

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

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

The present volume contains fifteen papers, including a group prompted by "The Splendor of Dresden" exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum in 1978-79.

The Male Figure in Early Cycladic Sculpture

PAT GETZ-PREZIOSI

The Earliest Known Chous by the Amasis Painter

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GERARD HUBERT

continued on back flap

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HELMUT NICKEL

ABBREVIATIONS

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

Height precedes width in dimensions cited.

The Male Figure in Early Cycladic Sculpture

PAT GETZ-PREZIOSI

MARBLE FIGURATIVE SCULPTURE, dominated by the female form, constitutes the most striking class of objects made during the Early Bronze Age in the Cyclades, an archipelago of more than thirty small islands at the center of the Aegean. Although the male figure is exceptional in Cycladic art, accounting for only 4 or 5 percent of the sculptures carved in these islands during the third millennium B.C., it occurs in all phases of the Early Cycladic period and in a variety of engaging forms. Two of these rare pieces are in the Metropolitan Museum's Aegean collection (Figures 16–19, 58–60).

While most of the Cycladic male figures have been previously published, they have never been treated more than cursorily as a group. The present article is an attempt to present a general picture of the iconographic and relative chronological position of the male image in the development of Cycladic sculpture. Particular attention will be paid to unusually impressive, little-known, or controversial works.

A census of all the male figures, including very fragmentary ones, known to the writer at this time can be found at the end of the article. Each sculpture is identified in the text and captions by its census number; references to the illustration(s) are cited the first time a piece is mentioned and subsequently only as needed.

Before beginning, however, it may be useful to review briefly those aspects of the typology of Cycladic sculpture that will be relevant to our subject. The terminology used here is basically that suggested by Renfrew.¹

In the first Early Bronze Age phase (ECI; Grotta-Pelos culture; roughly 3200–2800 B.C.) two distinct but related sculptural forms were produced. The

Schematic type includes thin flat statuettes without head or legs and with a body which is often of violin shape. Despite the frequent absence of clear sexual markings, these figures are generally assumed to represent the female form. The *Plastiras* type, named after a cemetery site on Paros, is by contrast fully representational. Its chief characteristics are the standing posture, the position of the hands with fingertips meeting below the breasts, broad hips, and separately worked legs ending in feet which are parallel to the ground.

The *Louros* type, named after a grave site on Naxos, is probably somewhat later than the *Plastiras* and may belong essentially to the transition from the first to the second Early Cycladic phase (ECI–II; Kampos or, perhaps better, Kampos-Louros culture; ca. 2800–2700 B.C.). *Louros* figures are rather thin and flat, and schematic in comparison to the *Plastiras*. The face is featureless and the arms are represented as simple angular protrusions at the sides. Certain “hybrid” forms also occur around this time. Generally these appear to be composed of elements characteristic of the main types.

The archaeological record is virtually blank at this point, but one may speculate that toward the end of

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

1. Renfrew, pp. 1ff. For examples of all the types and varieties mentioned see *ACC*. For the reader's convenience the chronological designations ECI, ECI–II, ECII, and ECIII will be used rather than the cultural designations preferred by Renfrew. On this aspect of Cycladic terminology see J. E. Coleman, “Chronological and Cultural Divisions of the Early Cycladic Period: A Critical Approach,” *PCP*, pp. 48–50; C. Renfrew, “Terminology and Beyond,” *PCP*, pp. 51–63; J. E. Coleman, “Remarks on ‘Terminology and Beyond,’” *PCP*, pp. 64–65.

the transitional phase there follows a group of figures, called "precanonical" by Thimme, from which the classic folded-arm figure emerges in the second phase (ECII; Keros-Syros culture; ca. 2700–2200 B.C.). Five separate varieties of the folded-arm type may be distinguished. The earliest of these is probably the *Kapsala*, named after a cemetery on Amor-gos. Kapsala-variety figures generally have a slender build with rounded forms, and they exhibit a broken profile axis. Details are modeled rather than incised. The legs are worked separately from the knees or are separated by a deep cleft which is perforated along the calves. The feet are generally held horizontally or nearly so.

The *Spedos* variety, named after a Naxian graveyard, probably developed from the Kapsala. It is the most common and the most widely distributed form in Cycladic art and probably enjoyed the longest duration. Despite strictly observed canons of proportion and execution, it also shows the greatest diversity. It seems possible to distinguish at least an early and a late group within the Spedos variety. To the former belong figures with a strongly curving outline and an accented profile axis, relatively narrow waist, curving abdominal line marking the pubic area, and legs divided by a perforated cleft. Beginning with the early Spedos group all folded-arm figures, except a few very late ones, have feet which point downward and outward at an angle, from which it is assumed that the posture represented is a reclining one. To the late Spedos group belong figures with a lyre-shaped head and an incised pubic triangle. These figures tend to be more elongated and straighter in profile than the earlier ones, and the leg-cleft is usually not perforated. Details are rendered more by incision than by modeling.

The latest varieties of the folded-arm figure are flat, markedly angular in outline, and highly stylized in their treatment of the human form. Details are normally incised. The *Dokathismata* variety, named after a cemetery site on Amorgos, exhibits elongated, often very refined forms, while the *Chalandriani* variety, named after a large necropolis on Syros, is a truncated version of this type: the mid-section is omitted altogether and the shoulders are consequently disproportionately broad. Among the Chalandriani-variety figures the canonical arrangement of the forearms, right below left, is at times abandoned. The leg-cleft is sometimes perforated in the

Dokathismata variety, but not in the Chalandriani, although in both the upper arms are occasionally freed from the sides of the torso by a space.

The *Koumasa* variety, named for the location of a communal tomb, is an indigenous Cretan version. Among the small thin flat figures, which are found exclusively on Crete, at least two groups may be recognized. One is angular in outline and is probably an imitation of the Dokathismata and Chalandriani varieties,² while the other has more rounded lines, indicating a probable derivation from the Spedos variety.³

Like the schematic statuettes of the ECI phase, the ECII abstract figures are probably also female representations. The latter are known as the *Apeiranthos* type after a village on Naxos.

The male figure is well established within the Plastiras type of the ECI phase. Altogether seven male examples of this rather rare type are known (nos. 1–7; Figures 1, 2–9). Despite their exaggerated proportions, Plastiras figures reflect a concern for anatomical forms and details which is seen only occasionally in later varieties of Cycladic sculpture. Primary sex distinctions are clearly indicated and secondary ones are also suggested: with one exception (no. 7), the hips of Plastiras males, by comparison with females of the type, tend to be somewhat narrower with respect to the shoulders (or upper arms); whereas the male waist tends to be wider than the female in relation to the hips.⁴

The attributes of the Plastiras figures are also sex-related, although not consistently so. Two of the males have an incised belt on the front (nos. 1, 3),⁵ while two others wear a conical ribbed *pilos* (nos. 6, 7).⁶ The same cap is worn by a figure of uncertain sex

2. E.g., ACC, fig. 137.

3. E.g., ACC, fig. 138.

4. The masculine proportions of a figure in the Morigi collection (no. 4) invalidate my earlier suggestion (ACC, p. 439, no. 72) that it was originally conceived as a female. It seems likely, rather, that this figure was intended as a male from the beginning and that the penis, now missing, was added separately, either at the outset or as a result of damage to the original.

5. Thimme (ACC, p. 440, no. 74) interprets the horizontal lines as flesh creases such as are found, albeit nearly always in greater numbers, on the front of female figures (e.g., Figures 10a, 63d).

6. A smooth rounded cap also occurs on a presumably Cycladic male figure of lead (date uncertain) in the Barbier-Müller Museum (ACC, no. 252).

in the Naxos Museum (Figure 10d).⁷ This statuette has masculine proportions but the protuberance on the stomach seems, because of its high position, to represent the navel rather than the penis. One apparently female Plastiras figure also wears the *pilos* (Figure 10c).⁸ This cap cannot therefore be considered an exclusively male form of headgear, even though female figures more often wear a cylindrical *polos*.⁹

The *pilos* occurs on figures of more schematic type produced during the EC I phase or in the transition to EC II: on a small hybrid figure which, because of the horizontal bands incised across the front, should be viewed as a female representation (Figure 10a)¹⁰ and on a figure of uncertain sex from the name-grave of the Louros type (Figure 10b).¹¹ A third figure (no. 8; Figures 11, 12) wears a *pilos*, a baldric in relief running from the right shoulder to the left side, and an elaborate belt (now damaged, but possibly holding a dagger). In the absence of genitalia, the baldric and belt identify the figure as a male. This piece, in Toronto, is the only Louros figure which there is strong reason to believe represents a male. It is also the earliest Cycladic figure depicted with a baldric, an attribute which, after this single instance, seems to have disappeared for perhaps several hundred years.¹²

With the emergence of the folded-arm female as the canonical or classic image of the islands at the beginning of the EC II phase, there was a very marked increase in figure production. Yet from the first half or so of this period there is but a single folded-arm male. This is the exceptionally large fragmentary piece in the Erlendmeyer collection (no. 10; Figure 13).

At this time, however, or perhaps somewhat earlier, the special occupational figures make their appearance: the seated harp player (nos. 9, 11–17; Figures 14, 16–19, 21–28, 32–43), in two cases furnished with an elaborate chair; the seated cupbearer seeming to propose a toast (nos. 18, 19; Figures 14, 45); the standing woodwind player mounted on a rectangular base (nos. 20–24; Figures 15, 46, 47); and the trio consisting of two males mounted on the same rectangular base and supporting a sitting female between them (no. 25; Figure 48). The males are rendered in the same styles as the contemporaneous female figures all of which, in distinct contrast to the males, are shown either reclining or sitting passively with arms folded, and even, in two unpublished examples, with their feet crossed.¹³

The musical instruments and the wine-cup are at-

tributes which, like the baldric on the Louros statuette in Toronto (no. 8), seem to identify the occupational figures as male even when, as in the case of many of the seated figures, they are devoid of sexual characteristics (e.g., nos. 11–15, 18). The absence of genitalia may be explained by the supposition that the figures were meant to be viewed from the side rather than the front, and that consequently the front is often rendered only summarily. Another possibility is that certain sculptors chose to avoid the difficult problem of representing genitalia on a seated figure. By contrast, on all standing males the penis is more or less clearly indicated. In any case, since the prehistoric inhabitants of the Cyclades clearly knew which sex was appropriate to the role represented, there was no need (especially in view of the streamlined style of the figures) to stress gender through the depiction of primary sex distinctions.¹⁴

At present there are at least seven well-preserved harp players. Four of these are well known: the once-controversial figure in the Metropolitan Museum (no. 9; Figures 16–19),¹⁵ the pair in Karlsruhe said to be

7. Naxos Archaeological Museum 199, H. 20.5 cm. (after unpublished photo; permission to publish drawing courtesy C. Doumas).

8. Formerly in a New York private collection, H. 10 cm. (after a rough sketch).

9. E.g., ACC, nos. 65–68.

10. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, H. 8 cm., "Naxos" (after Zervos, fig. 37).

11. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6140.6, H. 17.4 cm. (after Papathanasopoulos, p. 136f., pl. 70e; ACC, fig. 35a).

12. For a discussion of the hunter/warrior in Cycladic art see P.G.-P. in PCP, esp. p. 89. (N.B. The article referred to in nn. 1–3 and 5 did not appear in AK but is the one published here. Because of reworking, the note numbers cited in PCP do not correspond to the present version of the article.)

13. The seated figures with crossed feet were found several years ago in a grave at Aplomata on Naxos and promptly stolen. Only one has been recovered.

14. Some folded-arm figures carved early in EC II also lack a clear definition of sex. These are assumed to represent females. See, e.g., ACC, nos. 146 and 147, and discussion below of the central figure of the three-figure group (no. 25).

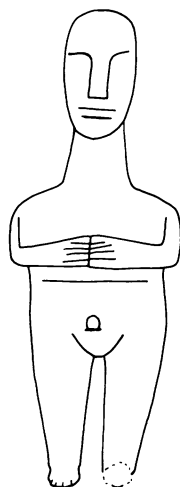
15. This work has often been regarded as a forgery. See, e.g., Renfrew, p. 14, n. 1; B. Aign, *Die Geschichte der Musikinstrumente des ägäischen Raumes bis um 700 vor Christus* (Frankfurt, 1963) p. 33 and n. 3; and most recently, C. Cox, "Fakes at the Met? Love Digs up the Dirt," *Soho News* (Feb. 11, 1981) pp. 9ff.

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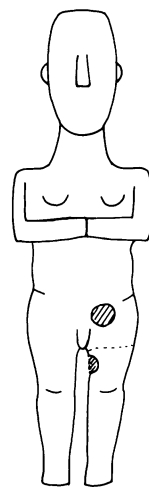
1. ECI (nos. 1-7) and ECI-II (no. 8) male figures (drawings: P.G.-P.)

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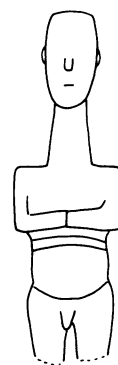
- 2, 3. Plastiras type with belt. No. 1. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3912 (photos: I. Ioannidou)
 4, 5. Plastiras type. No. 4. Lugano, Paolo Morigi Collection (photos: Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe)
 6, 7. Plastiras type with *pilos*. No. 6. Lugano, Adriano Ribolzi Collection (photos: Galleria Casa Serodine)
 8, 9. Plastiras type with *pilos*. No. 7. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3911 (photos: I. Ioannidou)



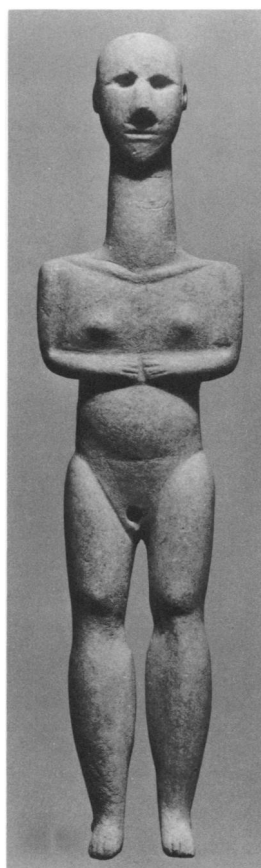
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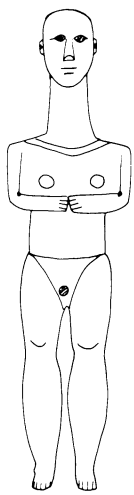


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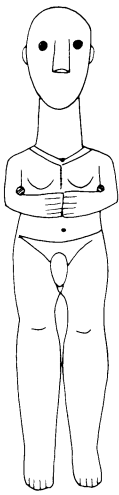


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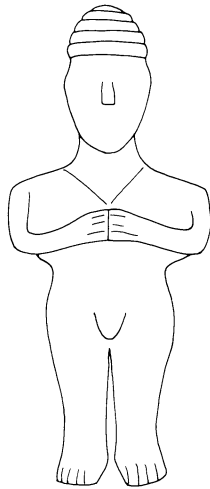




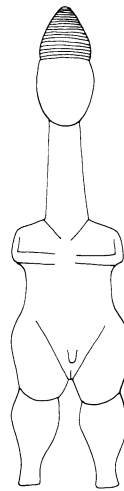
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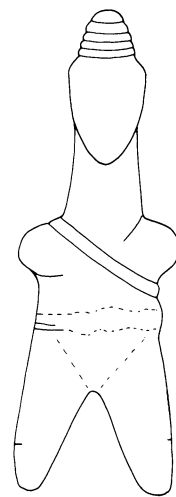
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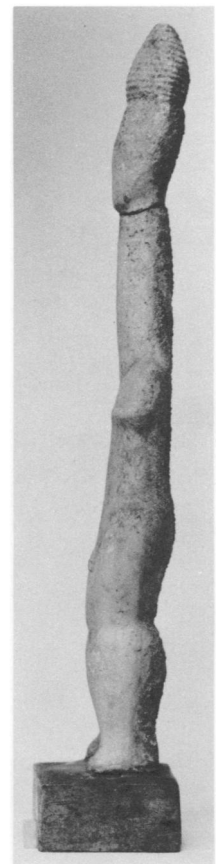
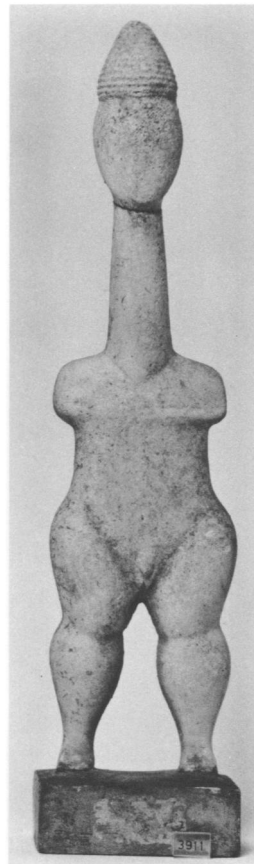
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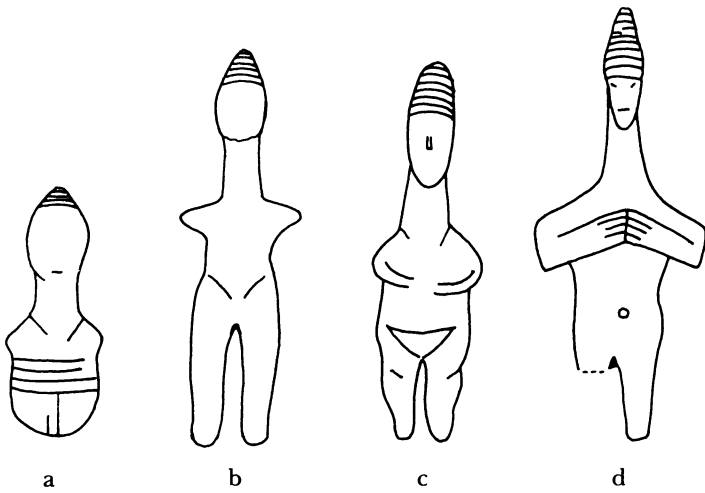


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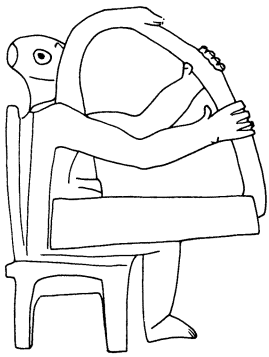
10. EC figures with *piloi* (drawings: P.G.-P.)

