which were published in Antwerp about 1550 by Hieronymus Cock in a book of *moresques* entitled: *Formes de diuerses protractiōs, lesquelles vulgairement sont nommees Maurusies, ou fœuelles de lauriers, faictes a la maniere des Perses, Assyriens, Arabes, Aegyptiens, Indoyz, Turcz, & Grecz, commodieusement ordonnees au grant bien des painctres, orfebures, Tailleurs de images, voiriers, tapiciers, brodeurs, & de tous aultres besongnant de leguille* (Figure 2).¹ Nowhere on the title page or the nineteen plates is there any indication of who made them. The title is given in Latin, Italian, French, and German, each time in a different lettering—not typeset but engraved. A fifth type of lettering was used by Hieronymus Cock when, long after the initial publication, he added his name and address as publisher:

Imprime · en · Anuers · au ·
Quatre · Vens Hieronijmus · Cock.

According to Berliner,² the plates were first published about 1530 to 1535, fifteen or twenty years before Cock's edition. His evidence for this appears to be a copy in Munich's Graphische Sammlung with no publisher's name on the title page; the four fields in which Cock added his name and address are empty. The plates must have circulated a good deal among those who were interested, because by 1543 Hirschvogel had copied two of them (Figure 3) and another was copied in woodcut before 1546 by Peter Flötner (Figure 4).³ Berliner, who with Arthur Lotz⁴ knew more about Master f than the rest of the world put together, thought the plates were by Master f. Firm

evidence to the contrary must be produced before the attribution can be rejected. The plates published by Cock (Figure 5) show that their designer could indeed have made our drawing. It is tantalizing to see that this has been numbered 69 in the upper right corner.

Sixteenth-century drawings for the illustration of lace and embroidery pattern books are practically unknown. The printed pattern books themselves, usually illustrated with woodcuts, are so rare that often they are known only by one or two copies, even though some were published in as many as eight editions within ten years. Today, when they are found, they are apt to be incomplete and in poor condition because their sixteenth-century owners tore out pages, pasted or nailed them to workroom walls, fingered, folded, cut, scribbled on them, chalked and pricked them for transfer. Alessandro Paganino's instructions for the use of his patterns in his *Libro quarto de rechami*, probably published in Toscolano in 1532, would ultimately lead to their destruction (Figure 6). Removal of the pattern from his book is implied to start with. Next comes pricking with a needle, keeping the many holes together, and then pouncing with powdered charcoal in a little cloth bag. An alternative method of transferring the pattern to the cloth to be

1. Aside from fragments, this book is known to me only in the facsimile of the second edition, *Hieronymus Cock's Moreshbok* (Stockholm, 1931), with an introduction by Isak Colijn.

2. Rudolf Berliner, *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1926) p. 35, pls. 87–90.

3. Since Flötner died in 1546, his copy, although undated, must have been done sometime between 1522 and 1546 while he was working in Nuremberg.

4. Arthur Lotz, *Bibliographie der Modelbücher* (Leipzig, 1933).

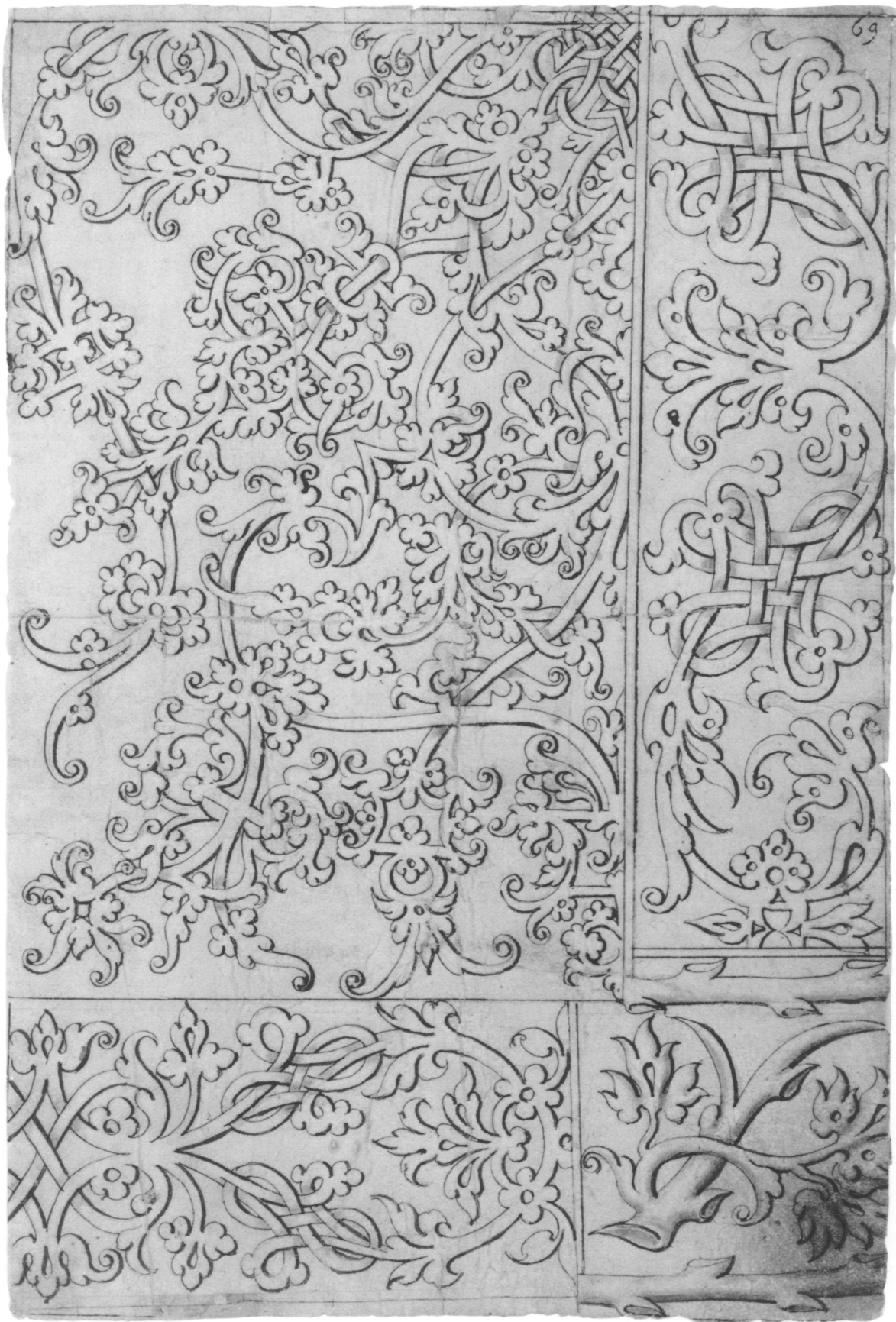


FIGURE 1

Attributed to Master f, Drawing, strapwork and leaf ornament. Pen and brown ink, brush and light brown wash on a pale buff ground, $11\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. (28.5 \times 19.1 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 52.570.212

FIGURE 2

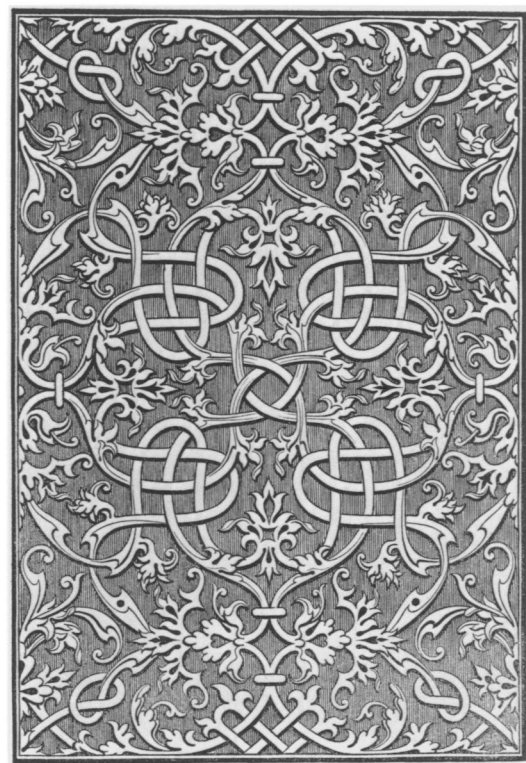
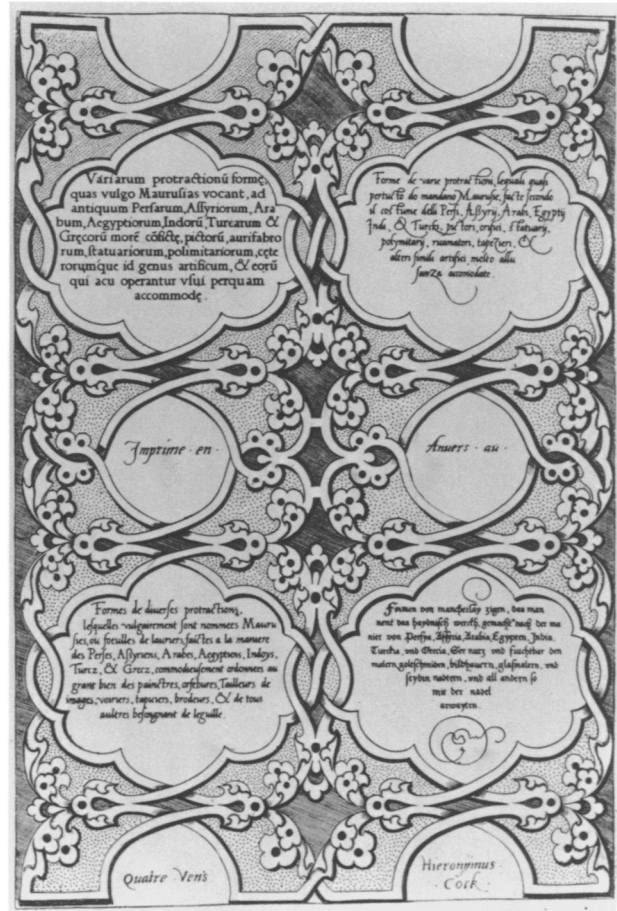
Attributed to Master f, Engraved title page of a set of moresques, *Formes de diverses protractions* . . . , published by Hieronymus Cock, Antwerp, 2nd edition, about 1550 (from a facsimile, Stockholm, 1931)

FIGURE 3

Augustin Hirschvogel, Etching dated 1543, copied from a design attributed to Master f in *Formes de diverses protractions*, pl. 6. Berlin, Stiftung Preussisches Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen Kunstbibliothek Berlin, OS 17 (photo: Kunstbibliothek)

FIGURE 4

Peter Flotner, Woodcut copy, 1546 or before, of a design attributed to Master f in *Formes de diverses protractions*, pl. 6. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 25.49



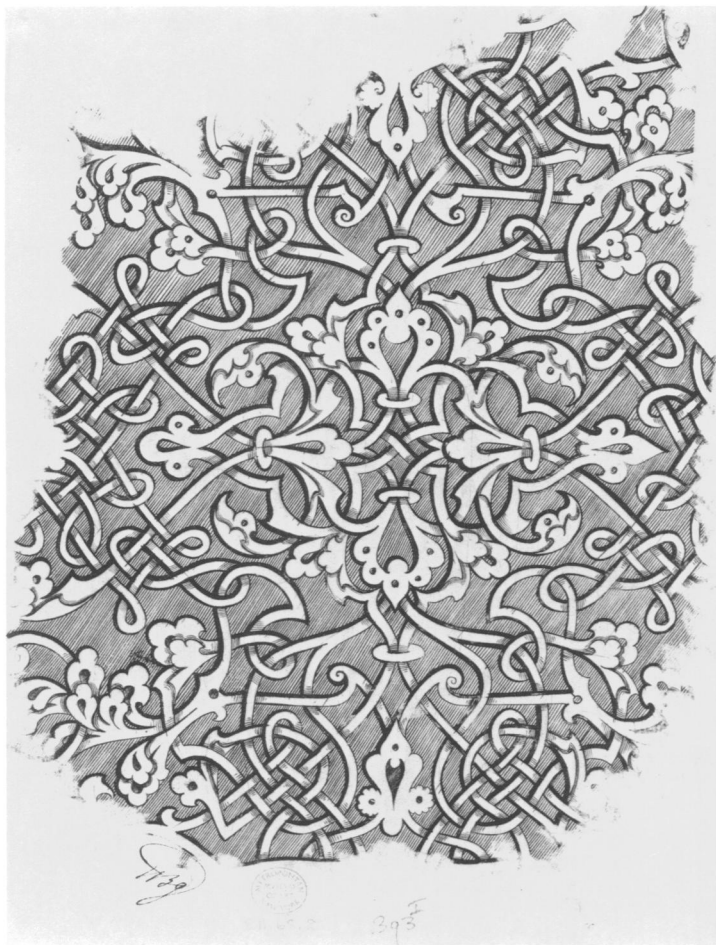


FIGURE 5
Attributed to Master f, Fragment of pl. 19 in *Formes de diverses protractions*, used (before 1924) to line an etching by Daniel Hopfer. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 24.68.2

embroidered, especially in the case of black cloth, he says, is to brush a solution of gum (probably gum arabic) through the pinholes, adding permanent stains to the paper pattern.

In great demand, the pocket-sized pattern books traveled all over western Europe. They often included patterns which could be adapted by painters, carvers, goldsmiths, bookbinders, and other craftsmen as well as embroiderers, and have long been recognized as responsible for the international dispersal of decorative ideas and motifs. The early ones, from the 1520s and 1530s, have little or no text, and sometimes no author, no date, no place of publication (this kind of information is frequently supplied in brackets by bibliographers like Arthur Lotz, whose detective work was meticulous). The illustrations are almost never signed by the artist, partly because many of the books are compendia of patterns copied from earlier publications. One original designer, Master f, did sign several of his engravings, and on grounds of style his name has been attached to several books of unsigned patterns. In order to confirm Berliner's attribution of our drawing to Master f, investigation has led to a tentative catalogue of Master f's oeuvre.

All that anyone now knows about Master f, a sixteenth-century North Italian designer who has yet to be identified, can be briefly summed up. He is

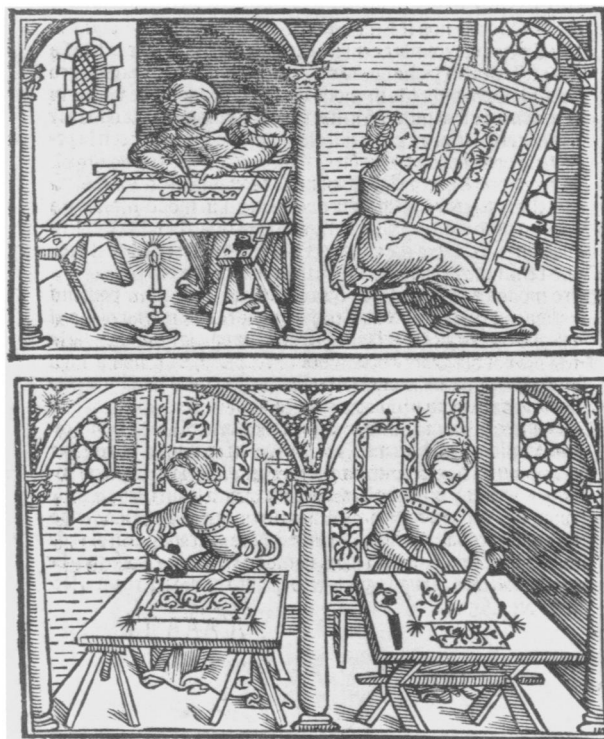
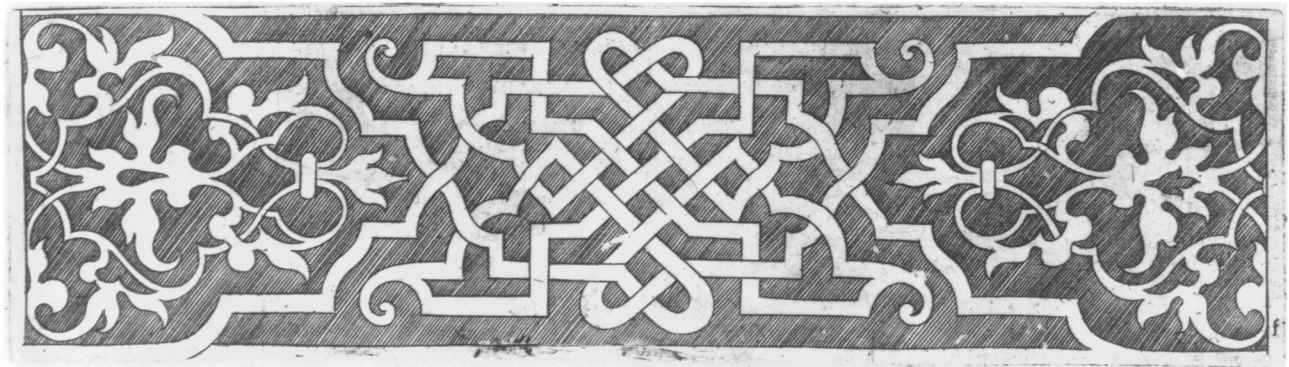


FIGURE 6
Alessandro Paganino, Woodcut showing transfer of patterns, *Libro quarto de rechami* [Toscolano, about 1532], leaf AAAA iiv. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 48.40



FIGURE 7
Master f's signature, enlarged detail of Figure 8

FIGURE 8
Signed by Master f, Engraved strapwork ornament. Berlin Kunstbibliothek, no. 527, 95.402 (photo: Kunstbibliothek)



thought to be Venetian and was once, though he is no longer, identified as Domenico da Sera il Franciosino.⁵ His patterns contain Islamic elements which, in the sixteenth century, were presumably more apt to be found in Venice than elsewhere in Italy. He put the letter *f* on a few of his engravings (Figure 7), and it is probably a signature since it never appears with numbers or other letters which might indicate that the plate was part of the *f* gathering of a book, or set *f* in a series of plates. Of some fifty to sixty engraved patterns which are possibly by Master *f*, only six are signed. With the exception of the set of *protractions* published by Cock, all of them are horizontal strips,

whether they are signed or not. The patterns are usually about 10 by 2 or 3 inches with almost no margins, and occur separately. If Master *f* ever issued these engravings as a book, not one copy is known. Some of them, however, were copied in woodcut and published in Venice by Giovanni Andrea Vavassore in *Corona di racammi* about 1530. A year or two later the Venetian printer and publisher, Nicolo d'Aristotile called Zoppino, copied the Master *f* patterns as published by Vavassore, and he was in turn copied in 1534 by Heinrich Steyner in Augsburg. Lotz implies that anyone wishing to learn more about Master *f* should study the patterns in Vavassore.⁶

5. No one seems to have written about Master *f* before 1926, when Berliner said about some plates reproduced in his *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter* (p. 35, pls. 83–86): “Wahrscheinlich oberitalienischer Meister F. Lebensdaten unbekannt. Vielleicht identisch mit Domenico da Sera, genannt il Franciosino.” By 1933 Lotz noted (*Modelbücher*, p. 123 n. 1) that he and Berliner no longer thought Master *f* and Il Franciosino were the same person. Recently John Hayward, *Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism 1540–1620* (London, 1976) p. 75, has re-

iterated the identification of Master *f* as Domenico da Sera for reasons not specified, and says “the first printed pattern book of mauresques to appear in Europe is signed by the master ‘F.’” Hayward evidently thinks the signed, loose patterns (Figures 7–11) are also part of the *Formes de diverses protractions*; the Stockholm facsimile shows that they are not. To my knowledge no one has ever seen or found any record of a book with the signed patterns.

6. Lotz, *Modelbücher*, p. 63.



FIGURE 9
Signed by Master f, Two engravings of leaf ornament. Berlin Kunstbibliothek, no. 527, 95.259 and 95.260 (photo: Kunstbibliothek)

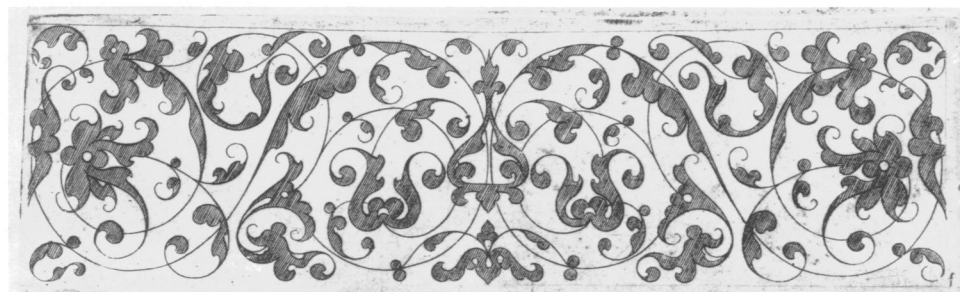


FIGURE 10
Signed by Master f, Engraved leaf ornament with ties. Berlin Kunstbibliothek, no. 527, 95.399 (photo: Kunstbibliothek)



MASTER f's SIGNED PATTERNS

The six signed patterns are of four types. According to Lotz, the first is a development of Islamic designs (Figure 8). This type is composed of what he called braided-work and Hind called strapwork,⁷ alternating with the style of leaf ornament found in the Near

East. The so-called braided-work occurs earlier in Italy in the work of Nicoletto Rosex da Modena, whose two signed examples were presumably made about 1500–12, the only firm dates for Nicoletto's work. When Master f made his patterns can only be said to be earlier than about 1530, the date of their publication by Vavassore.⁸

7. Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving* (Washington and London, 1948) V, p. 137, no. 110.

8. The statement that Vavassore copied Master f instead of the other way around is nowhere explained. Since both the woodcuts and the engravings are undated and since little is known about any of these artists and publishers, the answer must lie in the fact that woodcuts, being cheaper and quicker to

produce for an increasing demand, would have postdated the engravings. Also, the woodcutter has somewhat coarsened the patterns, and it is said that copyists are apt to simplify the designs they copy, although there are examples of artists elaborating, not simplifying, borrowed designs. The most obvious proof of who copied whom is always a comparison of established dates, which is impossible in this instance.

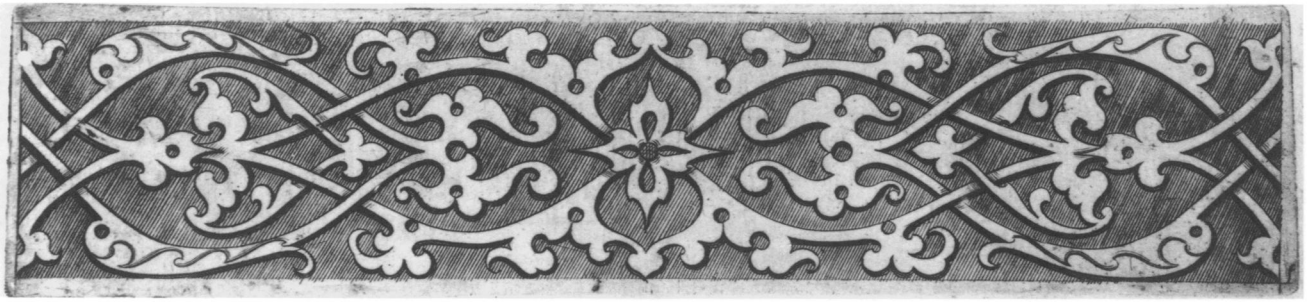


FIGURE 11

Signed by Master f, Engraved strapwork and pierced leaf ornament. Berlin Kunstbibliothek, no. 527, 95.404 (photo: Kunstbibliothek)

Master f and Nicoletto used a band or flat ribbon—a reed, not a willow twig or cord as used in the Leonardo Academy knots that Dürer copied. These flat bands or ribbons, geometrically intertwined, in some cases go right through the edge of the frame or become part of it.

The second type of pattern signed by Master f is a shaded, stylized leaf pattern linked by curvilinear scrolls on a white ground (Figure 9). There seem to be only two such patterns by Master f, and, indeed, they are so uncharacteristic that if they were not signed they might be attributed to Virgil Solis, Cornelis Bos, or Balthasar Sylvius, since this type was endlessly repeated and developed by them. Because Master f must have been an accomplished designer before 1530, it appears that if these artists—who worked slightly later—did not copy him, they designed variations on his themes.

The third type signed by Master f is related to the second in that it consists of the same shaded leaf patterns connected by scrolls on a white ground, but it differs in that it has bands, probably derived from ironwork, tying the elements together (Figure 10). These patterns are not in Vavassore or Zoppino, but one appears, almost unrecognizably, in Giovanni Antonio Tagliente's *Opera Nuova* (Venice, 1530) with the pattern white against a black background.

The fourth and last type of signed pattern (Figure 11) is composed of interlaced strapwork combined with stylized leaves pierced by circular holes in the same fashion as the patterns in *Formes de diverses pro- tractions*, especially plates 8, 19, and 20, as well as our own drawing (Figure 1).

MASTER f's UNSIGNED PATTERNS

Unsigned patterns thought to be by Master f, in addition to those which belong to the same types as the signed ones, fall into four main categories with variations.

The Broken Branch

This motif occurs in the lower right-hand corner of our drawing (Figure 1). Although no signed example has yet turned up, the Berlin Kunstbibliothek has two broken branch engravings attributed to Master f (Figure 12), which are repeated by woodcuts in Vavassore and Paganino (Figures 13, 14). They illustrate Lotz's suggestion that woodcut patterns published in these books, but unknown among Master f's signed engravings, may be copies of his lost or unsigned designs.

The broken branch is sometimes a grapevine and is often arranged in interlinked S shapes fastened together with ties. In an eighteenth-century vellum scrapbook of prints known as the Romilly Scrapbook⁹ in the Metropolitan Museum, there is an unsigned and apparently unique engraved variant of two entwined broken branches, which may be by Master f (Figure 15). Without the ties, and with a slightly tapering design instead of the usual double-S boughs, it has a horizontally lined background.

9. So called because it contains the bookplate of Peter Romilly, who died in 1784.

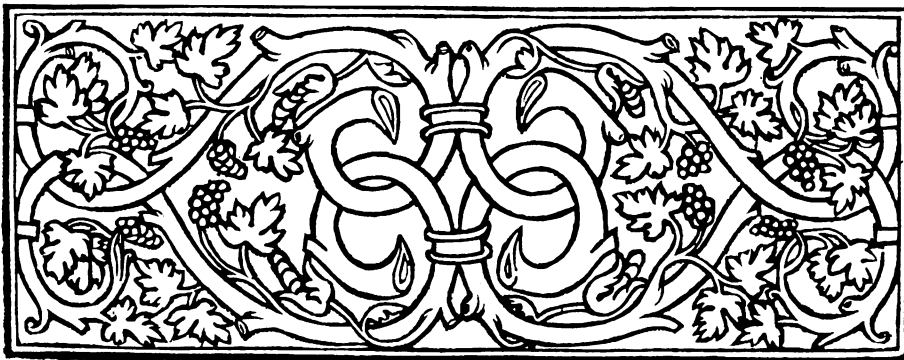
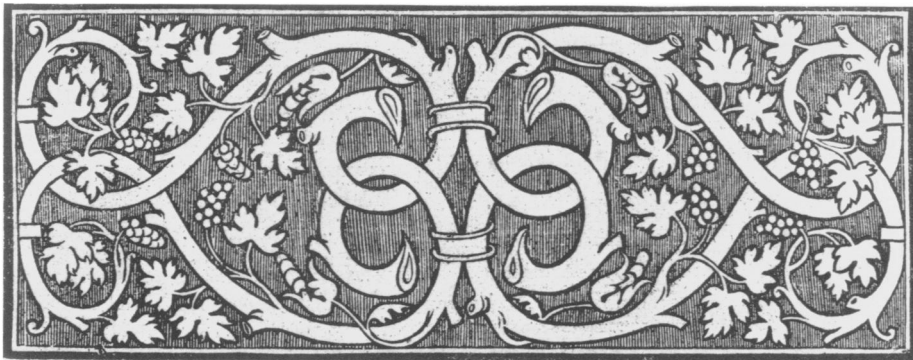
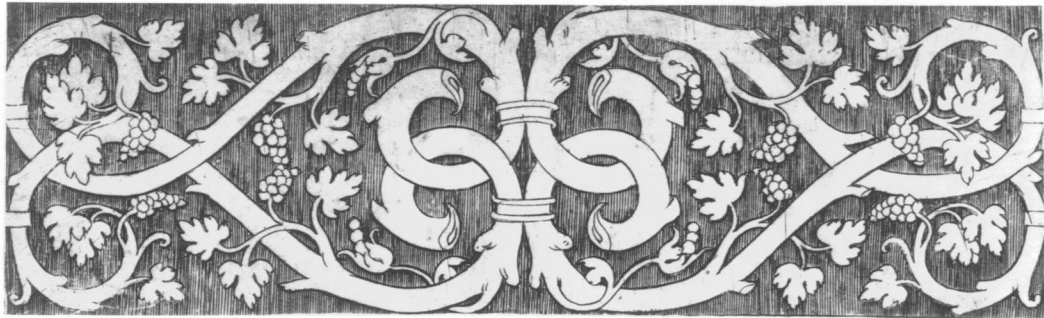
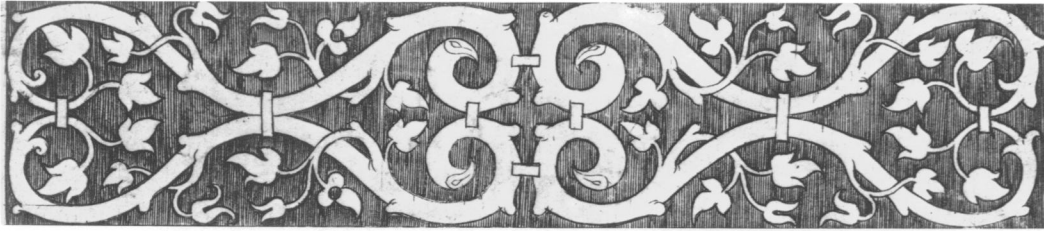
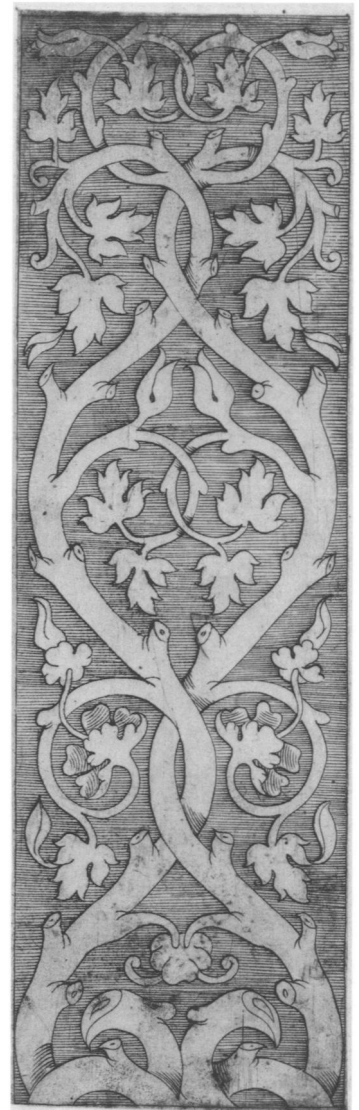


FIGURE 12
Attributed to Master f,
Two engravings of double-S broken branch pat-
tern. Berlin Kunstbiblio-
thek no. 527, 03.241 and
28.253 (photo: Kunst-
bibliothek)



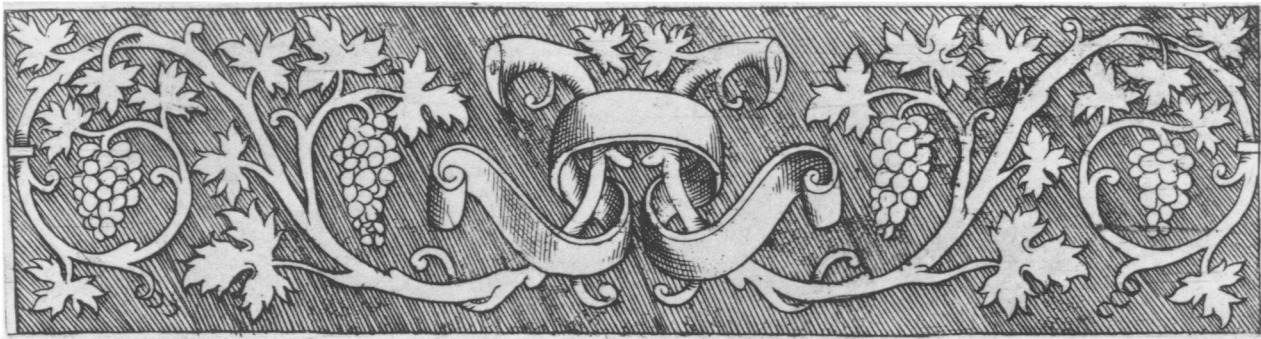


FIGURE 16

Attributed to Master f, Engraved variant of the broken branch pattern. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 53.600.464

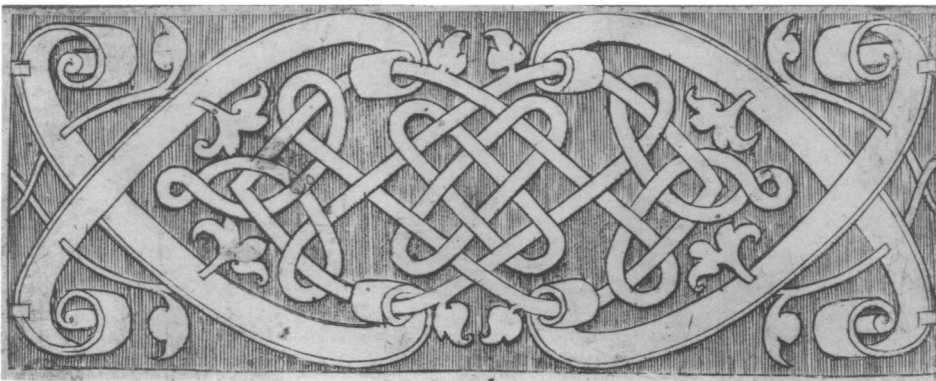


FIGURE 17

Attributed to Master f, Engraved scroll ornament. Romilly Scrapbook, detail of leaf 34

facing page

FIGURE 13

Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, Woodcut, *Corona di racami* (Venice, 1530?), leaf 19r. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 32.54.1

FIGURE 14

Paganino, Woodcut, *Libro quarto de rechami*, leaf 14r. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 48.40.

FIGURE 15

Attributed to Master f, Engraving with the broken branch pattern, Romilly Scrapbook, detail of leaf 34. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 47.79.1

Another variant of the broken branch pattern is one with a scroll binding two branches together (Figure 16), and although it too is unsigned, both Berlin's Kunstbibliothek and the Metropolitan Museum attribute their impressions to Master f.

A logical development of this pattern shows the branch eventually dropping out, leaving the scroll alone to frame the braided knot. The Romilly Scrapbook contains a unique engraved example of this variant (Figure 17), which is here attributed to Master f.¹⁰

10. The word unique in this context is, of course, of only temporary significance. It means simply that no other example has yet been found; publication may expose others. That so many of Master f's engravings are now called unique is not surprising. Such prints were of no interest to the world at large for four centuries, and were inevitably roughly handled by those who used them. If they survived, they are apt to be found today in protective hiding places like scrapbooks.



FIGURE 18
Attributed to Master f
(Berliner) and to Enea Vico
(Bartsch), Engraved dog-
faced leaf creatures. The
Metropolitan Museum of
Art, Harris Brisbane Dick
Fund, 24.10.14(2)



FIGURE 19
Engraving signed E.V., not
described by Bartsch. Rom-
illy Scrapbook, detail of leaf
34

The Dog-faced Leaf Creatures

One of the many unsigned patterns attributed to Master f has also been attributed to Enea Vico (Figure 18). Two angry creatures, with heads facing away from each other, have one of their front paws on a vase between them; their leafy tails flourish sideways

11. This raises the question of whether a designer of horizontal strip ornament would change the direction of the lines used to shade the background. In Master f's signed prints the parallel shade lines go from upper right to lower left: ///. Although it seems logical that a designer, if right-handed, would ordinarily shade the background of his prints in the same direction, the evidence here is inconclusive because unsigned prints attributed to Master f are shaded in all four directions: ///, \\\, |||, or ≡. There is no reason to suppose that prints not shaded in the same direction are not by Master f; in any case they could be Master f's patterns engraved by someone else. For example, Spain's Biblioteca de el Escorial owns nine unsigned plates which are attributed to Master f; Aurora Casanovas, "Catálogo de la Colección de Grabados de la Biblioteca de el Escorial," *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona* 16 (1963–64) p. 348. The measurements are given as 26–31.5 ×

to the edge of the horizontal strip of ornament. The background has been shaded by regularly spaced parallel strokes going from the upper left to the lower right.¹¹ This engraving was listed by Bartsch as the work of Enea Vico (1523–67);¹² Berliner attributed it

19.2–22.5 cm. Judging from photographs, these nine sheets with four or five patterns apiece seem to have been printed from only nine copper plates. Occasionally the individual patterns are numbered, but inexplicably, on none of the nine plates do the numbers run consecutively, although the numbers too appear to have been engraved. Several of the patterns are identical to some in Berlin, but they were not printed from the same copper plates. Two of the matching patterns in Berlin are signed f, from which it appears that the Escorial plates are copies, although it is dangerous to say so without having seen them. In the circumstances, one must assume that until proved otherwise all the Escorial patterns are by Master f, no matter who engraved them.

12. Adam Bartsch, *Le Peintre graveur* (Leipzig, 1867) XV, p. 356, no. 452.

to Master f because it appeared to him earlier than Vico and not exactly in his style. Vico's style, however, is almost impossible to know since he was a copyist rather than a designer. Of the 494 prints listed by Bartsch as his, less than one quarter were signed by Vico as the inventor or designer. His name or initials, however, identify him as the engraver of other artists' paintings, drawings, sculpture, bronzes, and coins.

One tenuous point favors an attribution of the angry leaf creatures to Vico. Our impression is a restrike printed on unwatermarked eighteenth-century paper, together with another plate of Vico ornament signed E.V.,¹³ and it is bound in a book with restrikes of Vico's rinceaux.¹⁴ These rinceaux, however, are not signed, and look like nothing else engraved by Vico; in spite of Bartsch's observation, "Les estampes d'Enée Vico offrent une grande variété de manières,"¹⁵ this set may eventually drop out of any catalogue of Vico's work.

If Master f is the designer, this is his only known print with a figural element, and in my opinion its attribution should be placed in a temporary limbo until more proof appears. The closest one can come to Master f in the work of Enea Vico is an unpublished engraving in the Romilly Scrapbook (Figure 19). It is signed E.V. under the inscription *Per Capelli la meta*. A semicircular pattern with stylized leaves and branches tied together, it is, I am told, half of an embroidered hood or cap, although without the inscription one would assume it was a design for an ironwork grille, perhaps a lunette for the top of a round-headed window. Vico was not born until 1523, by which time Master f was already using leaves and branches in this fashion. All of the patterns so far attributed to Master f are rectangular and have no text.

Patterns for Specific Uses

Some time ago the Metropolitan Museum acquired two clumsily engraved sheets of patterns (Figures 20, 21), which come from a book whose identity has not yet been established. A second impression of one sheet (Figure 20), also completely separate and out of context, belongs to the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam, where it is attributed to Master f. The patterns on both leaves are evidently associated with specific although undetermined objects, a phenomenon unknown elsewhere in the work of Master f: in

general his patterns exist to be adapted for anything by anyone with the wits to use them. The pattern in Figure 20 shows a narrow border and a double edging with a terminal design like others to be found in Paganino's *Libro quarto de rechami*. The second sheet shows what appears to be a cloth with two border patterns of unequal length unaccountably side by side within a shaded edging (Figure 21). The laid but unwatermarked paper tells little or nothing; the copper plates from which the sheets were printed were worn out. The patterns on both sheets are fairly like a design with narrow borders in the Escorial (Figure 22), which also contains a double border with a terminal, but the execution is far from the crisp engraving associated with Master f. Rather, it is extremely similar to the crude and careless technique to be seen in patterns published by Tommaso Barlacchi, who signed himself TOM. B. F. (Figure 23). The F. after his name stands for *fecit*, implying that he did the engraving himself, unlike the *Tom. Barl. excudit 1541* he used as the publisher of Enea Vico's engraved copies of *Leviore et extemporaneae picturae* by an unidentified Italian engraver.

Circular Patterns

A few circular patterns within rectangles appear in *Formes de diverses protractions* (Figure 24). Perhaps circular patterns without rectangular borders can now be added to Master f's oeuvre. The last two gatherings of a small scrapbook in an eighteenth-century cartonnage binding present some twenty-five patterns (Figures 25, 26) carelessly sewn in upside down behind a collection of shields and rectangular patterns. The latter are inscribed with instructions for bookbinders written in Spanish with an Italian flavor. The rectangles as well as the circles are drawn in pen and brown ink on paper watermarked with an eagle, identified by Briquet as Florentine paper dating around 1501.¹⁶ Arabic numbers appear on some of

13. Ibid., no. 453. There remains the question of the variation in Vico's signature. Usually Vico signed himself AE. V., but sometimes E.V. appears (G. K. Nagler, *Die Monogrammisten* [Munich, 1858] I, no. 509 and II, no. 1790). The variation can be accounted for quite simply by the difference between the Italian *Enea* and the Latin *Aeneas*.

14. Bartsch, *Le Peintre graveur*, XV, p. 358, nos. 455–466.

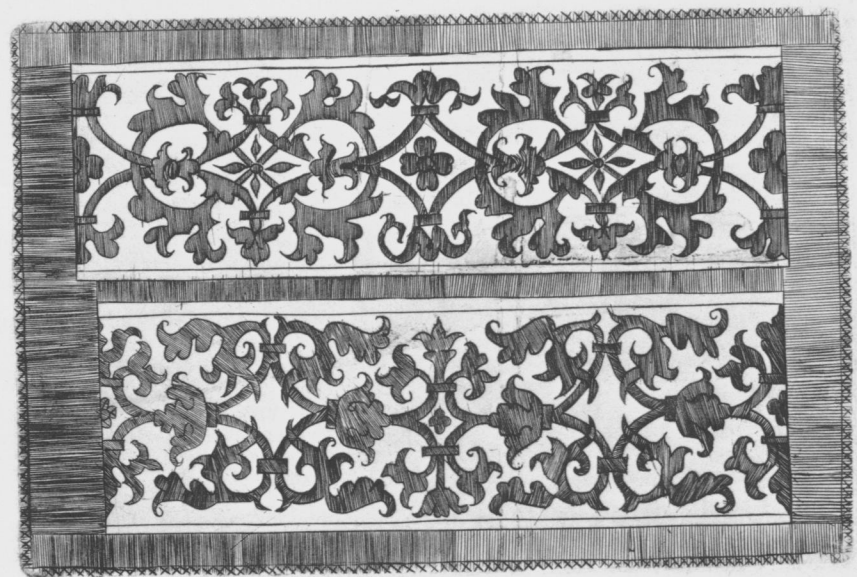
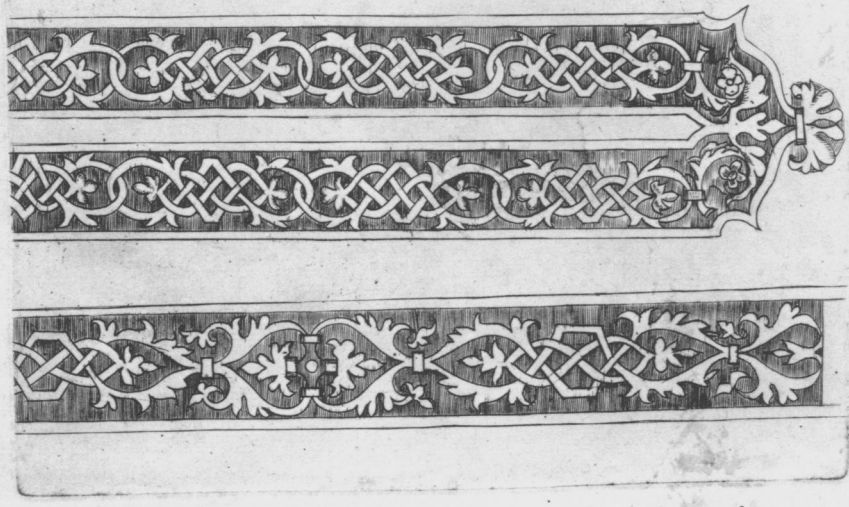
15. Ibid., p. 278.

16. C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, new ed. (Amsterdam, 1968) I, p. 24, no. 89.

Caricatura del L. Caraffa

Disegno per l'ornamento del frontone di una casa di campagna a gressato

Il disegno è di gressato, e si può anche fare in legno, o in ferro, o in stucco, o in pietra, o in marmo, o in metallo, o in altro.



Disegno per l'ornamento del frontone di una casa di campagna a gressato anno 1400

FIGURES 20 AND 21

Attributed to Master f, Engravings cut from an unidentified book. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 62.661.23-24

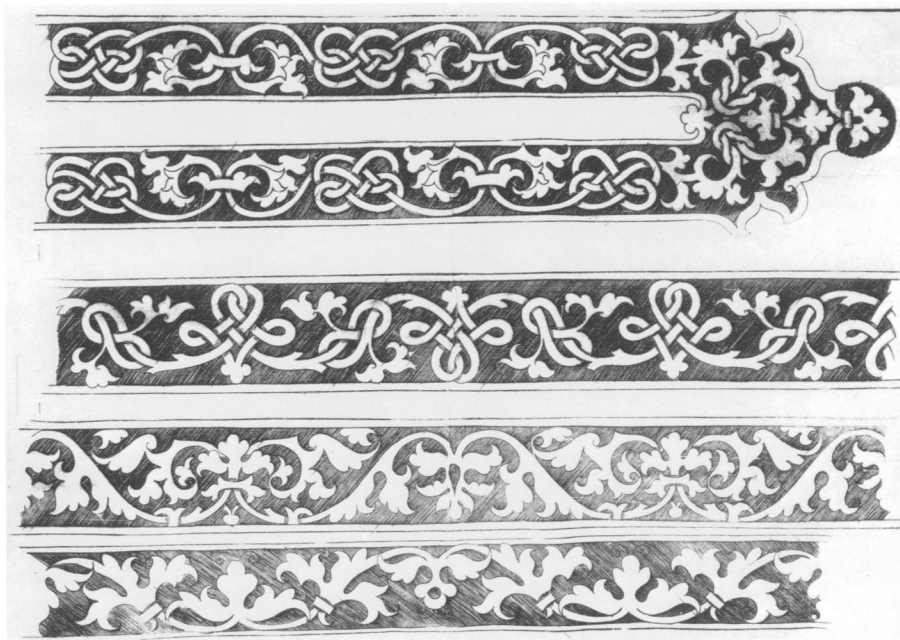


FIGURE 22

Attributed to Master f, Engraving with four patterns. Biblioteca de el Escorial, R N 2348 (photo: Escorial)

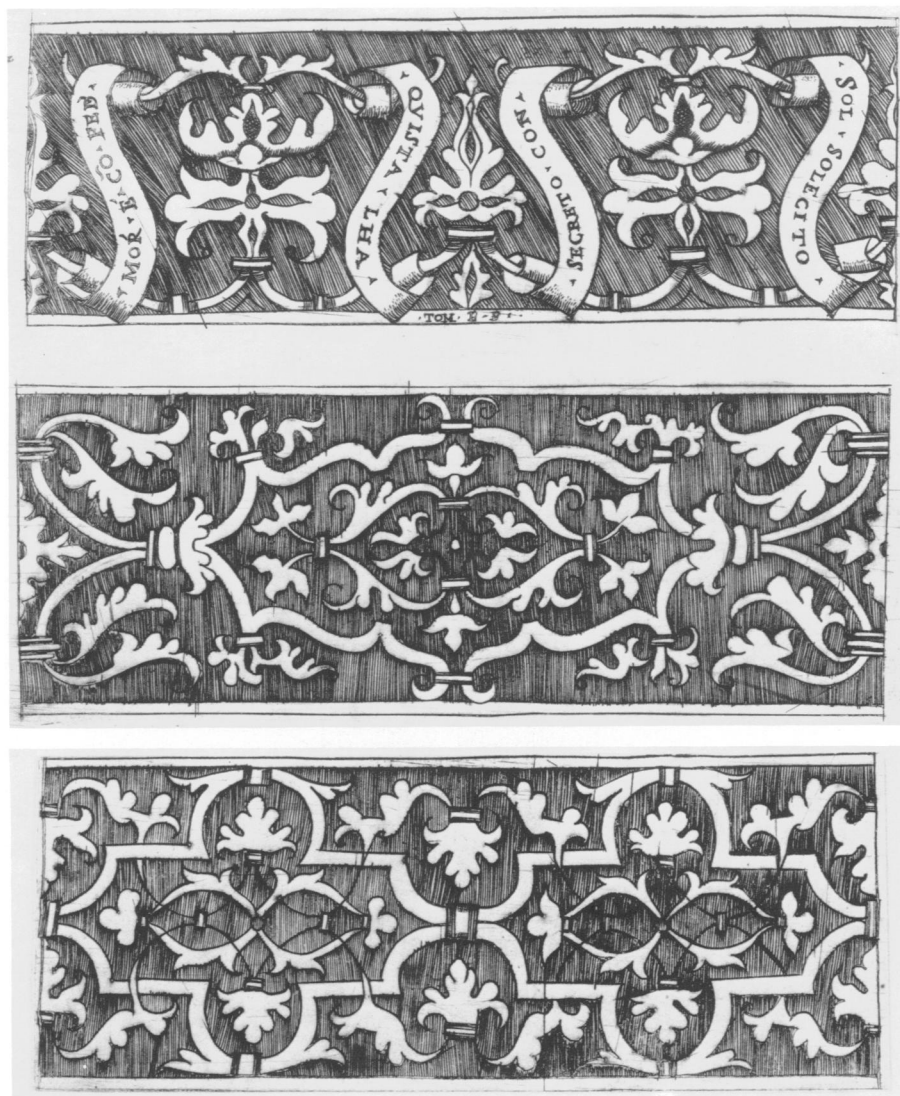


FIGURE 23

Three engraved patterns signed TOM. B. F. (TOMMASO BARLACCHI FECIT). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 43.600.473-474

the circular designs, written in the center or outside the circle near its edge, always indicating the number of elements inside the design. Many of the circular patterns are pricked for transfer, and those which are not show compass holes and stylus indentations. Eighteen of the circular designs bear the letter *f*. Berliner wondered whether this was Master *f*'s signature, which it resembles. If not a signature, its recurrence and the absence of other letters must be explained. Could it too be a bookbinder's instruction? Several of the same circular patterns are to be found in the Uffizi's folder of unknown Italian seventeenth-century *pavimenti* drawings (Figure 27), but they do not appear in the Venetian woodcut books along with Master *f*'s borders.

Master *f* may continue to elude us; we are still unable to do more than guess that he worked in Venice—or perhaps one can only say North Italy—in the 1520s and 1530s. It would be comforting to know without any doubt that Master *f* designed and engraved the set of twenty plates of the *Formes de diverses protractions* and to know when he did so. Equally fascinating would be to know exactly how the copper plates arrived in Hieronymus Cock's Antwerp shop at The Sign of the Four Winds. Most exciting would be the recognition of a hypothetical book of engraved strip patterns like those illustrated in Figures 8–12, with a title page, a place of publication, a date, and Master *f*'s full name. Meanwhile, it seems useful to start with Master *f*'s six signed patterns, find related ones, and try to establish his oeuvre. Figures 28 through 102 illustrate strip patterns which may be by him, even though he was not necessarily the engraver.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Olga Sichel for her help in sorting patterns and in translating various texts. Colleagues in various Print Rooms, especially Dr. Marianne Fischer of the Berlin Kunstbibliothek, have kindly suffered my tedious inquiries. Dr. Helmut Nickel has answered questions, and the late A. Hyatt Mayor was good enough to read this manuscript. Claire Greene has labored at great length to make my remarks understandable. I am in-

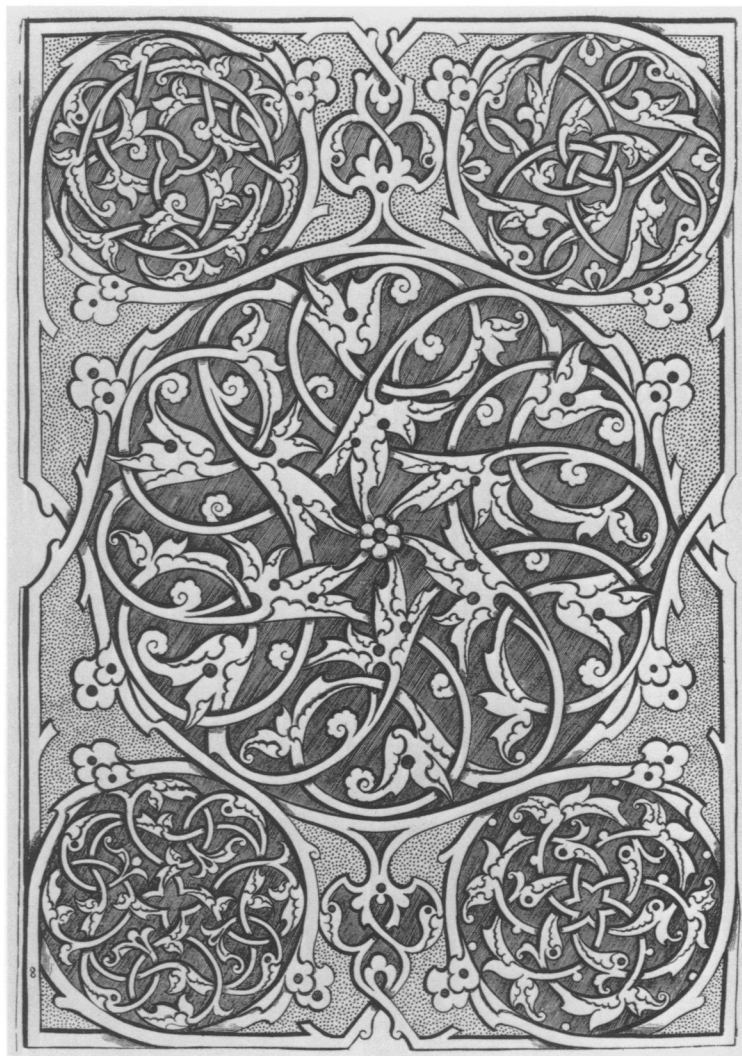
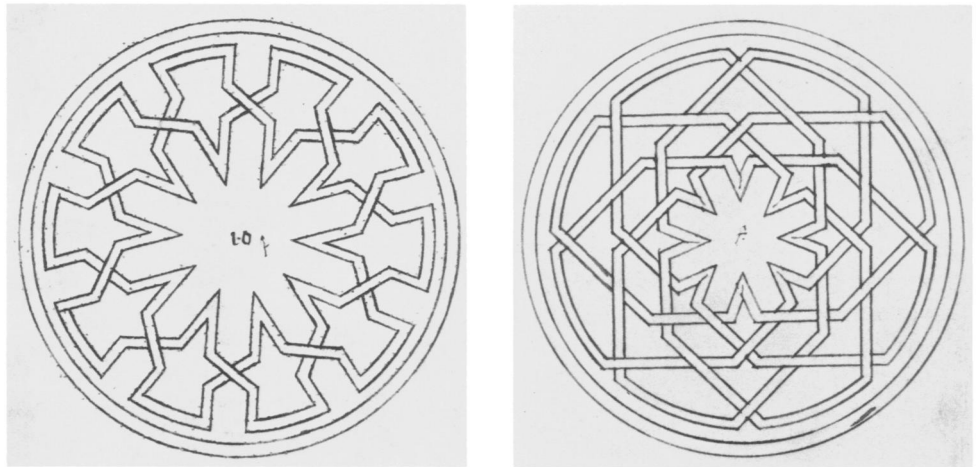


FIGURE 24
Attributed to Master *f*, Engraved pattern, pl. 8 of
Formes de diverses protractions (from facsimile)

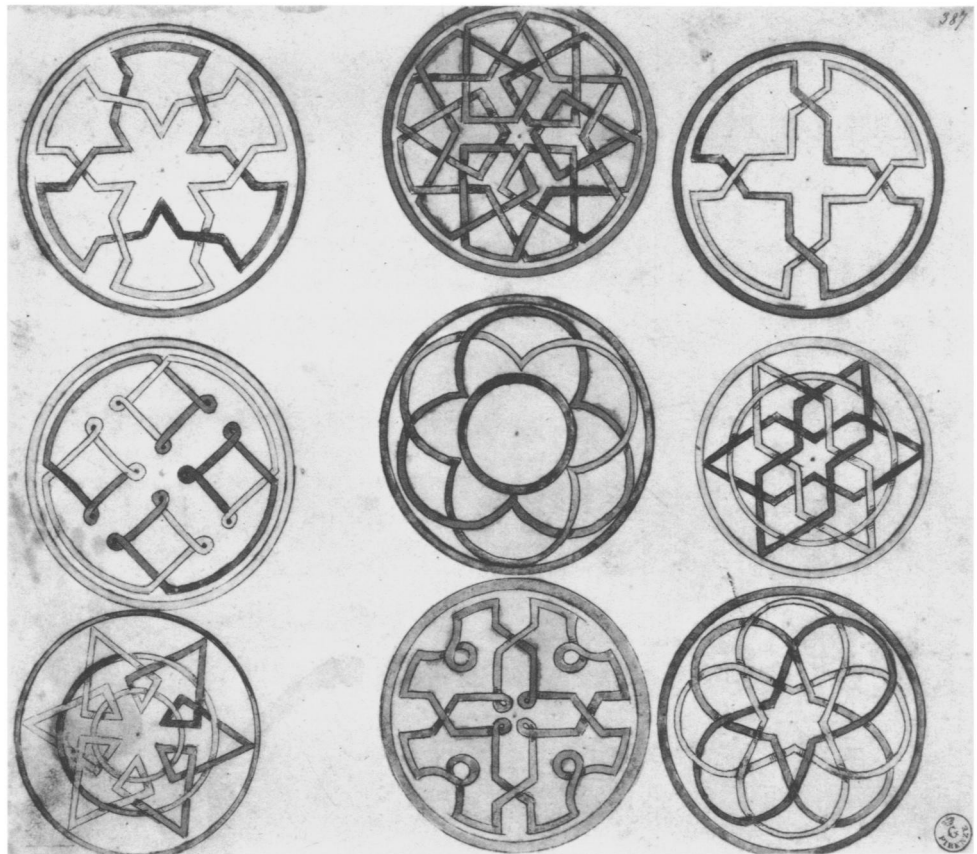
debted to Dr. Theodore S. Beardsley, Jr., and Mrs. Martha Narváez of the Hispanic Society of America for their help with the book of pen drawings containing Master *f*'s circular patterns.

William M. Ivins, Jr., once said that lace and embroidery patterns had made a fool of him; I have only followed in his footsteps.



FIGURES 25 AND 26
 Attributed to Master f, Pen drawings (leaves 5v, pricked, and 12v). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 49.64.5

FIGURE 27
 Unknown 17th-century artist, Drawings for inlaid pavements. Florence, Uffizi 387 (photo: G. F. S. G. Florence)



FIGURES 28–101

Patterns by Master f

To demonstrate the possible attribution of unsigned patterns, a number of patterns already reproduced are repeated in order to take their place in a progression. On the other hand, some patterns, like those with a broken branch, are illustrated only in the text. Moreover, it has not seemed necessary to reproduce in its entirety the *Formes de diverses proportions*, since the Stockholm facsimile is complete. (Photos: from the sources named. Abbreviations: Berlin—Stiftung Preussisches Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen Kunstbibliothek Berlin; Escorial—Biblioteca de el Escorial)

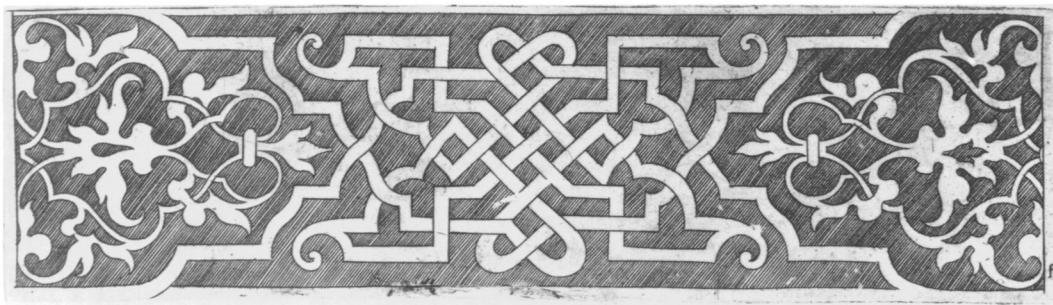


FIGURE 28
Berlin 95.402

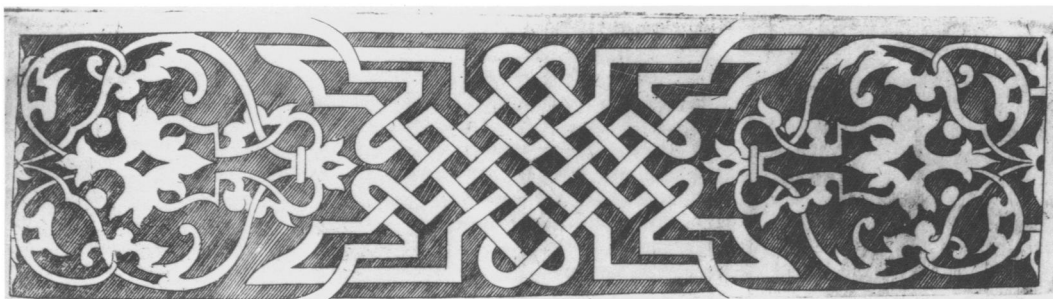


FIGURE 29
Escorial 2349(4)

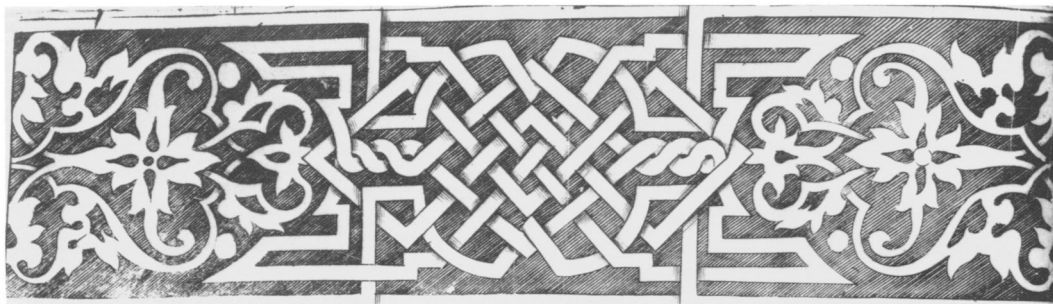


FIGURE 30
Escorial 2351(1)

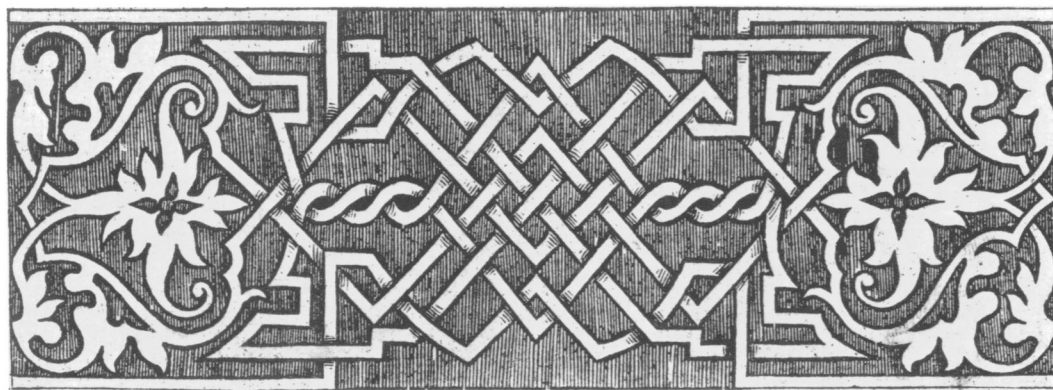


FIGURE 31
MMA 32.54.1, leaf
7r, detail

FIGURE 32
Escorial 2352(2)

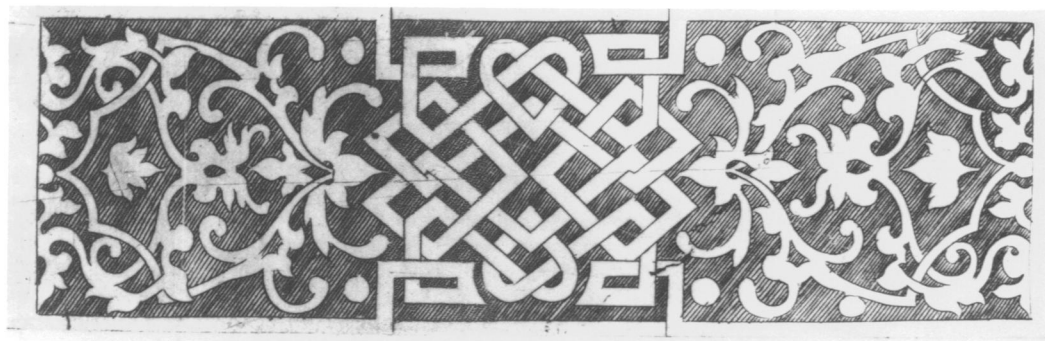


FIGURE 33
Escorial 2352(1)

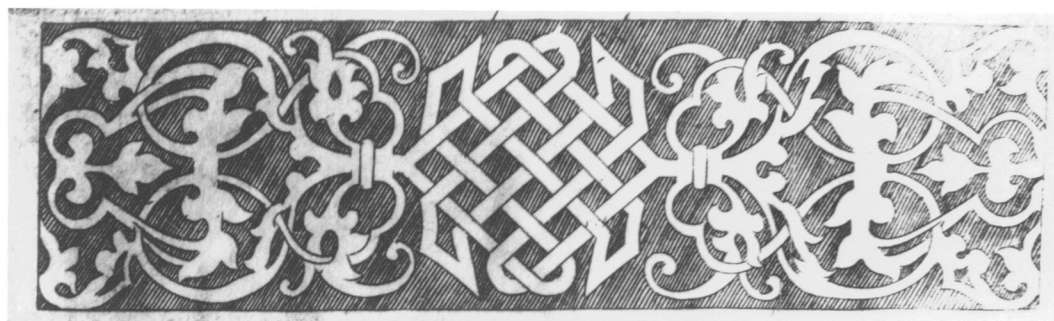
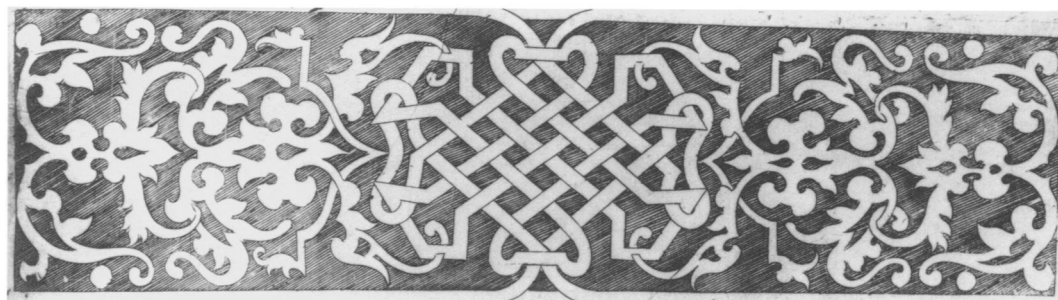


FIGURE 34
Escorial 2355(2)



FIGURE 35
Escorial 2349(3)