13. Folded-arm figure, Spedos variety. No. 10. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection (photo: W. Mohrbach, Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe)



11, 12. Hunter/warrior, Louros type. No. 8. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 930.80.2 (photos: Royal Ontario Museum)

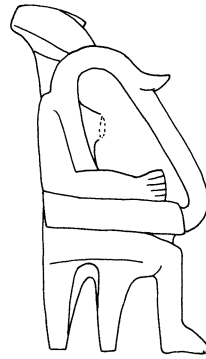




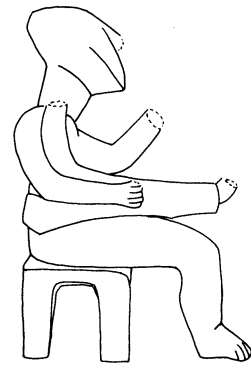
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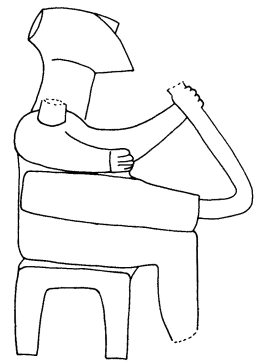
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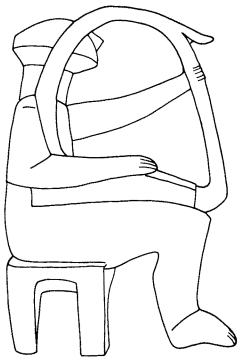
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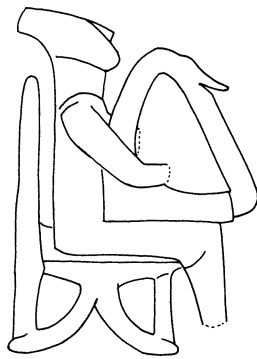
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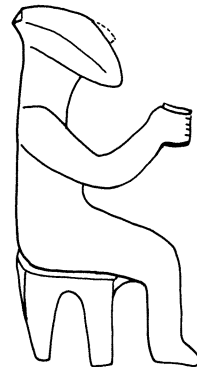
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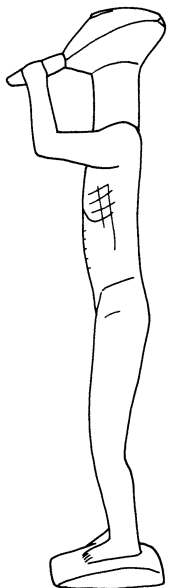


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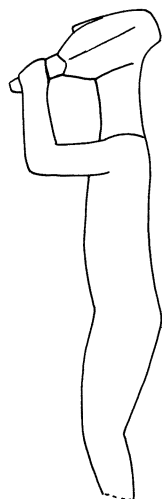


No. 18

14. Seated male figures
(drawings: P.G.-P.)



No. 20



No. 21



No. 22

15. Standing musicians (drawings: P.G.-P.)

from Thera (nos. 13, 14; Figures 32–39), and the figure from Keros in Athens (no. 16). Two other harpers, in a Swiss private collection, are little known (nos. 11, 12; Figures 21–28), while a third privately owned piece is introduced here for the first time (no. 15; Figures 40–43).

Although the seven harpers were probably carved at different times over a period of at least one hundred and perhaps as much as two or three hundred years, they form a remarkably uniform group in which certain conventions are adhered to very strictly. The musician sits straight, head up, seat

well back on his chair or stool, feet parallel to the ground. On his right side he holds a triangular harp with a frontal ornament in the shape of a duck's bill. His right arm, lower than his left, usually rests on or against the soundbox of the instrument; the two exceptions to this rule are, incidentally, the harpers seated on elaborate chairs (nos. 9, 15). One reason that this essential uniformity exists, even though harpers were carved only rarely and over an extended period of time, is that they were planned according to a specific traditional formula.¹⁶ The variations that are observable among the seven figures—

16. P.G.-P. in ACC, pp. 80–82.

16–19. Harper, precanonical style. No. 9. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 47.100.1



variations in relative harp size, arm position (particularly of the left arm), and type and degree of elaborateness of the seat—are probably the result of the sculptors' individual preferences. Other differences may be due in part to their varying levels of skill and experience and in part to the fact that the harpers are carved in a number of styles.

Most closely related to the harp player is the seated cupbearer (no. 18; Figure 45). A single well-preserved example is known at the moment, but the recent discovery on Naxos of a similar, very fragmentary figure (no. 19) has confirmed that the charming piece in the Goulandris collection was not a freely conceived sculpture but belongs, too, to an estab-

lished type. It differs from the harper only in the position of the arms and in the kind of object held, as always, on the right side.

Two types of standing male occupational figures are known at present: the woodwind player and the "bearers" of the three-figure group. The musician is represented at this writing by at least three well-preserved examples, all of which are closely similar. In two of these (nos. 20—the best-known, in Karlsruhe—and 21; Figures 46, 47), the player holds to his lips a sandwichlike syrinx; in the third, the well-known figure from Keros in Athens, he holds a pair of short pipes (no. 22).

The trio in Karlsruhe with its two male bearers (no.



25; Figure 48) is at present unique, although a number of fragments may once have belonged to similar works.¹⁷ Further examples can be expected to turn up eventually.

The bases which enable the standing male figures to maintain their erect posture have not so far been found on any Cycladic female figures. The explanation for this may be simply that females of the ECII period were never meant to stand. On the other hand, the recent discovery on Naxos of a female folded-arm figure seated on a chair, which, like the chairs of the harpers in New York and Athens, has an ornamental backrest, shows that such elaborate furniture was not related to gender.¹⁸ The rule for seated figures, male and female alike, was a simple stool.

I would like now to consider the individual examples of the four ECII occupational types under discussion in what I believe to be the relative chronological order of their manufacture. I shall focus most closely on the Metropolitan Museum harper and the figures of this type which to date have received little or no attention.

Not a single one of these figures was found in situ in a systematic excavation; in most cases nothing is known about the associated finds. Nevertheless, I believe it is possible to assign the well-preserved harpers, cupbearer, woodwind players, and three-figure group to three of the stylistic phases through which the dominant female image passed.

Thimme is probably correct in viewing the New

York harper (no. 9) as the earliest of the occupational figures, but perhaps he dates this piece somewhat too early.¹⁹ Whereas he regards it as contemporary with the Plastiras figures, in particular with the piece in the Morigi collection (no. 4; Figures 4, 5), I consider it more likely to have been carved by an independent-minded sculptor no earlier than the time, set hypothetically at the end of the transitional phase, when precanonical female figures were being fashioned.

In spite of this sculptor's keen interest in detail, his harper does not have the archaic look of the Plastiras figures. The latter are characterized by a curious combination of pervasive disproportion and attention to detail. The harper, while he has exaggeratedly long arms, necessitated by the oversized harp, is on the whole a well-balanced work. Moreover, his muscled arms, his hands complete with thumbs carved in the round and incised fingernails,²⁰ and his feet with soles arched on their inner surfaces only are treated very differently from those of Plastiras figures, and with much greater anatomical accuracy. Not even the carved facial detail is as close to that of these early figures as Thimme would have us believe. Detailed treatment of the face is in any case not confined exclusively to Plastiras figures. It can still be seen on the somewhat later precanonical figures, which tend also to be structurally better balanced.²¹ More telling perhaps is the presence of a paint "ghost" in the form of

17. See Census, note after no. 25.

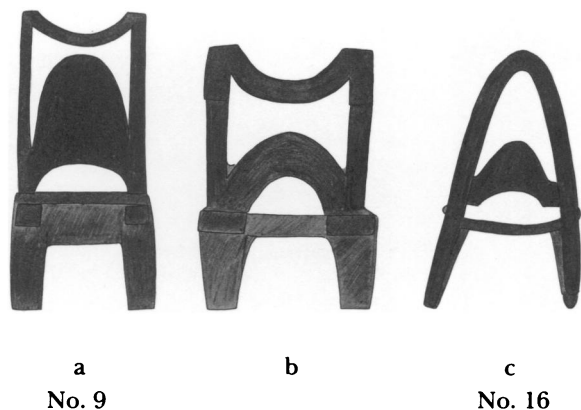
18. Kontoleon, *Praktika* (1971) pls. 214–215. The backrest of the chair of this figure is discussed further below and illustrated in Figure 20b.

19. ACC, p. 494.

20. The muscled arms and the thumbs are the features singled out by those who question the harper's authenticity. Actually, arm musculature is shown on two other harpers, though to a less pronounced degree of development (nos. 11, 12; Figures 21–28). The articulated thumbs may be unique to this piece only through an accident of preservation: the hands of the other harpers shown in the act of plucking the strings of their instruments (as opposed to merely holding the frames) are in every case missing. As the thumb is very much used in harp playing, it is quite possible that clearly defined thumbs were carved on these other figures as well. Although incised fingernails are not found on any other Cycladic figures now known, one very fragmentary piece, possibly from Attica, has similarly incised toenails (Doumas, *Cycladic Art*, no. 24). Another fragment (*ibid.*, no. 23), very likely from the same figure, has carved ears and a mouth which compare rather well to those of the New York harper. The typological classification of the two fragments is at this time not possible.

21. E.g., ACC, no. 114.

20. Ornamental backrests of harpers' chairs (drawings: P.G.-P.)



a cap or caplike coiffure at the top of the harper's head (Figures 18, 19). Although occasional dabs of paint are not unknown on ECI figures, the use of paint for such details as hair or headdress has so far not been recognized on these early works. Painting is, on the other hand, common in the ECII phase.²²

One might also consider the New York harper's chair. To date, no examples of sculpted furniture are known from the ECI period. However, the basic forms of the seat and ornamental backrest of this chair (Figures 19, 20a) are virtually duplicated in that of the early Spedos-style female figure mentioned above, from a recently excavated grave at Aplomata on Naxos which contained ECII material exclusively (Figure 20b).²³

Although it is unique among the special occupational figures for its naturalism, the New York harper seems stylistically to look both backward as well as forward.²⁴ I would say, therefore, that it was carved at a time just before the trend toward simplification and streamlining took firm hold on the sculptural tradition.

The pair of harpers and the little table carved in one piece with a miniature spouted bowl on a pedestal (nos. 11, 12; Figures 21–29), in a Swiss private collection, are said to have been found together.²⁵ This information seems correct, for the pieces are carved in the same marble, exhibit the same sort of surface weathering and encrustation, and, despite a number of minor differences, appear to be the work of one sculptor. Moreover, the three pieces are carved in the same scale and would seem to have been fashioned as a group composition. Indeed, this delightful assemblage vividly calls to mind the musicians who accompany dancing at religious festivals (*panegyria*) in Greece today. Set before them invariably is a table with refreshments.

This would be the third instance in which a pair of musician figures had been found in the same grave, the other two being the harpers, said to be from Thera, in Karlsruhe (nos. 13, 14; Figures 32–39) and the harper and double pipes player from Keros in Athens (nos. 16, 22; Figures 14, 15). While the third object in the Swiss group is unique for its combination of elements, footed marble vessels were also said to have been found with the Karlsruhe harpers.

The sculptor of the Swiss group, like all sculptors of the rare male examples, must have ordinarily carved female figures. These were probably of the Kapsala variety which, like the harpers, are of slender

build and well modeled.²⁶ In their narrowness and shape of head his harpers, especially no. 11, resemble the Karlsruhe syrinx player (no. 20; Figure 46) with which they ought to be roughly contemporary.

Thimme has recently sought to date the syrinx player (largely on the strength of his uniquely detailed rib cage), as well as at least one of the Karlsruhe harpers (no. 13) and the Athens harper (no. 16), to the transitional phase.²⁷ He sees in these figures an affinity to the precanonical group. While we may again have before us the work of an innovative sculptor, I consider the Karlsruhe syrinx player as well as the Swiss harpers nearer in style to the earliest true folded-arm figures, which presumably followed close upon the heels of the precanonical works at the very beginning of ECII.

Further support for an ECII date for the Swiss and Karlsruhe harpers may be found in their association with bowls carved with a bell-shaped pedestal. To

22. On the phenomenon of paint ghosts see P. G. Preziosi and S. S. Weinberg, "Evidence for Painted Details in Early Cycladic Sculpture," *AK* 13 (1970) pp. 4ff., esp. pp. 10–11 with fig. 11 and pl. 5:6.

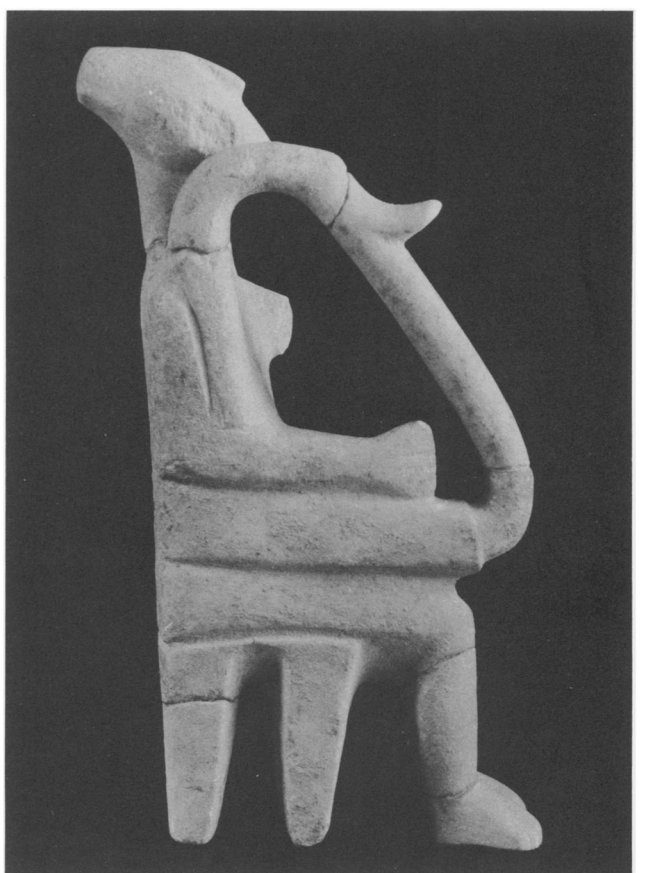
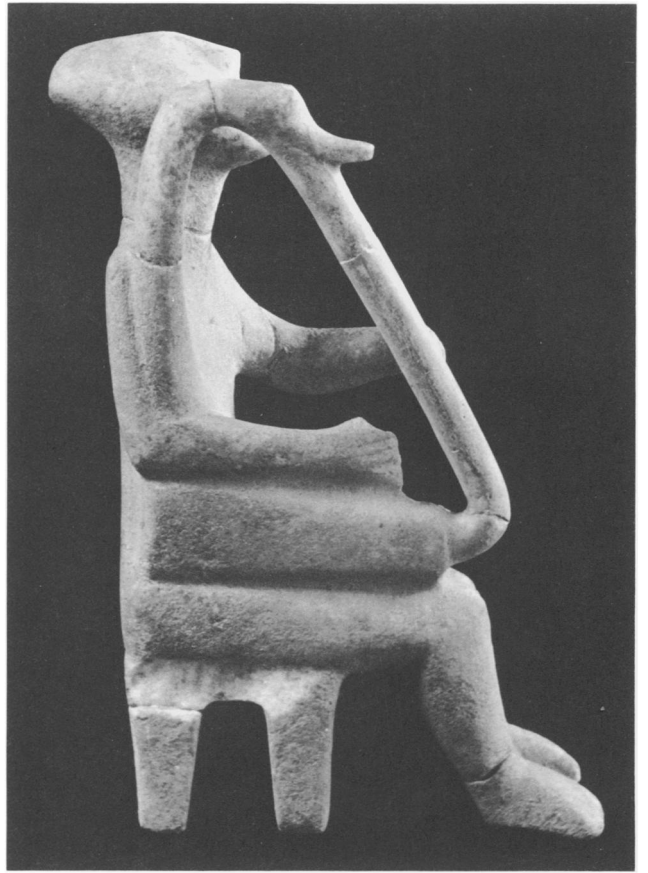
23. See note 18 above. Probably to save himself considerable labor and to avoid the risk of fracture, the sculptor of the Metropolitan Museum harper carved the back of the musician in one piece with the backrest of the chair (Figures 17, 18) and, except for two perforated slits, simply recessed the spaces above and below the central arch, creating an illusion of openwork (Figure 19). The sculptor of the female figure, using a thicker and hence sturdier frame, treated the spaces as actual openwork. In Figure 20a I have drawn the New York harper's backrest as if it, too, had been carved in this way, on the assumption that the wooden model for his chair would have been so fashioned, and in order to point up the remarkable similarity in the design of the chairs of these two pieces. This observation should put to rest once and for all any lingering doubts concerning the authenticity of the harper, inasmuch as it was acquired twenty-four years before the Naxian figure was unearthed. The backrest of the Keros harper (no. 16; Figure 14), which was known at that time, has a central arch surrounded by openwork but is, along with the rest of the chair, otherwise dissimilar (Figure 20c). See Baker, *Furniture*, p. 237.

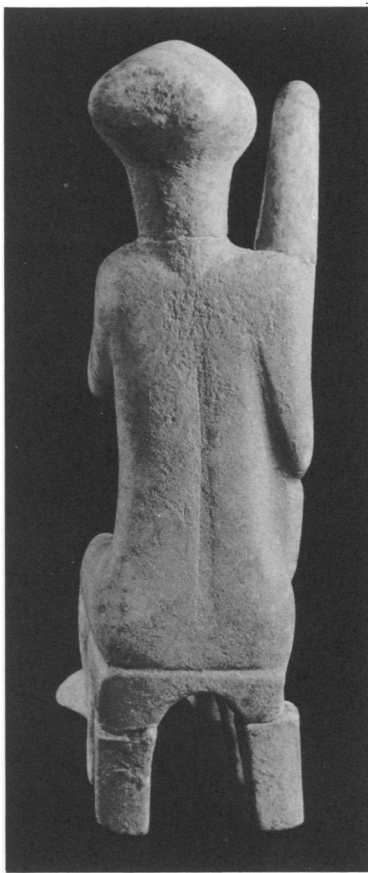
24. This harper, alone among the musicians, also wears a belt (and possibly too a penis sheath) rendered in relief. While a belt is occasionally incised on Plastiras-type males (nos. 1, 3; Figures 1–3), it occurs also in relief, sometimes in combination with a penis sheath, on late male figures (nos. 26, 27, 29; Figures 50, 52). The harper's belt cannot, therefore, be used to argue for an early date for the figure.

25. I examined the group in 1968. It had been acquired several years earlier.

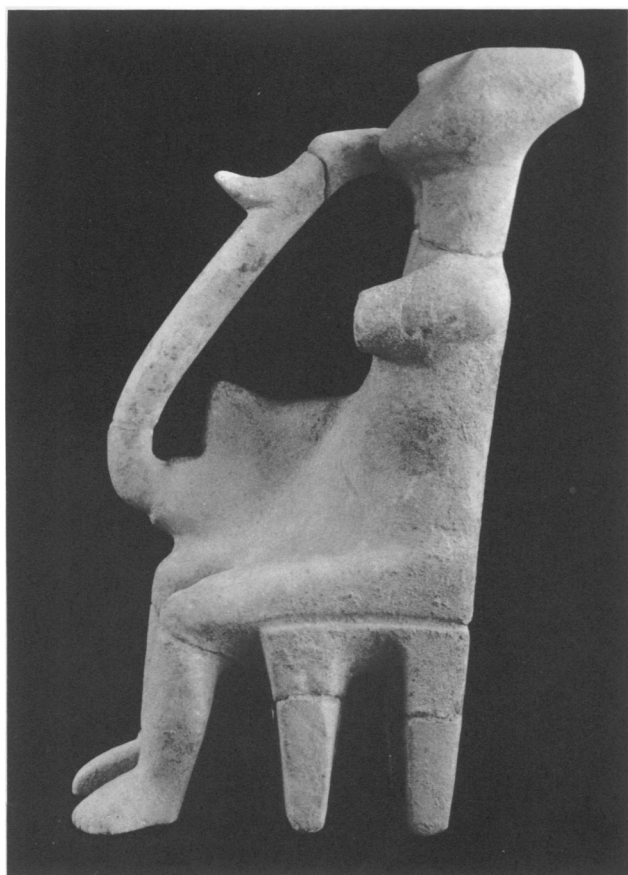
26. E.g., *ACC*, nos. 124ff.

27. *ACC*, p. 494, and nos. 254 and 255 on p. 496.





21–24. Harper, Kapsala-
variety style. No. 11.
Switzerland, private
collection (photos: I.
Râcz)



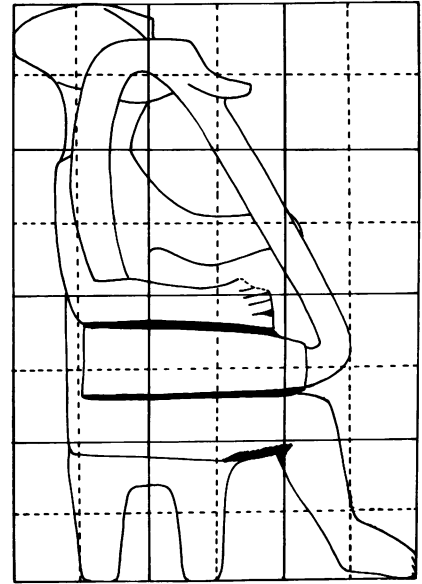
25–28. Harper, Kapsala-
variety style. No. 12.
Switzerland, private
collection (photos: I.
Râcz)



29. Vase and table, part of a group with nos. 11 and 12. Marble, H. 7.5 cm. Switzerland, private collection (photo: I. Râcz)

date, with one possible exception,²⁸ plain footed bowls resembling those supposedly found with the Karlsruhe harpers and spouted bowls mounted on pedestals such as that accompanying the Swiss harpers have only been found in clear ECII contexts, where they occur in large numbers.²⁹

The similarity of the design and proportions of the two Swiss harpers may be seen in Figures 30 and 31. While all the harpers appear to have been designed according to the same basic grid, harpers carved, as in this case, by the same sculptor tend to be closer in plan to each other than to those of other sculptors.³⁰ Here the horizontal grid lines coincide with the same points on the figure and seats. There is some discrepancy in the alignment of the vertical grid lines owing to a slight difference in the sculptor's placement of the outline on the original block: harper no. 12 occupies more of the right side of the block than no. 11. Moreover, the lower legs of no. 11 extend forward while those of no. 12 are more or less perpendicular to the ground. This rather stiff position was perhaps influenced by the greater height of the stool, which also largely accounts for the discrepancy (2.7 cm.) in the heights of the two figures. It is noteworthy, too, that the left arm, incompletely preserved, was apparently represented in different positions: no. 11 evi-



30. Grid plan of no. 11 (drawing: P.G.-P.)

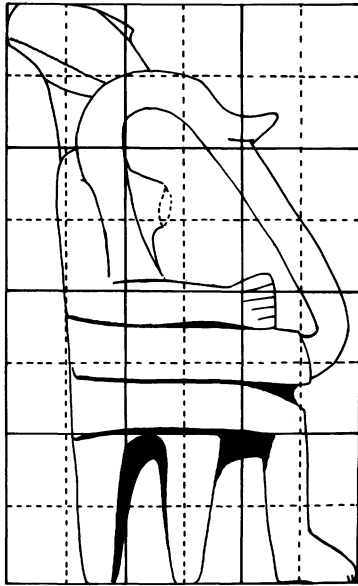
dently held the harp frame with this hand while no. 12 was shown plucking the strings.

There are also a number of minor differences of

28. The footed bowl or goblet in question was reputedly found in a grave (no. 5) located some 500 meters from the small cemetery of Kampos on Paros whose graves contained the distinctive ceramic ware named for the site (E. A. Varoucha, "Kykkladikoi Taphoi tis Parou," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* [1925–26] pp. 100–101 [grave 5] with fig. 6). No marble objects were found in this cemetery and no pottery was reported from the isolated tomb. There is, consequently, no evidence that the footed bowl is contemporary with the burials of the Kampos cemetery proper. Thimme, believing that the footed bowl came from this cemetery, cites it as corroborating evidence for an early date (ECI–ECII) for the musician figures (*ACC*, pp. 484–485 with fig. 193). The vessel in this case is difficult to date because with it were found two marble palettes: one trough-shaped (a form common to both ECI and ECII), the other with perforated corners (an ECI–ECII type). In the absence of other associated finds, it is not clear whether the goblet is an unusually early example of its type, or whether, as seems plausible, the palette antedates the goblet, having been buried (as an heirloom perhaps) a generation or more after it was made. It is also possible that the objects of seemingly different date belonged to separate interments within the grave.

29. C. Doumas, "Early Bronze Age Burial Habits of the Cyclades," *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 48 (Lund, 1977) p. 21; P.G.-P., "Early Cycladic Stone Vases," *ACC*, p. 99 and figs. 85, 86. (N.B. In fig. 86 the foot of the vessel-with-table is incorrectly drawn: it should have a distinct bell shape.)

30. See note 16.



31. Grid plan of no. 12 (drawing: P.G.-P.)

form and detail which are readily apparent. These differences are probably to be attributed to an experimental approach adopted by a sculptor who was not in the habit of carving harp players. In general no. 11 is the more carefully and completely executed work. It is also considerably freer and more relaxed in attitude than no. 12. I would venture to guess, therefore, that no. 11 was carved after no. 12 and that it benefited from experience gained by the sculptor in making the earlier piece.

The remaining occupational figures—that is, the majority—appear to have been made early in the ECII phase, slightly later than the Swiss harpers and the Karlsruhe syrinx player. They are carved in the classic style of the early Spedos variety.

Within this core group of four harpers (nos. 13–16; Figures 14, 32–43), one cupbearer (no. 18; Figure 45), two woodwind players (nos. 21, 22; Figures 15, 47), and the three-figure group (no. 25; Figure 48) it is very difficult, if not impossible, to sort the figures chronologically. We are dealing not only with different iconographic types, but also with the hands of several different sculptors, some of whom appear to have been more at ease with these rare types than others.

One of these sculptors I designate as the “Karlsruhe Master” since he was, I believe, responsible for the pair of harpers in Karlsruhe (nos. 13, 14). These

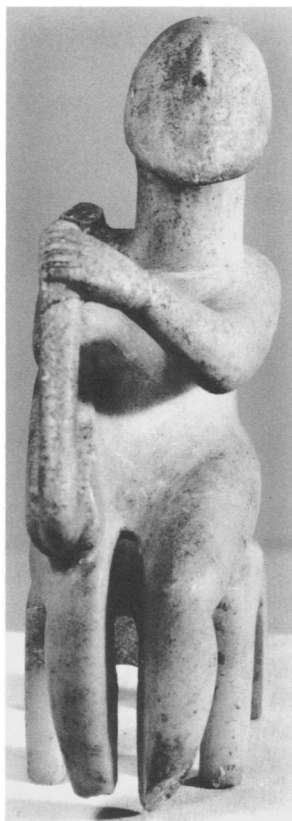
very small figures, which are nearly identical in size, were clearly intended as companion pieces. Even so, there is a great deal of difference in form and detail from one piece to the next. Perhaps at least one of these differences was intentional: no. 14 appears from his long pointed chin to be bearded, whereas no. 13, who has a less prominent chin, appears clean-shaven. In a previous discussion of the Karlsruhe Master I sought to account for most of the discrepancies, as I have done here for the Swiss harpers, as due to changes which took place in the sculptor’s approach as he gained experience. Thus I suggested that the least successful of the two figures was the first one made (no. 14), and that problems encountered in the carving of this figure—largely in the area of the right arm and shoulder—were corrected by the sculptor when he made the second piece.³¹

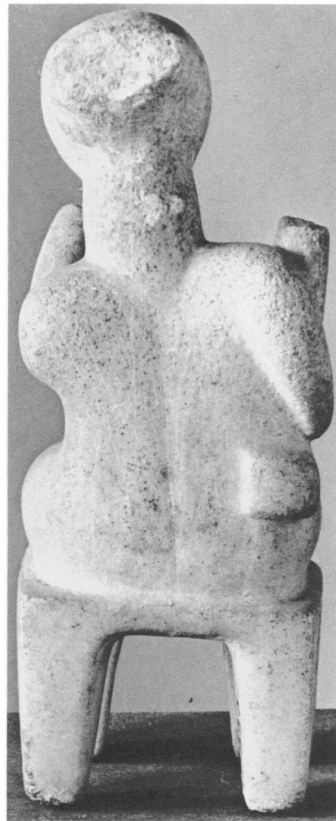
In their rounded forms and stocky, compact structure the cupbearer, the male figures of the trio, and even one of the woodwind players (nos. 18, 22, 25) seem fairly close stylistically to the Karlsruhe harpers. The cupbearer and the female member of the trio have legs carved with a perforated cleft, which is one of the hallmarks of the early Spedos style, thus confirming the ECII date of the group.

It is more difficult to place the fragmentary syrinx player in a Swiss private collection (no. 21). This figure, which is sturdier than the Karlsruhe syrinx player (no. 20) but not as stocky as the pipes player in Athens (no. 22), has affinities to both and could conceivably be by the same hand as either of those pieces.