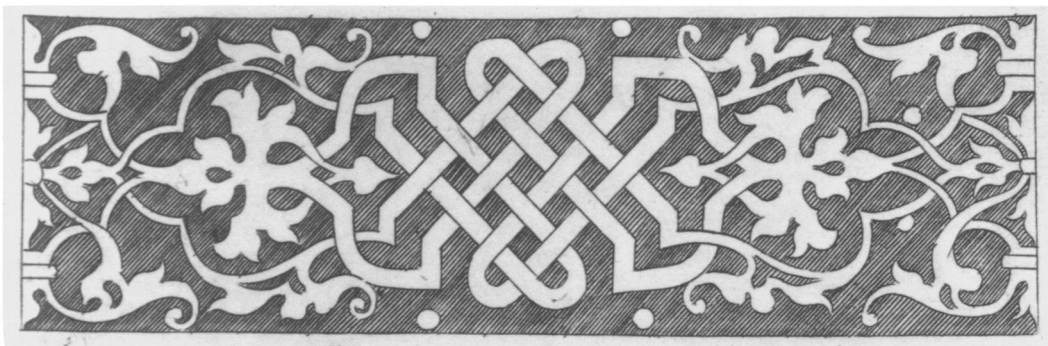


FIGURE 36
Berlin 03.247

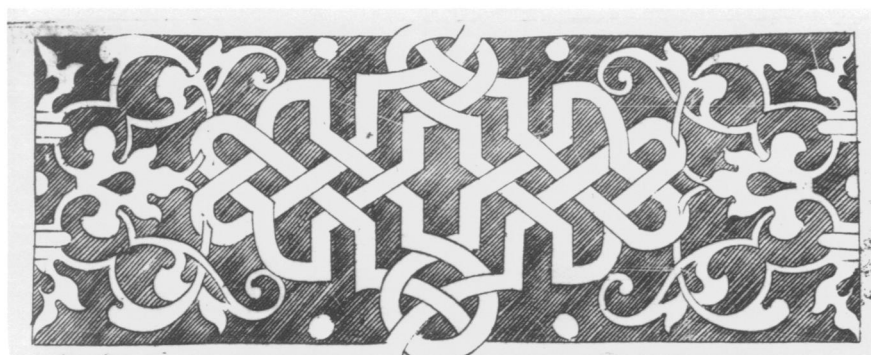


FIGURE 37
Escorial 2350(1)

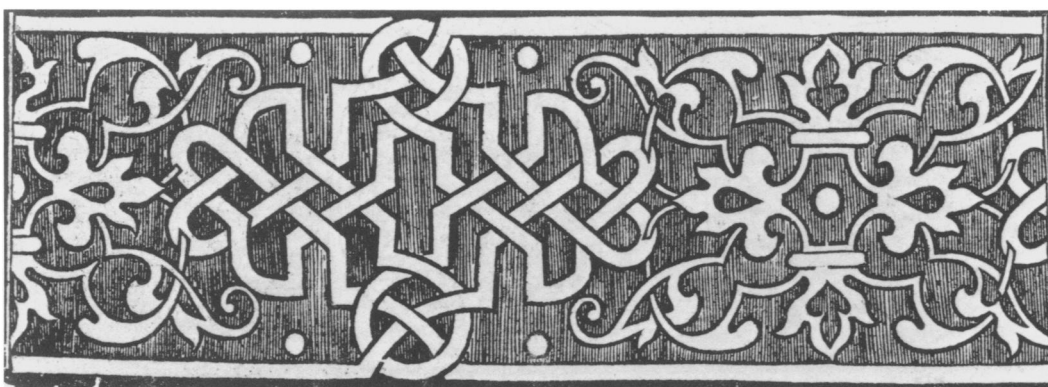


FIGURE 38
MMA 32.54.1, leaf
28v, detail

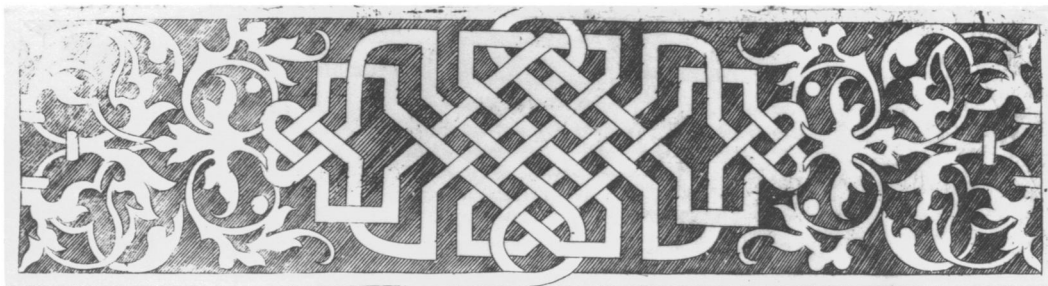


FIGURE 39
Escorial 2353(3)

FIGURE 40
MMA
53.600.467

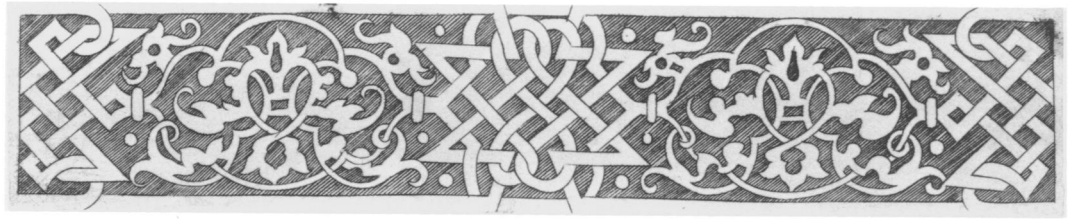


FIGURE 41
Berlin 95.400

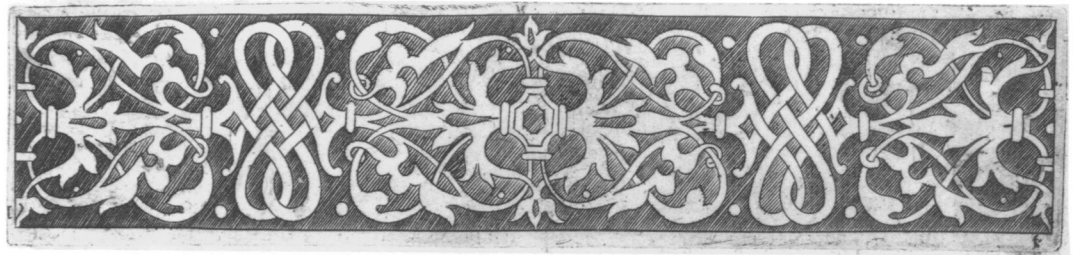


FIGURE 42
Escorial 2350(2)



FIGURE 43
Paris, Bibliothèque
de l'Arsenal,
Est.186.56





FIGURE 44
After Berliner, pl.
83, fig. 1

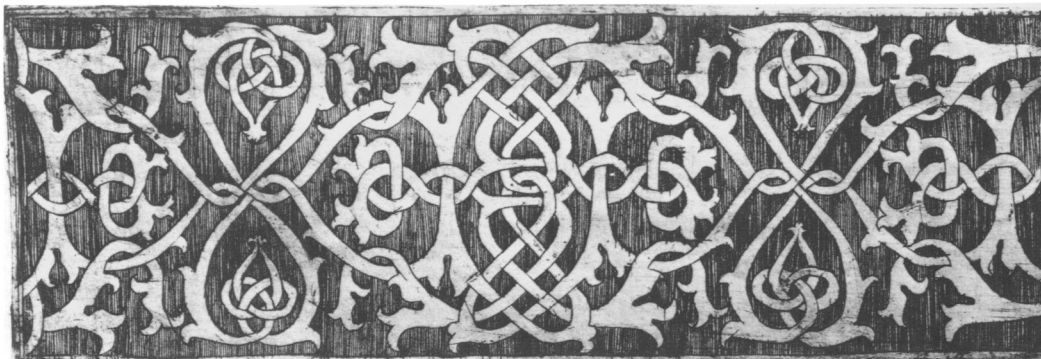


FIGURE 45
After Berliner, pl.
84, fig. 1

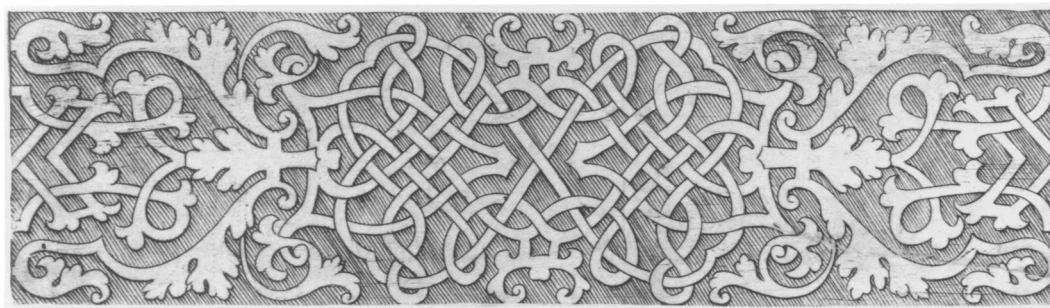


FIGURE 46
Berlin 03.244

FIGURE 47
Berlin 95.399



FIGURE 48
Berlin 95.258

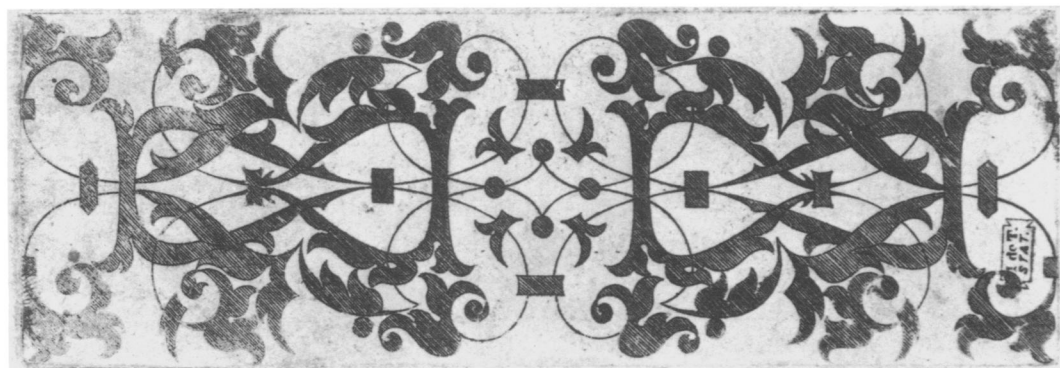


FIGURE 49
MMA 61.581.8

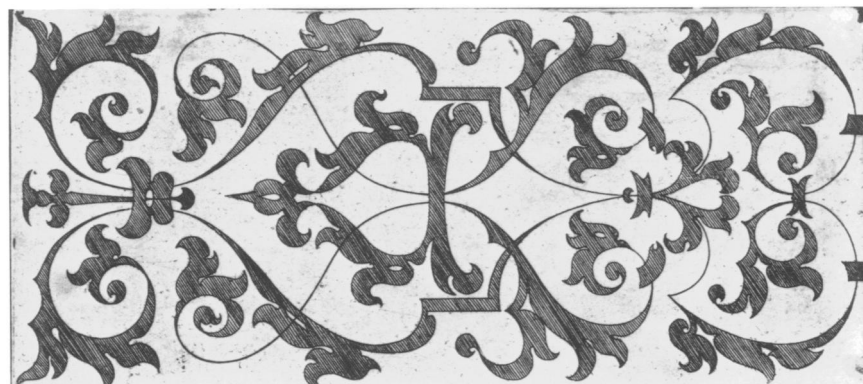
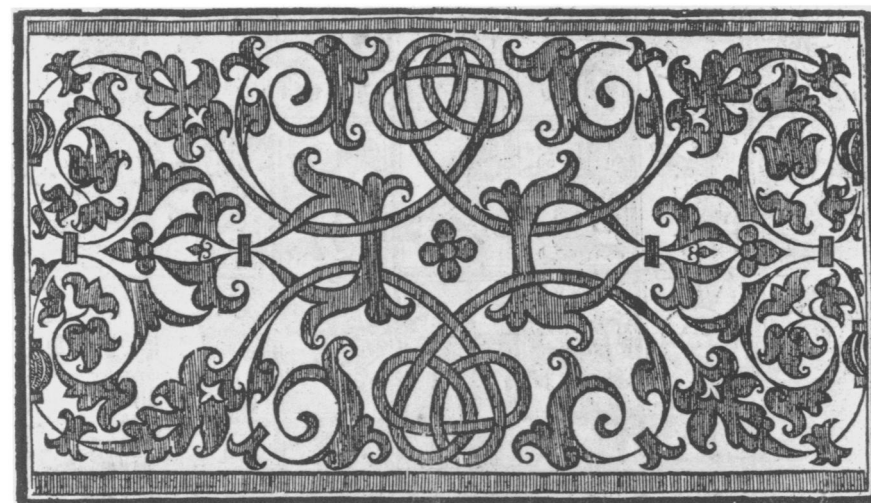


FIGURE 50
MMA 32.54.1, leaf
11r, detail



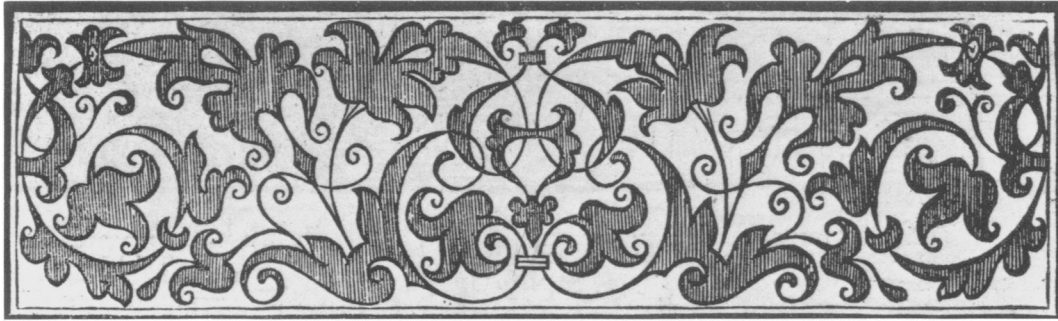


FIGURE 51
MMA 32.54.1, leaf
8v, detail

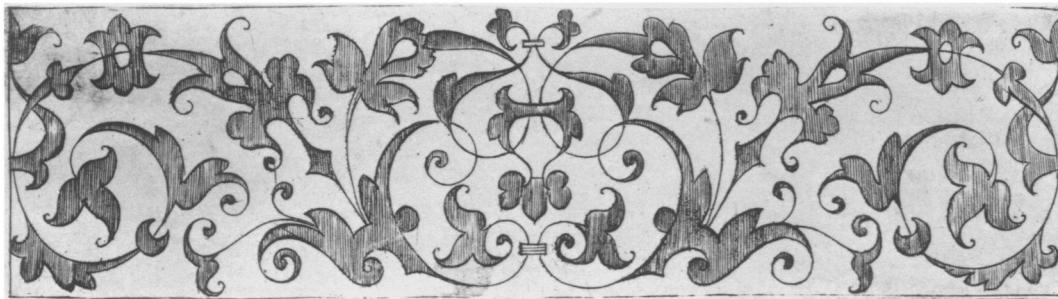


FIGURE 52
MMA 53.600.465



FIGURE 53
MMA 53.600.471



FIGURE 54
MMA 32.54.1, leaf
30r, detail

FIGURE 55
MMA 53.600.469

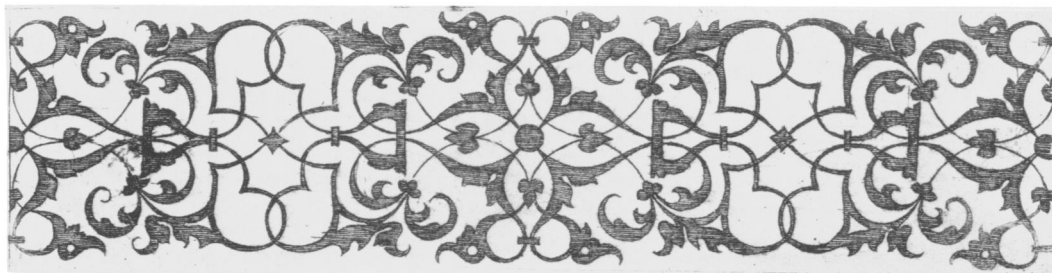


FIGURE 56
MMA 53.600.466

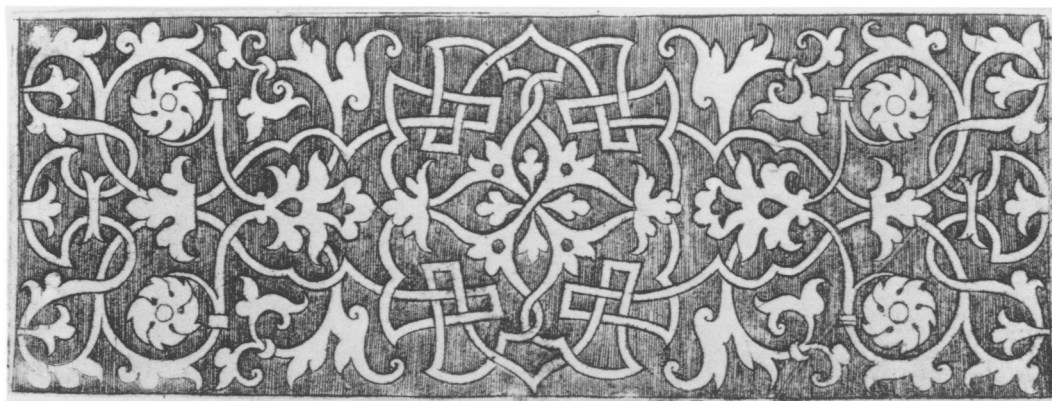


FIGURE 57
London, Victoria
and Albert Mu-
seum, E.79A '91

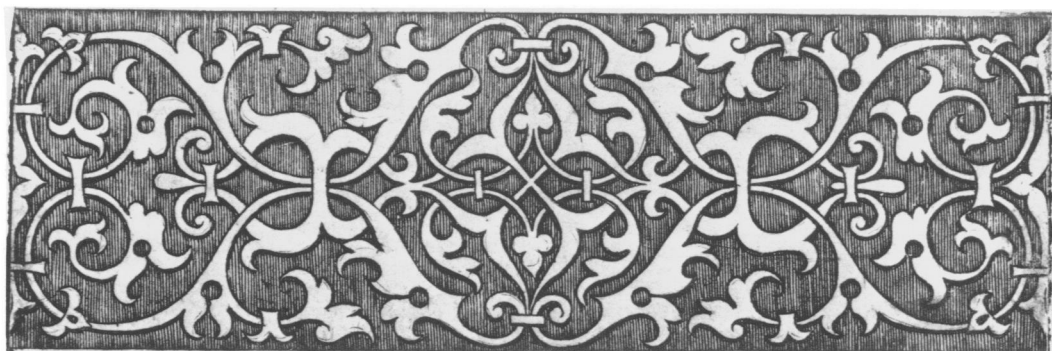
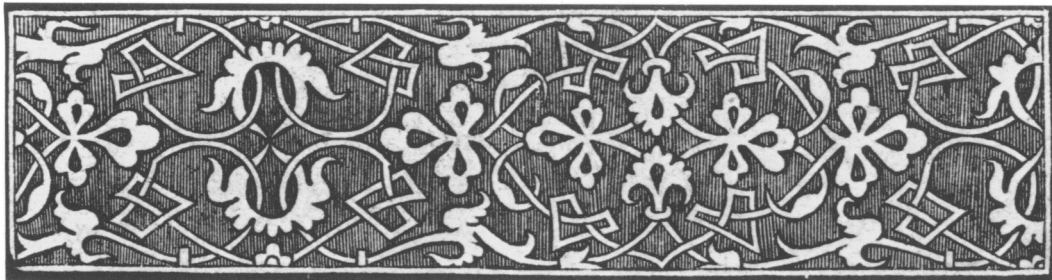


FIGURE 58
MMA 32.54.1, leaf
34r, detail



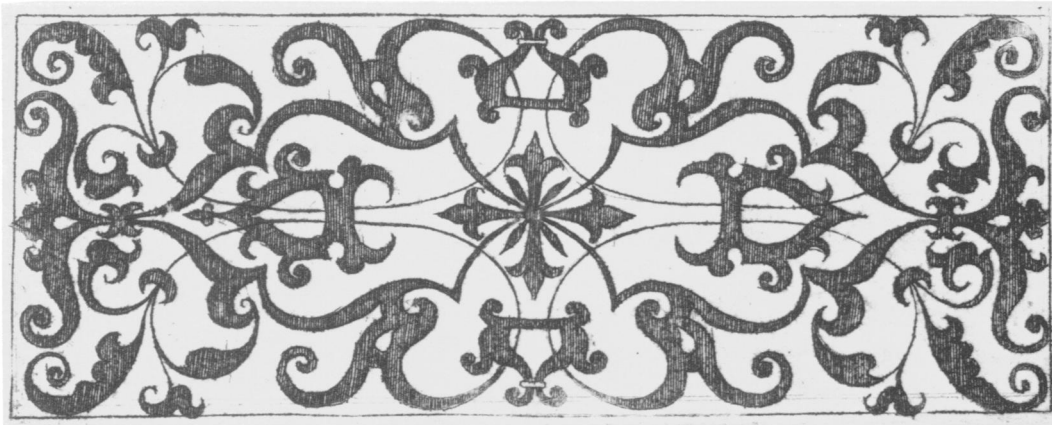


FIGURE 59
MMA 53.600.470



FIGURE 60
After Berliner, pl.
86, fig. 2

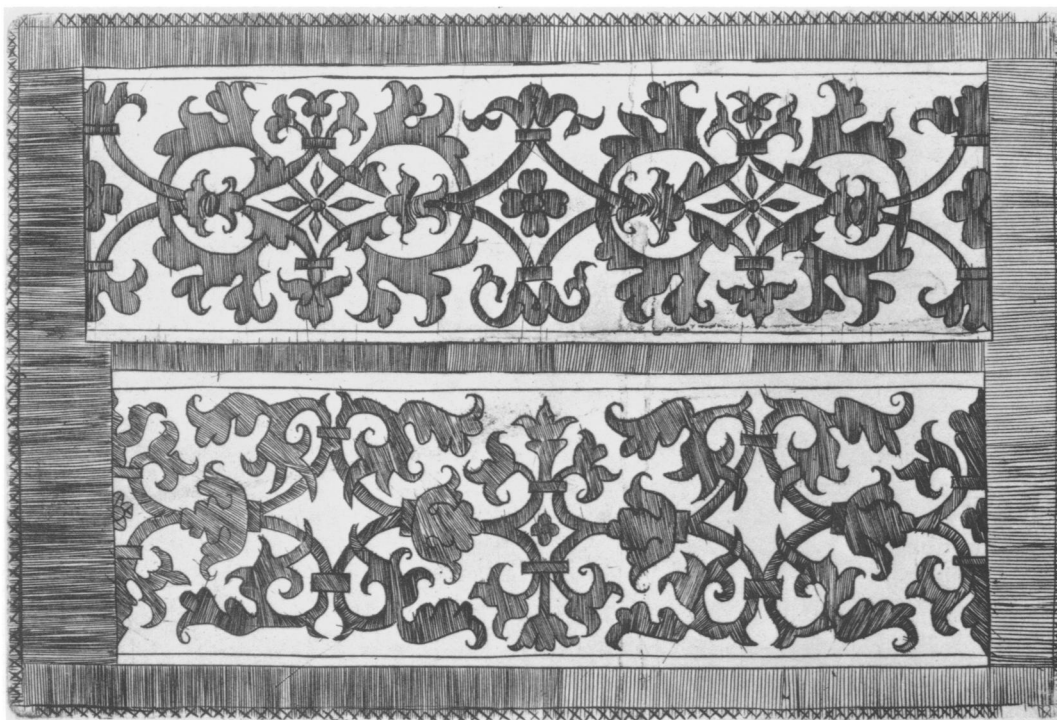


FIGURE 61
MMA 62.661.24

FIGURE 62
MMA 32.54.1, leaf
12v, detail

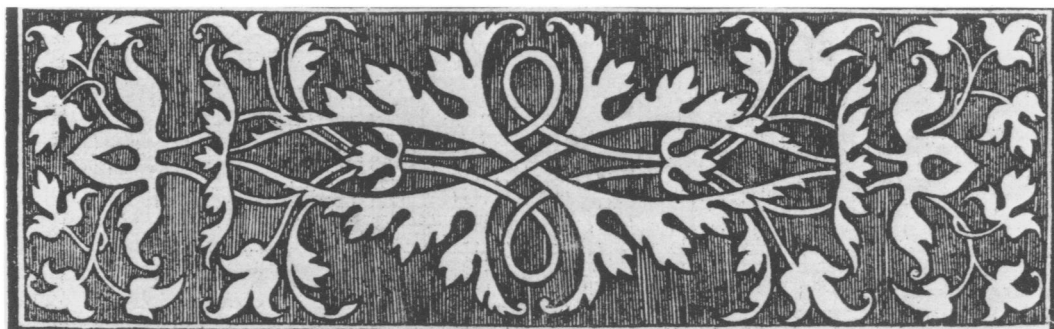
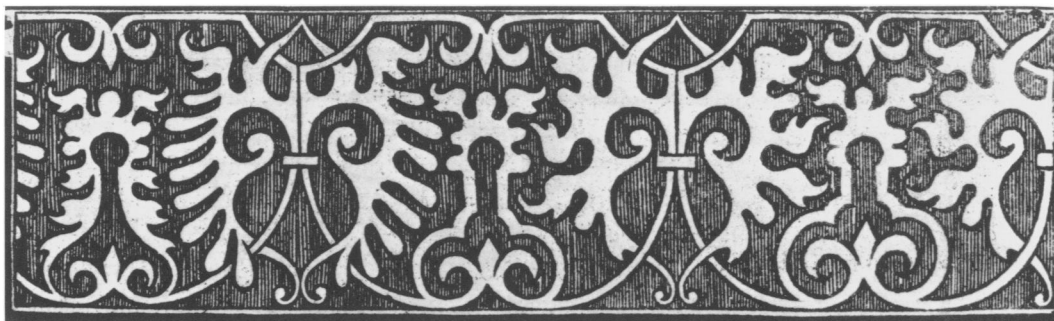


FIGURE 63
MMA 32.54.1, leaf
34r, detail



FIGURE 64
MMA 32.54.1, leaf
32r, detail



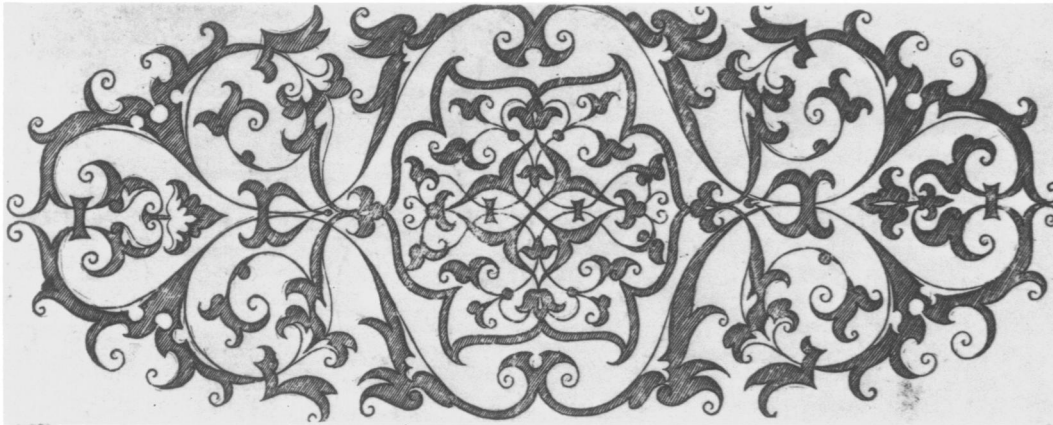


FIGURE 65
Berlin 03.238

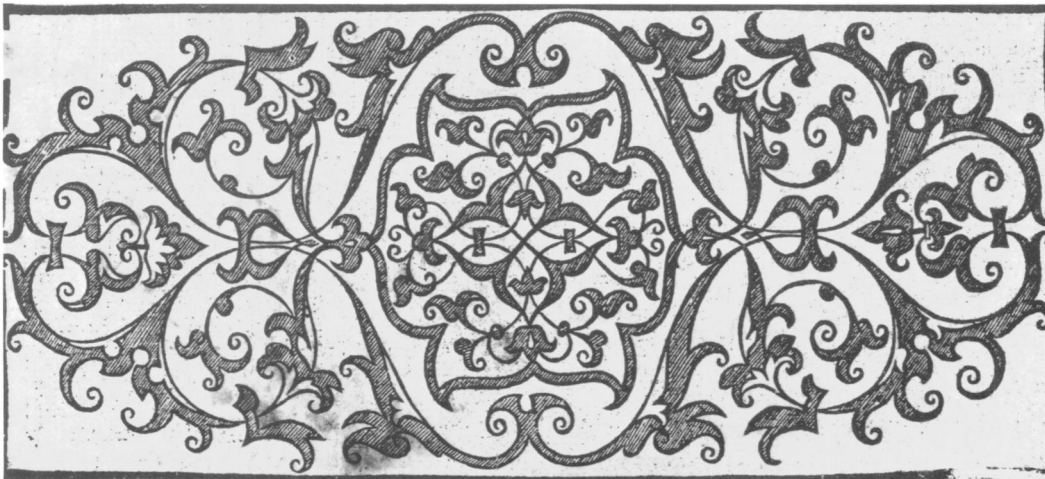


FIGURE 66
MMA 32.54.1, leaf
33r, detail

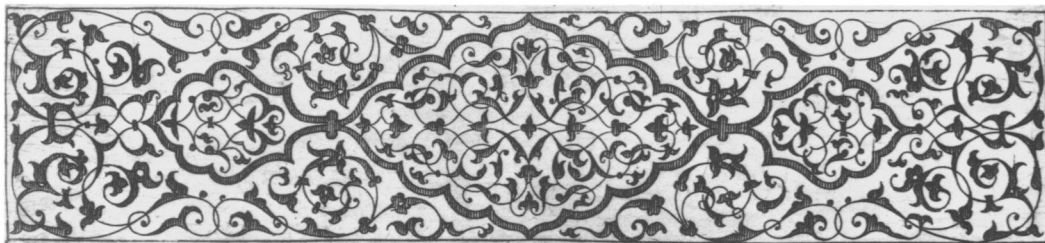


FIGURE 67
Berlin 03.245

FIGURE 68
Berlin 03.243



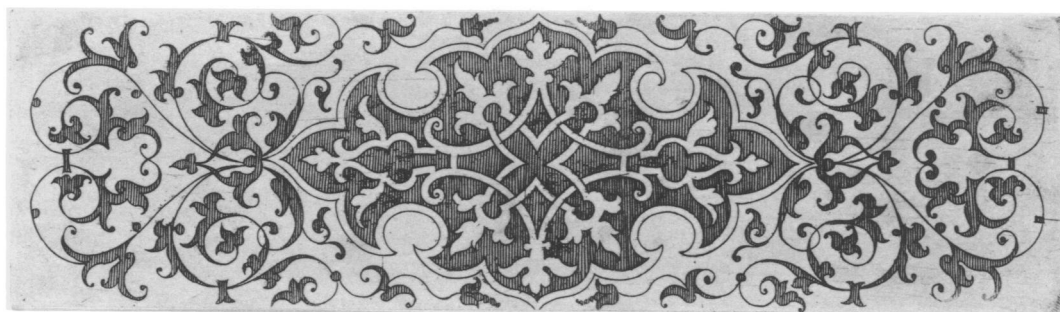
FIGURE 69
Berlin 03.240



FIGURE 70
Berlin 03.239



FIGURE 71
MMA 53.600.463



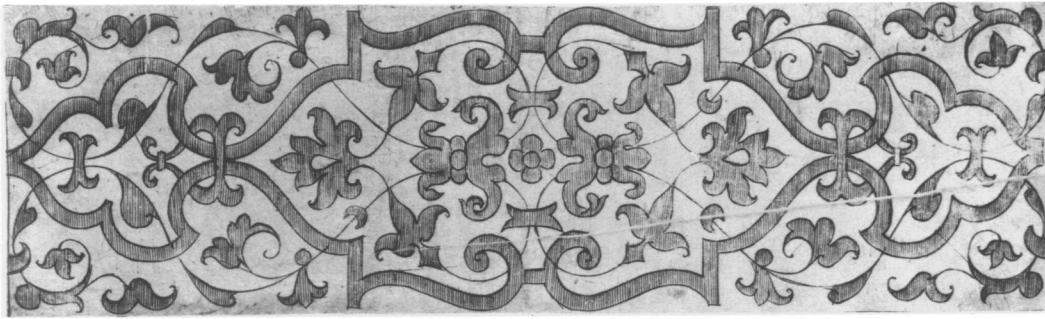


FIGURE 72
Berlin 03.242

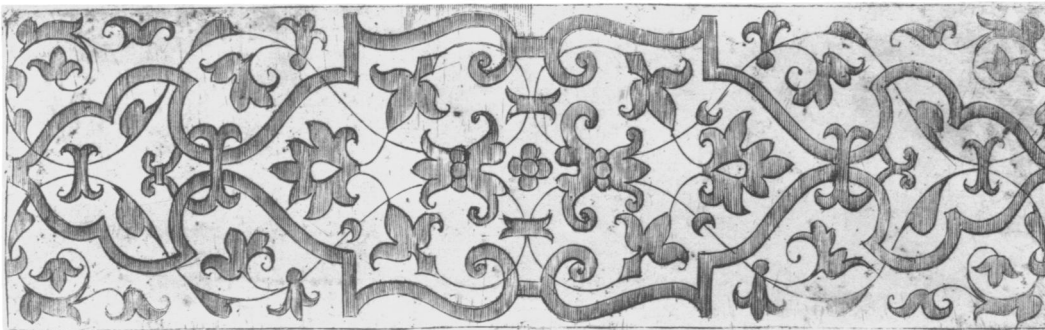


FIGURE 73
Amsterdam, Rijks-
museum, Rijks-
prentenkabinet,
A 11997



FIGURE 74
After Berliner, pl.
86, fig. 3

FIGURE 75
MMA 32.54.1, leaf
36v, detail

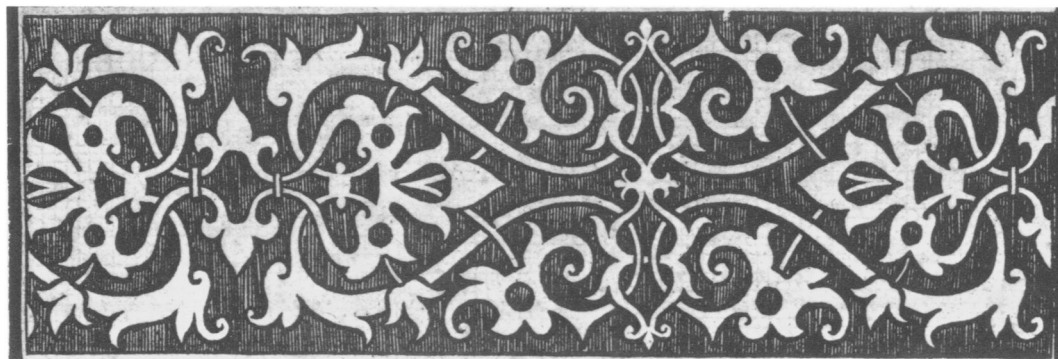


FIGURE 76
Escorial 2355(1)

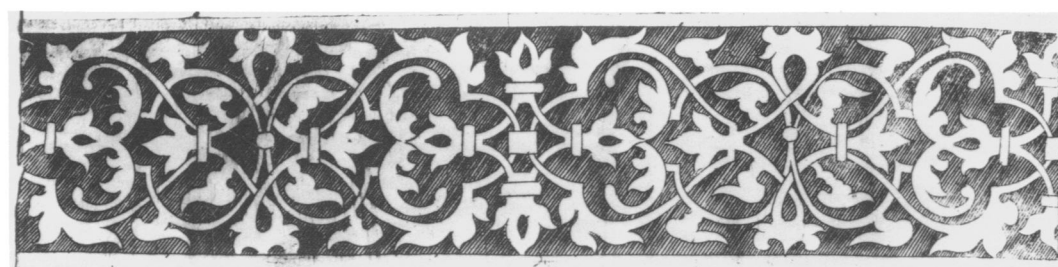


FIGURE 77
Escorial 2351(3)

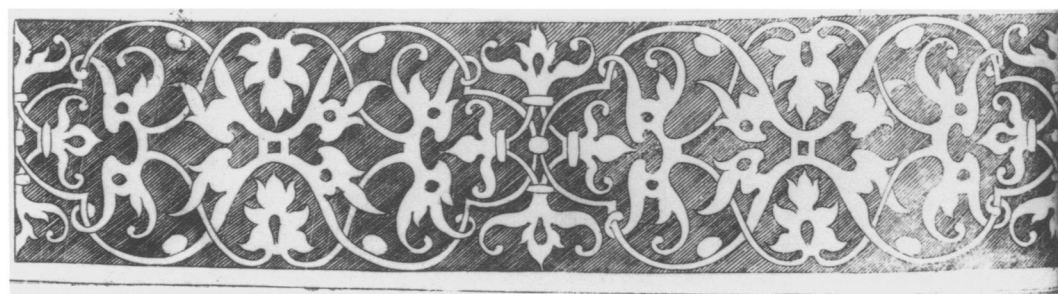


FIGURE 78
Escorial 2350(3)



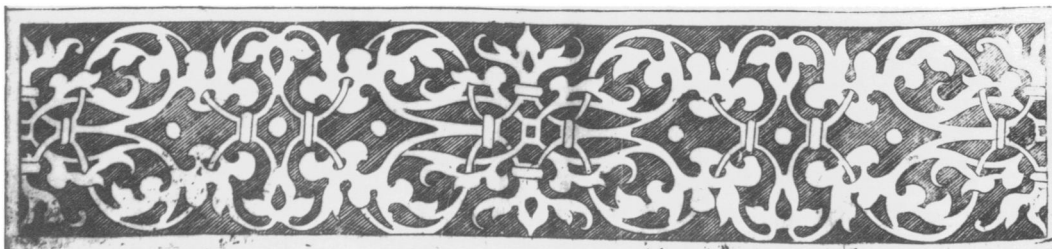


FIGURE 79
Escorial 2355(4)



FIGURE 80
Escorial 2346(1)

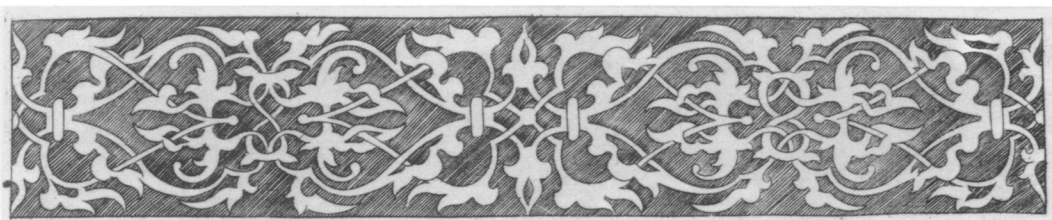


FIGURE 81
MMA 53.600.462



FIGURE 82
Berlin 95.401

FIGURE 83
Escorial 2353(1)



FIGURE 84
MMA 32.54.1, leaf
7r, detail



FIGURE 85
Berlin 95.401, de-
tail



FIGURE 86
Escorial 2351(5)



FIGURE 87
MMA 53.600.461



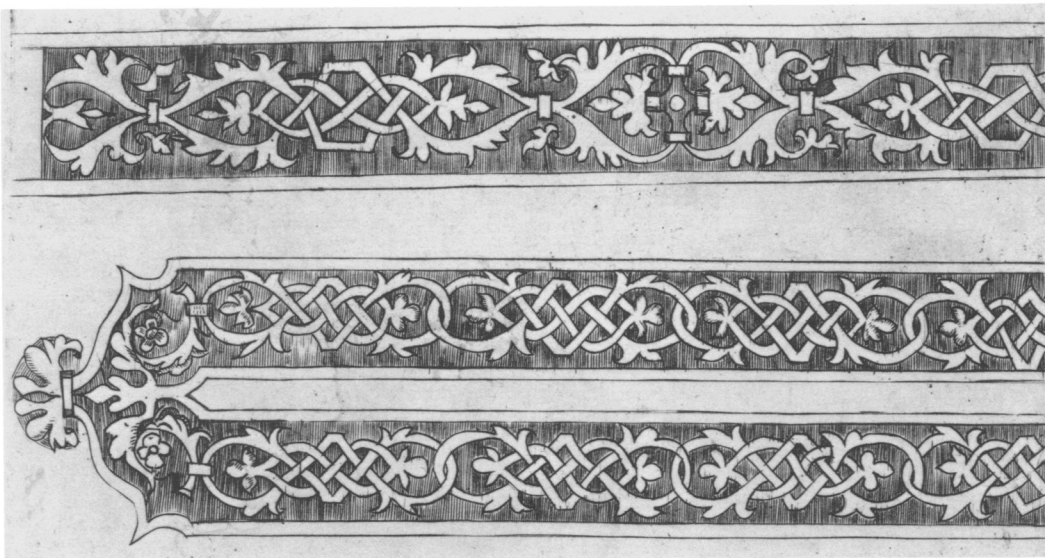


FIGURE 88
MMA 62.661.23



FIGURE 89
Escorial 2348(4),
detail



FIGURE 90
Escorial 2348(3)

FIGURE 91
After Berliner, pl.
103, fig. 2



FIGURE 92
Escorial 2347(3)



FIGURE 93
Escorial 2348(1)



FIGURE 94
Escorial 2348(2)





FIGURE 95
Escorial 2346(2)

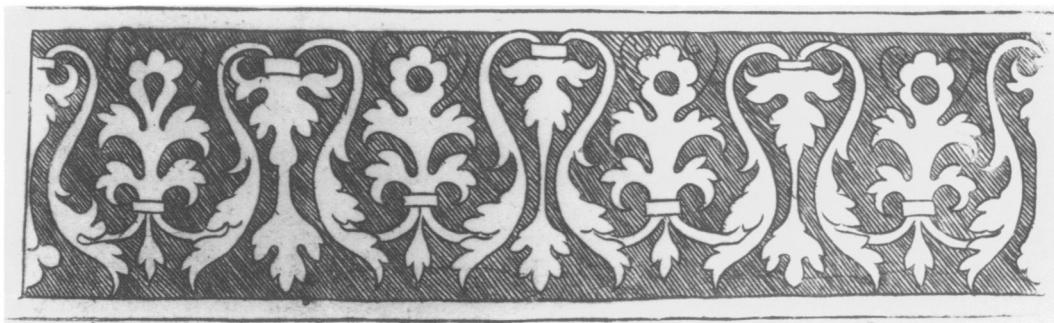


FIGURE 96
Escorial 2347(2)



FIGURE 97
Escorial 2346(3)



FIGURE 98
MMA 32.54.1, leaf
36v, detail

FIGURE 99
Escorial 2347(4)



FIGURE 100
MMA 53.600.468

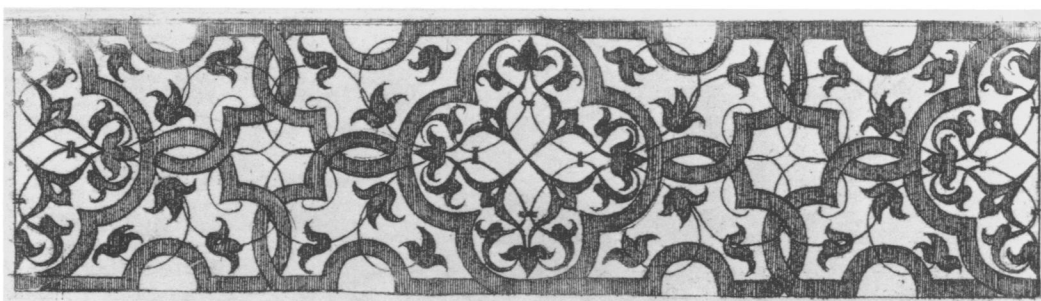
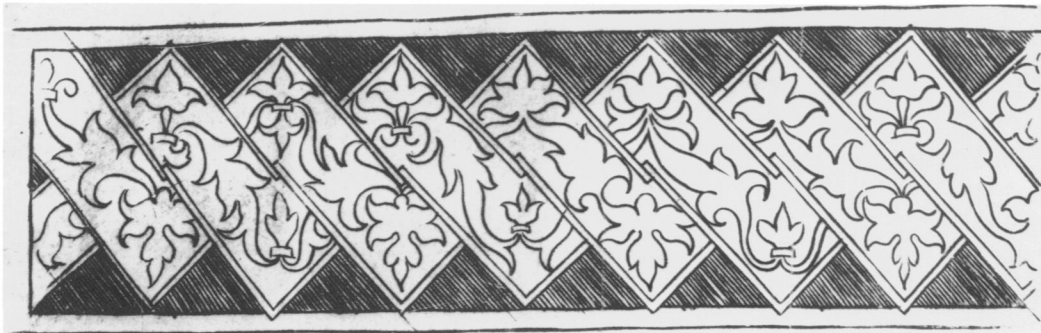


FIGURE 101
Escorial 2347(1)



Holbein's Portraits of the Steelyard Merchants: An Investigation

THOMAS S. HOLMAN

Curator of Collections, Norton Gallery & School of Art

HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER arrived in London for the second time in 1532, probably sometime after May 16, when his friend and former patron Sir Thomas More resigned from office. No longer able to rely upon More's influence to obtain commissions, Holbein found employment from his fellow countrymen, members of the Steelyard, the German business community in London. Through these individual commissions, he was able to reestablish his reputation, and in 1536 he was appointed court painter to Henry VIII. The eight certain portraits of the Steelyard Merchants are those of Georg Gisze, Hans of Antwerp, and Hermann Wedigh [III], painted in 1532; a Member of the Wedigh Family ("Hermann Hillebrandt Wedigh"), Dirk Tybis, Cyriacus Kale, and Derich Born, painted in 1533; and Derick Berck, 1536.¹ Inscriptions, dates, coats of arms, and merchant marks incorporated by Holbein in the portraits allow us to identify his sitters with some degree of assurance, and this information, correlated with surviving records, may increase our understanding of their significance.

A list of frequently cited sources is given at the end of this article.

1. Paul Ganz, *The Paintings of Hans Holbein the Younger* (London, 1950) pp. 238–241, 246, catalogues these eight portraits (nos. 61, 62, 65–69, 87). In addition, Ganz catalogues three roundels, two of Hans of Antwerp (nos. 63, 64) and one of Derich Born (no. 70). He also discusses four portraits as probably of Hanseatic merchants: nos. 77 (unidentified), 101 (unidentified, now at Yale University Art Gallery), 115 (unidentified), and 148 (a miniature, called Heinrich von Schwarzwald from Danzig), respectively dated 1533, 1538, 1541, and 1543. The three roundels and four other portraits contain no inscriptions, letters, or other marks that are germane to this study. The iden-

At the time these portraits were painted, the German merchants in London, many of them resident representatives, if not actual members, of the Hanseatic League, enjoyed trade privileges and political power far in excess of their English counterparts. Like the other Hanseatic merchants throughout Europe, they often functioned as a communications link between cities and heads of state. Their residence and place of business, a walled area on the north bank of the Thames just south of London Bridge, was in effect a separate community, independent of the city of London and governed by its own strict code of laws, which were enforced by the merchants' native cities. It was called the Steelyard, in German the *Stahlhof*, either in reference to the great steel beam used for weighing goods, or to the courtyard where goods were bought and sold from stalls.²

For all the importance of the Steelyard, documentation of its activity and membership is scarce. It was closed temporarily by royal decree in 1598, and its guildhall was looted and vandalized. The hall, with its contents, suffered such extensive damage in the

tification of Ganz no. 148 is based on research by Habich, see below, note 8. As for Ganz nos. 77, 101, and 115, their classification as "merchant" portraits seems to have been based on the similarity of dress of the sitters.

2. On the Steelyard see: Johann M. Lappenberg, *Urkundliche Geschichte des Hansischen Stahlhofes zu London* (Hamburg, 1851) pp. 72–87; Rheinhold Pauli, *Pictures of Old England* (London, 1861) pp. 176–203; Ian D. Colvin, *The Germans in England 1066–1598* (London, 1915) pp. 150–154; Elizabeth Gee Nash, *The Hansa* (New York, 1929) pp. 116–117, 164–178; Phillippe Dollinger, *The German Hanse* (Stanford, 1970) p. 102; Joseph and Frances Gies, *Merchants and Money men* (New York, 1972) pp. 157–158.



FIGURE 1

Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/98–1543), *Georg Gisze*, 1532. Tempera and oil on wood, $37\frac{1}{16} \times 33\frac{3}{4}$ in. (96.3 \times 85.7 cm.). West Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (photo: Gemäldegalerie, Jörg P. Anders)

Great Fire of 1666 that it had to be rebuilt. Investigation into the background of Holbein's sitters has therefore to be pursued through often obscure and sketchy records of merchants' correspondence and bills of sale, old publications, and unpublished archives.

The portrait of Georg Gisze of Danzig (Figure 1), painted in 1532, has traditionally been regarded as Holbein's first commission upon his return to England. This detail-laden composition may have been intended as a show piece to elicit further Steelyard commissions, just as *The Ambassadors* in 1533 would have attracted royal attention.³ Holbein may also have been influenced by the Flemish artist Jan Gossaert, called Mabuse. In the early 1530s, Mabuse painted the portrait of a banker, thought to be Jerome Sandelin of Zeeland (Figure 2), and Holbein could in fact have seen this on his way to England.⁴ His portrait of Gisze is similar in its diagonal composition, the treatment of costume and office paraphernalia, the precise brushwork, and the serious, outward-directed stare of the sitter.⁵

Holbein's sitter is identified in the inscriptions, which contain various spellings of his family name (Appendix 1–7, Figures 11–15). Since the Hanseatic community received correspondence from people speaking a variety of languages and dialects, the practice of spelling phonetically was not unusual. The letter Gisze holds, sent by a brother (Appendix 3), is written in the sixteenth-century German of the north country, in a dialect in use from 1520 to 1550.⁶ Georg Gisze, the twelfth of thirteen children, is recorded as a member of a Danzig merchant family, the son of town-councillor Albert Giese.⁷ The family had emigrated in 1430 from Unna, near Giesen, northeast of Cologne.⁸ Such a Rhenish origin may explain the derivation of the surname, Giese or Gisze.

3. Chamberlain, p. 3.

4. In 1533, Erasmus of Rotterdam noted that Holbein, before his arrival in London the previous year, had "lingered in Antwerp for over a month" (Alois Gerlo, *Erasmus et ses portraitistes Metsijs, Dürer, Holbein* [Nieuwoop, 1969] pp. 63–67). Holbein could have taken this opportunity to visit Mabuse, who lived until his death—between September 12 and October 13, 1532—near the North Sea coast in Middelburg, Zeeland (J. K. Steppe, "La Date de décès de Jean Gossaert," *Jean Gossaert dit Mabuse*, exh. cat. [Rotterdam/Brussels, 1965] pp. 34–35).

5. See Jakob Rosenberg, "A Portrait of a Banker (Jerome



FIGURE 2

Jan Gossaert (Mabuse) (1478–1532), *A Banker*, ca. 1530. Oil on wood, 25 × 18¾ in. (63.6 × 47.5 cm.). Washington, D. C., National Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund, 1967 (photo: National Gallery)

Sandelin?) by Jan Gossaert, Called Mabuse," *Report and Studies in the History of Art* 1967 (Washington, D. C.: National Gallery of Art) pp. 39–43.

6. Freytag, p. 110.

7. Ibid., p. 111. Extensive records concerning Georg Gisze and the Gisze family of Danzig appear in Konstantin Höhlbaum's *Inventare Hansischer Archive des Sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*: III. *Danziger Inventar* (Leipzig, 1896).

8. Freytag, p. 111; Georg Habich, "Ein Miniaturbildnis von Hans Holbein in Danzig," *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst* 24 (1913) p. 196.

As an additional means of identification, the armorial ring lying on the table depicts arms⁹ which were granted by King Sigismund of Poland to one of the Danzig Gises, and which were also used by Georg's brother Tiedemann, who was a canon of Kulm (now Chelmno, Poland) at the time the picture was painted.¹⁰ Tiedemann's bishop, Johannes von Höfen, alias Dantiscus or Danziger, was an admirer of Erasmus and tried in 1531 to obtain a version of Holbein's portrait of the humanist. Holbein may have been traveling in northern Germany at the time, between Basel (which he left in 1531/32) and Antwerp (where he arrived in 1532), most probably via Cologne. Tiedemann Gize, perhaps aware of Holbein's journey to England, could have advised his brother Georg of the painter's impending arrival.¹¹ This may account for the letter from a brother that Gize is holding in the portrait.

Georg Gize's name first occurs in England in a protection order, an assurance of safe passage between England and France, dated June 26, 1522, granted by the king of France. It is further recorded that, during the absence of Steelyard representatives to Francis I, "George Guyse" and "Th. Crumwell of London, gent." (whose portrait Holbein was to paint in 1534) were given power of attorney.¹² Eleven years later in 1533, a letter refers to "Geo. Gyes" as the Alderman's Deputy of the London Steelyard, an important position which may have led to the commission of this portrait.¹³

The inscriptions, the *cartellino*, and the vase of flowers in Gize's portrait remind us of the transitory nature of this world.¹⁴ The inscription on the *cartellino* translates in part as follows: "This picture of Georg that you see records his features / Such lively eyes, such cheeks has he / In the year of his age 34 / In the year of the Lord 1532" (Appendix 1). Georg

Gize was born on April 2, 1497 and died in February 1562.¹⁵ Holbein records Gize's age as thirty-four, despite the fact that he would almost certainly have been thirty-five years old at the time. This discrepancy is explained by the German custom according to which only the number of years fully completed (*Lebensjahre vollendete*) are recorded, rather than the actual age of the sitter.¹⁶

Londoners, Georg Gize among them, were threatened by bubonic plague, which was especially prevalent around the Steelyard. In 1532, when this portrait was painted, "the pattern of bubonic plague [had become] manifest in England. . . . The epidemic disease had a seasonal incidence in the summer and early autumn months . . . London with its great port was its chief focus and principal disseminating centre."¹⁷ The prevalence of the disease caused Henry VIII to flee London in 1531 and 1532, and by October 1532, according to Venetian dispatches, the plague had reached epidemic proportions and was creating panic in the city.¹⁸

Gize's personal motto is written on the office wall: "Nulla sine merore voluptas" or "No joy without sorrow," a reference either to the transitory nature of his current situation or to the general uncertainty of fortune (Appendix 2). It may have been adapted from *Metamorphoses*, Book VII, lines 453–454, where Ovid interrupts the account of Theseus' reunion with his father Aegeus with the words "Nulla est sincera voluptas; / (Sollicitique aliquid laetis intervenit)," or "No joy is unmixed; (Some care always comes to mar our joys)." Perhaps Georg Gize was thinking of his own safe return and reunion with his family.

In the foreground of the portrait is a vase filled partly with water and containing various plants: three carnations, sprigs of rosemary and basil, and a wall-flower.¹⁹ Since the carnation is a traditional symbol of

9. A shield divided per fess, a lion issuant in chief, a fess in base (I owe this description to Helmut Nickel). See also Habich, "Miniaturbildnis," p. 196.

10. Ibid.; Johann Siebmacher, *J. Siebmacher's Grosses und Allgemeines Wappenbuch*, trans. Gustav V. Seyler (Nuremberg, 1888) V, pt. 4, p. 55 and pl. 64. Paul Simon, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig (1517–1626)* (Danzig, 1924; Valen, 1967) II, p. 125, notes that Canon Gize became bishop of Kulm in 1544.

11. Gerlo, *Erasmus . . . Holbein*, pp. 56–60; Freytag, pp. 113–114.

12. Chamberlain, p. 6, cites *State Papers*, III, pt. 2, nos. 2350, 2446, 2447, and 2754.

13. Chamberlain, p. 6, cites *State Papers*, VI, no. 1170, and p. 3, notes the importance of the post.

14. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, *Katalog der Ausgestellten Gemälde des 13.–18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin-Dahlem, 1975) p. 204.

15. Freytag, p. 111.

16. Ibid., pp. 111–112.

17. J.F.D. Shrewsbury, *A History of the Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1970) pp. 157, 167–70.

18. Ibid., p. 168.

19. Elizabeth Wolffhardt, "Beiträge zur Pflanzensymbolik," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 8 (1954), p. 193. Floyd Swink,

betrothal, and since the interpretation of carnations and rosemary has been linked with an amorous Swabian folksong,²⁰ it has generally been thought that this commission was intended to demonstrate Gisze's intention to marry.²¹ In fact, he married Christine Krüger of Danzig three years later, in 1535.²²

All the plants, on the other hand, may also be regarded as medicinal herbs. In John Gerard's *Herbal* (London, 1597), the author says of the carnation "that the rootes are commended against infection of the plague [and] . . . the falling sicknesse."²³ Carnations were also used both as tokens of remembrance and as a means of protection against disease, a custom more commonly associated with rosemary. Rosemary became the symbol of remembrance because of its lingering scent, and Sir Thomas More wrote, "I let it run all over my garden wall . . . because it is the herb sacred to remembrance, and therefore of friendship," and "a sprig of it hath a dumb language that maketh it the chosen emblem at our funeral wakes in our burial ground."²⁴ In the funeral scene in William Hogarth's *A Harlot's Progress* (1732), it is noted that "sprigs of rosemary were . . . given to each of the mourners. . . . This custom might probably originate at a time when the plague depopulated the metropolis, and rosemary was deemed antidote against con-

tagion."²⁵ Basil, an aromatic herb of the mint family, used both in cookery and medicine, derives its name from the basilisk, a legendary serpent against which it was thought to provide protection.²⁶ As for the wallflower, a member of the mustard family, it was also commonly used in cookery and for medicinal purposes. Near the vase is a table clock, which, like the hourglass accompanying the figure of Death in Holbein's *Dance of Death* (1526), reminds the living of Death's presence and the passage of time.

Attached to the sitter's office wall are letters bearing identical symbols, known as merchant marks (Appendix 4, 6, 7).²⁷ The attribution of these merchant marks to Georg Gisze is based on a document of the Danzig Assembly, dated October 30, 1535, which identified goods marked with the same symbol as belonging to "Jorg Gisse."²⁸ The same mark, in reverse, appears within a shield on the seal lying on the table (Appendix 10). Little is known of the origin of merchant marks, but the emblems were linked to the runic alphabet, and were later combined with varieties of crosses, with geometric forms resembling the mast and yards of a merchant ship, and even with the initials of the mark's owner.²⁹ Within the Hanseatic community, the merchant mark functioned as a symbol of identification, ownership, or workmanship in

taxonomist of Morton Arboretum, Lisle, Illinois, in 1977 identified the four plants for this investigation, independently of Wolffhardt's article. From color photographs, he described the plants as *Dianthus caryophyllus*, *Rosmarinus officinalis*, *Ocimum basilicum*, and *Cheiranthus cheiri*, or carnation, rosemary, sweet basil, and wallflower, which agrees with Wolffhardt's identification. Staatliche Museen Berlin, *Katalog*, p. 204, identified the plants as carnation, rosemary, hyssop, and a member of the mustard family (which the wallflower is); Dr. Wilhelm H. Köhler of the Berlin Museum, in a conversation in 1977, felt that the identification of basil, rather than of hyssop, was probably valid. Deborah Markow, "Hans Holbein's Steelyard Portraits, Reconsidered," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 40 (1978) p. 43, identifies the last two plants as *Chenopodium bonus henricus* (Good King Henry) and *Arabidopsis thaliana* (thale-cress), but these plants are not botanically related to those painted by Holbein with such evident care. Markow further connects thale-cress with the German coin *Thaler*, origin of the word dollar, as a reference to the merchant profession; in fact, thale-cress was named after the German physician and botanist Johann Thale (1542–83).

20. Wolffhardt, "Pflanzensymbolik," p. 193. Ganz, *Holbein*, p. 223, no. 23, notes that Anna, the burgomaster's daughter in Holbein's *Darmstadt Madonna* (1528–30), is wearing a bridal wreath; Ganz cites Burckhardt who could only trace back such a custom to the seventeenth century. From a detail of a color photograph, the wreath appears to be made of carnation and

rosemary. The wreath may indeed refer to betrothal, or perhaps to some form of protection, since the Meyer family is kneeling before the Madonna.

21. Freytag, p. 114; Staatliche Museen Berlin, *Katalog*, p. 204.

22. Freytag, p. 114.

23. Pierpont Morgan Library, *Flowers of Ten Countries*, exh. cat. (New York, 1947) p. 44, no. 60.

24. Arnold Whittick, *Symbols, Signs, and Their Meaning* (London, 1960) p. 248.

25. John Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated* (London, 1793) I, p. 22. Holbein's portrait of Lady Guildford (1527), St. Louis Museum of Art, shows what appears to be a sprig of rosemary pinned to her bodice.

26. Geoffrey Grigson, *A Dictionary of English Plant Names* (London, 1974) p. 20; Vernon Quin, *Leaves: Their Place in Life and Legend* (New York, 1937) p. 89. Hyssop, like basil, was used to prevent contagion from the plague, as noted in the *Hortus Sanitatis* of 1485.

27. Edward M. Elmhirst, *Merchant Marks* (London, 1959) p. 9, l. 3, no. 429.

28. Habich, "Miniaturbildnis," p. 196.

29. F. W. Kuhlicke, "Merchant Marks and the Like—Their Origin and Use," *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 9, pt. 2, no. 72 (Oct. 1952) pp. 60–65.



FIGURE 3

Holbein, *Hans of Antwerp*, 1532. Tempera and oil on wood, $24 \times 18\frac{7}{16}$ in. (61×46.8 cm.). Windsor, The Royal Collection (reproduced by kind permission of H. M. the Queen, crown copyright reserved)

the form of a family, house, property, or trade mark.³⁰ Underlying the original merchant mark was an element of mystery or magic, which had the purpose of invoking protection, success, or prosperity, like lucky signs or amulets.³¹ The Latin cross, a symbol of protection, is incorporated in the merchant marks of Georg Gisze and the other sitters (Appendix

21, 22, 24, 27), and the use of Gisze's own mark on letters sent to him by Hans Stolten and Georg of Basel (Appendix 4, 6) was intended to ensure their delivery from abroad.

The portrait generally thought to have followed that of Georg Gisze is of the Hanseatic merchant and goldsmith Hans or John of Antwerp (Figure 3), which is dated July 26, 1532 (Appendix 11, 12). Hans of Antwerp resided in London from as early as 1515 to as late as 1547, and was married to an Englishwoman by whom he had children. He collaborated with Holbein in fine metalwork projects, was witness and administrator of Holbein's will, and was employed as both jeweler and court courier by Sir Thomas Cromwell.³² As Holbein noted, the sitter was associated with the London Steelyard (Appendix 11). In fact, he may have combined the activities of goldsmith and merchant, as is perhaps indicated by the duke of Suffolk's employment of "John Van Andwerp" to search for a gold mine, in June 1534.³³ The letter W within the seal lying on the table is clearly not the initial of the sitter, who is noted in parish records as "John Vander Gow, alieas John Andwerp";³⁴ it appears also in the portrait of Hermann Wedigh discussed below, and may symbolize association with the merchant guild of Cologne.

Since Hans of Antwerp spent most of his life in London, it seems unlikely that this portrait was sent abroad, which may account for its early entry into the Royal Collection.³⁵ (It was perhaps through Holbein's

30. Ibid.; Theodor Hirsch, *Handels- und Gewerbsgeschichte Danzigs* (Leipzig, 1935) II, p. 79.

31. Kuhlicke, "Merchant Marks," pp. 60–61, 70; Hugh William Davies, *Devices of the Early Printer 1457–1560* (London, 1935) p. 79.

32. Lionel Cust, "John of Antwerp, Goldsmith, and Hans Holbein," *Burlington Magazine* 8 (1906) pp. 356–360; Chamberlain, pp. 8–15; Oliver Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London, 1963) p. 59, no. 29; E. Alfred Jones, "Two Foreign Goldsmiths and Jewellers of Henry VIII," *Apollo* 36 (1942) pp. 85–86; *State Papers*, VII, no. 1688, records an entry written by Cornelius Hayes, goldsmith, in which "Hance, painter (most probably

Hans Holbein) received payment of 20 shillings for the painting of a silver Adam and Eve in 1534."

33. Chamberlain, p. 11, cites *State Papers*, VII, no. 800.

34. Ibid., p. 12.

35. Oliver Millar, *Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I*, Walpole Society, 37 (London, 1960) pp. 69, 225, records that this portrait was secured in Germany by Sir Henry Vance and given to Charles I; the portrait is not named but is described. Idem., *Tudor . . . Pictures*, p. 59, no. 29, outlines the documents relating to this portrait's entry into the Royal Collection. Chamberlain, p. 14, suggests that the portrait may have possibly been recorded in the duke of Buckingham's collection, cited from Randall Davies, "Inventory of the Duke of

friendship and association with Hans of Antwerp that the artist obtained additional commissions in England.) Unlike the other Steelyard portraits, the sitter is painted in a state of detached contemplation, the embodiment of Erasmus's *vita solitaria*.³⁶

The portrait of the Cologne merchant Hermann Wedigh dated 1532 (Figure 4) probably directly preceded that of the following year of a Member of the Wedigh Family (Figure 6). Identification of the earlier sitter is based both on the design of his armorial family ring and on the inscription on the fore-edge of the book in the lower left corner: HER [W within a shield] WID, an abbreviation of his name. The coat of arms, a chevron surrounded by three willow leaves, was granted by the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian to a "Rheinlander" called Heinrich von Wedig (1440–1513), on July 18, 1503.³⁷ Hermann Wedigh, the third of that name and a great-grandson of Heinrich von Wedig, married Sophia Hörners and fathered eight children, the first of whom was born in 1539.³⁸ At the end of a letter to the Cologne Assembly, dated November 12, 1553, concerning three Cologne ambassadors who remained in London to mediate the reform of the Steelyard, greetings are sent to Hermann Wedigh.³⁹ On October 11, 1554, it is further recorded that Hermann Wedigh and Dietrich Hörner[s], his brother-in-law, were requested to make an interest payment of 20 thalers to the London Steelyard on a loan of 400 thalers.⁴⁰ By 1557 Wedigh was judge of Niederich, and he was also alderman of the Cologne Assembly at the time of his death on December 28, 1560.⁴¹

The device separating HER and WID on the fore-edge of the book (Appendix 15, Figure 16) most

probably stands for the name of Wedigh, but a W within just such a shield was also the symbol of the Windeck, a professional and political organization for members of the Cologne Merchant (Kaufleute) Guild, which elected representatives to the Cologne Assembly.⁴² That the letter W occurs in a seal in the Hans of Antwerp portrait, where it is unrelated to the initials of the sitter, suggests that a professional connection may have been intended in both paintings. Between the pages of Wedigh's book is a slip of paper with a Latin inscription from Terence's *Andria*, line 68, which translates as "Truth breeds hatred" (Appendix 16); the words were taken up by Cicero, who in chapter 24 of his *De amicitia* reasons that, contrary to Terence's statement, the bearer of truth should not be hated but admired and valued in friendship. Holbein's reference to truth may be the painter's comment on the exact likeness of the sitter captured on panel. The meaning of the quotation in this context, however, has not as yet been satisfactorily explained.⁴³

Holbein's portrait of Hermann Wedigh seems almost certainly to have influenced a portrait by the Cologne painter Barthel Bruyn, *A Young Man* of 1539 (Figure 5).⁴⁴ The position of the hand and arms, and the treatment of the silk sleeve, the ring, and the leather gloves are almost identical, though Bruyn's portrait differs in size, format, and in the color of the background. Bruyn apparently borrowed from Holbein the Latin inscription giving the date and the age of the sitter, a device he had not previously employed.⁴⁵ Thus, the portrait of Hermann Wedigh must have been in Cologne by 1539, presumably in the possession of the Wedigh family.

Another member of the Wedigh family, identified

Buckingham's Pictures in 1635," *Burlington Magazine* 10 (1907) pp. 376–382. Van der Doort's description best corresponds to the portrait of Hans of Antwerp, but its presence in Germany seems open to question.

36. William S. Heckscher, "Reflections on Seeing Holbein's Portrait of Erasmus at Longford Castle," *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, eds. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard, and Milton J. Levine (London, 1967) p. 129.

37. Siebmacher, *Siebmacher's . . . Wappenbuch*, V, pt. 4, p. 46 and pl. 55; Geelen, pp. 173, 176.

38. Geelen, pp. 178–180, 194; Cologne Archives, *Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln* [Genealogical Records], vol. 1061, pp. 519–526; Anton Fahne, *Geschichte der Kölnischen, Jülichen und Bergischen Geschlechter in Stammtafeln, Wappen, Siegeln, und Urkunden* (Cologne, 1848) p. 112. The name Hermann Wedigh does not appear in English records.

39. *Kölner Inventar*, p. 61, no. 860.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 73, nos. 1021–1024.

41. Geelen, p. 179.

42. Arnold Stelzmann, *Illustrierte Geschichte der Stadt Köln* (Cologne, 1958) pp. 129, 133–134; Konrad Gatz, *Kauffahrer, Krämer und Handelsherren* (Hanover, 1949) p. 145.