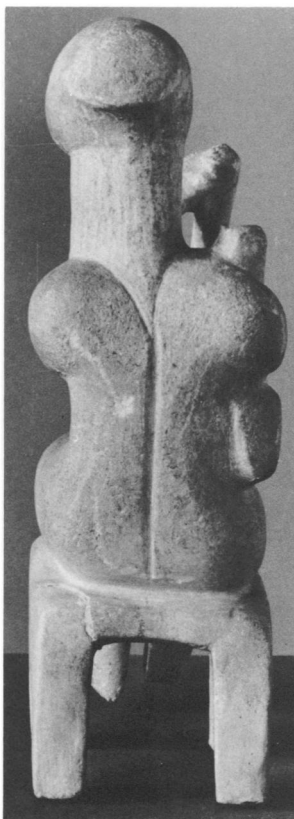
The three-figure group (no. 25) is interesting from many points of view, not least that of its iconography and remarkable one-piece execution. This is probably the only indisputable case in which we have both male and female figures carved by the same sculptor. There is, in fact, little about the central figure to identify it as female. We assume it to be such not only because it is, despite the seated posture, typical of the early Spedos variety, but also because the male sex of the bearers on either side is clearly, if rather inconspicuously, indicated. I suspect that the sculptor of this group was not accustomed to making such compositions, to judge by the very confused manner in which the linked arms of the bearers are executed on the back of the composition. I suspect, too, that this sculptor was not in the habit of carving male figures

31. P.G.-P. in *ACC*, p. 90f.

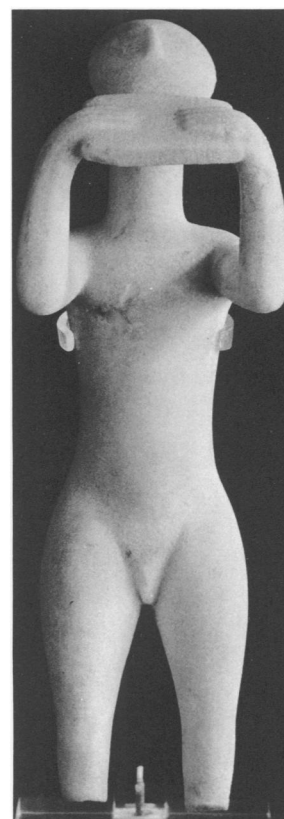
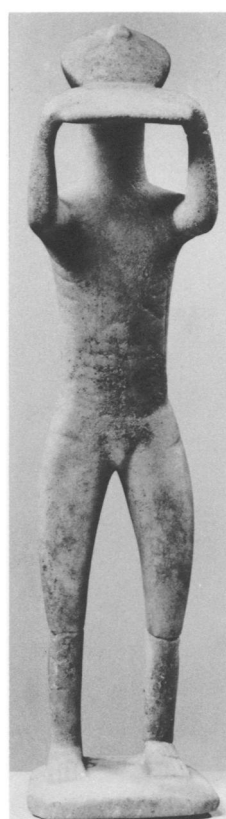
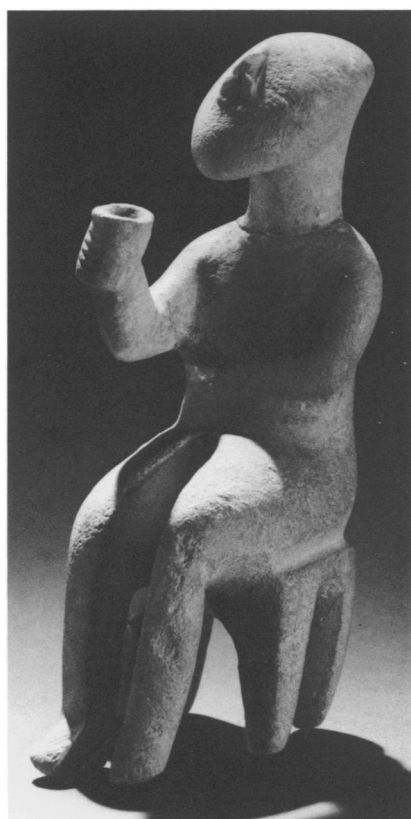
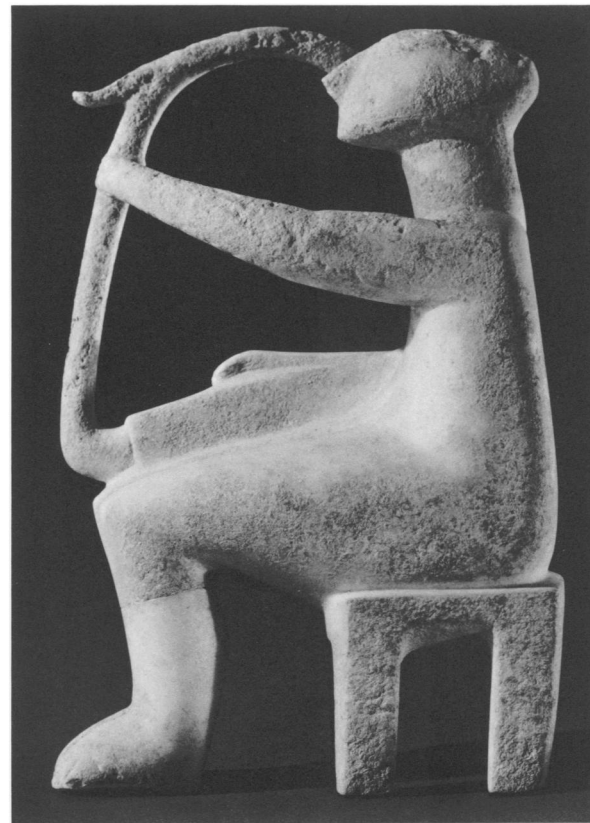
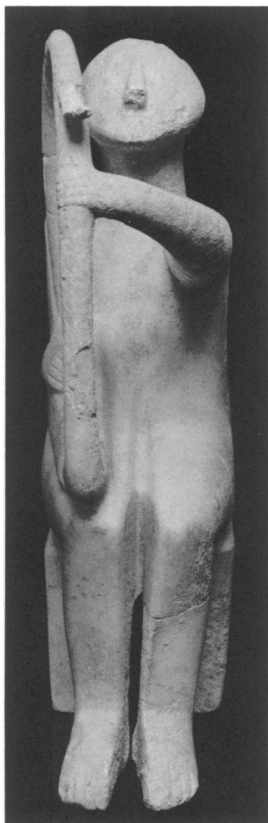


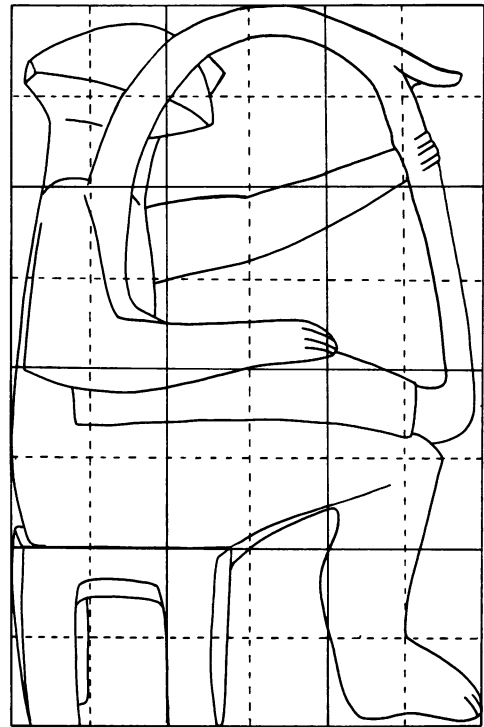
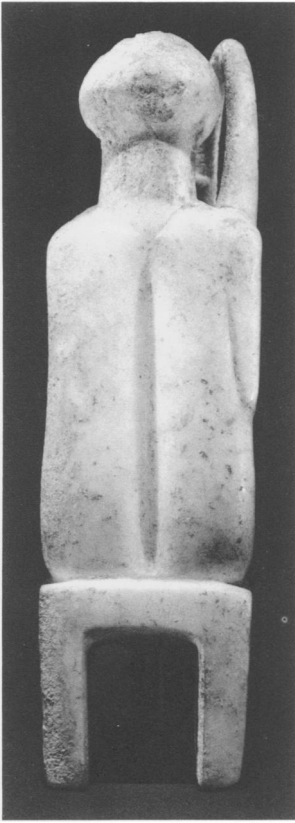


32–35. Harper, early Spedos-
variety style. No. 13.
Karlsruhe, Badisches
Landesmuseum B863
(photos: W. Mohrbach,
Badisches Landesmuseum)



36–39. Harper, early Spedos-
variety style. No. 14.
Karlsruhe, Badisches
Landesmuseum B864
(photos: W. Mohrbach,
Badisches Landesmuseum)





40–43. Harper, early Spedos-variety style. No. 15. Private collection (photos: Bob Kieffer, front; Seth Joel, sides, rear)

44. Grid plan of no. 15 (drawing: P.G.-P.)

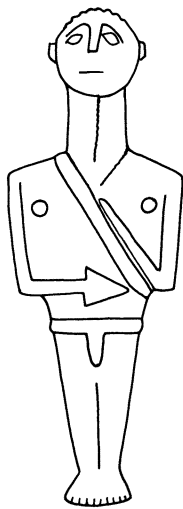


45. Cupbearer, early Spedos-variety style. No. 18. Athens, Goulandris Collection 286 (photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)

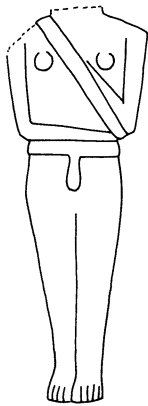
46. Syrinx player, Kapsala-variety style. No. 20. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 64/100 (photo: W. Mohrbach, Badisches Landesmuseum)

47. Syrinx player, early Spedos-variety style. No. 21. Switzerland, private collection (photo: I. Râcz)

48. Three-figure group, early Spedos-variety style. No. 25. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 77/79 (photo: W. Mohrbach, Badisches Landesmuseum)



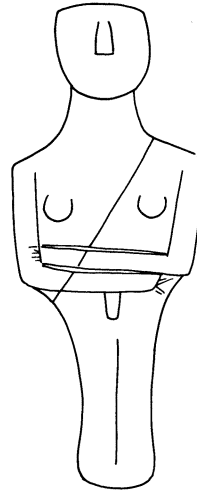
No. 26



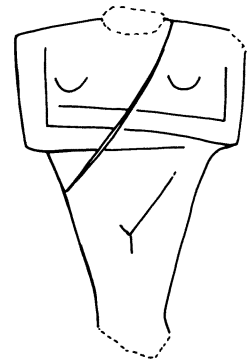
No. 27



No. 28



No. 30



No. 31

since he has treated the genital area of the two somewhat differently: the penis of the left-hand figure appears to be framed by a triangular groove, whereas that of the right-hand one is not.

Although they were found in the same grave, it is unclear whether the harper (no. 16) and pipes player (no. 22) from Keros in Athens were carved as companion pieces since they are not executed in the same scale, a fact which may disturb us more than the sculptor or owner of the pieces. It is also very difficult to decide if they were even carved by the same sculptor, since they are so different iconographically.

We turn, finally, to a privately owned harper which has only recently come to light (no. 15; Figures 40–43). A sculpture of superior quality, it is remarkable for the harmony of its subtly curving forms and for the excellence of its workmanship. The piece is remarkable also for its size: it is the largest seated figure now known—more than twice the size of the Karlsruhe harpers and considerably larger than the New York harper, which was until now the tallest seated figure known.

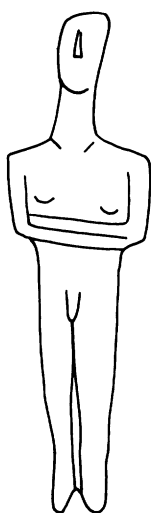
The figure is extremely well preserved, with many areas still retaining a high degree of the original polish. Smooth, light areas at the back and right side of the head indicate that a headdress or coiffure, possibly similar to that of the Metropolitan Museum figure, was originally added to the stone in paint, as were also the eyes; of these the right pupil is still clearly visible as a slightly raised, smooth dot.

One feature of this figure—the separation of the close-placed lower limbs by means of a cleft perforated along the calves—is not seen on any of the other harpers although, as already noted, the lower legs of the Goulandris cupbearer are also carved in this way.³² Although I cannot at present identify any female figures from this sculptor's hand, he would, like the sculptors of most of the other occupational types, ordinarily have carved folded-arm females of the early Spedos variety.

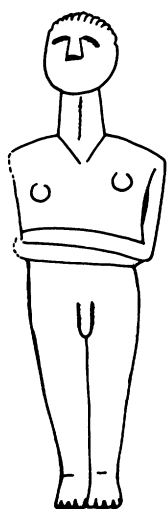
It goes without saying that such a well-balanced work must have been planned with great diligence and precision. Although the most important side, as in all the harpers, is the right one, the other three, though less detailed, are all well conceived and the piece may be viewed from any angle with almost equal effect. Surely such a brilliant work as this was neither the only nor the first example of its type to have been carved by this master.

The design of the right side of the piece corresponds with that of others of its kind, with certain

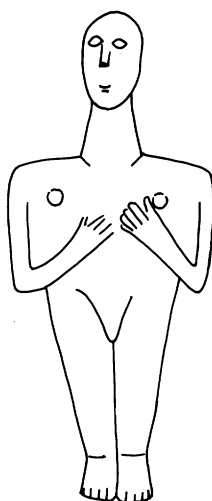
32. On the other hand, the fact that most of the harpers have more (nos. 13, 16) or less (nos. 9, 11, 12) widely separated lower legs should not be taken as evidence for an earlier date for these works (Thimme in *ACC*, p. 494) just because freely carved legs also occur on the earlier (precanonical) female figures. It is quite possible that the separation of the legs of the harpers resulted either from an attempt to convey a natural pose or from an effort to balance and add substance to compositions that might otherwise have been excessively narrow from the front, and therefore lacking stability.



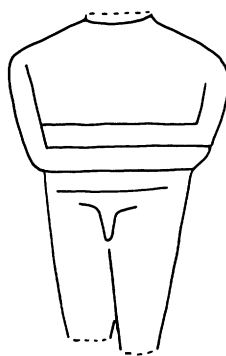
No. 32



No. 33



No. 34



No. 37

49. Late ECII (nos. 26–28, 30–34) and EMII (no. 37) male figures (drawing: P.G.-P.)

differences (Figure 44). For example, the greatest width of the rectangle with which one may frame this composition is dictated on the left by the harper's lower back and the top of the stool—not, as with the other figures seated on stools, by the back of the head or the right shoulder. More important perhaps, the design of the piece fills the entire rectangle: nearly every division of the grid is occupied to some extent, a fact which helps to explain the balanced effect of the whole.

Like the New York harper (no. 9), this figure has an instrument taller than himself. But whereas the other grasps the front of his harp with both hands and appears to be plucking the invisible strings with his thumbs, this harper, possibly unlike any of the others,³³ is not represented as actively playing his instrument. He grasps the harp frame with the thumb and fingers of his left hand,³⁴ while his cupped right hand remains at rest on the soundbox.³⁵ He appears forever poised to begin playing.

The earlier part of the ECII phase was a time of exuberant self-confidence and virtuosity analogous to the ambitious developments in larger sculpture that took place in the marble-rich Cyclades some 2,000 years later. Toward the end of ECII the spirit of the times seems to have changed, to judge by the radical differences of iconography and style now seen in the sculpture. After a gap of unknown duration around the middle of the period from which we have no male

figures (unless perhaps the large Erlenmeyer torso—no. 10; Figure 13—belongs to this phase), the plain unaccoutered male returns, albeit in small numbers (nos. 32–35, 37, and perhaps 36; Figures 49, 56–62), and the hunter/warrior becomes a firmly established type (nos. 26–31, and perhaps 36; Figures 49–55), possibly reflecting some threat to the peace and security of the islands at the time. These males are carved in the stylized, angular manner of contemporaneous female figures of the Chalandriani and Dokathismata varieties.³⁶

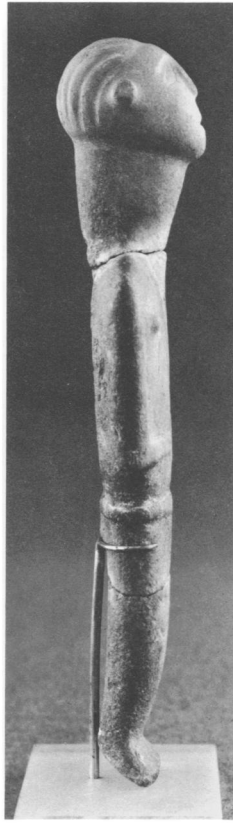
At present four typical hunter/warrior figures are known from the end of the ECII period: a figure said to be from Amorgos in Dresden (no. 26), one said to be from Syros in Athens (no. 27), another reputedly from Naxos in the Goulandris collection (no. 28), and a very fragmentary figure found by chance on Keos (no. 29). All four wear a baldric; three also wear a belt, from which on the two well-preserved examples hangs a penis sheath. These two figures are also equipped with a dagger. All four have the right forearm laid across the waist, the left against the chest: in the three examples where the baldric runs from right to left, the left forearm lies parallel to it; in the

33. No. 13 may have been similarly posed.

34. As do also nos. 11 and 14.

35. Like one of the Karlsruhe harpers (no. 13), but unlike the Swiss pair (nos. 11, 12) or the other Karlsruhe harper (no. 14), who seem to be plucking the strings with the right hand.