43. "Truth breeds hatred" may be a reference to the religious and political climate of the period, truth in regard to the Reformation, and hatred to the turmoil and dissension that followed. Alfred Woltmann, *Holbein and His Time* (London, 1872) pp. 358–359, suggests that the inscription refers to the book as one of the Protestant texts brought secretly into England. See also Chamberlain, p. 16.

44. Hildegard Krummacher, "Zu Holbeins Bildnissen Rheinischer Stahlhofkaufleute," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 25 (1963) pp. 186–188.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 187.



FIGURE 4
Holbein, *Hermann Wedigh*, 1532. Tempera and oil on wood, $15\frac{5}{8} \times 12\frac{3}{4}$ in. (42.2×32.4 cm.), incl. $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (1.3 cm.) strip at bottom. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Edward S. Harkness, 1940, 50.135.4

by his armorial ring, was painted by Holbein in 1533 (Figure 6, Appendix 18). The sitter, who may be an undocumented brother or cousin of Hermann Wedigh, is traditionally called “Hermann Hillebrandt Wedigh,” but only his family name and age can be established. Hermann Wedigh’s father, Hermann II, had, so far as we know, no other sons and no brothers, and although his sister Clara, Hermann III’s aunt, married first Philip Aberlinck and then Johannes Hillebrandt, no children are recorded from either marriage. The identification of this member of the family as “Hermann Hillebrandt Wedigh” thus remains open to question.⁴⁶ The two Wedigh por-

traits are related only in size and color,⁴⁷ and the different poses make it unlikely that they were intended as pendants, despite the fact that they were recorded together in the same Vienna collection as early as 1746.⁴⁸

Holbein’s next commission may have been that of Dirk Tybis of Duisburg (Figure 7), whose portrait is dated March 1533 (Appendix 21). The sitter’s identity and location in the Steelyard (Windgoose Alley) are given by inscriptions within the portrait (Appendix 19, 21, Figure 17).⁴⁹ Perhaps both as an invocation for protection and as a convention of correspondence,⁵⁰ the more prominent inscription is headed with the name of Jesus, which, with a Latin cross on either side, may be intended also as a reference to the Trinity.⁵¹ Emphasis is placed on the passage of time: “When I was 33 years old, I, Dirk Tybis at London / had this appearance and marked this portrait with my device / in my own hand . . . / by me Dirk [merchant mark] Tybis from Duisburg” (Appendix 21). The sitter’s merchant mark, in reverse and combined with his initials, is also to be seen on the seal lying on the table.⁵² As in the Gisze portrait, the mark contains a Latin cross within its configuration (Appendix 22).

Another Steelyard commission of 1533 is the portrait of Cyriacus Kale (Figure 8), whose name and

46. Geelen, pp. 182, 194, questions the name and relationship of the sitter, but tentatively places him as a cousin of Hermann Wedigh (III). Fahne, *Geschichte der Kölnischen . . . Urkunden*, p. 112, does not record a son of Clara Wedigh Aberlinck/Hillebrandt, nor is one recorded by the Cologne archives. In the present absence of any documentary evidence of his existence, the name of “Hermann Hillebrandt Wedigh” seems to have been composed of parts borrowed from the main Wedigh family and a collateral branch.

47. Although Holbein may have stayed briefly in Cologne on his journey to London via Antwerp in 1532, and could there have painted Hermann Wedigh, the similarity of the two portraits in size and color suggests that they were both painted in London.

48. W. Bürger, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1 (1869) p. 16; see also Chamberlain, p. 15.

49. Chamberlain, p. 21, reads “toe Dadr” as London and “wae/ hy yss” as “wi./dgyss” or Windgyss, in reference to a passageway of the Steelyard called Windgoose Alley (ibid., p. 3).

50. Krummacher, “Zu Holbeins,” p. 191.

51. In a conversation (1977), Dr. Köhler of the Berlin Museum suggested this interpretation, based on similar merchant correspondence during this period.

52. Kuhlicke, “Merchant Marks,” p. 64.



FIGURE 5
Barthel Bruyn the Elder (1493–1555), *A Young Man*, 1539. Oil on wood, $14\frac{1}{16} \times 10$ in. (37×25.5 cm.). Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum (photo: Museum, B. P. Keiser)

London association are given in the inscriptions of two letters (Appendix 24, 25). His merchant mark, a long arrow with a Latin cross and an X,⁵³ is placed on one of the letters to ensure its delivery (Appendix 24). Although his name is not recorded in the local archives,⁵⁴ it is believed that Cyriacus Kale was a member of the Kales or Kalles of Brunswick, a merchant family which resided at 640 Heinestrasse, and

53. Elmhirst, *Merchant Marks*, p. 9, l. 2, no. 577.

54. Sophie Reidemeister, *Genealogien Braunschweiger Patrizier- und Ratsgeschlechter aus der Zeit der Selbständigkeit der Stadt vor 1671* (Brunswick, 1948) p. 88; See also Herman Riegel, *Beschreibendes und Kritisches Verzeichnis der Gemälde-Sammlung* (Brunswick, 1900) pp. 12–13.



FIGURE 6
Holbein, *A Member of the Wedigh Family*, 1533. Tempera and oil on wood, $15\frac{3}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{16}$ in. (39×30 cm.). West Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (photo: Gemäldegalerie, Jörg P. Anders)

that he was probably the son of Gerloff Kale (1446–1523), mayor of Brunswick in 1521, and elder brother of Hermann Kale (1516–64). Along with the notation of year and age, there is a German inscription, which translates as “Be patient in all things” (Appendix 23), and which perhaps served as a simple motto or as a reassurance to his family of his eventual return. The portrait may indeed have been sent home to Kale’s family, as it was recorded in the collection of Duke Anton Ulrich as early as 1737, and remains today in the museum of that name in Brunswick.

In the portrait of Derich Born (Figure 9), also painted in 1533, the sitter’s name is inscribed in Latin on the stone parapet in the foreground (Appendix



FIGURE 7
Holbein, *Dirk Tybis*, 1533. Tempera and oil on wood, 18¹³/₁₆ × 13³/₄ in. (47.7 × 34.8 cm.). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Museum)

26). This inscription translates in part: "If you were to add a voice this would be Derich his very self / and you would doubt whether a painter or a parent had produced him." It emphasizes that the sitter is alive and, at the same time, provides Holbein with the opportunity to draw attention to the lifelike quality of

55. Floyd Swink independently identified the plant in 1977, but noted that the tendrils seem to be an elaboration on the part of the artist. The fig tree has been associated with the cult of St. Sebastian, protector of the sick, e.g., Andrea Mantegna's *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian* of 1480 (Louvre), and most importantly in Hans Holbein the Elder's *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian* of 1515 (Alte Pinakothek); and with other saints committed to the healing of



FIGURE 8
Holbein, *Cyriacus Kale*, 1533. Tempera and oil on wood, 23⁹/₁₆ × 17³/₈ in. (59.8 × 44.1 cm.). Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum (photo: Museum, B. P. Keiser)

his work. A further reference to the sitter's vitality, in contrast to the menace of death, is perhaps seen in the vinelike fig prominent in the background, a plant traditionally associated with protection against disease.⁵⁵ The *Hortus Sanitatis* of 1485 records that boiled figs are good against pestilence and epilepsy,⁵⁶

the sick, e.g., *St. Cyriacus* (Städel) and *St. Elizabeth of Thüringen* (Donaueschingen), Matthias Grünewald's side panels (1509) for Albrecht Dürer's Heller Altar. See also Markow, "Holbein's Steelyard Portraits," p. 45; Lottlisa Behling, *Matthias Grünewald* (Freiburg, 1969) pp. 10–14, 33–35.

56. Johann Wonnecke Cube, *Hortus Sanitatis* (Mainz: Peter Schöffer, 1485; reprint, Munich, 1966) s.v. *Ficus*.

FIGURE 9

Holbein, *Derich Born*, 1533. Tempera and oil on wood, $23\frac{3}{4} \times 17\frac{3}{8}$ (60.3 \times 45.1 cm.). Windsor, The Royal Collection (reproduced by kind permission of H. M. the Queen, crown copyright reserved)

and the fig branch, perhaps symbolizing protection against disease, appears in earlier portraits and other works by Holbein.⁵⁷ In the same year, Holbein referred to the transience of life and the instability of fortune in a pair of allegories called *The Triumph of Riches* and *The Triumph of Poverty*, painted for the Steelyard guildhall, and now known only from a drawing by Holbein and from copies. A Latin inscription in a copy of *The Triumph of Poverty* contains the reflection: "He who is rich . . . fears hourly that the inconstant wheel of fortune may turn," verses often attributed to Sir Thomas More.

Of all Holbein's Steelyard merchants, Derich Born of Cologne is the most extensively documented. On October 6, 1533, Johannes Born, the sitter's elder brother, sent goods from Lübeck on a ship registered in Antwerp and bound for England, most probably to his brother Derich,⁵⁸ who, as "Dyryck Borne, merchant of the Steelyard," is recorded in the *State Papers* in 1536 as having received payment "for various bundles of harness."⁵⁹ As further recorded in the Cologne archives, between August 13, 1540 and February 12, 1543, the Born brothers, along with Derick Berck (see Figure 10), had bought £600 of lead from the duke of Suffolk, but had failed to fulfill payment and were threatened with a fine by Sir Thomas Cromwell.⁶⁰ In retaliation, on January 30, 1541, the duke of Suffolk confiscated a ship full of cloth which belonged to the Born brothers.⁶¹ Because they endangered the privileges of all merchants in England from Cologne, that city intervened on May 20, 1541, and



the Born brothers were expelled from the London Steelyard.⁶² By December 9, 1542, they were reported to be in Antwerp.⁶³ There in the following year, according to the Antwerp archives, between November 6 and November 11, Derich Born was petitioned for payment of bills by a notary representing merchants Jacob van Maesevick and Jan van Caster.⁶⁴

57. *The Last Supper* (1520), *Darmstadt (Meyer) Madonna* (1526–30), *Lady with a Squirrel* (1526–28), *Sir Henry Guildford* (1527), *Lady Guildford* (1527), *William Reskimer* (1532), most probably *Bonifacius Amerbach* (1519), and, attributed to Holbein the Elder as well as the Younger, *St. Ursula* (1523). Open to question is the possible identification of the tree as fig in Holbein the Younger's 1533 allegories, *The Triumph of Riches* and *The Triumph of Poverty* (Chamberlain, pp. 23–30; Ganz, *Paintings of Hans Holbein*, pp. 284–288, nos. 177, 178, ill. 57–59; R. Salvini and H. W. Grohn, *Holbein il Giovane* [Milan, 1971] p. 100, nos. 71A, 71B, ill. 71A, 71A', 71B).

58. *Kölner Inventar*, p. 3, no. 28.

59. Chamberlain, p. 19, cites *State Papers*, XI, no. 686.

60. Paul Wescher, *Grosskaufleute der Renaissance* (Basel, 1940) p. 150; *Kölner Inventar*, pp. 15–18, 20, nos. 199, 214, 218, 233, 237, 239, and 268. Derick Berck's name appears in the record of February 12, 1543, p. 20, no. 268.

61. *Kölner Inventar*, p. 16, no. 214, recorded on February 11, 1541.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 17, no. 218, and p. 18, no. 239.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 20, no. 260.

64. Jacob Strieder, *Aus Antwerpener Notariatsarchiven* (Berlin, 1930) pp. 153–155, no. 215.

In response to this suit, Born repeatedly claimed that he had no money to fulfill payment.⁶⁵ By 1549, he had sent goods from Antwerp to England insured for £550.⁶⁶ On November 17, 1550, an “English Priest of Canterbury” tried through Jan Lens of Antwerp to recover the sum of £32, which had been borrowed by Born.⁶⁷ The last record concerning Derich Born in the Cologne archives is dated July 11, 1549, when he made a formal complaint to the Steelyard about his earlier expulsion.⁶⁸ Since Holbein’s portrait of Born is thought to have entered the Royal Collection early in the seventeenth century,⁶⁹ it may have remained in England after he and his brother were expelled.

The last of the Steelyard commissions is the portrait of Derick Berck of Cologne, painted in 1536 (Figure 10). The sitter’s identity, age, and association with the Steelyard are recorded in the portrait (Appendix 27, 28). Although Berck is thought to have been born in the city of Duisburg, fifty miles north of Cologne, and lived on “Oberstrasse,”⁷⁰ he may in fact have become a citizen of Cologne, since he is referred to as from Cologne in that city’s archives. On February 12, 1543, the city of Cologne, in response to earlier correspondence from King Henry VIII, indicated that the matter involving the duke of Suffolk and “Kolner in England”—specifically the Born brothers and Derick Berck—had been correctly handled.⁷¹ On December 31, 1545, Derick Berck of Cologne sought to rent a room in the London Steelyard, previously rented to Joachim Gevertz of Hamburg for £7,⁷² which suggests that Berck had not been expelled from the Steelyard with the Borns.

Within the letter identifying the sitter is Derick Berck’s merchant mark⁷³ and a German inscription traditionally translated as “Consider the end” (Appendix 27, Figure 18). This statement, unlikely to be

Berck’s personal motto, was perhaps borrowed by Holbein from his former friend and patron Erasmus of Rotterdam, whose personal motto, written in Greek, was “Contemplate the end of a long life,” and who regarded such Greek or Latin inscriptions as verses pronounced by Death himself.⁷⁴ A Latin inscription, facing the viewer, was taken from Virgil’s *Aeneid*, book I, line 203: “Someday it will be pleasant to remember” (Appendix 29, Figure 18). In the *Aeneid*, this famous quotation was intended as a statement of encouragement, as greater misfortunes still awaited Aeneas and his comrades before reaching their new home. Berck may have wished to be remembered with pleasure after death, or he may have intended to suggest that he would recall with pleasure his days in the London Steelyard only after his safe return to Germany. If Berck’s portrait was in fact sent back to his family, this quotation could have been a message of encouragement against his eventual homecoming.

The year of the Berck portrait, 1536, was also the year of Holbein’s official appointment as painter to the court of Henry VIII.⁷⁵ Thereafter, he devoted most of his time to royal commissions. The Steelyard Merchants, as private citizens trading overseas in what was for them a foreign country, are necessarily more obscure. But the care with which Holbein recorded information about them in their portraits, taken with the surviving documents, allows us to glimpse something of their way of life and their personal concerns. The uncertainties of the time, the hardships as well as the fortunes of a merchant’s career, the ever-present menace of the plague in London—from which the artist himself was to die in 1543—all seem to be reflected in these significant and masterly paintings.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid., p. 245, no. 443

67. Ibid., p. 260, no. 487.

68. *Kölner Inventar*, p. 342.

69. Chamberlain, pp. 19–20; Millar, *Tudor . . . Pictures*, p. 57, no. 26.

70. Günter von Roden, *Geschichte der Stadt Duisburg* (Duisburg, 1970) I, pp. 88, 322.

71. *Kölner Inventar*, p. 20, no. 268; Wescher, *Grosskaufleute*, p. 150, calls the sitter “Dirk Bergh aus Köln.”

72. *Kölner Inventar*, p. 27, no. 362.

73. Elmhirst, *Merchant Marks*, p. 9, l. 11, no. 98.

74. Erwin Panofsky, “Erasmus and the Visual Arts,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969) p. 216.

75. Holbein was commissioned by the Steelyard to design a triumphal arch as its contribution to the coronation pageant of Anne Boleyn on May 31, 1533. His drawing of the project survives (Berlin). Chamberlain, pp. 30–33, and Colvin, *Germans in England*, pp. 151–152, discuss the supposedly intentional insult directed toward the new queen in this project.

FIGURE 10
Holbein, *Derick Berck*, 1536.
Tempera and oil on canvas,
transferred from wood,
21 × 16¾ in. (53.3 × 42.6 cm.).
The Metropolitan Museum of
Art, The Jules Bache Collec-
tion, 49.7.29



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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- Geelen—Willhelm Geelen, "Mitteilungen über Porträts des Kölner Patriciergeschlechts von Wedigh und Unterlagen zur Bestimmung derselben," *Beiträge zur Kölnischen Geschichte, Sprache und Eigenart* 2, pts. 10, 11 (1917) pp. 171–194
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Appendix

INSCRIPTIONS AND MERCHANT MARKS IN HOLBEIN'S PORTRAITS OF THE STEELYARD MERCHANTS

Georg Gisze (Figures 1, 11–15)

1. *Top*

Διονυχιὸν ἰ Ἰμαγινῆ Georgiī Gyseniī
Ista, refert vultus, quā cernis, Imago Georgi
Sic oculos viuos, sic habet ille genas
Anno ætatis suæ xxxiiiiij
Anno dom̃ 1532

The distich on the picture of Georg Gisze
This picture of Georg that you see records his features
Such lively eyes, such cheeks has he
In the year of his age 34
In the year of the Lord 1532

2. *Upper left*

Nulla sine merore voluptas
G. Gisze:—

No joy without sorrow
G. Gisze

3. *Letter in sitter's hands*

Dem Erszamen
Jorgen gisze to lunden
in engelant mynem
broder to handen

To the honorable
Georg Gisze at London
in England my
brother to give

4. *Right, upper letter 1*

Dem Ersamē Jurgen
ghyszin to lund in
engelant kame dyszer
breff

To the honorable Georg
Gisze at London in
England comes this
letter

Inhans
Stolten



in lund anno 1528
7 . . .

Ihñs

In Hans
Stolten

[*merchant mark*]

in London in the year 1528
7 [*month illegible*]

[?Johannes or In Hans]

FIGURES 11–15

Holbein, *Georg Gysze*, details of inscriptions (photos: Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Jörg P. Anders)

FIGURE 11 (Appendix 1)



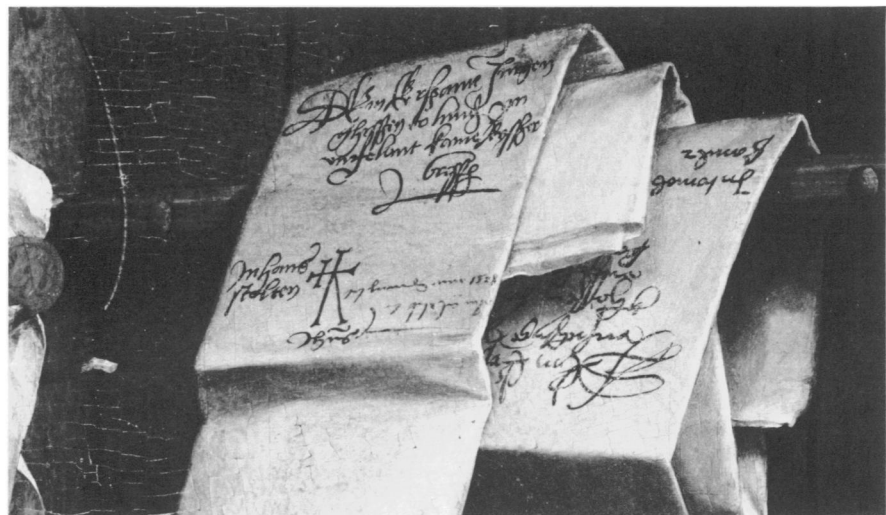
FIGURE 12 (Appendix 2)



FIGURE 13 (Appendix 3)



FIGURE 14 (Appendix 4, 5)



5. *Right, upper letter 2 (inscription upside down)*

DEm Ers[amen]
vorsichtige J[urgen]
ghyszen to l[unden]
engel
K[ome]

In tomas
Bandz

To the honorable
prudent Georg
Gisze at London
England
[comes this letter]

In Thomas
Bandz

6. *Right, lower letter 1*

DEm Erszamen
vorsichtigē Jurgē gyssze
to lund in engelant
kome dysszer breff

In Jurge ...
zuBasel 1531



To the honorable
prudent Georg Gisze
at London in England
comes this letter

In Georg ...
of Basel 1531

[merchant mark]

7. *Right, lower letter 2*

... nder[?]
gysszē
... nt

in lund, anno 1531
17 [...] may



...
Gisze
... [Engla]nd

in London, in the year 1531
17 [...] of May

[lower half of Gisze's merchant mark]



FIGURE 15
(Appendix 6, 7)

8. *Right, suspended string container*

EN HEER EN

[?derived from Herren]

9. *Folded letter, left of scale, illegible*

10. *Seal*



[merchant mark reversed within a shield]

Hans of Antwerp (Figure 3)

11. *Letter in sitter's hands*

Dem Ersamen H
...An. .werpen
Stallhof zu

To the honorable H[ans of]
An[t]werp
[at the] Steelyard to [give]

[The legibility of the inscription is open to question, but the
sitter's identity has been universally accepted.]

[Below to the left, unknown markings]

12. *Paper on table*

Anno Dns 1532 auf 26 July
Aetatis suae 33[?]

In the year of the Lord 1532 on 26 July
at the age of 33[?]

13. *Seal*

W

W

Hermann Wedigh (Figures 4, 16)

14. *Background inscription*

ANNO . 1532. ÆTATIS . SVÆ . 29.

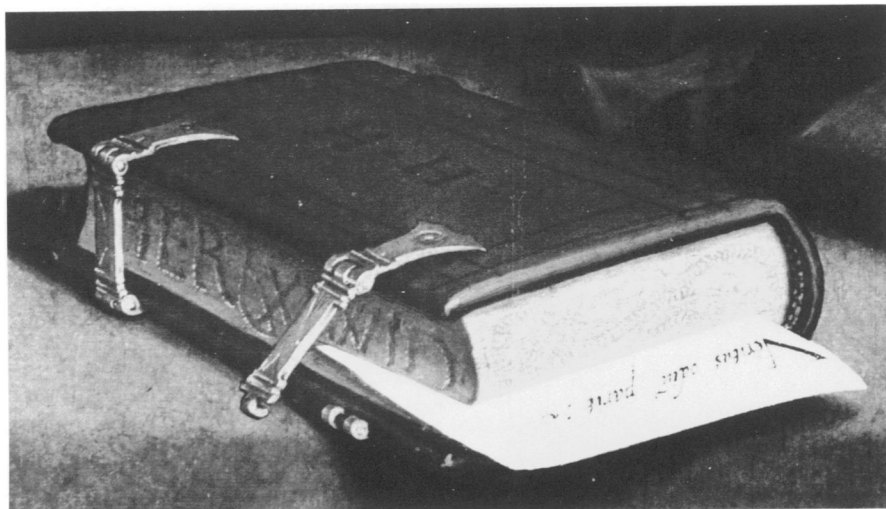
In the year 1532 at the age of 29

15. *Fore-edge of book*

HER [W within a shield] WID

HER[MANN] W WID[DIG]

FIGURE 16
(Appendix 15–17)
Holbein, *Hermann Wedigh*, detail of inscriptions



16. *Loose sheet in book*

Veritas odiū[m] parit:—

Truth breeds hatred

17. *Cover of book*

· H · H ·

H[ans] H[olbein]

A Member of the Wedigh Family (Figure 6)

18. *Background inscription*

ANNO 1533 ÆTATIS . SVÆ 39

In the year 1533 at the age of 39

Dirk Tybis (Figures 7, 17)

19. *Letter in sitter's hands*

Dem ersamen Deryck
Tybys van Duysborch
alwyl toe Dadr [Londn?] off wae
hy yss myn lyffen bro
der ff.

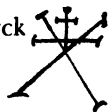
To the honorable Dirk
Tybis of Duisburg
... [at London] of Wi
ndgoose my dear bro
ther. . .

[See note 49]

20. *Letter in foreground illegible*

21. *Paper at left*

† Jesus †
Da ick was 33 jar was ick Deryck Tybis to London
dyser gestalt en hab dyser gelicken den mael
ges[shrieben]
myt myner eigener hant en was halffs mert anno
1533
per my Deryck Tybis fan Dus



† Jesus †
When I was 33 years old, I, Dirk Tybis at London
had this appearance and marked this portrait with
my device
in my own hand and it was the middle of March in
the year 1533
by me Dirk [merchant mark] Tybis from Du[i]s[burg]

22. *Seal*



[merchant mark reversed]

FIGURE 17 (Appendix 19–22)
Holbein, *Dirk Tybis*, detail of inscriptions (photo:
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum)

Cyriacus Kale (Figure 8)

23. Background inscription

IN ALS GEDOLTIG
ANNO

SIS ALTERS · 32
· 1533 ·

Be patient in all things
In the year

His age 32
1533

24. Letter 1 in sitter's hands

Dem Ersame Syryacuss
Kalen in lu[n]den up Stalhoff
sy disse br[e]ff



In hys

d[a]

To the honorable Cyriacus
Kale in London of the Steelyard
. . . this letter

[merchant mark]

In his

. . .

25. Letter 2 in sitter's hands

Dem Ersamenn Sylliakes
Kallenn to Lund[en]
stalhoff by duch
ang

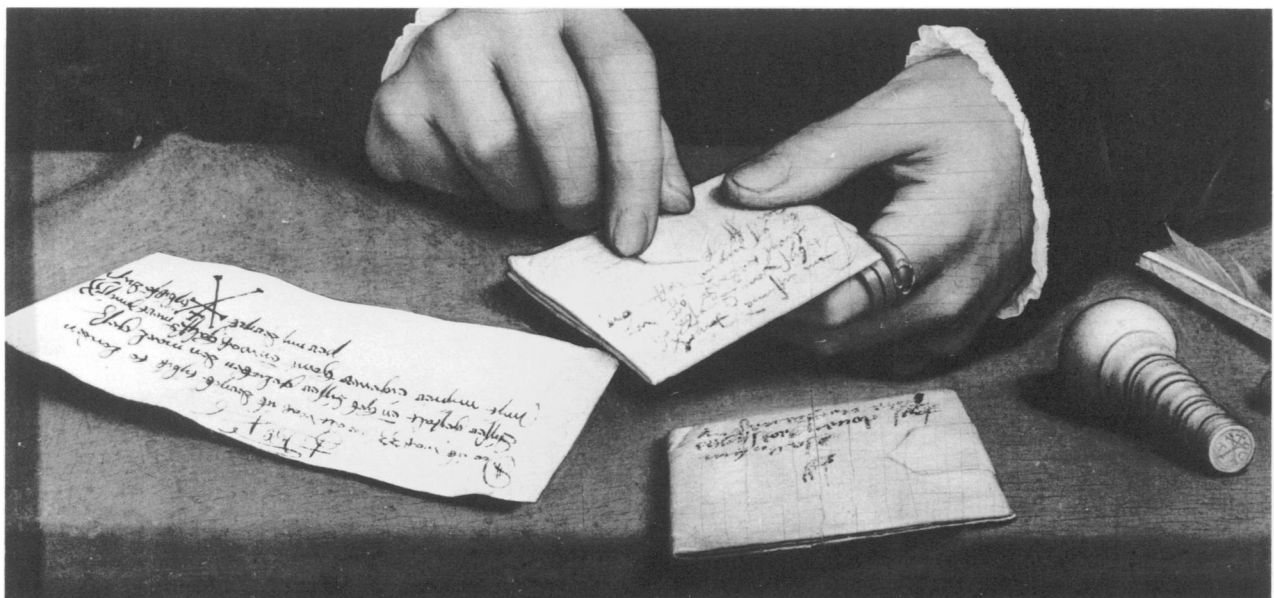
To the honorable Cyriacus
Kale at Lond[on]
the Steelyard. . .
Eng[land]

Derich Born (Figure 9)

26. Parapet inscription

DERICHVS SI VOCEM ADDAS IPSISSIMVS HIC SIT
HVNC DVBITES PICTOR FECERIT AN GENITOR
DER BORN ETATIS SVÆ · 23 · ANNO 1533

If you were to add a voice this would be Derich his
very self
and you would doubt whether a painter or a
parent had produced him
Der[ich] Born at the age of 23 in the year 1533

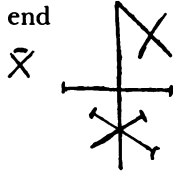


Derick Berck (Figures 10, 18)

27. Letter in sitter's hands

Dem Ersamen und
fromen[?] Derick Berck
lvnden vpt Staelhoff [8?]

besad de end



To the honorable and
pious[?] Derick Berck
London. . . Steelyard [8?]

Consider the end

[This is the traditional reading of the German, which is
probably still valid, despite some lack of clarity.]

[merchant mark]

28. Table surface, right

AN 1536 ÆTA: 30 ·

In the year 1536 age 30

29. Paper at left

Olim meminisse iuvabit

Someday it will be pleasant to remember

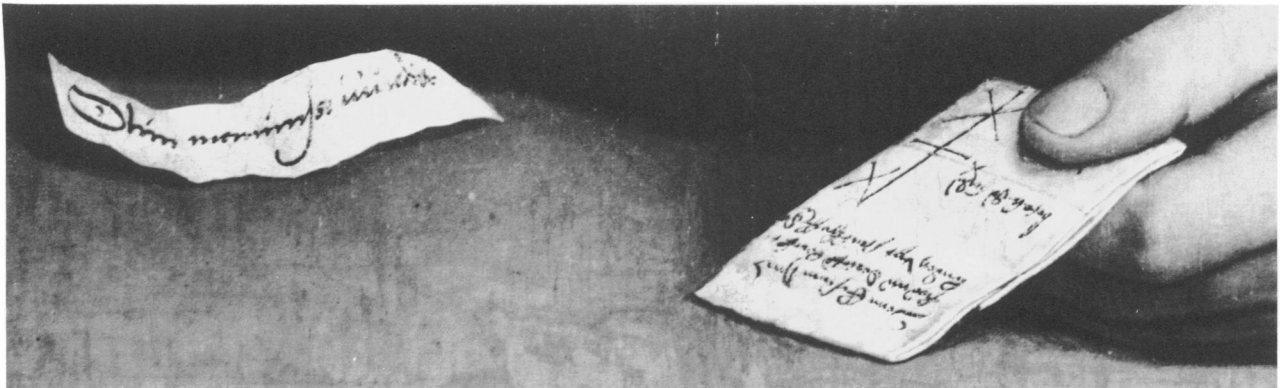


FIGURE 18 (Appendix 27, 29)
Holbein, *Derick Berck*, detail of inscriptions

An Altarpiece by Giulio Cesare Procaccini

KEITH CHRISTIANSEN

Assistant Curator, Department of European Paintings, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

THE ALTARPIECE of *The Madonna and Child with Saints Francis and Dominic, and Angels*, recently purchased for The Metropolitan Museum of Art, is one of the most significant works of Giulio Cesare Procaccini (1574–1625) to have appeared in the last decade, and among the most appealing of any of his paintings (Figure 1).¹ It is also one of the very few that may be related to contemporary documents.

The altarpiece is described in 1642 in an inventory of the property of the church of the Madonna dei Miracoli in Corbetta, just west of Milan: “Alla cappella di S. Fran. S. Dom. 1 Quadro con l’Effigie della Mad.^{na} di S.^{to} Fran.—di S.^{to} dom.—co’Angeli. Gran dipinto.”² At an undetermined date this picture was removed from its frame and replaced with a faithful but mediocre copy which hung in the chapel until the church was restored after the Second World War (Figure 2). The copy, still in the original, though heavily overpainted, frame designed by Procaccini, was then moved to a stairwell in an adjacent building.³

1. The picture is in remarkably good condition and has been sensitively cleaned recently; the only damages are some minor tears in the body of the putto at the right and some abrasion in the shadows.

2. Archivio della Chiesa della Madonna dei Miracoli, Proprieta del Santuario, Cartella VI, Fascicolo 2, Inventario, 1642. The chapel in question—“of St. Francis [and] St. Dominic”—is the second to the right upon entering the church; for its dedication see below, note 5.

3. The copy measures approximately 250 × 140 cm. It is listed in an inventory carried out by the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti della Lombardia in 1937 as “scuola emiliana procaccinesca, forse di G.C.” and has recently been published by M. B. Castellotti, “Aggiunta al catalogo di Melchiorre Gherardini,” *Paragone* 29, (1978) no. 345, pp. 89f., fig. 70, with a direct

The church of the Madonna dei Miracoli owes its name to an image of the Virgin and Child painted on its facade by Gregorio Zavattari in 1475.⁴ On April 27, 1555, while three children were playing in the piazza in front of the church, the Christ Child descended from the fresco to the street. One of the children, a deaf mute, witnessed the event and, finding himself cured, shouted to his companions. All three then enjoyed the spectacle of the Virgin herself descending from the fresco to take up her Child and return with him to their proper place. Overnight the church, then dedicated to S. Nicolao, began to attract pilgrims, and the following year funds were provided by Giovanni Ambrogio Spanzotta to restore and enlarge the old building, probably with a choir. A structure was also added to the facade of the church to permit access to the miraculous image; this was the forerunner of the present eighteenth-century chapel. The first plenary indulgences were procured through Charles Borromeo, cardinal archbishop of Milan, in 1560 and 1561 and then again in 1562. It was, in part,

attribution to Procaccini. It has all the characteristics of a later copy: there are none of the pentimenti found in the Metropolitan Museum’s painting and the execution throughout is extremely mechanical. The frame, on the other hand, compares favorably with those Procaccini designed for the two altarpieces in S. Maria Presso San Celso in Milan.

There is also a drawing that Castellotti correctly maintains is after the altarpiece (Figure 3, Ambrosiana, Cod. F.235, inf., n.1179; black chalk, heightened with white on gray tinted paper, attributed at the Ambrosiana to Giuseppe Vermiglio).

4. For the most complete history of the church, see P[rete] C[arlo] C[hierichetti], *Brevi memorie del santuario della Madonna de’ Miracoli* (Milan, 1871) and E. Cazzani, *L’archivio del santuario della Beata Vergine dei Miracoli in Corbetta* (Milan, 1975).



FIGURE 1

Giulio Cesare Procaccini (1574–1652), *The Madonna and Child with Saints Francis and Dominic, and Angels*, 1612–13. Oil on canvas, $101\frac{1}{3} \times 56\frac{3}{8}$ in. (256.9 \times 143.2 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Enid A. Haupt Gift, 1979.209

FIGURE 2

Copy of Figure 1 in the frame designed by Procaccini for the original altarpiece. Corbetta (Milan), Madonna dei Miracoli (photo: Soprintendenza, Milan)



Charles Borromeo's association with the church and the celebrations following his canonization in 1610 that spurred a program of redecoration. On November 3, 1612 the deputies of the Madonna dei Miracoli met to confirm that an altar near the tribune was to be dedicated in perpetuity to St. Charles. At the same time three other chapels were assigned to various deputies with the understanding that within a year each patron was to supply an altarpiece by a reputable master, and that a year after construction of the interior of the chapels all other ornaments should be completed and a weekly mass established; failing this, rights to the chapel were to be forfeited. Among the three chapels was that "hora dedicata a S. Francesco," which was assigned to Gaspare Spanzotta and his

FIGURE 3

Seventeenth-century drawing after Figure 1. Milan, Ambrosiana (photo: Mario Perotti)





FIGURE 4
Saint Francis, detail of Figure 1

brother Filippo,⁵ descendants no doubt of the Spanzotta who half a century earlier had financed reconstruction of the church. It was thus Gaspare and Filippo Spanzotta who in all probability commissioned the altarpiece from Procaccini shortly thereafter.

The altarpiece was conceived as a glorification of the Virgin and of her chief devotion, the rosary. Traditionally it was St. Dominic who instituted the rosary at the Virgin's request, and although this account originated only with the fifteenth-century Dominican, Alan de la Roche (or de Rupe),⁶ numerous paintings

5. Archivio della Chiesa della Madonna dei Miracoli, Memorie storiche, Cartella I, Fascicolo I, Primo Libro delle Ordina-zioni: 1572-1689, f. 14. The relevant part of the entry for November 3, 1612, reads as follows:

"Hanno conchiuso che la prima capella à mano dritta vicina alla tribuna, alla quale fu portata processionalmente l'immagine di S. Carlo assegnatale da Pietro Cantoni Priore. l'anno 1600 à 12 di novembre [*sic*], reste perpetualmente sotto l'invocatione del detto santo.

E poiche i sudetti S. Simone Borro, et Gaspare Spanzotta in nome suo e del S. Filippo suo fratello, et il S. Girolamo Borra del q' S. Br . . . [illegible] hanno significato che perloro donazione desideranno d'abbellire una cappella per ciasuna come anche desidera il sudetto Pietro Cantoni, hanno deliberato che al S. Simone Borro si dia la capella d. S. Dorothea, fattane prima parola con la S. Ippolita Berla Rainolda, per l'interesse che detta S. in potere pretendere. Ai d. S. Spanzotta la cappella seguente, hora dedicata a S. Francesco. Al S. Girolamo Borro la cappella vicina a quella di S. Carlo. A Pietro Cantoni quella di S. Carlo, con questo che nel termine d'un anno prossimo à venire s'habbia à mettere à ciascuna delle dette cappelle una tavola o ancona fatta per mano di buon maestro, et che per un'altro anno doppio che sarà finita la fabrica interiore s'habbia à finire l'abbellimento et ornato le dette cappelle et farle celebrare da ciascuno di essi per S. respetivamente almeno una messa la settimana inperpetua et che cessandosi in alcuna delle dette cose, sia in arbitrio dei detti S. Deputati di disporre delle capelle sudette in altre persone."

The chapel assigned to Gaspare and Filippo Spanzotta was decorated in the sixteenth century with a fresco of the Pietà (now again visible), and the wording "hora dedicata a S. Francesco" thus refers to a recent rededication. The presence of the saint on the Virgin's right, the side of honor, doubtless results from this primary dedication.

6. On this see especially H. Thurston, "The Rosary," *The Month* 96 (1900) pp. 403-418, 513-527, 620-637; *ibid.* 97 (1901) pp. 67-79. Also E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France* (Paris, 1908) p. 216; *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1912) XIII, pp. 184ff., and *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1967) XII, pp. 667ff.

FIGURE 5
Madonna and Child, detail of Figure 1





FIGURE 6
Two angels, detail of Figure 1

from the sixteenth century onwards attest to its widespread acceptance. Perhaps the most famous and revealing example is Caravaggio's *Madonna of the Rosary* in Vienna, in which the Virgin instructs St. Dominic to distribute rosaries to the faithful who kneel before him with outstretched arms. The presence in the foreground of St. Peter Martyr underlines the significance of the event, for it was believed that the rosary had been a powerful weapon in combating the Albigensian heresy in the thirteenth century and could once again be employed against the new Protestant heresies. The same idea is explicit in Domenichino's fresco of *The Virgin Interceding for the Neapolitan People* (1633) in a pendentive in the cathedral of Naples, where a young woman holding a rosary kneels on the defeated figures of Calvin and Luther; the latter had denounced the rosary as an invention of the devil. The popularity of the devotion and the frequency of its representation thus went hand in hand with the progress of the Counter Reformation. The Dominican Pope Pius V had especially championed the devotion. Following his initiative, in 1573 Gregory XIII instituted the Feast of the Rosary to commemorate the fact that the victory over the Turks at Lepanto in 1571 had taken place on the day when in Rome confraternities of the rosary held their annual processions.⁷ In Milan the devotion was given special prestige when in 1584 St. Charles Borromeo, a strong supporter of Pius V, founded a confraternity of the rosary in the cathedral of the city. It was fitting, therefore, that as a deputy of the *Madonna dei Miracoli*, with which St. Charles had been associated, Gaspare Spanzotta should have been involved in commissioning an altarpiece in which the institution of the rosary figured so prominently.

Employing a traditional format derived from *sacre*

conversazione, Procaccini draws attention to the rosary's efficacy in overcoming Original Sin and to its status as the Virgin's preferred devotion. These points are made clear by the apple held by St. Francis, a symbol both of the Fall of Man and of the Virgin's role as the second Eve (Figure 4). The Virgin's melancholic mood arises from the dual nature of this symbol as well as from the cross St. Francis holds in his right hand, and this mood in turn lends a special poignancy to her gift of the rosary and the ecstatic fervor with which St. Dominic receives it.

If the conditions agreed upon by the church deputies at their meeting in 1612 were carried out, Procaccini's altarpiece was not only commissioned in late 1612 or early 1613, but was also probably finished within a year. The manner in which the space has been at once filled and compressed by figures describing sweeping curves across the surface is characteristic of Procaccini's work in the first half of the second decade.⁸ So, too, are the densely applied pigment, the flashes of bright color—whether the red of the Virgin's dress, the white of St. Dominic's habit, or the swatch of blue on the left-hand putto—and the soft shadows which are the only indication of the environment that the figures inhabit. The picture occupies a position between the scenes of the life of the Virgin in S. Antonio Abate in Milan, which were painted in 1612, and the altarpiece in the Santuario dei Miracoli at Saronno.⁹ These works show nothing of Procaccini's earlier dependence on Cerano, still traceable in the scenes from the life of St. Charles Borromeo, finished for the cathedral in 1610. Nor yet are their compositions open and developed in depth as in *The Circumcision* at Modena, commissioned in 1613 but only delivered in 1616. They are the first fruits of Procaccini's maturity when, as Borsieri wrote in 1619, the artist "turned from sculpture to painting, having formed a manner that closely approached the spirit of Parmigianino, especially in brushwork."¹⁰ Indeed,

7. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, XII, p. 670, and L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, ed. R. Kerr (London, 1952) XVIII, pp. 423ff.

8. The characteristics of this moment were first outlined by N. Pevsner, "Giulio Cesare Procaccini," *Rivista d'arte* 11 (1929) pp. 326ff., and have been restated, more comprehensively, by M. Valsecchi, "Schede lombarde per G. C. Procaccini," *Paragone* 21, no. 243 (1970) pp. 16ff. See also H. Brigstocke, "Il seicento lombardo at Milan," *Burlington Magazine* 115 (1973) p. 697, and N. Neilson, "An Altarpiece by Giulio Cesare Procaccini and Some Further Remarks," *Arte lombarda* 17, ii (1972) pp. 22–25.

9. A summary of documents and opinions relating to these paintings is contained in the catalogue entries by M. Valsecchi for *Il seicento lombardo* (Milan, 1973) II, pp. 41f., with bibliography.

10. "... dalla scoltura [Procaccini] passò al dipingere, essendosi formata una maniera, la quale molto si accosta allo spirito del Parmigianino, particolarmente nel macchiare" (G. Borsieri, *Il supplimento della nobiltà di Milano* [Milan, 1619]; see Valsecchi, "Schede lombarde," p. 16).

the Metropolitan Museum's altarpiece confirms the aptness of this judgment and the date of the group of works to which it refers. The upper half of the composition (Figure 5) is, in a sense, a recollection of Parmigianino's *Madonna dal Collo Lungo*, until 1698 on an altar in S. Maria dei Servi in Parma. From that work Procaccini has evolved his own concept of the *grazia* and *bellezza* which Vasari admired in Parmigianino. But much more than his ideal of feminine grace, the technical virtuosity Procaccini has mastered discloses a close study of Parmigianino. This is especially apparent in the shimmering highlights of the drapery, the melting colors of the angels' wings (Figure 6), and the manner in which the stem of lilies held by St.

Dominic has been defined by a few deftly placed brushstrokes. However, unlike Parmigianino, Procaccini employs this mastery not as an element of a perfected *maniera*, but to communicate the sense of immediacy and vitality that is at the heart of Lombard Baroque painting.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Don Sandro Cattaneo for permitting me access to the archives at Corbetta and facilitating my work there. Thanks also to Marco Bona Castellotti at the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti della Lombardia for his great kindness to me.

The Porte Cochère of the Hôtel Pussort, Paris

IAN WARDROPPER

AMONG THE MANY WORKS of art in J. Pierpont Morgan's gift to the Metropolitan Museum in 1906 was a pair of carved oak panels (Figures 1 and 2). Each contains an oval molding framing an allegorical figure, Justice and Force. Garlands of flowers bound by ribbons surround the moldings at the top and sides. Morgan had acquired these panels as part of his purchase of most of the collection of French decorative arts formed by Georges Hoentschel in Paris. Their dimensions led the cataloguers of the Hoentschel collection, Pératé and Brière, to suppose that the reliefs had once formed the top of the double doors of a *porte cochère*, a gateway large enough to accommodate a carriage;¹ during the seventeenth century these imposing carriage-entrances grew in popularity and became virtually status symbols in Paris.² The weathered condition of the wood also indicates an emplacement out of doors. Currently the panels are dated "Period of Louis XIV, end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century."

An engraving from a series entitled *Portes cochères de menuiserie des plus belles maisons de Paris* confirms the opinion of Pératé and Brière (Figure 3). Two panels with identical subjects and compositions appear bracketed by scrolls within an elaborately ornamented pair of doors. These are surmounted by a medallion with the monogram *LP* doubled and mirrored.³ The print and the series to which it belongs are also included in the compendium *L'Architecture à*

la mode ou sont les nouveaux dessins pour la décoration des batimens et Iardins . . . published by Pierre Mariette in the early eighteenth century. Both Jean Francart and Pierre Le Pautre have been proposed as the author of the print; until recently Le Pautre has seemed the most likely candidate.⁴

The oak reliefs differ slightly from the panels represented in the engraving. Their allegorical figures stand on blocklike bases, an addition which would occur to a sculptor transforming a design into three dimensions. They contain more pictorial details than the print—for example, buildings and trees in the distance. The carved garlands, dense and ropelike in the engraving, are light and frilly; their tendrils and flowers stretch out over a wider surface and overlap the molding.

These differences suggest various explanations. Either the carver and printmaker both followed the same drawing, the former adding details he thought of during the execution, the latter simplifying pictorial features for expediency. Or else the engraver made his own drawing on the spot from the finished door, completing it from memory or fancy when back at the shop, with details like the garlands.

The wood panels are due to an accomplished, if anonymous, architectural carver. The stocky figural canon possibly indicates the hand of a Flemish sculptor working in France, such as a follower of Philippe de Buyster or Gérard van Obstal. The heavy, grave,

1. A. Pératé and G. Brière, *Collections Georges Hoentschel* (Paris, 1908) II, p. 21.

2. H. Havard, *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement et de la décoration depuis le XIII^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1894) IV, p. 537, notes: "et comme leur présence semblait attester que le propriétaire ou le locataire de l'immeuble était en possession de l'un de ces majestueux véhicules, les portes cochères devinrent comme une enseigne de fortune."

3. Whether the initials stand for the Pussort family—Henri

Pussort evidently commissioned the residence to which the *porte* gave access—or for Pierre Le Pautre, who possibly engraved the print, or for someone else altogether, is unclear.

4. T. A. Strange, *An Historical Guide to French Interiors . . .* (New York, 1904) p. 156, credits Francart. D. Guilmard, *Les Maîtres ornementalistes* (Paris, 1881) p. 98, and *Katalog der Ornamentstichsammlung des staatlichen Kunstbibliothek, Berlin* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1939) no. 3867 (2) attribute the print to Pierre Le Pautre.



FIGURE 1

After a design by Jean Marot, *Justice*, ca. 1678. Oak panel from the *porte cochère* of the Hôtel Pussort, Paris, 35½ × 39½ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 07.225.161A



FIGURE 2

After a design by Jean Marot, *Force*, ca. 1678. Oak panel from the *porte cochère* of the Hôtel Pussort, Paris, 35½ × 39½ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 07.225.161B

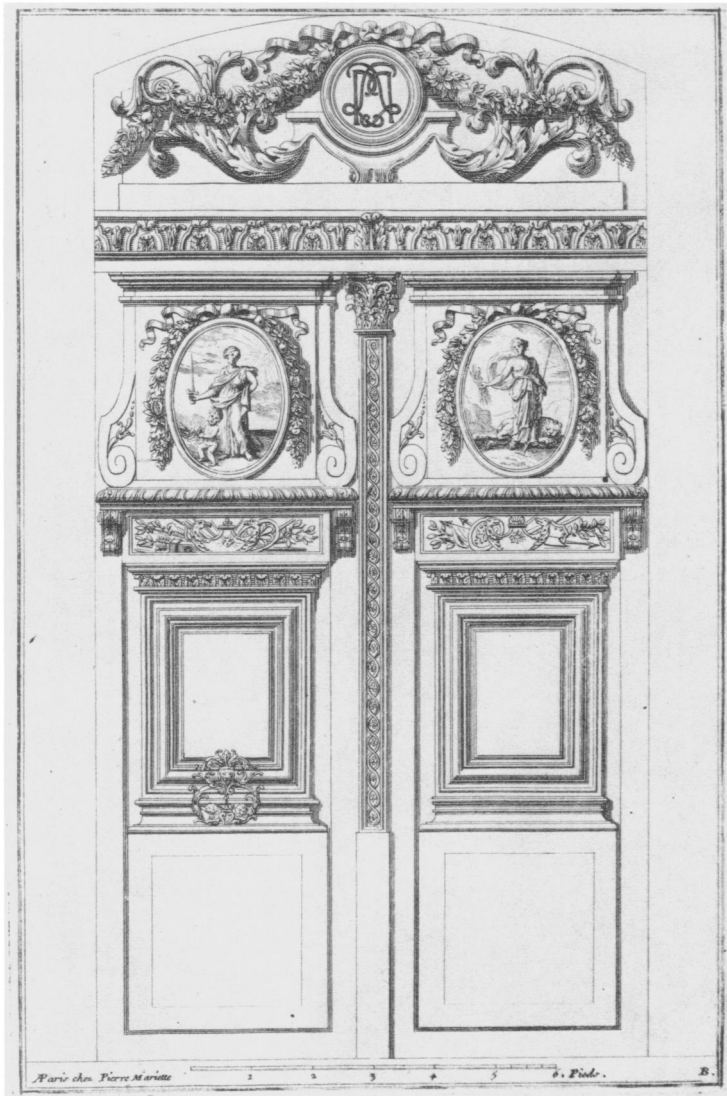


FIGURE 3
Jean Marot (?), Engraving of the *porte cochère* of the Hôtel Pussort. Fig. B from the series lettered A–F “Portes cochères de menuiserie des plus belles maisons de Paris” in the compendium *L’Architecture à la mode . . .* (“Grand Mariette”). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 30.64(1), leaf 16

slightly stiff figures of van Obstal’s *La Vigilance* and *La Force, ou la Stabilité* flanking the portal of the Hôtel Carnavalet or Buyster’s *Cariatides* on the Pavillon de l’Horloge at the Louvre suggest an appropriate stylistic framework.⁵

A drawing formerly in the collection of A. Mauban finally permits the origin of the panels to be pinpointed. Although it has not been possible to trace this sheet and it has never been illustrated, Mauban refers to it in two separate publications. Evidently it resembles the engraving in *Portes cochères de menuiserie . . .* It bears an autograph inscription, identified by Mauban as Jean Marot’s: “Porte de l’Hôtel de Pussort.”⁶ Jean Marot (ca. 1619–79) is remembered for his volumes of engravings, *L’Architecture française*, known as “le grand Marot” and “le petit Marot.” But he was himself the architect of some executed buildings, the Hôtels de Mortemart, de Monceaux, and also Pussort.⁷

A few facts and contemporary impressions concerning Henri Pussort (1615–97), the builder and first owner of this residence, may help to explain the subjects chosen for the wood panels. “Avare, dur, austère, riche, très-vieux, très-capable, très-craint, frère de la mère de feu M. Colbert et le Maître dans la famille” are some of the terms Saint-Simon used to describe him.⁸ He won notoriety during the trial of the deposed minister Fouquet in 1664. Acting, one suspects, as Colbert’s hatchet man, Pussort was Fouquet’s most venomous critic at the trial and was the sole judge to call repeatedly for his execution. From 1667 to 1670 he was in charge of drafting ordinances for the king. In 1672 he was appointed to the Conseil Royal des Finances and in 1691 became Doyen du Conseil d’Etat. It was appropriate for such a man to erect at the entrance of his house medallions personifying Force with her spear, thunderbolt, and lion,

5. Michel Gallet and Bernard de Montgolfier, “L’Hôtel Carnavalet,” *Bulletin du Musée Carnavalet* 27 (1974) nos. 1 & 2, figs. 36, 37. Pierre Chaleix, *Philippe de Buyster, Contribution à l’histoire de la sculpture française du XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1967) pl. II.

6. A. Mauban, *Jean Marot, architecte et graveur parisien* (Paris, 1944) pp. 166–168, fig. 53. See also A. Mauban, *L’Architecture française de Jean Mariette* (Paris, 1945) pp. 107–108. On the basis of this identification and by comparison with other *portes cochères* engraved by Marot, Mauban attributes to him the print illustrated in Figure 3.

7. L. Hauteceur, *Histoire de l’architecture classique en France* (Paris, 1948) II (1), pp. 142–144.

8. *Mémoires complets et authentiques du duc de Saint-Simon*, ed. M. Cheruel (Paris, 1904) I, p. 254. See also H. Menu and P. Pellot, “La Famille maternelle de Colbert: I. Recherches biographiques sur les Pussort; II. Généalogie de la famille Pussort,” *Revue d’Ardenne et d’Argonne* (Sedan, 1906) XIII, p. 117.

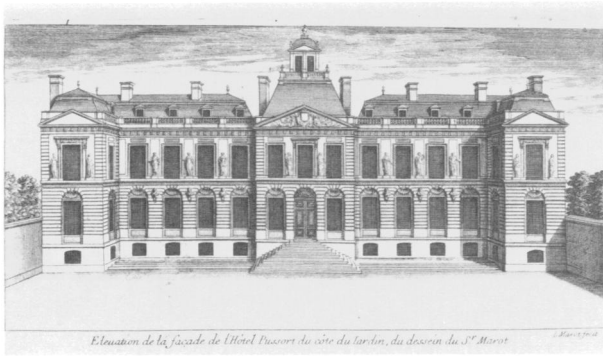


FIGURE 4
Jean Marot, Engraving of the garden facade of the Hôtel Pussort, from *L'Architecture française* ("Grand Marot"). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 52.519.185, leaf 89

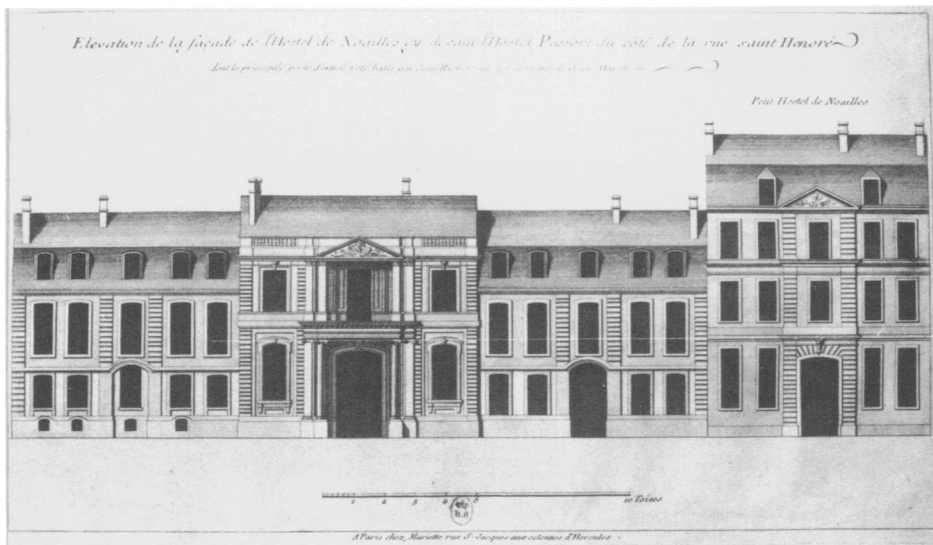
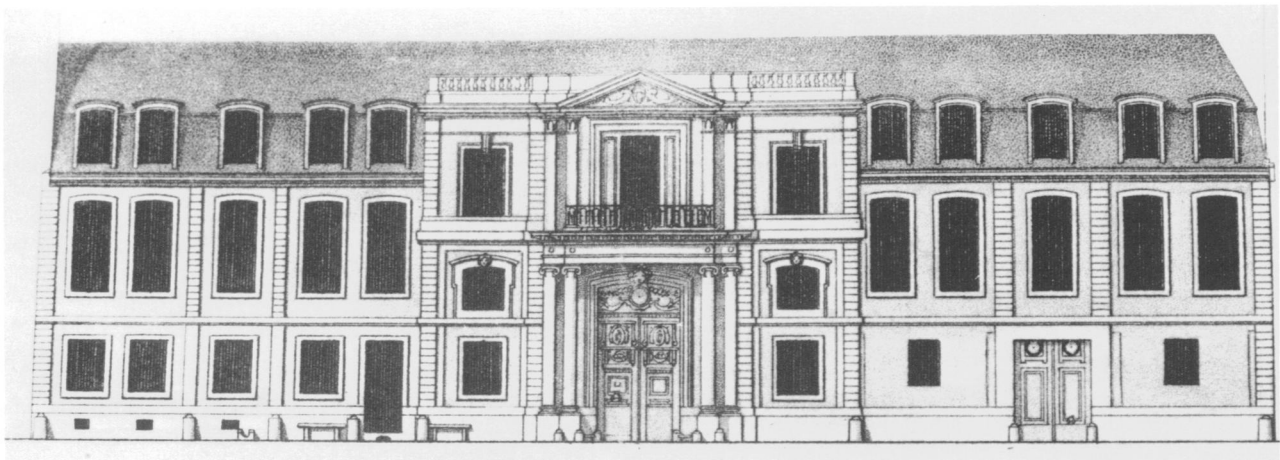


FIGURE 5
After Jean-Michel Chevotet (1698–1772), Elevation engraving of the facade of the Hôtel de Noailles (formerly Pussort) on the rue St.-Honoré, Paris. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Va. 235c (photo: Wardropper, courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale)

FIGURE 6
Charles H. Landon (1791–1841?), Engraving (detail) of the facade of the Hôtel Egerton (formerly de Noailles/Pussort) on the rue St.-Honoré. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Va. 235c (photo: Wardropper, courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale)



and Justice with sword, fasces, and scales held by a putto (attributes borrowed freely from Ripa).⁹

Through the *porte cochère* the courtyard of the Hôtel Pussort gave onto the rue St.-Honoré. Behind the *corps de logis* gardens stretched back to what is today the rue de Rivoli (Figure 4); the entire site abutted on one side of the convent of Les Feuillants. Although most sources cite Jean Marot as architect of the *hôtel*, at least one eighteenth-century writer credits the little-known architect Jean Richer (presumed dead around 1670) with the building and the *porte*.¹⁰ In fact, the inscription on a print of the street facade at a later date, when the residence had become the Hôtel de Noailles, indicates that the *porte d'entrée* was executed by Jean Richer after designs by Jean Marot (Figure 5). If this information is correct, it suggests that Richer may not have died until after 1678, the year that Pussort obtained permission to build on the rue St.-Honoré site.¹¹

Unfortunately, the doors are not shown in the engraving of the Hôtel de Noailles, but they appear in a later elevation of the same facade (Figure 6). Though this is sketchy in parts and variant in certain details from the earlier print, it confirms that the *porte cochère* illustrated in the Mariette compendium was indeed that of the Hôtel Pussort and establishes that it was still in place in the early nineteenth century.

In summary, the evidence suggests that Jean Marot designed the *porte cochère* around 1678, but that this and its superstructure were executed by Jean Richer, and that Marot's drawing was the basis of the original

engraving published by Mariette (Figure 3), for which Marot himself most likely handled the burin.

After Pussort's death in 1697 the building was sold to Vincent Bertin, seigneur d'Armenonville. In 1711 it was acquired by Duc Adrien-Maurice de Noailles, after whom it was renamed; apparently the architect Lassurance extensively rebuilt the *hôtel* at this point. The marquis de La Fayette married Marie-Adrienne-Françoise de Noailles in its chapel on April 11, 1774, and fixed his residence at the Hôtel de Noailles until 1789. Lord Egerton, the colorful Englishman known for seating his dogs at his dinner table, subsequently owned the building. In 1830 the property was divided into five lots, and the *hôtel* was cut through to make room for the new rue d'Alger.¹²

By 1830 at the latest, then, the Metropolitan Museum's panels were dismantled. Before this time, however, the merits of the Pussort *porte cochère* had attracted notice. In the early eighteenth century, Germain Brice describes it as "embellie d'un excellent morceau d'Architecture, formé de deux colonnes ioniques avec un Attique audessus, dans lequel sont en grand volume, les armes de ce Magistrat."¹³ A half-century later, the work is described in a dictionary of architecture among models of its kind: "Les plus belles *portes cochères* sont ornées de corniches, consoles, bas-reliefs, armes, chiffres & autres ornemens de sculpture, avec ferrures de fer poli, comme par exemple, les *Portes* des hôtels de Biseuil, de Pussort, &c."¹⁴

9. See, for example, Caesar Ripa, *L'Iconologie* (Paris: J. Baudouin, 1644) II, pp. 56–58, 65–67.

10. J. F. Blondel, *Cours d'architecture* (Paris, 1772) III, p. 114, and Dézallier D'Argenville, *Voyage pittoresque de Paris*, 6th ed. (Paris, 1778) p. 134, state specifically that the *porte* as well as the entire *hôtel* are from Marot's design. F. Le Comte, *Cabinet des singularitez d'architecture, peinture, sculpture, gravure* (Paris, 1702) I, p. xxxvii, credits Marot with the garden facade. L. V. Thiery, *Guide des amateurs et des étrangers voyageurs à Paris* (Paris, 1787) I, p. 154, attributes the design of the entire *hôtel* to Richer.

11. While the date of building has been variously reported as 1672 or 1687, René Pillorget has established the correct date, 1678, in his "Henri Pussort, oncle de Colbert: Sa Carrière, ses demeures parisiennes, son portefeuille," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et l'Ile-de-France* 94–95/1966–67 (1970) pp. 127–128. One learns from the comte d'Aucourt, *Les anciens*

Hôtels de Paris (Paris, 1890) p. 61, that the comtesse de la Foix was the first person known to reside (after 1672) at the address on the rue St.-Honoré. But a "Brevet de permission a M^r Pussort" of Feb. 7, 1678 in the *Registre du Secrétariat* (Paris, Archives Nationales, o¹ 22, fol. 46r) establishes him to be the proprietor of a house on the rue St.-Honoré "qui menace ruine et ne peut plus estre habité sans la restablir presque de fonds en comble. . . ." The formal building permit was delivered shortly after, on April 15, 1678 (A. N., o¹ 22, fol. 60v). Jean Marot's death the following year was evidently the reason why his plans were executed by another architect.

12. G. Pillement, *Paris disparu* (Paris, 1966) pp. 143–146.

13. G. Brice, *Description nouvelle de ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1706) I, p. 161.

14. A. C. d'Aviler, *Dictionnaire d'architecture civile et hydraulique et des arts qui en dependent* (Paris, 1755) p. 304.

The Fortunes of Two Napoleonic Sculptural Projects

JAMES DAVID DRAPER

*Associate Curator, Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

AFTER WATERLOO, an essential feature of the restored monarchy's policy was the alteration and reuse of Napoleonic decorations. The Vendôme Column offered a monumental demonstration of Louis XVIII's frugality: the most absurd of its vicissitudes was the replacement of the statue of Napoleon on top with an enormous fleur-de-lis. Yet the bands of relief around the column, depicting Napoleon's victories, remained the same. Louis would not shame the French by obliterating all signs of their recent glorious past, but he stressed their French character over their Napoleonic motivation.

This article concerns two sculptural compositions, which originally commemorated key imperial events but which were altered to meet the circumstances of the new régime. Both give fascinating proof of the lengths to which Louis XVIII would go to eradicate Napoleonic motifs while preserving Empire designs.

The first is a magnificent bronze group (Figure 1), which caused general puzzlement when it emerged on the art market about twelve years ago.¹ It is clearly a military allegory. A young woman—a girlish Minerva—extends a laurel wreath in front of a man who points into the distance; little doubt that he is the victor indicating the place of battle. Fame bounds along behind (Figure 2), announcing the conquest with her trumpet. The ground is strewn with captured flags. But what of the hero? The laurel belt of his severely neoclassical tunic is decorated in the center with a five-pointed star, usually associated with Bonaparte, yet he wears an ample Louis XIV wig and holds in his left hand a baton decorated with Bourbon fleurs-de-lis. An inscription chased on the hillock at front,

DENAIN 1712 (visible in Figure 3), shows that he is intended to represent the Maréchal de Villars, who defeated Prince Eugène at Denain in 1712 during the War of the Spanish Succession.

The names of the sculptor Simon-Louis Boizot and the bronze founder Pierre-Philippe Thomire are boldly incised on the front of the circular base (Figure 3). The two are guarantors of high quality in neoclassical design and metalwork. On the right, the base bears twice the incised inscription *P.R. 752*, no doubt an inventory mark of the Palais-Royal.² This was the Paris seat of the Orléans dynasty, though Lucien Bonaparte lived there during the Hundred Days.

Simon-Louis Boizot was a prodigiously active sculptor,³ whether planning large-scale marble figures or modeling for smaller decorations such as gilt-bronze furniture mounts. Perhaps best known as director of the Sèvres sculpture ateliers, he produced the models for innumerable statuettes in *biscuit de*

1. It appeared at Coleman's Auction Galleries, Inc., New York, on Oct. 19, 1967, no. 633, as "Angel and two figures, signed Denain, 1712." James Parker of the Metropolitan Museum recognized its interest as a fine Thomire cast, but there was no time to raise acquisition funds or to do the necessary research. It was acquired a decade later from the original purchaser, Dalva Bros., in time to be shown in the Museum's exhibition "The Arts under Napoleon" in 1978, but too late to be included in the catalogue.

2. The base is also incised *5120* beneath the winged female figure. For the meaning of these numbers see the article in this volume by D. H. Cohen, "The History of the Maréchal de Villars Group," *MMJ* 14/1979 (1980), pp. 185–189, esp. p. 189.

3. For his career in general, see S. Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1910) s.v.



FIGURE 1

Pierre-Philippe Thomire (1751–1843) after a model by Simon-Louis Boizot (1743–1809), *Allegory of the Maréchal de Villars's Victory at Denain*. Bronze group, H. 32 in. (81.3 cm.). Executed in 1806 as an "Allegory of Napoleon at Austerlitz," modified in 1818. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Claus von Bülow Gift, Mr. and Mrs. Charles C. Paterson Gift, Bequest of Louis Einstein, by exchange, Rogers Fund, and funds from various donors, 1978.55

FIGURE 2

Back view of Figure 1 showing Fame blowing her trumpet





FIGURE 3
Detail of Figure 1 showing inscriptions on base

FIGURE 4
Corner caryatid of gilt bronze on a secretary by Guillaume Beneman. Executed by Thomire and others after a model by Boizot, 1786–87. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 1971.206.17

Sèvres.⁴ He specialized in mellow classical draperies, pleasing but subdued ideal physical types, and circular, spiraling compositions. Although it maintains these principles, the bronze group is more advanced in its monumentality than any of the work for Sèvres.

Boizot is most closely identified with the reign of Louis XVI, but his work during the Empire was not negligible. He undertook the decoration of the Fountain of the Palm-Tree, raised on the Place du Châtelet to commemorate the Italian and Egyptian campaigns, and twenty-four sections of narrative relief for the Vendôme Column. He died in 1809.

For the casting of his bronze furniture mounts Boizot was used to working with the best founders, among them the great *ciseleur* Pierre Gouthière.

4. For this aspect of his career, see J. D. Draper, "New Terracottas by Boizot and Julien," *MMJ* 12 (1977) pp. 141–149.



Trained as a sculptor, Pierre-Philippe Thomire⁵ worked for a time under Gouthière before establishing his own commercial bronze manufactory in 1776. He and Boizot sometimes collaborated, particularly under Louis XVI. Gradually Thomire assumed Gouthière's leading role in the field, owing his rise in part to close links with such established figures as Boizot as well as to masterly control of his own fast-growing foundry.

In 1783–84, Thomire's first really important assignment was to cast the mounts modeled by Boizot for two large Sèvres vases now in the Louvre and in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence.⁶ In 1786, he cast from Boizot's model two sphinxes for a pair of andirons made for Marie-Antoinette's bedroom at Versailles.⁷ Such works involved payments to several different persons at different stages. For example, rules dating from 1776 established that the gilding of bronzes had to be carried out by members of the corporation of gilders, not by the corporation of founders and chasers.

A secretary in the Metropolitan Museum by the cabinetmaker Guillaume Beneman, made in 1786–87 for the king's *cabinet intérieur* at Compiègne, has superb gilt-bronze mounts (Figure 4) whose facture is minutely documented.⁸ Boizot was paid for the models of the exceptionally large corner caryatids. Their easy shapes and classical draperies can be seen to anticipate those of the female figures in the Museum's allegorical group. Thomire was one of two men paid for the relatively minor job of pointing up a plaster cast of Boizot's model. Boizot and Thomire are not known to have worked together again until after the creation of the Empire.