36. P.G.-P. in *PCP*, pp. 87–95.



ABOVE:

50, 51. Hunter/warrior, Chalandriani variety. No. 26. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung ZV 2595 (photos: Pfauder, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen)

52, 53. Hunter/warrior, Dokathismata variety. No. 27. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 5380 (photos: I. Ioannidou)

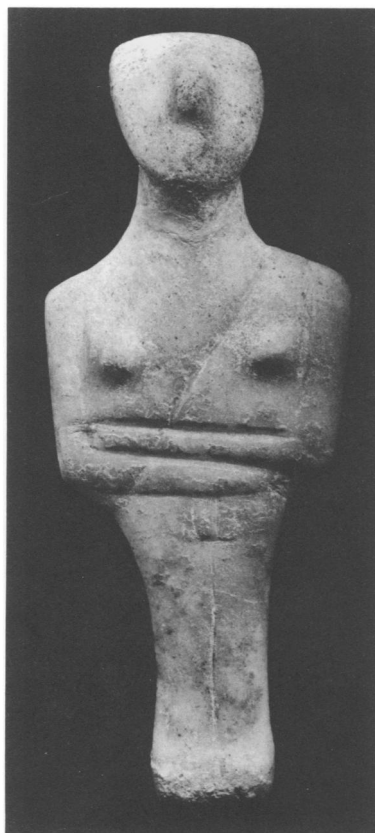
LEFT:

54. Hunter/warrior, Chalandriani variety. No. 30. Seattle, Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 46.200 (photo: Seattle Art Museum)

FACING PAGE, BELOW:

56, 57. Folded-arm figure, Dokathismata variety. No. 32. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1893.72 (photos: Ashmolean Museum, Department of Antiquities)

58–60. Folded-arm figure, Dokathismata variety. No. 33. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1972.118.103

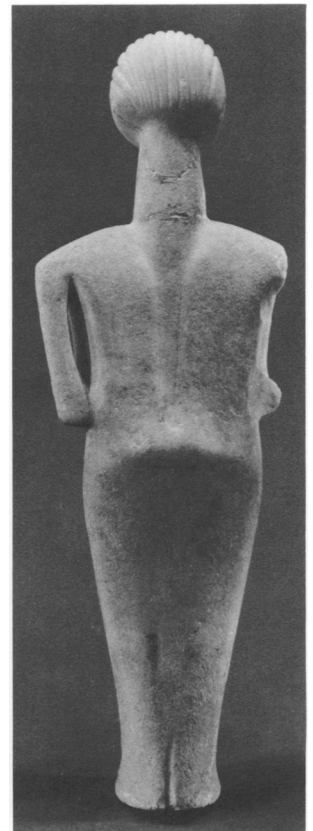
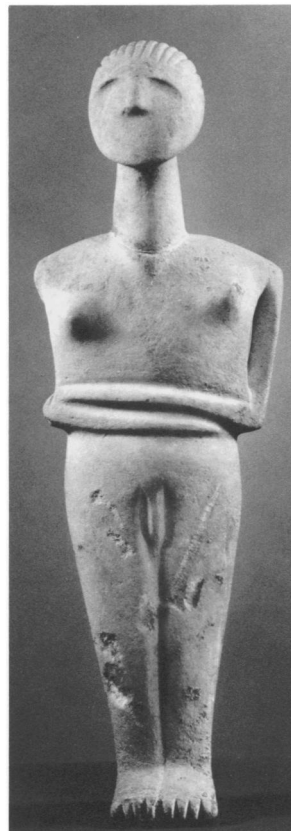


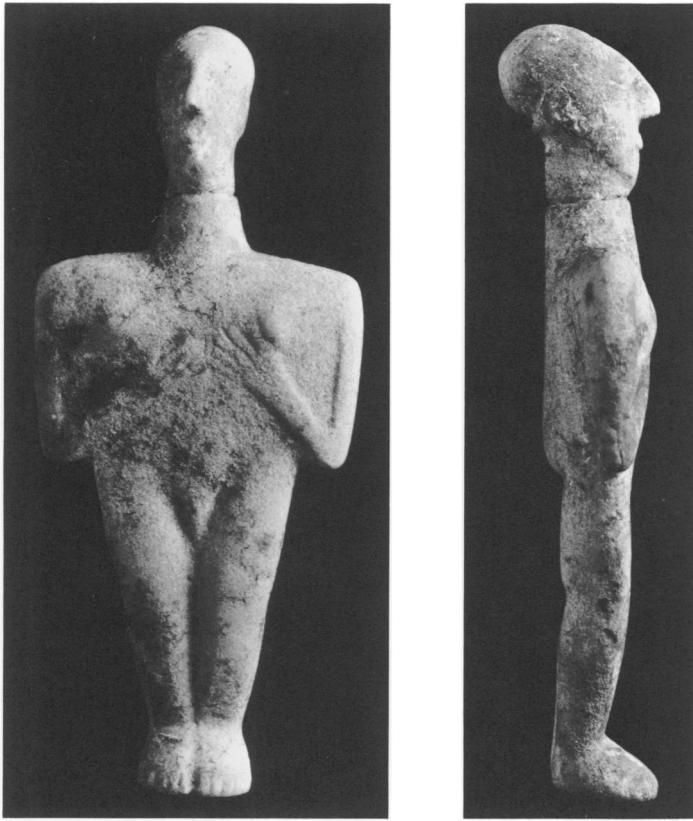


55. Hunter/warrior, Chalandriani variety. No. 31. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AE.456 (photo: Ashmolean Museum, Department of Antiquities)

fourth, where the elaborate baldric takes the opposite direction, the left forearm is sharply bent to point upward.

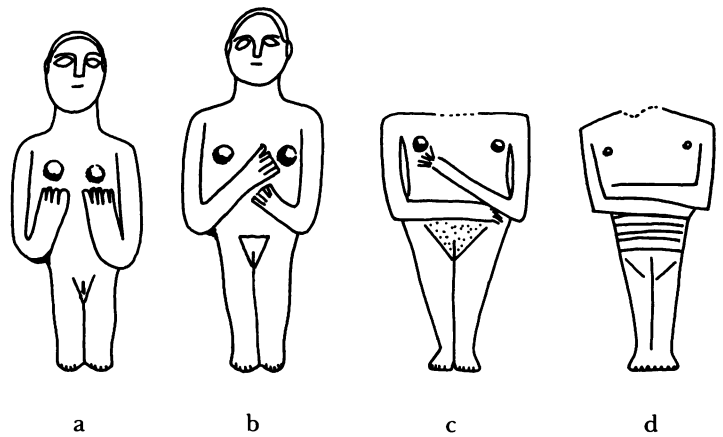
To this hunter/warrior core group may be added two curious figures: one in Seattle of unknown provenance (no. 30), the other in Oxford, said to have come from Amorgos (no. 31). Like the Goulandris figure, they wear a baldric which runs from left to right. A belt is also discernible on the back of the Seattle statuette. This figure has a small penis indicated in false relief. On the Oxford piece the area below the arms is heavily encrusted with calcium carbonate deposits which may be obscuring a penis in incision or low relief. In any case, it does not seem possible that the figure ever had a conspicuous penis; in fact, superficial scratches or incisions on the lower torso seem rather to indicate a pubic V such as one would expect on a female. Both figures exhibit the canonical folded-arm arrangement, being in this respect like the unaccoutered males in Oxford (no. 32), New York (no. 33), and Herakleion (no. 37), but unlike the other examples that display a baldric. Moreover, the baldric on these statuettes is rendered by superficial incision (which on the back of the Oxford piece is merely a scratch) rather than in relief (nos. 26, 27, 29,





61, 62. Chalandriani variety. No. 34. Cincinnati, Cincinnati Art Museum 41.1976, on anonymous loan (photo: Cincinnati Art Museum)

63. Variations in the arm position of late ECII female figures (drawings: P.G.-P.)



and rear of no. 28) or incised pattern (no. 28). And on both pieces it cuts across the forearms, apparently having been added to the finished work as an after-thought—perhaps in order to convert ordinary female folded-arm figures into male ones.

In the iconography of Early Cycladic sculpture the baldric serves as an effective symbol of masculinity even when hastily and inaccurately rendered. The male genitalia are if anything de-emphasized and breasts of figures wearing the baldric are often pronounced. Their prominence on the Seattle and Oxford figures is possibly another indication that these were originally conceived as female.

Another piece with quite pronounced breasts is the unaccustomed male figure in the Metropolitan Museum (no. 33). It is possible that this carefully crafted work also began as an ordinary female folded-arm figure. Only the penis and perhaps the carved hair (see below) identify it as male.³⁷ But since both of these features were made by cutting into the surface, they could easily have been added at the last moment to change the sex of the figure. A somewhat subtler

use of this false relief method of indicating the genitalia may be seen on both the figure in Cincinnati (no. 34)³⁸ and the fragmentary figure in the Kanellopoulou Museum (no. 35). On these works, too, the rather

37. This figure is unusual in a number of respects. It is at present the only male with upper arms freed from the sides of the torso, a detail not uncommon on late female figures (e.g., MMA 1977.187.11, in *Notable Acquisitions 1975–1979* [MMA, New York, 1979] p. 13). The spine is treated as a broad tapering depression whose sides on top define the shoulder blades. The legs in back are treated as a single unit, divided only at the feet by a groove. This figure and the piece in Cincinnati (no. 34) have feet which are perpendicular to the legs, giving the impression that they are meant to stand. Since, however, most of the late males have feet slanted in the usual reclining position, no special importance should be attached to the altered position of the feet in these two examples, especially since it is also found occasionally on late female figures (e.g., Figure 63c; see note 45).

38. This figure was allegedly found on Ios with two early Spedos-variety female figures and two long daggers, an association which on chronological grounds seems doubtful. The group was formerly on loan to the Metropolitan Museum (G.M.A. Richter, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Handbook of the Greek Collection* [Cambridge, Mass., 1953] p. 15, n. 26).

summarily rendered penis, as well as the distinctive coiffure of no. 34, could have been added to convert female representations into males. It is not surprising, in view of the minimal differences between these unaccoutered male figures and their female counterparts, that not everyone who has examined them views them as male.³⁹

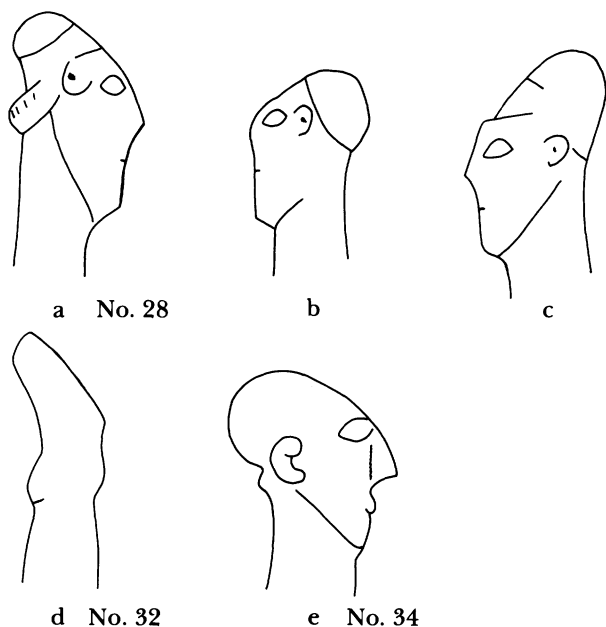
Unfortunately, it is impossible to test the idea of a last-minute sexual metamorphosis by examining the proportional differences between late ECII male and female figures, as we could with those of the much earlier Plastiras type. Indeed, after the Plastiras figures, Cycladic sculptors seem to have lost interest in making such distinctions. Many female figures, in fact, exhibit rather masculine proportions: their shoulders are much broader than their hips and their hips are not much wider than their waists. Moreover, the Chalandriani, Dokathismata, and Koumasa varieties, to which all the late male figures belong, are in outline so stylized and simplified as to bear little relation to the actual human form whether male or female; the male and female figures carved by one sculptor tend to have a more or less identical outline.

Close examination of male and female figures attributed to the same sculptor may, however, shed

light on the question of the "feminine" representation of the breasts on some of the male figures. The male statuette of the Athens Master (no. 5; Figure 1), a sculptor of Plastiras-type figures, exhibits prominent breasts, but those of his female figure are appreciably fuller and more feminine in appearance, particularly when viewed in profile.⁴⁰ Similarly, both the female figures carved by the Goulandris Hunter/Warrior Master (no. 28), one of which was reputedly found with the name-piece, have larger breasts than the male (Figure 63a, b).⁴¹ This meager amount of evidence suggests that if we had female images by all the sculptors of males we might find that the breasts of their male figures, while appearing to us rather feminine, were actually smaller than those of their female figures. The apparent gynecomasty of the late male images probably reflects a general influence exerted by the dominant female figure which, in contrast to the male, was being produced in great quantity at this time. At the beginning of the ECII phase, when the folded-arm female was just acquiring its position of supremacy in the sculptural repertoire, the male figures lack mammary development altogether and assume a variety of postures and roles quite independent of the classic female varieties.

We might consider whether the two sculpturally treated hairstyles which are found on five of the late male figures were used exclusively on male images. One of these shows the hair combed straight back from the forehead and defined by parallel grooves; the other is the bun or roll at the nape of the neck. The first style is seen on the figure in New York (no. 33) and on the Dresden hunter/warrior (no. 26).⁴² Unfortunately, on a female figure carved by the Dresden Master the head is missing (Figure 63d).⁴³ So far, no female images with this hairstyle are known. For the hair roll the evidence is somewhat fuller: of the three figures that survive from the hand of the Goulandris Hunter/Warrior Master (no. 28; Figure 63a, b), only the male has a hair roll, although in all other

64. Distinctive hairstyles of late ECII figures (drawings: P.G.-P)



39. E.g., Brouscari, p. 513, no. 3.

40. P.G.-P. in *AK*, pls. 17:1, 18:1.

41. Figure 63a: New York, private collection, H. 16.5 cm. (after *Cycladic Sculpture—Haniwa Sculpture*, exh. cat. [University of St. Thomas, Houston, 1963] no. 29). Figure 63b: Athens, Goulandris Collection, no. 312, H. 20.8 cm., "Naxos" (after Doumas, *Cycladic Art*, no. 133).

42. It is also found on two heads: ACC, no. 241 and fig. 162.

43. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection, pres. H. 16.1 cm., "Keros" (after ACC, no. 230).

respects the three heads are closely similar (Figure 64a–c). The male figures in Oxford and Cincinnati (nos. 32, 34) also exhibit a roll (Figure 64d, e),⁴⁴ and so, for the time being at least, it seems safe to say that this was an exclusively male coiffure.

A female figure in London (Figure 63c)⁴⁵ shows that the arrangement of the arms seen on the typical baldric-wearing images (nos. 26–29) was not confined to males nor simply a convention devised to facilitate the representation of the baldric (cf. no. 28). The particular significance of the various arm arrangements found in Early Cycladic art is lost to us, but it is of interest to note that one sculptor could use different arm arrangements on different figures: the female figure of the Dresden Master is represented with folded arms (Figure 63d), while the male has his left arm raised (no. 26); two of the females carved by the Goulandris Hunter/Warrior Master exhibit two somewhat different but seemingly related arm arrangements (Figure 63a, b), one of which is also seen on the male figure in Cincinnati (no. 34).⁴⁶

There occurred at the end of Cycladic figurine production an unprecedented freedom in the rendering of the arms as well as a revival of interest in the detailed treatment of the head, including facial features and hair. With the possible exception of one or both of the hairstyles seen on some of the male figures, these are not related to gender, but seem rather to be part of a generalized sculptural trend.