The formula of the Boizot-Thomire group is rooted in the late eighteenth-century French taste for commemorating great men and their deeds. In 1785, Thomire cast the models by a specialist in this genre, Robert-Guillaume Dardel. The Dardel-Thomire



FIGURE 5
Gilt-bronze figure of Fame, forming a handle of the Demidoff Vase. Cast by Thomire in 1819. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Frederic R. Harris Gift, 44.152

5. For Thomire, see J. Niclausse, *Thomire fondeur-ciseleur (1751–1843)* (Paris, 1947).

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 66–67, 120–121.

7. Accounts provided by Daniel Meyer in *Défense du patrimoine national*, exhibition at the Louvre, 1978, no. 24: Boizot received 120 livres for his model, Thomire 240 livres for casting and chasing.

8. F. J. B. Watson, *The Wrightsman Collection: I. Furniture* (New York, 1966) pp. 195–201. Boizot was paid 144 livres for his model of a woman “draped in the antique style,” Michaud 24 livres for the plaster mold; Thomire and Bardin together re-

ceived 97 livres for pointing up the plaster; Forestier was given 230 livres for casting it in bronze; Tournay and others chased this and the other bronzes for 1192 livres: Galle gilded them for 616 livres. A memorandum of 1786, relative to a table for the king's study at Versailles, now at Waddesdon Manor, shows Thomire receiving 100 livres just for the mounting of gilt bronze myrtle branches to frame the doors (Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Furniture, Clocks and Bronzes* [London, 1974] II, pp. 460–461). Experience of such odd jobs advanced Thomire's grasp of the dimensions of his trade and contributed to his later success.

statuettes, which represent the Grand Condé and Turenne, are in the Musée Condé at Chantilly.⁹ Both show the heroes in period dress, vigorously employed in battle. In our group, Boizot has by contrast chosen the loftier language of apotheosis and chaste, neo-classical dress and movements.

Thomire weathered many a political storm. He worked extensively for the *ancien régime* but is remembered chiefly as the bronze founder par excellence of the Empire and Restoration periods. He developed a large firm, known from 1804 until 1819 as Thomire, Duterme et Compagnie, afterward simply as Thomire et Compagnie. With the collapse of the guild system, the resources and varied training of an artist-entrepreneur allowed him to direct many functions formerly allotted to separate shops: modeling, casting, chasing, gilding, and fitting took place under his roof. For special commissions, there was still collaboration. The most famous work associated with Thomire's name is the cradle of Napoleon's son, the King of Rome, now at Vienna, which was designed by Pierre-Paul Prudhon; the metalwork was the joint effort of Thomire and the silversmith Odiot. A second cradle for the infant king, now in the Louvre, was entirely the product of Thomire's firm. It became, "by a caprice of fate and economy," the cradle of the duc de Bordeaux and was put to use decades later at the baptism of the Prince Imperial.¹⁰

Thomire resolutely carried Empire design into the Restoration period. Two gilt figures of Fame form the handles of the Metropolitan Museum's malachite vase made for Count Nicholas Demidoff (Figure 5), its pedestal signed by Thomire and dated 1819.¹¹ They show Thomire maintaining high standards of quality, but none of his figural casting surpasses that of the allegorical group, with its expert joinings and minutely varied cross-hatched tooling.

Thomire withdrew from his firm in 1823 and lived until 1843. At moments of peak activity during the Empire, it is estimated that he employed as many as seven to eight hundred workers.¹² It is no small sign of Napoleon's genius that he could keep large work forces such as Thomire's occupied.

In 1805, Napoleon won the climactic victory of Austerlitz. Momentarily diverted from war, the emperor's thoughts turned to encouragement of the industrial arts. In 1806, he organized a trade fair, the Exposition Publique des Produits de l'Industrie Française—this was not the first industrial exhibition

of its kind, three having been held during the Republic, but it was the largest for many years to come. The bronzes that Thomire exhibited in his stand won him the gold medal¹³ but are not listed in the official catalogue. It is known from numerous subsequent mentions, however, that they included a large group of Napoleon at Austerlitz, cast from a composition by Boizot.

Thomire and his fellow entrepreneurs were assisted by other imperial measures. A system of loans was floated by a decree of 1807, sent from the emperor's camp at Osterode. Memoranda concerning Thomire's application for a loan took note of the fact that his manufactory, reduced to 211 workers, did 500,000 francs worth of business in 1806 but had a year's production unsold in storage. His firm was granted a loan of 140,000 francs.¹⁴ As collateral, Thomire put up several bronze furnishings that would revert to the imperial Garde-Meuble if he defaulted. Thomire drew up a list of these bronzes, headed by:

No. 1 A group in bronze representing His Majesty the Emperor holding a Victory in one hand and leaning on Minerva; behind is Fame publishing his conquests. Each figure measures 70 centimeters in height.¹⁵

It was valued at 12,000 francs. An added note stated that: "This object is one of those which were taken to the exhibition and which merited the vote of the connoisseurs." A letter, apparently undated, from Thomire to the emperor described this group originally shown in 1806:

A group in bronze by him [Thomire], made on commission, called the Battle of Austerlitz, representing Your Majesty guided by Minerva and hymned by the goddess of a hundred voices.¹⁶

9. G. Macon, *Les Arts dans la maison des Condé* (Paris, 1903) p. 97 and ill. on p. 119. The casts have chased inscriptions relating the joint enterprise of Dardel and Thomire, similar to that of the Boizot-Thomire bronze.

10. Niclausse, *Thomire*, p. 102.

11. P. Remington, "The Story of a Malachite Vase," *MMAB*, n.s. 3 (1945) pp. 142–145.

12. Niclausse, *Thomire*, p. 47.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 46–47.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 85, n. 1. It is unclear who, if anyone, commissioned the piece.



FIGURE 6
Detail of Figure 1, showing the torso of the Maréchal de Villars inserted in Napoleon's tunic

At the Salon of 1810, Thomire in his capacity of sculptor exhibited two busts, one of them a self-portrait, as well as his more ambitious Austerlitz group:

No. 1032 Allegory. It represents His Majesty the Emperor, holding in one hand an olive branch and in the other a Victory. He is supported by Minerva, and behind him one sees Fame publishing his exploits. The model of this group in bronze was made by the late M. Bochet.¹⁷

This "Bochet" was the same as our Boizot, as is made clear by the fact that in the same year, 1810, the jury awarding the *prix décennaux* mentioned the group designed by the recently deceased Boizot in an account of their deliberations. It was described as: "The Emperor raised on a hillock, having at his feet flags captured from the enemy at Austerlitz."¹⁸

Tantalized by the resemblance of the Maréchal de Villars composition to that offered by descriptions of the Austerlitz group, I gave the bronze a closer inspection and became convinced that the two were in fact one and the same. The torso does not fit precisely into the tunic; it jiggles slightly. This loose fit is visible in a detail (Figure 6) which shows the join along the diagonal of the tunic—the victor's hair does not quite meet his left shoulder. The upper edge of the tunic has been reworked. The arm with the baton also moves perceptibly. Consistent with the practice of Thomire and his period, the entire work was originally cast in parts which were then assembled and closely joined; arms and legs especially were cast in separate pieces. But the indications of refitting in the joints that are movable, coupled with the odd clash between Louis XIV subject and Empire dress and rhetoric, cinched the matter. It seemed a certainty that this was the Austerlitz group altered, with Napoleon's torso and arms actually cut out and the image of Villars inserted. The arms that once held an olive branch and a Victory were replaced by a right arm pointing to the battlefield and a left holding a field-marshal's baton. Saving the composition but suppressing Napoleon, Louis XVIII or his advisers had reached back to a royalist hero of a century earlier.¹⁹ The substitutions further appeared technically on a par with the rest of the group, as if they too had been wrought by the firm of Thomire.

The entire hypothesis was recently confirmed when David Cohen unearthed the 1818 records of the royal Garde-Meuble, authorizing payment of 400 francs to Thomire for his "restoration of a three-figure group in bronze, allegorical subject, which has been damaged, representing the Maréchal de Villars."²⁰ In the article that follows David Cohen throws light on the "restoration," the movements of the group, and other circumstances. Thomire had made some repayment

17. *Livret* of the Salon of 1810, p. 121.

18. Lami, *Dictionnaire*, I, p. 92.

19. Villars was not an obscure hero. The sculptor Dardel showed in the Salon of 1781 "The Maréchal de Villars holding a sword in one hand and in the other the palm of victory, which he has wrested from the eagle of the Holy Roman Empire" (Lami, *Dictionnaire*, I, p. 219). His portrait, not greatly resembling the bronze head in the Museum group, is in *Portraits des grands hommes, femmes illustres, et sujets mémorables de France* (Paris, 1792) I, no. 8, signed by Sergent-Marceau and dated 1790.

20. See Cohen, "Maréchal de Villars Group," n. 32.

of the 1807 loan but he eventually defaulted and that is how the bronze was taken into the imperial—afterward the royal—Garde-Meuble.²¹

In ordering the change, Louis XVIII acquired an important work of art with imagery to his liking for only 400 francs. Perhaps he was aware of playing his part within the neoclassical scheme of things. The salvaging and reshaping of a predecessor's designs were sanctioned by at least one example from ancient history. Pliny the Elder describes the fate of the Colossus of Nero, commissioned from the sculptor Zenodorus:

After he had given sufficient proof of his artistic ability, he was summoned to Rome by Nero and there made that colossal image, 120 feet in height, which was intended to be a representation of that emperor but which now, since the infamous acts of the emperor have been condemned, is dedicated to and revered as an image of the Sun.²²

Juliette Niclausse, Thomire's biographer, hoped that, if it eventually resurfaced, the Boizot-Thomire "Allegory of Napoleon at Austerlitz" would enter a French museum. Happily for us, it turned up in New York instead. There is no denying the transmutation of our group, but its composition is of a size and splendor, its chasing of a refinement that make it the most important Empire bronze group in existence, quite apart from its richly layered history.

Under Napoleon, certain events other than battles were marked by artistic commemorations. In March of 1811, the long-awaited birth of Napoleon's son Napoléon-François-Joseph-Charles, immediately styled the King of Rome, occasioned a new, triumphant imagery. An enterprising thirty-year-old sculptor named Joseph-Antoine Romagnési exhibited a *Minerva Protecting the Infancy of the King of Rome* at the Salon of 1812.²³ Romagnési, born in about 1782, lived until

21. The value of the bronze was depreciated in the 1812 inventory of the Garde-Meuble, at 8000 francs. This apparently is what led Niclausse (*Thomire*, p. 84) to conclude that "another example of the same group was furnished in 1811 for the lesser price of 8000 francs." There is in fact no evidence of a second group.

22. Pliny, *Natural History* XXXIV, 45. From J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Rome c. 753 B.C.–337 A.D.: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966) p. 144. The *Historia Augusta* adds that it was Hadrian who caused the change (Pollitt, p. 175).

23. *Livret* of the Salon of 1812, no. 1134. The same Salon contained representations of the King of Rome by the painters

FIGURE 7

Joseph-Antoine Romagnési (ca. 1782–1852), *Minerva Protecting the King of Rome*. Patinated plaster relief, 45½ × 29 in. (115.6 × 73.7 cm.). Signed and dated 1811. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 27.191.2

1852.²⁴ A pupil of Pierre Cartellier, he got his start during the Empire with a figure of Peace at the Salon of 1808, followed by a curiously titled *Love, the Principle of Life* at the Salon of 1810, and then the *Minerva Protecting the King of Rome* exhibited two years later. This last appears to be the plaster relief owned by the Metropolitan Museum since 1927 (Figure 7), which I encountered while reorganizing sculpture storage a few years ago. The relief was dark with soot, but cleaning revealed a pleasantly modulated honey-colored patination imitating stone. Roman reliefs such as those in the Palazzo Spada in Rome,²⁵ with their regularly developed low relief upon voided grounds, must have been the sculptor's formal inspiration.

In all, there is a perfect conjunction of neoclassical style and motifs. The child, looking like a miniature of his father, stands upon a dais between the guardian Minerva and his customary attribute, the she-wolf of Rome. The steps of the dais are blazoned with the Bonaparte bees. Romagnési's composition is essentially one diagonal descending from Minerva through the heads of the infant and wolf, and reinforced by the outstretched arms of goddess and child.

The Museum's relief is signed and dated 1811 at lower right. A smaller relief (Figure 8) also in plaster, with the King of Rome nude but otherwise in the same attitude with his hand on the she-wolf's neck, is in the Napoleonic museum at Ile d'Aix.²⁶ It is said to have belonged to the king's governess, the comtesse de Montesquiou.

Callet, Constantin, Garneray, Gérard, Goubaud, Legrand, Menjaud, Parant, Prudhon, and Thibault, and by the sculptor Bosio.

24. G. Hubert, *Les Sculpteurs italiens en France sous la Révolution, l'Empire et la Restauration 1790–1830* (Paris, 1964) pp. 162–163, establishes the approximate birth date and gives other facts relating to this French-born sculptor of Italian descent.

25. A. J. B. Wade, "The Reliefs in the Palazzo Spada," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 5 (1910) pp. 165–200.

26. G. Hubert, *Musée Napoléonien: Fondation Gourgaud, Ile d'Aix* (Paris, n. d.) p. 55.



Thanks to carefully preserved official memoranda in the Archives du Louvre, the fate of Romagnési's bold design can be traced very accurately. Its story is another instance of Napoleonic achievement transformed and, in this case, dulled by Bourbon conservatism.

During the Empire, power to commission works of art resided in the Ministry of the Interior. At the time of the negotiations with Thomire, the minister was Cr  tet de Champmol; during the negotiations with Romagn  si, the comte de Montalivet. The real au-



FIGURE 8
Romagn  si, *The King of Rome with the She-Wolf*. Plaster relief. Mus  e Napol  onien, Ile d'Aix (photo: courtesy G  rard Hubert)

thority in all matters artistic, however, was Dominique Vivant Denon, created a baron of the Empire in 1812. The rise of this tastemaker was a godsend to French artists. He was first director of the Mint, then of the Louvre. By 1811, his additional duties were cited in the *Almanach Imp  rial*: Denon was "head of the museums of French monuments and of the French school at Versailles, the galleries of government palaces, the studios of chalcography, gem-engraving and mosaics," and charged with the "buying and transport of works of art, the supervision of modern works ordered by the government and of archaeological digs at Rome."²⁷ He exercised these powers in the most genial way, encouraging or gently discouraging talents of all sorts. To one hopelessly bad painter, for instance, he wrote: "I invite you to take the trouble of stopping by the office. We'll have a look together at your picture and it will give me pleasure to indicate to you what your friends should have told you."²⁸

By December 24, 1811, the sculptor Romagn  si had presented a sketch of his composition to the minister, Montalivet, no doubt hoping to have his plaster relief commissioned in marble. Montalivet forwarded the sketch to Denon, asking his opinion.²⁹ The minister renewed Romagn  si's petition a year later. Denon replied on December 8, 1812:

I have received the letter you did me the honor of writing on the 4th of this month, in order to request some information on a bas-relief which the sculptor Romagn  si exhibited this year and whose subject represents Minerva protecting the infancy of the King of Rome.

This work, Monseigneur, is not without merit and I would applaud Your Excellency's design to have it executed; but I have the honor to ask you to observe that this sort of sculpture is hardly easy to exhibit; that a bas-relief in marble can only be placed in the architectural decoration of the palaces; and that then one would have to order the work in a proportion suitable to the room it must occupy. Without this precaution, Monsieur Romagn  si's work would run the risk of remaining eternally in storage.

In view of Your Excellency's benevolent disposition in favor of this artist, I have the honor to propose to you,

27. G. Hubert, *La Sculpture dans L'Italie napol  onienne* (Paris, 1964) p. 89.

28. J. Chatelain, *Dominique Vivant Denon et le Louvre de Napol  on* (Paris, 1973) p. 159.

29. Archives du Louvre S³⁰, Dec. 24, 1811, from Montalivet to Denon. This and the following letters were cited by Hubert (*Les Sculpteurs italiens*, p. 163, n. 1) but have not been published.



FIGURE 9
Romagnési, *Minerva Protecting France*. Marble statuette, H. 44 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (114 cm.). Signed and dated 1817. Musée des Augustins, Toulouse (photo: Musée des Augustins)

FIGURE 10
Detail of Figure 9 (photo: Musée des Augustins)



Monseigneur, to have Romagnési execute the same subject in the round, 80 centimeters in proportion, and for the sum of three thousand francs not including the marble with which he will be furnished.

This group, Monseigneur, would be easily placed in the apartments of the Imperial Palaces, and the subject, which is perfectly suited to sculpture, could only be agreeable to Their Majesties.³⁰

30. Archives du Louvre, Correspondance du Musée Napoléon, 5e registre, fol. 246, Dec. 8, 1812. Although it languished in storage for many years, the plaster model was not in fact doomed to rest there "eternally": it figured in "The Arts under Napoleon" exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum in 1978 (no. 196) and in the Museum's loan exhibition at the Athens Pinakothek in 1979, "Memories and Revivals of the Classical Spirit" (no. 80).

Montalivet acknowledged this fatherly advice³¹ and Romagnési received word to proceed with a group in the round instead of in relief.³² As soon as his new model was finished the block would be delivered. Accordingly, on October 5, 1813, Denon notified the minister that the plaster model was ready and asked him to direct M. Bersant, Conservateur des Marbres du Gouvernement, to deliver marble block no. 396 to Romagnési for the execution.³³ Days later, Denon returned the sketch to the minister, observing that Romagnési wished to finish the marble group in time for the next Salon.³⁴

The Bourbon Restoration in 1814 momentarily halted Romagnési's plan, but he showed resourcefulness. He completed a marble bust of Louis XVIII in time for the Salon of 1814, along with a bust of the king's brother, the future Charles X.³⁵ And he still had the marble block that had been earmarked for his King of Rome composition. It was not wasted. In the Musée des Augustins in Toulouse is a marble figure of Minerva protecting a figure of France, signed and dated 1817 on the right side of the base (Figure

9).³⁶ The pose of Minerva is reversed, and she now raises her shield to protect a mere statuette, a seated personification of France wearing a robe covered with lilies (Figure 10).

Baron Denon's idea of developing the relief into a fully three-dimensional group was sound, as it allowed Romagnési to demonstrate his skill at beautifully turned surfaces. Indeed, Romagnési carved the sleeve of the marble Minerva with a finesse worthy of his teacher Cartellier. The stance in itself is impressive, but the sweeping gesture of the raised shield is overpowering, out of proportion to its purpose. The confident language of the relief, with its antique fervor, has given way to a bland patriotism, showing France in all too much need of protection.

Romagnési was hardly the first artist forced by political circumstances to vary his course midstream. It is uncertain whether he invented the change of imagery or whether it was dictated by the restored régime, which may have claimed possession of the marble block. In either case, the vitiated result is perfectly in accord with the state's impoverishment.

31. Archives du Louvre S⁶, Dec. 22, 1812.

32. Archives du Louvre, Correspondance du Musée Napoléon, 5e registre, fol. 254, Dec. 28, 1812, from Denon to Romagnési, stipulating that the marble group was to measure 84 cm. in height including the plinth, and that the price of 3000 francs was payable in thirds.

33. Ibid., 6e registre, fols. 56–57, Oct. 5, 1813.

34. Ibid., 6e registre, fol. 66, Oct. 19, 1813.

35. Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1921) IV, p. 181.

36. Gift of the government, in the museum as early as 1828. *Catalogue des collections de sculpture et d'épigraphie du Musée de Toulouse* (Toulouse, 1912) p. 397, no. 997.

The History of the Maréchal de Villars Group

DAVID HARRIS COHEN

*Chester Dale Fellow, Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

PIERRE-PHILIPPE THOMIRE, considered the foremost *bronzier* of the period, was among the exhibitors at the 1806 Exposition Publique des Produits de l'Industrie Française.¹ It was the first time that a *bronzier* was allowed to participate in the show, and the first time that Thomire, who had recently bought Martin-Eloy Lignereux's shop at 41 rue Taitbout,² exhibited under his own name. Unfortunately, the official catalogue does not specify what he exhibited,³ but it is possible to find references to individual objects in contemporary descriptions of the show. The report of the jury mentions that Thomire exhibited a "cheminée en malachite," as well as other chimneypieces, and had been awarded a gold medal for his work.⁴ Newspaper descriptions add one other object: a "groupe représentant S. M. l'Empereur, tenant d'une

main la Victoire & appuyé sur Minerve, derrière est la Renommée publiant ses conquêtes."⁵

Thomire was obviously proud of the fact that he had been awarded a gold medal, the first given to a *bronzier*. In his New Year's advertisement for 1807, he mentions that in his shop:

L'on verra encore la garniture de malachite & la groupe en Bronze à la Gloire de S. M. l'Empereur, qu'ils [Thomire and Dutermé] avaient portés à l'exposition, & qui ont fait obtenir au Sieur THOMIRE la médaille d'or.⁶

Unfortunately, Thomire found that he could not sell his bronze group. Thinking no doubt that the most obvious buyer was the emperor himself, he sent two letters in April 1807 to the Minister of the Interior, asking him to arrange a visit of the empress to his

1. The information in this article is part of the research done for a doctoral dissertation on Pierre-Philippe Thomire for Columbia University.

2. Minutier Central, Etude XXIV, 1101, 1 Frimaire, An XIII. Act passed before Me Lahure. Thomire's own business association was formed the same day between himself, Dutermé, Carbonelle, and Beauvisage. The *marchand-mercier* Lignereux had exhibited in the second and third Expositions Publiques, and had been awarded a gold medal during the former. Thomire had worked for Lignereux and it is possible that he had exhibited under the merchant's name. The address of Thomire's shop changed sometime between 29 Pluviose, An XIII (Feb. 18, 1805) and Jan. 1, 1806, from 41 to 15 rue Taitbout.

3. *Catalogue des produits de l'industrie française, qui seront exposés pendant les derniers jours de septembre 1806, dans les cent vingt-quatre portiques construits sur la place de l'hôtel impérial des Invalides, et dans plusieurs salles de l'hôtel de l'Administration des Ponts et Chaussées, avec les noms et demeurs des fabricans et des artistes admis à l'exposition* (Paris, 1806) p. 51. The catalogue mentions only Thomire's name and address and that he exhibited bronzes. He was in the sixth room of the Hôtel de l'Administration des Ponts et Chaussées. See also *Athenaeum, ou galerie française des produits de*

tous les arts, no. 9 (Sept., 1806) pp. 1–6, for a general description of the exhibit.

4. *Exposition de 1806—Rapport du jury sur les produits de l'industrie française. Présenté à S.E.M. de Champagny, ministre de l'Intérieur, précédé du procès-verbal des opérations du jury* (Paris, 1806) pp. 206–207. See also *Notice sur les objets envoyés à l'exposition des produits de l'industrie française: rédigés et imprimés par ordre de S.E.M. de Champagny, ministre de l'Intérieur, an 1806* (Paris, 1806) pp. 206–207.

5. *Journal de Paris* (Oct. 7, 1806) no. 280, p. 2056.

6. *Feuilleton du Journal de Paris* (Jan. 1, 1807) no. 1, n.p. Thomire again described the fireplace and the bronze group in his advertisement of Dec. 23, 1807, specifying that the "garniture de cheminée" belonged to M. Demidoff. In the Demidoff sale at San Donato (Mar. 15 and following days, 1880), lot K of the "Cheminées et Avant-foyers" section, p. 415, is described as, "La cheminée en malachite du Grand Salon d'honneur avec médaillons anciens en pierres dures en relief à tiges en bronzes dorés, et bronzes dorés de Thomire." It was purchased by Federico Stibbert for 2080 francs and is now in the Museo Stibbert; see Giuseppe Cantelli, *Il Museo Stibbert a Firenze* (Florence, 1974) II, p. 109, no. 1074.

shop so that he could present the bronze group to her.⁷ In a third letter dated August 7, 1807, he added:

J'estimerois tres heureux, s'il [Thomire] pouvoit le recevoir [the emperor] en son magasin pour voir ses ouvrages, mais comme il n'est peut-etre pas digne de tant d'honneur, il ose ici vous demander votre protection à l'effet d'obtenir de pouvoir placer ce Bronze dans un des passages le plus fréquenté de l'Empereur pour qu'il puisse fixer les regards, et dans le cas ou il daigneroit les y jeter il espere assez dans votre bonté pour trouver dans votre Excellence un appui et un protecteur: nous attachons un très grand prix à l'approbation de Sa Majesté; notre Bonheur en dépend.⁸

Attached to this letter is a note in two different handwritings, the first part stating: "Ce monument en bronze a été regardé comme un chef d'oeuvre de l'art & comme tout à fait digne d'être présenté à S. M.—il a été fait dans cette intention"; and the second: "Je desirerais avoir une idée de la Composition et du Valeur de ce monument avant de la soumettre à S. M."⁹ Though the answer to Thomire's request is not known, he mentioned in a letter dated six days later that:

Nous n'avons pas fait de dessin du Monument en bronze à la Gloire de Sa Majesté, que son Excellence le Ministre de l'Interieur nous demande par votre organe, d'ailleurs il ne rendroit qu'imparfaitement l'exécution, nous préférons le porter chez son Excellence.¹⁰

The period during which this correspondence took place was a difficult one for French industry. Thomire, despite his renown and the honors he had received, found himself, along with many other manufacturers, with a large amount of unsold stock. The government was extremely concerned, and in January 1806 began trying to decide exactly what should be done to alleviate the financial crisis.¹¹ Two imperial decrees resulted from these deliberations. The first, dated March 27, 1807, from Napoleon's camp at Osterode, opened a 6,000,000 franc credit to be distributed by the Caisse d'Amortissement as loans to those manufacturers who found themselves in financial difficulty. Unsold merchandise was to be held as security for moneys advanced. The loans were to be for one year, renewable upon approval, and no interest was to be charged except to cover the expenses incurred by the Caisse d'Amortissement.¹² The sec-

ond decree, dated May 11, 1807, from the imperial camp at Finkenstein, clarified exactly how the loans were to be administered and the consequences if the manufacturers were unable to fulfill their financial obligations.¹³ Thomire requested help of the Minister of the Interior on May 20, 1807, and was told that he could possibly receive a loan "sur consignation" under the imperial decrees described above.¹⁴ Sometime during the first few days of June, his shop was visited by Frochot, Conseiller d'Etat, Préfet du Département de la Seine, whose report to the minister was in favor of loaning Thomire 140,000 francs. This was approved on June 9.¹⁵ For just over one year, between June 22, 1807, and July 7, 1808, Thomire supplied the government with objects valued at 186,666 francs to be held as security.¹⁶ Though a specific list of these objects has not survived, the inventory Thomire submitted before the loan was approved opens as follows:¹⁷

1807 Soumission de S^{rs} Thomire Duterme/ Et Comp^e fabricants de bronze/ rue Taitbout N^o 15.

7. A.N., O² 622. Two letters survive, dated Apr. 7 and 8, 1807. All documents are from the Archives Nationales in Paris unless otherwise stated. Original spelling has been retained, and punctuation added only where its absence made understanding difficult.

8. A.N., F¹² 507.

9. Ibid. The first part of the note was probably written by M. de Gerando, Secrétaire Général du Ministre, the second by the Minister of the Interior himself.

10. Ibid., letter probably addressed to M. de Gerando, dated Aug. 13, 1807. It is not known whether the viewing actually took place.

11. See Ch. Ballot, "Les Prêts aux manufactures sous le Premier Empire," *Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes* 2 (July-Dec. 1912) pp. 42-77. for a study of the financial crisis in France during 1807 and what action the government took. Also see A.N., F¹² 4639, for the minutes of the meetings of the Conseil d'Etat on Jan. 24 and Mar. 7, 1807.

12. A.N., F¹² 4639. The interest could not exceed 2 percent.

13. A.N., F¹² 1559.

14. A.N., F¹² 2282. The minister's answer is dated May 25, 1807. The loan became known as the "consignation."

15. Ibid.; Frochot's report is dated June 8. The Minister of the Interior wrote three letters of approval, one to Frochot, one to Berenger, Conseiller d'Etat et Directeur de la Caisse d'Amortissement, and the last to Thomire himself. Thomire was to receive one quarter of the loan during the month of June, and one sixth of the remainder each month until the end of the year.

16. Ibid. A number of letters from the Minister of the Interior, Frochot, and Berenger specify on which dates merchandise was received during this period.

17. A.N., O² 623, fol. 98.

N° 1 Un Groupe en bronze représentant S. M. l'Empereur tenant d'une Main La Victoire et appuyé sur Minerve derrière et la renommée publiant ses conquêtes, chaque figure porte 70 cent^e de hauteur. . . . 12000 f

Nota. Cet objet est un de ceux qui a été porté à L'exposition et qui a mérité le suffrage des connaisseurs.¹⁸

Thomire was unable to repay his loan by the agreed date and repeatedly received extensions.¹⁹ On September 17, 1811, by imperial decree from Compiègne, Napoleon decided to terminate the loans and take the merchandise as repayment.²⁰ By this date, Thomire had reimbursed only 20,500 francs, leaving an outstanding balance of 119,500.²¹ On September 25 the duc de Cadore, Intendant Général, informed M. Desmazis, Administrateur du Mobilier de la Couronne, of the situation resulting from the emperor's decision and ordered him to receive the goods.²² Desmazis took immediate action, but the list of objects was not drawn up until February 1, 1812,²³ in a separate register kept distinct from those that contained the inventories of the Garde-Meuble Impérial. All the merchandise from the "consignation" now belonged to the Trésor du Domaine Extraordinaire, which had taken title from the Caisse d'Amortissement once the

loans had been terminated. Under number 63 is the following description: "Un Groupe en Bronze Composé de Trois figures représentant Sa Majesté soutenue par Minerve et la Renommée publiant ses exploits. . . . 8000."²⁴

Many of the objects of the "consignation" were used to furnish the imperial and royal palaces. As they were taken by the Garde-Meuble, whether during the Empire or following the Restoration, this organization paid the Trésor du Domaine Extraordinaire for them. Louis XVIII's government did not immediately deal with the problem of their ownership. Only on November 17, 1817, by royal decree, was it decided that the remaining merchandise belonged to the Domaine de la Couronne and it was incorporated into the regular inventories of the Garde-Meuble without payment.²⁵ The bronze group was included as number 2157 of the new inventory of 1817.²⁶ But as early as February of that year, an unofficial decision had been made to do this.²⁷ On February 13, Thomire's bronze group reappears in a report of an inspector of the Garde-Meuble: "M. Morquet dem[ande] à être autor[isé] à détruire un groupe et un buste qui feront partie d'une vente projeté."²⁸ The matter was referred to another inspector,

18. In his letter of Aug. 13, 1807 (see note 10), Thomire states of the bronze group that "il est compris dans la Consignation." The manufacturers had the right to sell the merchandise held as security, but each piece removed had to be replaced by one or more objects of the same value. Thomire's merchandise was left in his shop but was inventoried separately and guarded by an agent of the Caisse d'Amortissement. A large correspondence exists in which, because of complaints from Thomire, among others, it was decided to use a guard rather than padlocks for the areas in which the objects were stored. See A.N., F¹² 2282 for letters between Thomire and various government officials, and A.N., AF IV 959, doc. 272, for the final government decision on this matter. It is possible that not all manufacturers stored their own merchandise. In the anonymous work, *Le Palais royal—1829*, (Paris: Imprimerie de Gauthier-La Quionie, 1829) p. 45, the author states that, in 1814, "Le Duc d'Orléans ne puit habiter immédiatement le palais qui lui était rendu. Le domaine extraordinaire auquel, . . . il était réuni depuis 1807, l'avait rempli d'effets de toute nature. On en avait fait un magasin, un dépôt dans lequel se trouvaient entassés des objets d'ameublement de différentes sortes, et entre autres ceux commandés et achetés aux fabricants de Paris qui manquaient d'ouvrage, pendant la campagne de Prusse, en 1807."

19. A.N., F¹² 2282, letters dated between July 23, 1808 and Aug. 13, 1810. In the final one, Thomire requests that the objects be taken in payment of his debt.

20. A.N., O² 1232. Attached to this document is a summary

of what can be taken by the government. Under Thomire's name, is found: "Meubles propres à un Cabinet—1 groupe en bronze repres^t S. M., Minerve et une Renommée," valued at 8000 francs. A second copy of this document is to be found in A.N., O² 156, doc. 461.

21. A.N., F¹² 4639, F¹² 1559, and F¹² 507, for the official reports on the state of the loan between 1807 and 1811.

22. A.N., O² 541*, fol. 189 and O² 156, doc. 459. The value of the merchandise received came to 544,378 francs, 60 centimes.

23. A.N., O² 593*. The objects supplied by Thomire are found on fols. 17–23. See also A.N., O² 505, dossier 27, doc. 2, for the official receipt for these objects, dated Mar. 12, 1812.

24. A.N. O² 593*, fol. 22. Thomire's own *mémoire*, A.N., o² 505, dossier 27, doc. 4, contains the same information but is dated Feb. 12, 1812.

25. A.N., O³ 1883, dossier 1 and O³ 1884, dossier XII. The former contains the official report to the king, dated Nov. 9, 1817, which is approved on Nov. 17; the latter various correspondence of Oct.–Dec. 1817, informing branches of the government of the king's intentions and final decision.

26. A.N., O³ 2137, fol. 53 and AJ¹⁹ 606*, fol. 80. Both registers contain the same description: "Un Groupe en bronze, Minerve, la Renommée, &c."

27. A.N., O³ 1946*, fols. 45 and 46.

28. *Ibid.*, fol. 51. No document has come to light concerning a possible sale of objects. There does exist the mention, in an

M. Veytard. On December 19, 1817, M. Veytard reported to the Intendant of the Garde-Meuble that the list of objects from the "consignation" was ready, but that, "on [n']a pas compris dans ledit des vases un groupe & chargé d'Emblèmes de l'usurpateur."²⁹ The Intendant answered: "Le groupe, les vases & sont peut être susceptible de restauration; il faut provisoirement les comprendre dans l'état des objets à détruire." The following report, dated January 22, 1818, definitely identifies the bronze group from the "consignation."