The thirty-seven works reviewed in this article and/or enumerated in the census are, with a few exceptions which I have not personally examined,⁴⁷ the sum total of male figures recorded in all of Early Cycladic sculpture. Although this number is still rather small, and although the sculptors from among whose works

we can identify both male and female figures number only three or four at present, there is, I believe, a sufficient body of material from which to derive initial impressions.

We have seen that in the ECI phase gender is defined more by primary and secondary sexual characteristics than by attributes, although these do occasionally occur in the form of a belt or baldric. In the ECII phase the male genitalia are normally de-emphasized or even lacking; maleness is more commonly conveyed by a special role and its attributes. In the earlier part of the period the man may be cast in the role of musician, drinker, or bearer; in the latter part he may be equipped for the hunt or for battle. It is at this time that the baldric emerges as a striking convention to indicate maleness: of the eleven figures preserved from this phase, at least six⁴⁸ wear a baldric, and it could even, apparently, change the sex of a finished figure.

We do not have the necessary evidence to speculate in specific terms about the meaning of the various types of male figure in Cycladic sculpture. To date, precise and detailed knowledge of the context in which the male images were disposed is lacking. Although it is probable that they were all, like the female images, grave furnishings, it is not known whether male figures in general, or at least certain types such as the hunter/warrior, accompanied male burials exclusively. It is, therefore, also not yet clear whether they represent divine or mortal figures in religious, mythical, or mundane roles. We can only hope that further discoveries will be made during the course of systematic excavation of undisturbed sites and that these discoveries will clarify at least some of the problems of interpretation.

44. For another head with a hair roll (and similar facial detail) see ACC, no. 76. Thimme regards this head as belonging to the Plastiras type; I am not convinced. Another head, ACC, no. 241, exhibits a hair roll as well as parallel grooves.

45. British Museum A14, pres. H. 23.6 cm. (after ACC, no. 239). See also a torso fragment (sex unknown) from Keos (J. L. Caskey, "Marble Figurines from Ayia Irini in Keos," *Hesperia* 40 [1971] pl. 22, no. 26). This arm arrangement occurs also on an unpublished fragmentary Chalandriani-variety female figure found on Paros (Paros Archaeological Museum 207). On another similar piece from Keros (Naxos Archaeological Museum KE.63.7) the right arm is raised.

46. This arm arrangement is found also on a female figure

in the Metropolitan Museum (see note 37). See also ACC, no. 249. Recently (ACC, p. 487) Thimme has sought to classify as "postcanonical" and to date in the ECIII phase all those angular statuettes which do not exhibit the conventional right-below-left folded-arm arrangement. I prefer to retain the terms "Chalandriani" and "Dokathismata" for such works, one reason being that pieces carved by the same sculptor (e.g., the Dresden Master) can thereby be classed together. There is at present little, if any, evidence that these figures were carved as late as ECIII.

47. See Census, notes after nos. 17 and 24.

48. A seventh figure, no. 36, is insufficiently preserved to tell how its torso was treated.

CENSUS OF MALE CYCLADIC MARBLE FIGURES

EARLY CYCLADIC I

1. (Figures 1, 2, 3). Plastiras type with belt. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3912. H. 20 cm. (left foot missing). "Antiparos."
2. (Figure 1). Plastiras type. Geneva, Barbier-Müller Museum. H. 13.4 cm. (ancient repair holes in left leg). *ACC*, no. 77.
3. (Figure 1). Plastiras type with belt. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung ZV 1991. Pres. H. 12.4 cm. (legs missing from above knees). *ACC*, no. 74.
4. (Figures 1, 4, 5). Plastiras type. Lugano, Paolo Morigi Collection. H. 29.6 cm. (penis missing). *ACC*, no. 72.
5. (Figure 1). Plastiras type. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3919. H. 30.8 cm. "Amorgos." Name-piece of the Athens Master. P.G.-P., "An Early Cycladic Sculptor," *AK* 18 (1975) pl. 17.
6. (Figures 1, 6, 7). Plastiras type with *pilos*. Lugano, Adriano Ribolzi Collection. H. 12 cm. *ACC*, no. 79.
7. (Figures 1, 8, 9). Plastiras type with *pilos*. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3911. H. 25 cm. "Amorgos." *Greek Art of the Aegean Islands*, exh. cat., (MMA, New York, 1979) no. 3.

EARLY CYCLADIC I-II

8. (Figures 1, 11, 12). Hunter/warrior. Louros type with *pilos*, baldric, and belt. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 930.80.2. H. 18.5 cm. "Crete."
9. (Figures 14, 16-19, 20a). Harper. Precanonical style with belt and penis sheath (?). New York, MMA 47.100.1 (Rogers Fund). H. 29.5 cm. (end of harp's frontal ornament broken). *ACC*, no. 253.

EARLY CYCLADIC II

10. (Figure 13). Folded-arm figure. Spedos variety. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection. Pres. H. 42 cm. (torso and upper thighs only). "Amorgos." *ACC*, no. 153.
11. (Figures 14, 21-24, 30). Harper. Kapsala-variety style. Switzerland, private collection. H. 17.4 cm. (part of harp frame, left hand, and right thumb missing). "Amorgos." Part of a group (see no. 12 and Figure 29). *ACC*, fig. 77.
12. (Figures 14, 25-28, 31). Harper. Kapsala-variety style. Switzerland, private collection. H. 20.1 cm.

(most of left arm missing). "Amorgos." Part of a group (see no. 11 and Figure 29). *ACC*, fig. 77.

13. (Figure 14, 32-35). Harper. Early Spedos-variety style. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B863. H. 15.6 cm. (large section of harp frame, part of left forearm with hand, and left foot missing). "Thera." One of a pair of harpers (see no. 14). A name-piece of the Karlsruhe Master. *ACC*, no. 254.
14. (Figures 14, 36-39). Harper. Early Spedos-variety style. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B864. H. 16.5 cm. (large section of harp frame, feet of figure, and back legs of stool missing). "Thera." One of a pair of harpers (see no. 13). A name-piece of the Karlsruhe Master. *ACC*, no. 255.
15. (Figures 14, 40-43, 44). Harper. Early Spedos-variety style. Private collection. H. 35.8 cm. (membrane joining heels broken). "Amorgos."
16. (Figures 14, 20c). Harper. Early Spedos-variety style. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3908. H. 22.5 cm. (section of harp frame, two pieces from left side of chair, part of right forearm with hand, most of left arm, right foot, and left leg from knee missing). Keros. Found with no. 22. *ACC*, fig. 39; Baker, *Furniture*, figs. 381, 382; Zervos, figs. 333, 334.
17. Harper. Early Spedos-variety style. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 8833. Pres. H. 12.5 cm. (head/neck, legs from knees, most of harp and stool legs missing). Grave 40, Aphendika, Naxos. Papathanasopoulos, p. 148f., pls. 79, 80.
NOTE: A harper was reported from Cape Krio in southwest Anatolia, but it was never illustrated and is presumed to have been lost: J. T. Bent, "Discoveries in Asia Minor," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1882) p. 82. Two other harpers, which I have not myself examined, have been published: Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 65.42, *Early Art*, no. 140 (see also Baker, *Furniture*, fig. 381); R. Symes, *Ancient Art*, exh. cat. (London, 1971) no. 15, and Sotheby's, London, Dec. 8, 1980, no. 257.
18. (Figures 14, 45). Cupbearer. Early Spedos-variety style. Athens, Goulandris Collection 286. H. 15.2 cm. (nose damaged). Dumas, *Cycladic Art*, no. 130.
19. Cupbearer. Early Spedos-variety style. Naxos, Archaeological Museum. Pres. H. ? (head/neck, right forearm with cup, legs from knees, and two stool legs missing). Aplomata, Naxos (from fill of disturbed graves). Kontoleon, *Praktika* (1970) pp. 150-151, pl. 194a,b.
20. (Figures 15, 46). Syrix player. Kapsala-variety style. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 64/100. H. 34 cm. *ACC*, no. 256.

21. (Figures 15, 47). Syrinx player. Early Spedos-variety style? Switzerland, private collection. Pres. H. 25 cm. (base and legs from mid-calves missing). K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst* (Basel, 1960) no. 5.
22. (Figure 15). Double pipes player. Early Spedos-variety style. H. 20 cm. Keros. Found with no. 16. ACC, fig. 37.
23. Woodwind player. Kapsala- or early Spedos-variety style. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection. Pres. H. 6.8 cm. (lower torso and thighs only). "Keros." Possibly by same sculptor as no. 20. ACC, no. 262.
24. Woodwind player. Early Spedos-variety style. Athens, Goulandris Collection 246. Pres. H. 12.6 cm. (head, arms, lower body, and legs of figure with base missing). Doumas, *Cycladic Art*, no. 127.
NOTE: For additional fragments which may have come from woodwind players see note following no. 25. I have not examined a syrinx player in Detroit (Institute of Fine Arts 65.80). See *Early Art*, no. 28.
25. (Figure 48). Three-figure group. Early Spedos-variety style. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 77/79. H. 19 cm. ACC, no. 258.
NOTE: Of the four fragmentary bases found on Keros (F. Zafropoulou, "Cycladic Finds from Keros," *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 1 [1968] pp. 98–100 with figs. 2–4), at least two (fig. 2) seem to have accommodated two pairs of feet, while the other two (figs. 3, 4) probably supported woodwind players, one of which might even have been no. 23, reputedly from the same site. It remains unclear whether pairs of figures clasping each other or three-figure groups like no. 25 were erected on the bases meant for more than one figure. At present there are four fragments which may have belonged to such groups. One of these (Naxos Archaeological Museum KR63.50, unpublished) was found on Keros and may well have belonged to a figure mounted on one of the bases found there (as suggested by Zafropoulou). Two similar fragments come from Naxos (Aplo-mata, grave 27, Naxos Archaeological Museum AE76.a/55 [V. Lambrinoudakis, "Anaskaphi Naxou," *Praktika* (1976) pl. 195d,e]) and Amorgos (ACC, no. 259). These torso fragments are insufficiently well preserved to identify the sex represented although a fourth, unpublished example on loan to the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe clearly belongs to a female figure. Each fragment has one arm folded across the front, the beginning of the other arm extending outward from the shoulder, and the arm of a second figure indicated on its back. These fragments have usually been thought to belong to pair compositions, but with the recent discovery of the Karlsruhe trio group this interpretation may have to be altered (Thimme in ACC, p. 498, no. 257). (A curious reclining figure in the Goulandris collection [no. 300; Doumas, *Cycladic Art*, no. 135] may, on the other hand, have belonged to a pair.)
26. (Figures 49, 50, 51). Hunter/warrior. Chalandriani variety with baldric, dagger, belt, and penis sheath. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturen-sammlung ZV 2595. H. 22.8 cm. "Amorgos." The name-piece of the Dresden Master. ACC, no. 240.
27. (Figures 49, 52, 53). Hunter/warrior. Dokathismata variety with baldric, belt, and penis sheath. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 5380. Pres. H. ca. 23 cm. (head/neck and part of the right shoulder missing). "Syros."
28. (Figures 49, 64a). Hunter/warrior. Chalandriani variety with baldric and dagger. Athens, Goulandris Collection 308. H. 25 cm. "Naxos." Name-piece of the Goulandris Hunter/Warrior Master. Doumas, *Cycladic Art*, no. 132.
29. Hunter/warrior. Chalandriani variety with baldric and belt. Keos, Archaeological Museum K72.18. Pres. H. 6.8 cm. (torso fragment only). Chance find, northwest of Ayia Irini. J. L. Caskey, "Addenda to the Marble Figurines from Ayia Irini," *Hesperia* 43 (1974) no. 40; P.G.-P. in PCP, fig. 1c.
30. (Figures 49, 54). Hunter/warrior. Chalandriani variety with baldric and belt (rear only). Seattle, Seattle Art Museum 46.200 (Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection). H. 19 cm.
31. (Figures 49, 55). Hunter/warrior. Chalandriani variety with baldric. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AE.456. Pres. H. 15.9 cm. (head/neck and feet missing). "Amorgos."
32. (Figures 49, 56, 57, 64d). Dokathismata variety. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1893.72. H. 30.6 cm. "Amorgos."
33. (Figures 49, 58–60). Dokathismata variety. New York, MMA 1972.118.103 (Bequest of Walter C. Baker). H. 35.9 cm. (right upper arm missing). ACC, no. 246.
34. (Figures 49, 61, 62, 64e). Chalandriani variety. Cincinnati, Cincinnati Art Museum 41.1976 (on anonymous loan). H. 24.8 cm. "Ios."
35. Chalandriani variety. Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum 1919. Pres. H. 9.5 cm. (head, most of neck, and most of legs missing). Brouscari, p. 513, no. 3; p. 515, fig. 18.
36. Chalandriani variety. Athens market, ca. 1964. Pres. H. ca. 6 cm. (lower part of figure only).

EARLY MINOAN II

37. (Figure 49). Koumasa variety. Herakleion, Archaeological Museum. Pres. H. ? (head/neck and lower legs missing). Archanes, cemetery of Phourni. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 103 (1979) pp. 607–608 with fig. 181.

NOTE ON PROVENANCE

Nine of the figures in the census are said to come from Amorgos (5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 15, 26, 31, 32), while three each are reported from Keros (16, 22, 23) and Naxos (17, 19, 28), two each from Thera (13, 14) and Crete (8, 37), and one each from Antiparos (1), Ios (34), Syros (27), Keos (29), and Cape Krio (see note following no. 17). The find-places of only a handful of these figures are unequivocally secure (16, 17, 19, 22, 29, 37). Yet, with the exception of the alleged Cretan provenance of no. 8 (see P.G.-P. in *PCP*, p. 89), the find-places reported for the others seem plausible although the seeming prominence of Amorgos is perhaps unfounded. It is quite possible that a number of the figures said to have been found on Amorgos (particularly those of ECII date) were actually only purchased there, having been brought from one of the small islands lying to her west. Chief among these as a rich source of marble sculpture and closest to Amorgos is the small island of Keros (*ACC*, p. 588), which is uninhabited except for a few shepherds in summer. In 1928 Keros had a population of twelve. Clearly, any objects of note found there would have been taken to one of the larger, more frequented islands for sale. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Keros was under the authority of the church on Amorgos, and objects would probably have been taken there. Nowadays they would more likely be taken to Naxos or Athens.

ABBREVIATIONS

- ACC*—J. Thimme, ed., *Art and Culture of the Cyclades in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Chicago, 1977)
AK—*Antike Kunst*
Baker, Furniture—H. S. Baker, *Furniture of the Ancient World: Origins and Evolution 3100–475 B.C.* (London/New York, 1966)
Brouscari—M. Brouscari, "Collection P. Canellopoulos: Antiquités cycladiques," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 105 (1981) pp. 499–535
Doumas, Cycladic Art—C. Doumas, *Cycladic Art: Ancient Sculpture and Ceramics of the Aegean from the N. P. Goulandris Collection* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1979)
Early Art—*Early Art in Greece* (André Emmerich Gallery, New York, 1965)
EC—Early Cycladic
EM—Early Minoan
Kontoleon, Praktika—N. Kontoleon, "Anaskaphai Naxou," *Ta Praktika tis Archaïologikis Etaireias*
Papathanasopoulos—G. A. Papathanasopoulos, "Kykladika Naxou," *Archaïologikon Deltion, Meletai* (1961–62) pp. 104–151

Another point to remember is that the island on which a figure was found is not necessarily the island on which it was made. The Karlsruhe harpers (nos. 13, 14), for example, which are said to have been unearthed on Thera, were most probably not made there since Thera is one of the few Cyclades lacking white marble (see C. Renfrew and J. S. Peacey, "Aegean Marble: A Petrological Study," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 63 [1968] p. 48).

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- PCP*—J. L. Davis and J. F. Cherry, eds., *Papers in Cycladic Prehistory*, Monograph 14, Institute of Archaeology, University of California (Los Angeles, 1979)
P.G.-P.—P. Getz-Preziosi
P.G.-P. in ACC—P. Getz-Preziosi, "Cycladic Sculptors and Their Methods," J. Thimme, ed., *Art and Culture of the Cyclades in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Chicago, 1977) pp. 71–91
P.G.-P. in AK—P. Getz-Preziosi, "An Early Cycladic Sculptor," *Antike Kunst* 18 (1975) pp. 47–50
P.G.-P. in PCP—P. Getz-Preziosi, "The Hunter/Warrior Figure in Early Cycladic Marble Sculpture," J. L. Davis and J. F. Cherry, eds., *Papers in Cycladic Prehistory*, Monograph 14, Institute of Archaeology, University of California (Los Angeles, 1979) pp. 87–96
Praktika—*Ta Praktika tis Archaïologikis Etaireias*
Pres. H.—preserved height
Renfrew—C. Renfrew, "The Development and Chronology of the Early Cycladic Figurines," *American Journal of Archaeology* 73 (1969) pp. 1–32
Zervos—C. Zervos, *L'Art des Cyclades du début à la fin de l'âge du bronze* (Paris, 1957)

The Earliest Known Chous by the Amasis Painter

ANDREW J. CLARK

*Classical Fellow 1978–1980, Department of Greek and Roman Art,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

FOR MORE THAN one hundred years black-figured vases were made and decorated in Athens. Among the many artists who worked in the Kerameikos, the potters' quarter, the Amasis Painter¹ seems to have had the longest career. His first vases are datable around 560 B.C., not long after the completion of the "François vase,"² and he worked until about 515 B.C., more than a decade after the invention of the red-figure technique. Thus, his latest vases are contemporary with those of the most innovative red-figure vase-painters, the Pioneer Group.³ Each newly recognized vase by the Amasis Painter helps put the career of this important artist, as well as the history of black-figure vase-painting, into sharper focus. The most recent attribution is that of an oinochoe purchased in 1978 by The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figures 1–4), and identified by Dr. Dietrich von Bothmer as an early work.⁴ This article will examine the place of that vase among others by the Amasis Painter, and will also consider the early development of its shape and ornament in the context of black-figure vase-painting.

The Amasis Painter is the name given to the anonymous artist responsible for the painted decoration of vases made by Amasis the potter, whose signature is found on nine vases, and perhaps on a small red-figured cup too. Six times the potter signs Ἀμασις followed by μεποίησεν ("Amasis made me"),⁵ and twice Ἀμασις ἐποίησεν ("Amasis made");⁶ the two other signatures are incomplete.⁷ The Amasis Painter not only decorated these signed vases, but also many others, unsigned, that are like them in drawing and therefore must be from his hand. The meticulous style of the painter is well matched to the small, refined

shapes fashioned by Amasis the potter, and it is probable that potter and painter were the same person.⁸

Our trefoil-mouthed vase is the earliest example of an oinochoe of shape III, called a chous, which has a

A list of abbreviations is given after the appendix to this article.

1. *ABV*, pp. 150–158, 687–688, 698, and 714; *Para.*, pp. 62–67. D. von Bothmer sets out his relative chronology for the Amasis Painter in *AK* 3 (1960) p. 80. See also idem, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Madrider Abteilung* 12 (1971) pp. 123–130.

2. Florence 4209: *ABV*, p. 76, no. 1; p. 682; *Para.*, p. 29. For the most recent bibliography see Simon and Hirmer, pp. 69–77, pls. 51–57.

3. Pioneer Group: J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1963) pp. 13–36, 1619–1621, 1701, 1705; *Para.*, pp. 321–325, 520. See also Simon and Hirmer, pls. 98–115.

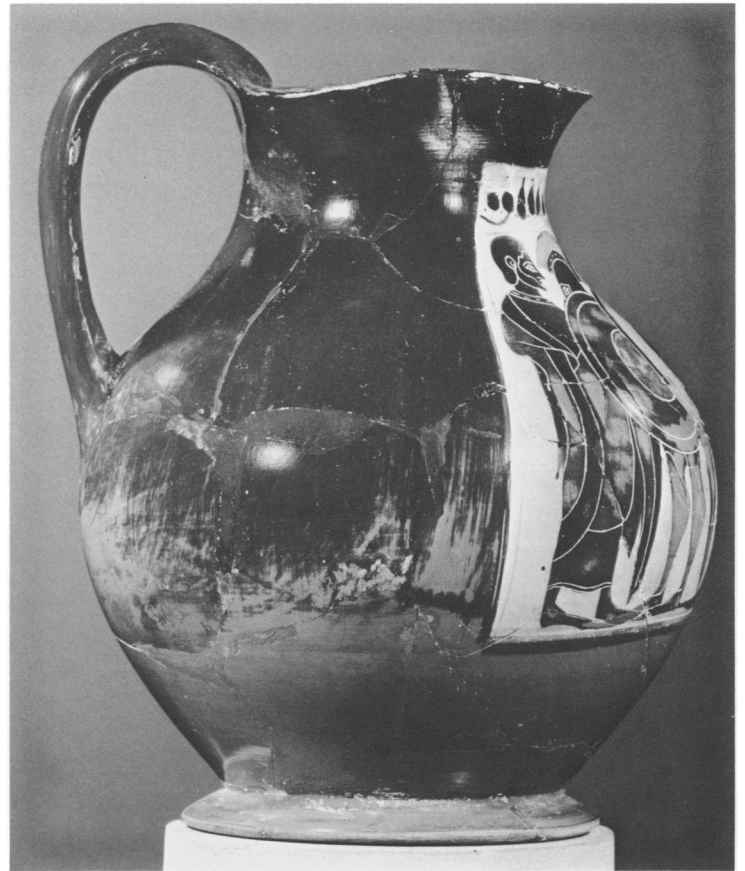
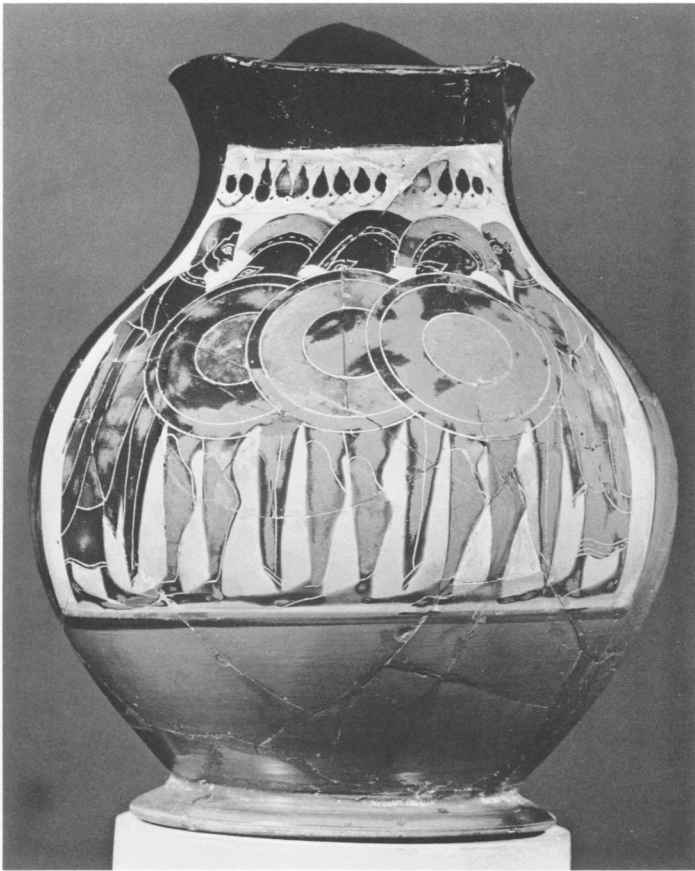
4. Acc. no. 1978.11.22. Sotheby Parke-Bernet, Dec. 14, 1978, no. 233, from a private collection in Maine; found near Orvieto in the late 19th century. Orvieto 1001, another chous by the Amasis Painter (*ABV*, p. 153, no. 43; *Para.*, p. 64), also comes from Orvieto.

5. *ABV*, pp. 152, nos. 25–27, 29, 30; and 153, no. 32; *Para.*, pp. 63–64.

6. *ABV*, pp. 153, no. 37; and 157, no. 87; *Para.*, p. 65. See also R. M. Cook, *JHS* 68 (1949) p. 148.

7. *ABV*, pp. 157, foot (Ἀμασις . . .); and 158 (Ἀμα . . . ε . . .). Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, p. 160; *Para.*, p. 65.

8. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure: A Sketch* (London, 1928) p. 6; S. Karouzou, *The Amasis Painter* (Oxford, 1956) p. 1. On potter and painter signatures, see J. D. Beazley, *Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens* (London, 1944) pp. 25–26, 33–35; R. M. Cook, *JHS* 91 (1971) pp. 137–138; T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (London, 1972) pp. 11–12; M. M. Eisman, *JHS* 94 (1974) p. 172. Among black-figure artists, Nearchos and Exekias certainly potted vases as well as painted them, for they signed some vases both as potter and painter, ἔγραψε καποίησε με (see *ABV*, pp. 82, no. 1; 143, no. 1; 145, no. 13).



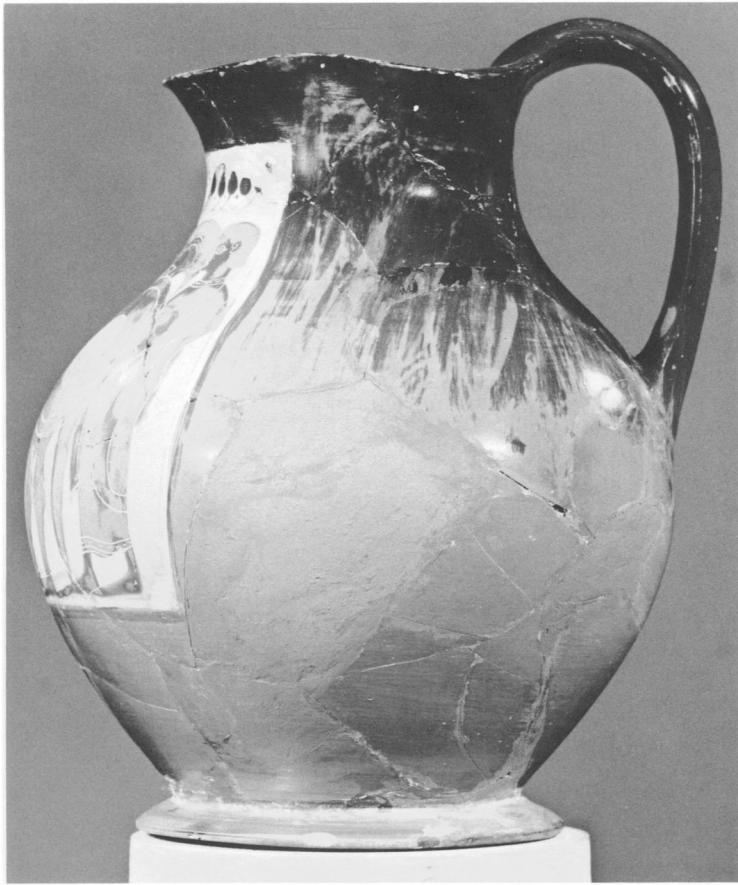
1–4. Amasis Painter, Chous; warriors between man and youth. H. incl. handle 18.75 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Classical Purchase Fund, 1978.11.22

squat, piriform body continuously curved from the lip to the join of body and foot.⁹ In Attic black-figure we know of approximately eighty other trefoil-mouthed choes, and two circular-mouthed choes. Further, four fragments attributed to the Amasis Painter may be from choes, as Beazley observes.¹⁰ The ancient name *chous* has been applied to this bulbous shape because on Attic red-figured choes—particularly those datable during and immediately after the Peloponnesian War—many scenes are associated with the Anthesteria, the oldest of the festivals of Dionysos in Athens. The Anthesteria were celebrated from the eleventh through the thirteenth days of the month called Anthesterion (February–March). The second day, known as Choes, was largely devoted to drinking the new wine from vessels named choes.¹¹ Ancient literature indicates that *chous* was the most commonly used term for a jug, and as depicted on

9. On the shape in general, see J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918) p. 201; C. Daremberg, E. Saglio, and E. Pottier, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* (Paris, 1877–1919) I, ii, pp. 1127–1128; J. R. Green, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London* 19 (1972) pp. 6–7; van Hoorn, pp. 16–19, 53–57; F. Hultsch, *RE* III, cols. 2526–2527; G. M. A. Richter and M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York, 1935) pp. 18–20; *Agora* XII, pp. 60–63.

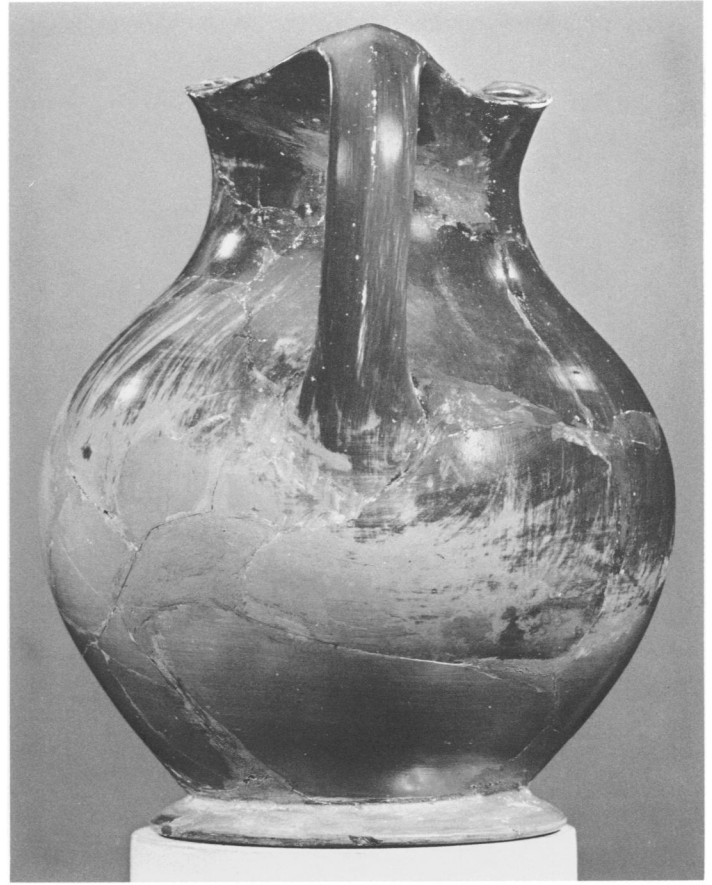
10. *ABV*, pp. 153, nos. 39, 40; 155, nos. 66, 68; *Para.*, p. 64. Two other fragments Beazley thought were possibly from choes are from different shapes. Oxford G 568 (*CVA*, pl. 3, 15), once described by Beazley as the fragment of a chous related to the Amasis Painter, is more likely to be from an amphora. Not only is its bud ornament framed by double glaze lines, but it is also reserved inside—both abnormal characteristics for choes. Oxford 1929.19 (*ABV*, p. 153, no. 38) may be from an olpe; see note 33 below.

11. The Anthesteria have been discussed extensively in connection with the uses and iconography of choes; see note 9 above and the following: L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932) pp. 93–134; H. von Gaertringen, *RE* I, cols. 2371–2375; J. R. Green, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 66 (1971) pp. 189–190; H. Metzger, *Recherches sur l'imagerie athénienne* (Paris, 1965) pp. 55–76; S. Karouzou, *AJA* 50 (1946) pp. 122–139; A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford, 1953) pp. 1–22; A. Rumpf, *Bonner Jb.* 161 (1961) pp. 208–214; and H. R. W. Smith, *CVA*, San Francisco I, p. 48.



red-figured choes, the shape served both as a pitcher and as a drinking vessel.¹² Not one black-figured chous, however, has a subject that can be securely connected with the Anthesteria. Even on red-figured choes not all the pictures are related to the festival. If the Anthesteria in the sixth century were already celebrated in the manner reported by fifth-century and later authors,¹³ and indeed there is no evidence to the contrary, then one may conclude that black-figure vase-painters simply did not choose to represent events of the festival on choes.