Note pour Monsieur le Garde Général des / Meubles et diamants de la Couronne / Objets à Detruire
C. N° 63. Un groupe en bronze représentant buona-
parte soutenue par Minerve et la renommée, prix de la
Consignation. . . . 8000 f

Dans l'état présenté au Ministre pour la reprise de la
Consignation par le Gardemeuble, cet objet est porté à
la colonne de la Consignation pour 8000 f et à celle du
garde meuble pour mémoire étant à detruire.³⁰

A note in the margin of this report states: "Rapport à
faire pour que ces deux objets soient détruits, comme
inconvenans." But on February 23, 1818, the "Rap-
ports de M^{rs} les Inspecteurs" [of the Garde-Meuble]
shows that a new decision was taken. "Le meme [the
Garde Général] propose de faire placer dans un très
beau groupe la tête du Marechal de Villars à la place
de celle de Buonaparte, de recevoir à cet objet la
soumission de M^r Thomyre."³¹ Alongside is the In-
tendant's reply: "C'était à M^r Veytard à proposer cette

affaire, que pourtant j'approuve, faire rediger la
soumission de M^r Thomyre." The estimate that
Thomire submitted is dated February 25, 1818 and
reads as follows:

Nous soussignés Thomire Duterme et Comp^e fabricants
de Bronzes et doreurs de Leurs Altesses Royales Mon-
sieur frère du Roi, de Monseigneur le Duc de Berry et
du Garde meuble de la Couronne, demeurant Boule-
vard Poissonniere N° 2 les ateliers rue Boucherat N° 7

Nous engageons envers Monsieur l'Intendant du
Garde meuble de la Couronne a lui livrer et Confec-
tioner le groupe en Bronze dont est parlé ci-après.

Savoir

La restauration d'un groupe de trois figures en
Bronze, sujet allegorique, qui a été endommagé,
représentant le Marechal de Villars, refaire la tête de la
figure principale et les ornements accessoires, faire sur
la base une inscription. . . . f 400

Nous livrerons ledit groupe restauré au garde meuble
de la Couronne, pour la somme susindiqué de Quatre
cens francs.

Paris ce 25 fevrier 1818
Thomire Duterme et Comp^e.³²

This document was sent to the comte de Pradel, Di-
recteur Général du Ministre de la Maison du Roi, on
March 3, 1818, along with a cover letter from the In-
tendant and the "Devis de la Depense à faire pour
restauration d'un Groupe en bronze a trois figures."³³
It was approved on March 25.³⁴ Thomire was paid
the 400 francs for his work on May 6, 1819.³⁵

1814 list of objects which bear the insignia or likeness of mem-
bers of the imperial family, of "un groupe ou se trouve Buona-
parte" in the reserves of the Garde-Meuble (A.N., O^s 1878,
dossier iv). It is uncertain that this refers to the work under
discussion.

29. A.N., O^s 1948*, fol. 88.

30. A.N., O^s 2103. The other object mentioned in the report
is a bronze from the Elysée-Bourbon representing "Buonaparte
assis pres d'une table, sans numero ni estimation," which is pos-
sibly one of the bronzes discussed by R. G. and C. Ledoux-Le-
bard, "Deux Effgies peu connues de l'empereur dues au sculp-
teur Moutony," *Institut Napoléon: Recueil de Travaux et Docu-
ments* (1942) pp. 33-46.

31. A.N., O^s 1949*, fols. 32 and 33.

32. A.N., O^s 2103. Three copies of this estimate exist. Thom-
ire indicates that the main figure already represents the
Maréchal de Villars. It is possible he does this to avoid mention-
ing Napoleon. The 1817 description of the group names only
Minerva and Fame, and does not mention the fact that the third
figure is the emperor (see note 26). The inscription added to

the base was presumably *Denain 1712*.

33. A.N., O^s 2113. Two rough draughts of the cover letter
are found in A.N., O^s 2103. See also A.N., O^s 1949*, fols. 36
and 37, where it is indicated that the decision to send the min-
ister the documents is made on February 28. See also A.N., O^s
2169*, fol. 28, where the order for the "restoration" is regis-
tered.

34. Ibid. A.N., O^s 2113 and A.N. O^s 1949*, fols. 51 and 52.
The latter register indicates that the matter was given to M.
Veytard for "communication et exécution." In the correspon-
dence between the Intendant and the comte de Pradel, the
main figure is always referred to as the Maréchal de Villars. See
also A.N., O^s 2168*, fols. 8 and 41, where the approval for the
"restoration" is registered, and A.N., O^s 573*, fol. 69 for the
same, here dated Apr. 8.

35. A.N., O^s 2159*, p. 368, for the registration of Thomire's
bill on Apr. 8, 1819, and p. 374 for the payment on May 6. The
400 francs were taken from the 1818 credit of 70,000 francs
opened for "Dépenses Imprévues," and not from the 1815 and
1816 credits opened to change Napoleonic emblems.

The “new” group, though, remained in the reserves of the Garde-Meuble. It figures in the 1833 inventory under number 5120:

1. Un Groupe en bronze Composé de 3 figures La Renommée, La Victoire et le Marechal de Villars tenant dans sa main droite le Genie de la Paix, portant à droite la palme & à gauche une Couronne dans la main droite de Louis XIV est placé une Branche de Laurier à ses pieds sont les drapeaux des Vaincus, la tout placé sur une Terrasse en bronze socle rond. h^r 1^m02^c.³⁶

Opposite this account is a note of the group’s exit, on October 16, 1839, for the Palais de Versailles, where it figures in the entry register for the same year,³⁷ and again in the general inventory drawn up in 1840, under number 6422, once more placed in the reserves.³⁸ Along with many other bronzes, the group returned to the Garde-Meuble on July 15, 1840, to remain there until 1850, when it was sent to the Palais des

Tuileries.³⁹ It figures in the Tuileries inventory of 1851 under the number 8794, again in the reserves;⁴⁰ on June 3, 1854, it was returned to the Garde-Meuble.⁴¹ No exit order is recorded, but the bronze appears next in the inventory of 1855 of the Palais Royal, under number 752. For the first time since the work was originally acquired by the government in 1811, it was taken out of the reserves and placed on view in the first salon of the *grands appartements* of Prince Napoleon.⁴²

The 1855 inventory of the Palais Royal remained in force until January 31, 1892, when a note indicates that it was closed. No exit order is recorded opposite the description of the group, so it must be assumed that it remained in the palace until then. At present, it has been impossible to determine where the group was placed after 1892, or how and when it left the French national collections.

36. A.N., AJ¹⁹ 627*, fols. 180 and 181. There are several mistakes in the description, the most blatant being that the main figure is called both the Maréchal de Villars and Louis XIV. There is also some confusion as to whose hand is holding what. The bronze group is stamped with the number 5120 (see J. D. Draper, “The Fortunes of Two Napoleonic Sculptural Projects,” *MMJ* 14/1979 [1980] pp. 173–180, and n.2).

37. A.N., AJ¹⁹ 185*, fol. 229. The group enters for “Service Général” under the number 6069. I would like to thank Mme Denise Ledoux-Lebard for having brought this document and the one cited in note 39 to my attention.

38. A.N., AJ¹⁹ 396*, fol. 124. Placed in the “Magasin de Lustrerie.”

39. A.N., AJ¹⁹ 644*, fols. 23 and 24.

40. A.N., AJ¹⁹ 191*, n.p. Placed in the “Magasin de Lustrerie.”

41. A.N., AJ¹⁹ 683*, fols. 26 and 27, under number 7382.

42. A.N., AJ¹⁹ 134*, fol. 151. This particular salon was in the Pavillon du Centre, Premier Etage. The bronze is stamped twice with the number *P.R.* 752 (see Draper, “Two Napoleonic Sculptural Projects,” p. 173).

Pierre-Auguste Cot's *The Storm*

JAMES HENRY RUBIN

Associate Professor, State University of New York at Stony Brook

PIERRE-AUGUSTE COT's *L'Orage* or *The Storm* (Figure 1) has long been regarded, at least by Americans aware of its presence at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, as a symbol of late nineteenth-century French academicism. It is for this reason that the painting itself is far better known than the name of the artist who made it. One of a very few major examples of its genre in a magnificent collection of Realist, Impressionist, and Post-Impressionist works, *The Storm* even to this day attracts a litany of caustic attacks. These are usually made by hindseers convinced of the injustice of late nineteenth-century resistance to the avant-garde. For others, the history of a painter like Cot can simply be dismissed as irrelevant to any purpose and inherently uninteresting. One recent author, John Canaday, although not entirely wrong in having described Cot's main interest for us as an example of an outworn point of view, has even gone so far as to characterize academic productions, and by association Cot's painting, as no better than "dry rot."¹

This paper is limited to a brief study of *The Storm*, its subject matter and sources, its reception at the Salon of 1880, and to a small extent, its place in Cot's career. The occasion for the article arose from the discovery of some drawings and other materials relating to *The Storm*, which in themselves seemed worthy of publication. I have no intention of trying to reverse the tide of critical opinion that has largely condemned Cot. But a look at Cot for his own sake and on his own terms may reveal some new subtlety in the old-fashioned myth that the late nineteenth century was polarized in a battle between "good art" and "bad art" (see Figure 2).

Pierre-Auguste Cot (pronounced *kot*) was born February 17, 1837 in Bédarieux, a small city in the

Hérault region in the south of France, about thirty kilometers from Béziers. After successful studies at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts of Toulouse, Cot went to Paris, where he worked mainly in the studio of Léon Cogniet. He made a successful debut at the Salon of 1863, and continued to exhibit until his death in 1883. He enjoyed the protection of the academic sculptor Francisque Duret, whose daughter he married, and of William Bouguereau, with whom he had also worked. In the 1870s, he became a fashionable portraitist. He won various prizes and medals, was decorated as a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor in 1874, and served on numerous committees and juries. Shortly after his untimely death at the age of forty-six (August 2, 1883), a subscription was undertaken for a commemorative monument to the artist, which was erected at Bédarieux in 1892.²

Cot's widow sold the painter's *Mireille* of 1882 to the state for the Musée de Luxembourg. His heirs divided the remains of the estate, about half of which ultimately became a bequest to the city of Bédarieux. Most of these works still remain in storage, where they are now rapidly deteriorating, while others are either in private hands or are lost. Of the very few in museum collections, only *The Storm* has received any notice. From 1903 to 1938, however, another large painting by Cot, *Le Printemps* or *Springtime* (Figure 3), was exhibited at the Brooklyn Museum, where it was on extended loan. This picture, now lost, was shown

1. J. Canaday, *Metropolitan Museum of Art Seminars in the Home* (New York, 1959) fasc. 11.

2. A biographical article on Cot has recently appeared: André Signoles, "Pierre-Auguste Cot, peintre," *Etudes sur Pézenas et l'Hérault* 9 (1978) pp. 17–33. See also my "Who Was Pierre-Auguste Cot?," *Nineteenth Century* 6/1 (1980) pp. 36–39.



FIGURE 1

Pierre-Auguste Cot (1837–83), *L'Orage* (*The Storm*), signed and dated 1880. Oil on canvas, 92¼ × 61¾ in. (235 × 156.9 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Catharine Lorillard Wolfe, 87.15.134

FIGURE 2

Good Art? Bad Art? Advertisement from *Esquire*, December 1970

PAINTING ON LEFT: AFTERWORK BY AN AMERICAN OF ABOUT 1880. PAINTING ON RIGHT: ALBERTO BURRI, ITALY, 1950.



Good Art? Bad Art?

What would your judgment be?

Here are two paintings, both of the same subject, and both discussed in the first portfolio of the Metropolitan Museum Seminars in Art program. The one at the left, Pierre Cot's *The Storm*, was held in the highest critical esteem in the 1880s. Today it would be dismissed by most critics as unskillfully sentimental. The other painting, Oskar Kokoschka's *The Tempest*, was damned as degenerate in the early part of this century. Now it is considered to be one of the finest examples of expressionist art.

If you were unexpectedly asked to judge these paintings, could you express a well-reasoned opinion about them? Or would you be tongue-tied, unwilling to say anything because you're afraid you do not know enough?

A surprising number of otherwise cultivated persons have a blind spot so far as painting is concerned. Visiting a museum, they stand before a respected work of art and see nothing but its surface aspects. It was to help such people that New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art and John Canaday, art critic of *The New York Times*, created Art Seminars in the Home, a unique program of assisted self-

education in art appreciation.

Each seminar comes in the form of a handsome portfolio, the core of which is a lecture devoted to one aspect of painting. Each is illustrated with many black-and-white pictures and twelve large separate full-color reproductions of notable paintings. As you compare these masterpieces side by side, Mr. Canaday's lectures clarify their basic differences and similarities, and so reveal the fundamentals you should look for in any painting you see.

Soon paintings will be more than just "good" or "bad" to you. You will be able to talk knowledgeably and form your own educated opinion when you visit a gallery or museum. And parents will find themselves sharing their understanding with their children, thereby providing a foundation for a lifelong interest in art.

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one a month, are devoted to realism, expressionism, abstraction, composition, painting technique, and the role of the artist as social critic and visionary.

If you choose not to continue, just return the portfolio without paying the invoice, thus canceling your subscription. But if you are convinced of the program's worth, you pay only \$4.50, plus a small mailing charge, for this and for each of the remaining portfolios you accept.

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by Cot with astounding success at the Salon of 1873, and had been acquired by John Wolfe, at the sale of whose collection in 1882 it passed into the hands of David C. Lyall. It must have been the presence of *Springtime* in Wolfe's collection that motivated his cousin, Catharine Lorillard Wolfe, to purchase *The Storm* in 1880. The pictures are of roughly the same size and are obviously related in subject in the sense that both show a young, nubile couple. Although the two pictures were not conceived together, they were thus spiritual pendants, and it can be assumed that the

FIGURE 3

After Cot, *Le Printemps* (*Springtime*), 1873. Engraving by Amédée and Eugène Varin, 1875. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)



FIGURES 5–8

Cot, Sketches, ca. 1873–80. Graphite on white paper, approx. $5\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$ in. (15×10 cm.) Paris, private collection (photos: Agraci)

success of the earlier picture led to the creation of the later one.³

Related to *The Storm* is a pencil drawing which has been squared off (Figure 4). Comparison with other drawings by Cot confirms its authenticity, but since here the design was made over the squaring (note how the ruled lines are erased where there have been *pentimenti* in the drawing), its use in the creation of the original painting is doubtful. Rather, it probably served as the basis of the etching for an illustrated catalogue of the Salon of 1880, which contained 200 reproductions made from “original artists’ drawings.”⁴

Of greater interest in relation to *The Storm* is a series of sketchbook sheets showing similar subjects

FIGURE 4

Cot, *The Storm*, 1880. Graphite on white paper, $15\frac{5}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$ in. (39×29 cm.). Paris, private collection (photo: Agraci)

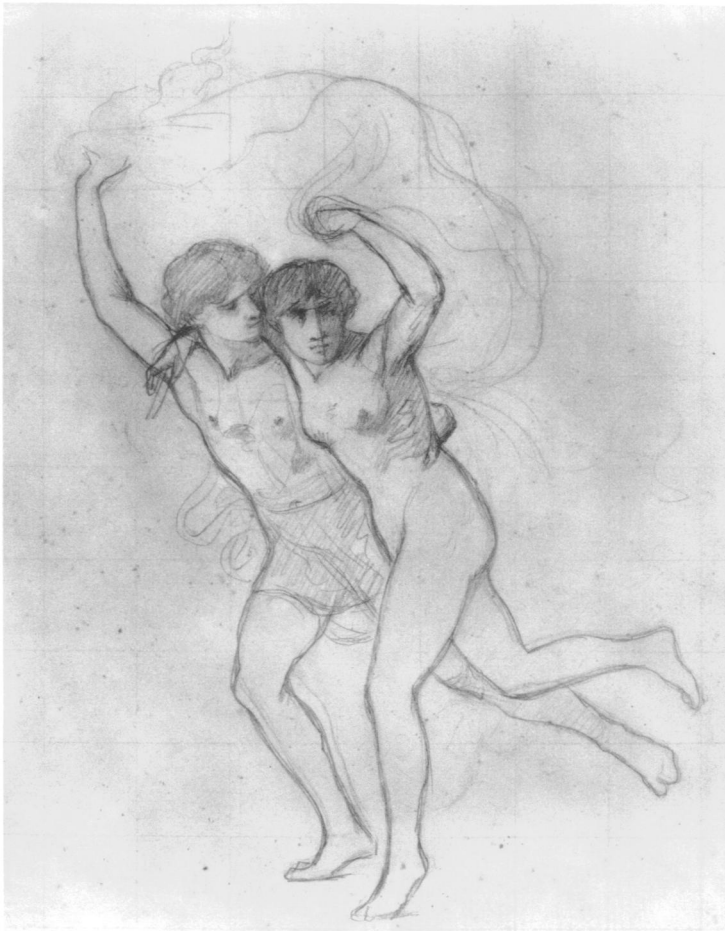


FIGURE 5

Young Man Carrying a Young Woman

(Figures 5–8). These must surely have served as experiments that led to the final composition and conception of *The Storm*, and thus they may help us to determine the picture’s actual subject matter or its literary source. Not even Cot’s contemporaries could agree whether the painter had meant to allude to the story of *Paul et Virginie*—first published by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre in 1788 and immensely popular

3. The original *Springtime* measured 82×49 in.; David C. Lyall Sale (New York, 1903) no. 105. A signed reduction (24×16 in.) was in the Sterling Sale, New York, 1919. Copies of *Springtime* made while it was on view exist; those I have seen all have a Brooklyn provenance. As for *The Storm*, Cot is said to have made several reductions, but none has so far turned up. (For the Wolfe family connection, see *The Collector* 5 [1894] p. 103.)

4. F. G. Dumas, ed., *Catalogue illustré du Salon* (Paris, 1880) II, no. 70. Along with other pictures, *The Storm* was reproduced on the cover of this book. The same reproduction is used in Earl Shinn [pseud. Edward Strahan], *Art Treasures of America* (Philadelphia, n.d. [1880]) I, p. 131.



FIGURE 6
Young Man Carrying a Young Woman



FIGURE 7
Young Man and Woman Seated

FIGURE 8
Couple Crouching and Embracing

thereafter—or to the fourth-century pastoral romance of *Daphnis and Chloë* by the Greek writer Longus.⁵ Our ability to decide on one or the other possibility may furnish us with an indication of the painter's broader intentions. Although both stories

5. Some of these opinions are reviewed in Charles Sterling and Margaretta M. Salinger, *French Paintings: A Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1966) II, p. 194. In the ten years preceding the Salon of 1880, *Paul et Virginie* appeared in no fewer than twelve separate editions. *Daphnis and Chloë* was no less popular. On the former, see Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *Paul et Virginie* (1788; Garnier Frères, Paris, 1964) pp. 281–282. On the latter, see *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Authors, XCIX, s.v. Longus.



deal with the progress of love and self-discovery in an adolescent couple, the ancient fable is overtly erotic, with scenes of pursuit, initiation, and lovemaking; whereas in *Paul et Virginie* the sexual interest is sublimated and Bernardin consistently maintains a high moral tone. Even though in its own day *Paul et Virginie* was presumed in some way to have looked back to *Daphnis and Chloë* as a source of inspiration, no mistake could be made about the essentially different aims of the two authors.

Figures 5 and 6 recall a scene from *Paul et Virginie* made famous through an illustration by Girodet-Trioson (Figure 9), in which Paul carries Virginie across the dangerous rapids of the Rivière-noire. Lost in the wilderness until after the crossing, they are then found by their dog, Fidèle, and later by their native friend and servant, Domingue.⁶ The resem-

FIGURE 9

Anne-Louis Girodet de Roucy Trioson, *Le Passage du Torrent*, 1806. Engraving, illustration to Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *Paul et Virginie*, Paris, P. Didot, 1806, opp. p. 32 (photo: New York Public Library)



blance is no more than superficial, however, for even if the animal behind the couple in Figure 5 were a dog, Paul and Virginie are described as having trekked some distance through the woods before encountering Fidèle. Moreover, Cot's couple is shown next to a pool of water or a placid stream rather than churning rapids. Finally, the shepherd's staff held by the girl has no place in this particular scene of *Paul et Virginie*. Although elsewhere Virginie tends a flock of goats, this feature of her activity is itself a direct allusion to the story of Daphnis and Chloë, where the couple tend their flocks together. The animal behind the couple in Cot's drawing, then, with its short tail, characteristic hindquarters, and suggestion of an udder, may imply that Cot wished to exploit more fully and explicitly than had Bernardin the references to Longus.

It is in Figure 7, the most highly finished of the four sketchbook pages, that the girl most clearly wears a garment of the semitransparent type seen in *The Storm* and *Springtime*. The shepherd's staff is still present, leaning against the log to our left, which suggests that all four images have the same source. Indeed, the scene might correspond to a passage in *Daphnis and Chloë* where, having led their flocks to the fields, the couple hug and clasp each other while sitting on the trunk of a tree; in their innocence, they end by lying one on top of the other on the ground.⁷ Cot may have avoided explicit eroticism while nevertheless alluding to this scene through the use of the garland motif. Wreaths and garlands of ivy and other leaves are referred to throughout the narrative of *Daphnis and Chloë*.⁸

In spite of this evidence for *The Storm*'s relationship to *Daphnis and Chloë*, it can still be convincingly shown that the specific motif of the couple running from the rain and covered by a billowing drapery corresponds to a famous and often illustrated scene in *Paul et Virginie*:

One day, while descending from the mountaintop, I saw Virginie running from one end of the garden toward the house, her head covered by her overskirt, which she had lifted from behind her in order to gain shelter from

6. Saint-Pierre, *Paul et Virginie*, pp. 100–106.

7. Longus, *Daphnis and Chloë*, trans. George Thornley (1657; Richard Lesley, London, 1947) pp. 68–69.

8. Figure 8 is too generalized to offer any clues to its source.



FIGURE 10

Jean-Michel Moreau (le Jeune), Illustration to Saint-Pierre, *Paul et Virginie*, Paris, Didot, 1789, opp. p. 22 (photo: New York Public Library)

FIGURE 11

Hippolyte de la Charlerie, Illustration to Saint-Pierre, *Paul et Virginie*, Paris, Alphonse Lemierre, 1868, p. 31 (photo: New York Public Library)



a rain-shower. From a distance I had thought she was alone; but upon coming closer to help her walk I saw that by the arm she held Paul, who was almost entirely covered by the same blanket. Both were laughing together in the shelter of this umbrella of their own invention.⁹

The obvious appeal of this scene as a visual conceit must have attracted Cot's attention, but he did not exploit other visual novelties the story offered, such as the opportunity to depict the diverse plant life that flourished in the tropical paradise where Paul and Virginie lived. Indeed, Cot failed to identify the location of his scene with any precision at all. Unlike Moreau le Jeune (Figure 10) and Girodet, who specifically drew palm trees in their illustrations, Cot used a forest and a field as background, complementing them with an old castle or fort in the distance, such as might suggest a place in Europe. Although he had paid great attention to floral and botanical detail

in *Springtime*, there too the image lacked any specific geographical reference.

The influence of a particular illustration of this episode may be detected if we compare the position of Cot's figures and the way they dominate the scene to a plate that appeared in 1868 (Figure 11). This composition, made by one Hippolyte de la Charlerie, is a significant departure from the tradition maintained by Moreau le Jeune and subsequent illustrators such as Tony Johannot and Alexandre-Joseph Desenne.¹⁰

9. Saint-Pierre, *Paul et Virginie*, p. 90 (my translation).

10. The illustrations by De la Charlerie first appeared in *Paul et Virginie* (Alphonse Lemierre, Paris, 1868) and were republished in 1875 and 1876. The most famous illustrator to have done the scene previously was Jean-Michel Moreau (Moreau le Jeune) for the Didot pocket edition of 1789 (Figure 10), for the magnificent Didot edition of 1806 (which also contained plates by Girodet, Gérard, Vernet, and Prud'hon), and others. Alexandre-Joseph Desenne illustrated the L. Janet edition of 1823 and Henry Corbould, the J. Laisné edition of 1834; both series



FIGURE 12
Giovanni Francesco Romanelli (ca. 1610–62), *The Royal Hunt and Storm*. Tapestry cartoon, gouache on paper laid down on linen. Pasadena, California, The Norton Simon Foundation (photo: Norton Simon Foundation)

Moreover, Charlerie has eliminated the man (the narrator), who is present in all previous conceptions of the scene known to me. However, Charlerie's figures are still small children. It is as if, once seen on their own, Cot had the idea of transforming them into the much more knowing, adolescent couple of *The Storm*.

If the relationship of *The Storm* to *Paul et Virginie* was readily recognizable, so was Cot's deliberate investment of the scene with the spirit of *Daphnis and Chloë*. That the painting contained yet another allusion, however, is suggested by a tapestry design of Giovanni Francesco Romanelli (Figure 12). It shows Dido and Aeneas taking refuge from the storm that has interrupted their hunt.¹¹ They are about to enter a cave, which can be seen at the extreme right of the

of plates appeared in other subsequent editions, too. The famous Curmer edition of 1838 grouped many romantic illustrators, including Tony Johannot, whose vignette of our scene is on p. 30.

11. I am grateful to Marilyn Aronberg Lavin for drawing my attention to this work.

12. See Ruth Rubenstein, *Giovanni Francesco Romanelli's Dido and Aeneas Tapestry Cartoons* (Pasadena, 1976).

composition. Not only does the cave afford them shelter, but according to the account in Virgil's *Aeneid* (book IV), it is there that their love is consummated. In John Dryden's translation:

The queen, whom sense of honor could not move,
No longer made a secret of her love,
But call'd it marriage, by that specious name
To veil the crime and sanctify the shame.

The suite of tapestries to which this image belongs may have been commissioned by Louis XIV and was extremely popular. It may well have been known to Cot in one form or another, but even if it was not, certainly book IV of the *Aeneid* was known to anyone with pretensions to classical education, such as Cot's contemporaries in France or potential patrons in America.¹² Beyond the question of direct filiation, then, the motif confirms the possibility that the couple in a storm was a conventional *topos*, even if not an overly familiar one, which harbored erotic implications. If this is so, the subject of Cot's *Storm* was once again clearly much more in the spirit of *Daphnis and Chloë* than in that of *Paul et Virginie*. It can be thought of as comparatively straightforward in erotic allusion, though without giving offense to public sensibility. Indeed, further layers of meaning, including a moral tone or an affectation of moral naïveté and its virtuous ramifications, are features too subtle to ask of the painting. Its attractiveness derives rather from Cot's skillful maintenance of restraint and decorum by merely alluding to the erotic through his choice of subject and by the elegance and refinement of his style.

The simplistic view that *The Storm* was an unqualified triumph while the Impressionists were still starving

FIGURE 13
First page of Eugène Montrosier's account of Cot (*Les Artistes modernes*, Paris, 1881, I, p. 145), with decorations after *The Storm* and *Springtime*

FIGURE 14
After Cot, *The Storm*, about 1880. Silk tapestry. Paris, private collection (photo: Agraci)

FIGURE 15
After Cot, *The Storm*. Engraving, illustration to *Nouveau Larousse illustré*, Paris, n.d.

needs to be modified, for while the painting was indeed a great commercial success, it failed to score very high on other counts. A critic named Maurice du Seigneur testified to the extent of its acceptance, although he hardly showed his approval. He wrote: "Mr. Cot has seen the advantage of producing such affected things. He must make a sizable amount of money from them, and we congratulate him on this; but the public is hardly to be congratulated." The kind of picture represented by *The Storm* was, in fact, far from what most thoughtful contemporaries would have accepted as the goal of academic teaching. On the contrary, Du Seigneur for one saw Cot as merely, though rather cleverly, catering to "perfumers and hairdressers, schoolboys and cream-puff poets."¹³

Similarly, one Emile Michel, writing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, preferred Cot's *Portrait of Mademoiselle de L . . .* to *The Storm*, which he felt was too obviously an attempt to repeat the pattern of *Springtime*. He remarked that it would be difficult to recall a success on the order of the latter, and wondered if the new painting might not saturate the market with reproductions and satiate the painter's own taste for such things.¹⁴ In an illustrated review of the Salon, however, a critic named René Delorme attacked Cot more directly: "Conventionalism triumphs here," he wrote; and he joked that the young couple need not

fear the storm, for "they are made of porcelain, and the rain will never penetrate them." Turning this remark to a serious purpose, he added that Cot seemed to him to exhibit an excessive knowledge of the *métier* of painting, which led him to finish and to polish his work too much: "The result of being soft and shiny is that his flesh is no longer flesh and his leaves are no longer leaves. He departs from nature in trying to perfect and embellish her, and the result of all his efforts is that his work becomes false and disappointing."¹⁵

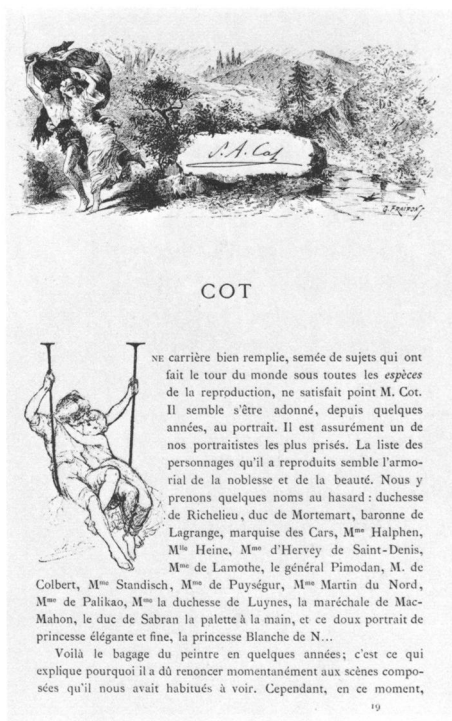
Perhaps the most impartial remarks on Cot's *Storm* were made by Philippe de Chennevières in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. He wrote: "The proof of the sureness and good health of the practical training of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts can be found in the works of its most intimate students, such as Cot, . . . They maintain themselves with an imperturbable equanimity, tranquillity, and perfection, and no matter how loudly certain critics protest their too-pretty banality, the public is not bothered and hurries to view what satisfies its ideal of accomplishment. It would be vain to try to persuade them that the bucolic coquetry of the young boy and his girl friend running so gaily from the rain . . . has nothing to do with the disquietude and the rude preoccupations of true art."¹⁶ Chennevières thus confirmed the opinion of René Delorme,

13. Maurice du Seigneur, *L'Art et les artistes au Salon de 1880* (Paris, 1880) pp. 306-331.

14. Emile Michel, "Le Salon de 1880," *Revue des Deux Mondes* 39 (1880) p. 682.

15. René Delorme, "La Peinture de genre et de portrait," in *L'Exposition des Beaux-Arts (Salon de 1880)* (Paris, 1880) I, n.p.

16. Philippe de Chennevières, "Salon de 1880," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 21 (1880) p. 510.



gr. Parmi les Italiens, le Guaspre et Salvator



L'Orage, d'après Cot.

avons aussi de Rubens quelques belles peintures de genre, notamment un admirable Arc-en-ciel.



FIGURE 16
Edward Sorel,
Jacket for Jessica
Mitford's *A Fine Old
Conflict*, London,
1977

though less maliciously. For while recognizing Cot's artistic skill, he accused the artist of applying it to a banality.

Finally, it is worth noting that taken in the broader context of artistic discussion generated by the Salon of 1880, the attention paid to Cot was minimal. The same year saw the appearance of Bonnat's *Job*, Cabanel's *Phèdre*, Cormon's *Cain*, Henner's *La Fontaine*, Gustave Moreau's *Galathée*, and Puvis de Chavannes's cartoons for the decorations of the Musée d'Amiens. Bastien-Lepage's *Joan of Arc*, which is also at the Metropolitan Museum, was exhibited in 1880 too. It was a rich Salon, and one should not attribute more importance to Cot than he deserves. Indeed, contrary to the implication of those who use him to epitomize the art of the Academy, he seems to have been recognized for what he was—merely a fashionable painter. It is true, of course, that he won many of the standard honors and that his skills were found exemplary. But he was decidedly not the ideal of the academicians, who sought an art of more profound gravity.

That *The Storm* quickly came to stand for Cot's art as a whole is suggested by its adaptation as part of a design heading the article on Cot in Eugène Montrosier's *Les Artistes modernes* (Figure 13).¹⁷ Moreover, the picture was almost immediately engraved (by Amédée and Eugène Varin). The commission for the engrav-

ing, like that for the reproduction of *Springtime*, apparently came from Knoedler and Co. (both paintings were in New York). Like *Springtime*, *The Storm* was also reproduced as a wall hanging in the form of small tapestries (Figure 14), and it was copied by a host of decorative artists on fans, screens, and porcelains—so much so that one critic lamented: "What good fortune for business interests: here is *The Storm*! And we shall soon be flooded by waves of photographs, fans, screens, and other objects from novelty stores."¹⁸

Perhaps most indicative of the picture's fame was its use as an illustration in the article "Orage" of the *Nouveau Larousse illustré* (Figure 15), which was current during the first quarter of this century. Of a number of works of art listed on this subject, including works by notables such as Rubens and Salvator Rosa, Cot's picture, by this time already at the Metropolitan Museum, was chosen to represent the theme.¹⁹ Caricatures and numerous adaptations constitute another form of testimony to a picture's widespread familiarity. One, which I have seen in a private collection, is a cloth screen with two imbecilic figures running below the drapery converted to an American flag. A more recent example of this genre—and surely there have been many others—was drawn by Edward Sorel for the jacket of Jessica Mitford's book, *A Fine Old Conflict* (Figure 16). The storm-threatened couple are Mitford and her husband. Communist sympathizers at the time she writes of, they are sheltered by a red drapery emblazoned with the hammer and sickle. Even *The Storm*'s appearance in the Metropolitan Museum Seminars (see Figure 2), although its fame had turned to infamy, bears witness to the picture's curious iconic status.

It is to be hoped that once the preconceptions caused on the one hand by ahistorical standards and on the other by the need for scapegoats have subsided, *The Storm* will still survive on its own as an elegant and accomplished example of a particular brand of art that flourished in the late nineteenth century. For it exemplifies not the ideals but rather the taste of the period, to which its creator catered so generously.

17. Eugène Montrosier, *Les Artistes modernes* (Paris, 1881) I, p. 145.

18. Du Seigneur, *L'Art et les artistes au Salon de 1880*, p. 30.

19. *Nouveau Larousse illustré, dictionnaire universel encyclopédique* (Paris, n.d.) s.v. *Orage*.

continued from front flap

The Fortunes of Two Napoleonic
Sculptural Projects

JAMES DAVID DRAPER

The History of the Maréchal de
Villars Group

DAVID HARRIS COHEN

Pierre-Auguste Cot's *The Storm*

JAMES HENRY RUBIN

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JACKET ILLUSTRATION

Giulio Cesare Procaccini, *The Madonna and Child with Saints Francis and Dominic, and Angels* (detail). The Metropolitan Museum of Art