The chous in the Metropolitan Museum is the 117th vase (fragments included) attributed to the Amasis Painter. The figural decoration is contained in a panel opposite the handle (Figure 1): on the left, a bearded man stands to right; then three warriors stand to left; on the right, a youth stands to left.¹⁴ The subject may be a departure of warriors or a homecoming. The warriors are armed with helmets, round shields, and greaves, but do not hold spears. They are dressed for travel in long chlamydes that hang down to their ankles. The two spectators wear himatia that



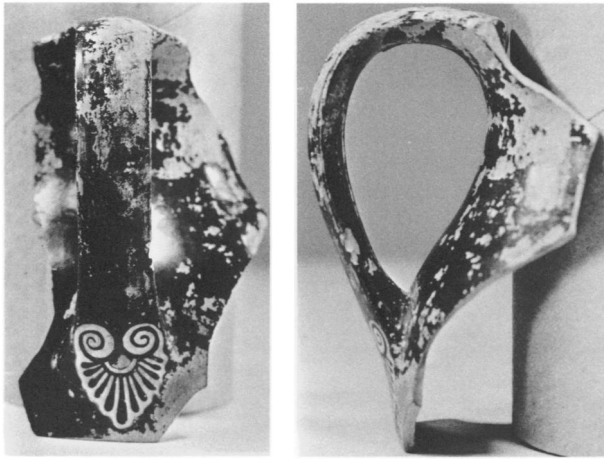
cover their hands. Above the picture is a band of fifteen upright black lotus buds, alternately open and closed, with single glaze dots between them.¹⁵ Below the panel a red stripe runs around the vase.

12. Green, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London* 19 (1972) pp. 6–7. For some illustrations on choes of choes in use, see van Hoorn, figs. 25, 49, 73, 82, 83, 85, 86, 89–94, 107, 109, 123, 124, 131, 136, 168b, 201, 207, 213–216, 219–221, 247, 265, 343, and 350. Many more choes have pictures of choes placed on the ground or on blocks or tables. A fine unpublished Apulian chous, Brooklyn 60.129.1, depicts a satyr drinking from a chous.

13. The main sources are quoted by Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals*, pp. 1–9.

14. Painted in added red: top of mouth, stripe below panel running around the vase; youth's hair, stripes on garments of man and youth, helmet crests of first and third warriors, center of shields of first and third warriors, inner ring on shield of second warrior, greaves. There are no traces of added white. The lower half of the vase is largely misfired.

15. There are many more examples of upright bud friezes in black-figure. They appear most frequently below the pictures on neck-amphorae, on oinochoai, on the shoulders of lekythoi, on the rims of plates, and below the panels on hydriai. Some

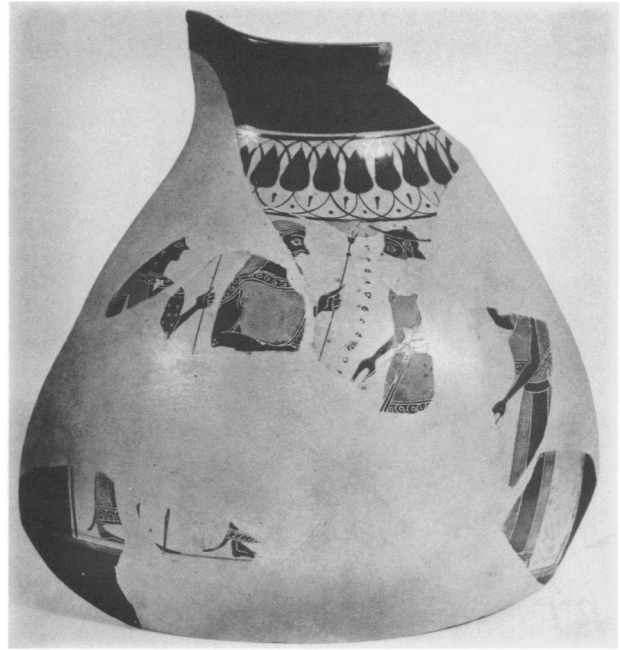


5, 6. Amasis Painter, Handle from a chous. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photos: R. Clark)

The bud ornament on this chous is characteristic of the Amasis Painter, as Bothmer has shown.¹⁶ Of the nine choes attributed to the painter, eight have upright buds above the picture; the ninth is represented only by a handle in the Louvre (Figures 5, 6).¹⁷ Only four other choes have this ornament: two attributed to the Taleides Painter (Figures 7–9), who was a workshop companion of the Amasis Painter, one in Hillsborough whose drawing style is Amasean, and an Amasean fragment from the Athenian Acropolis. We shall return to these vases later.

examples of upright buds as the upper panel-border on amphorae and oinochoai are listed by Bothmer (*AK* 3 [1960] pp. 76–77) and H. Mommsen (*Der Affekter* [Mainz, 1975] p. 36). Additions to their lists are given below, grouped in two categories.

1. Black buds, all open, a single dot between the buds. Seven vases in this category are attributed to the Amasis Painter: one is an olpe, London B 52 (*ABV*, p. 153, no. 31; *Para.*, p. 64); the others are choes and are discussed in this article (New York 1978.11.22, Orvieto 1001, Louvre F 37, Bristol H 803, Oxford 1965.122, and the fragment Oxford G 137.22). Vases by other painters: Athens, Acropolis (no number), chous fragment (unpublished) related to the Amasis Painter in style (photograph in the Beazley Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: the fragment preserves part of the picture, a fight [helmeted head of a warrior to right, his raised right hand holding a spear], and a good bit of the ornament); Mytilene 58 and 59, olpe fragments (unpublished); Madrid 10932, chous, Taleides Painter (*ABV*, p. 174, no. 4); Louvre C 10600 + RS 424, and Louvre C 11128, amphorae of type B, Group of Leningrad 1469 (*ABV*, p. 302,



7. Taleides Painter, Chous; Zeus and Hermes, with two women. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.210 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

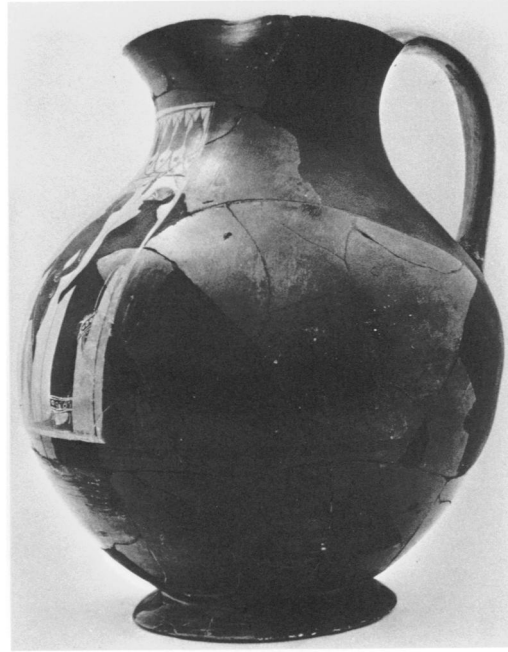
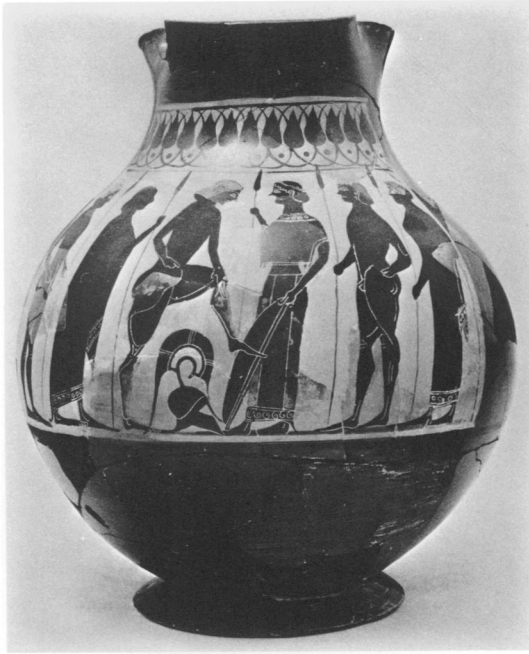
On the chous in New York the bud frieze differs from those on the other choes by the Amasis Painter (Figures 10–23), which with one exception (the fragment London B 600.31) are of the same variety: upright black buds, all open, with a single glaze dot between each. Bud friezes of this kind appear on seven

nos. 2 and 5; *Para.*, p. 131); an amphora of type B in the London market (unpublished: A. return of Hephaistos; B. Dionysos between satyrs and maenads), Group of Leningrad 1469 [Bothmer]. There is a variation of this ornament on Brunswick 562, a fragment probably from an amphora rather than an oinochoe (*CVA*, pl. 10,13).

2. Black buds, all open, a black droplet (or dot) between the buds, and a dot (usually smaller) in the spandrel under each bud. Athens, Acropolis 825, chous fragment, Near the Madrid Painter (*ABV*, p. 330, II, no. 1); an olpe once in the New York market (Emmerich Gallery, *Art of the Ancients* [1968] no. 10); Florence 3828, amphora of type B (L. Ghali-Kahil, *Les Enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène* [Paris, 1955] pl. 84:2; augmented by three fragments from the Metropolitan Museum, acc. no. 64.108a–c) and Athens 18022, olpe (*ABV*, p. 445; *Para.*, p. 192), both close to the Painter of Berlin 1686 according to Bothmer.

16. Bothmer, *AK* 3 (1960) p. 77.

17. *ABV*, pp. 153, nos. 41–44; 154, nos. 45, 46; and 155, no. 67; *Para.*, p. 64.



8, 9. Taleides Painter, Chous; warrior arming, attended by woman and males. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 10932 (photos: Museo Arqueológico Nacional)

vases of other shapes attributed to the Amasis Painter.¹⁸ However, the frieze on the chous fragment in London varies in that although all its buds are open, there is a small glaze dot at the base of each and alternate buds are red. The same pattern appears on two amphorae of type B by the Amasis Painter, New York 56.171.10 and Orvieto 118, which suggests that the London fragment is contemporary with them.¹⁹ In contrast, the ornament of the chous in New York is distinguished by its pattern of alternately open and closed black lotuses. The irregularities in the size and spacing of these buds have no parallels in the other lotus-bud ornaments by the painter, and suggest that the chous is an early work.

This is borne out by the simplicity of the picture's composition and drawing. The figures and drapery lack the painter's normal incised details. There are no hands, feet have no toes, earlobes are cursorily articulated, and garments have neither folds nor Amasean fringes. Moreover, it is unusual that the warriors and spectators do not carry spears, and that the shields have no blazons. Other distinctive features of the drawing are the short hair of the onlookers, with

added red for the youth's hair, and the use of longish incisions to decorate the chitons of the onlookers and the helmet-crest supports of the warriors.

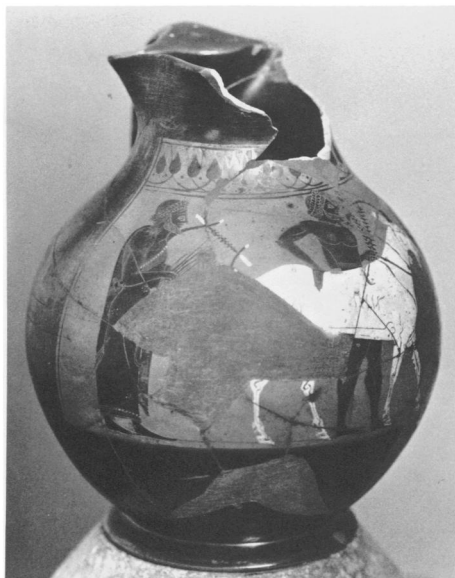
Some details have parallels on other vases by the Amasis Painter. On his earliest lekythos, Villa Giulia 24996, the single human figure, a running male, wears a chlamys without folds, fringes, or other ornamentation; there are no incisions to articulate his fingers and toes; his hair, though shoulder-length, is red; and the shape of his ear comes very close to those on the chous.²⁰ Ears of similar configuration are found on another very early lekythos, Philadelphia 4849, on which nearly all the figures' feet are also toeless.²¹ There are no parallels for the longish incisions of the garments and helmet-crest supports, though very short incisions or incised dots are two of the

18. Amphorae of type B: Louvre F 26 (*ABV*, p. 150, no. 5; *Para.*, p. 63) and once Riehen, Hoek (*Para.*, p. 65); shoulder lekythoi: Montclair, Dusenbery (*ABV*, p. 155, no. 59; *Para.*, p. 64), Athens 19163, and Warsaw 198552 (*Para.*, p. 66); neck-amphora: Cabinet des Médailles 222 (*ABV*, p. 152, no. 25; *Para.*, p. 63); and olpe: London B 52 (*ABV*, p. 153, no. 31; *Para.*, p. 64).

19. Bothmer, *AK* 3 (1960) pp. 77–78. New York 56.171.10: *ABV*, p. 150, no. 3; *Para.*, p. 62; *CVA* 3, pls. 8, 9. Orvieto, Faina 118: *ABV*, p. 151, no. 14, and p. 687; *Para.*, p. 63.

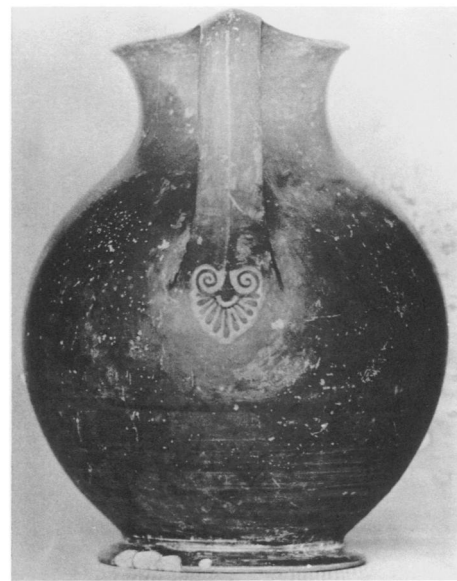
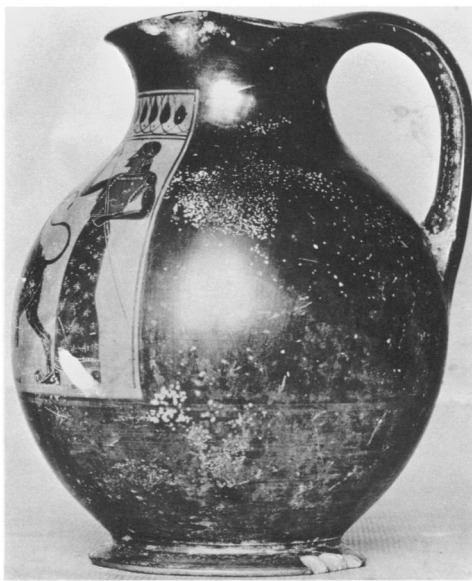
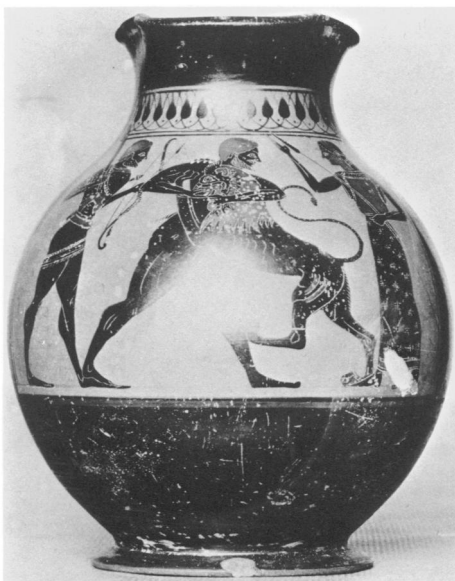
20. *ABV*, p. 154, no. 54; at the head of the list on Bothmer's chart (*AK* 3 [1960] p. 80).

21. *ABV*, p. 154, no. 50; *Para.*, p. 64.



10, 11. Amasis Painter, Chous;
goat led to sacrifice. Orvieto,
Museo Claudio Faina 1001
(photos: with the permission of
the Fondazione Faina)

12–14. Amasis Painter, Chous;
Herakles and the Lion. Paris,
Musée du Louvre F 37
(photos: D. von Bothmer)

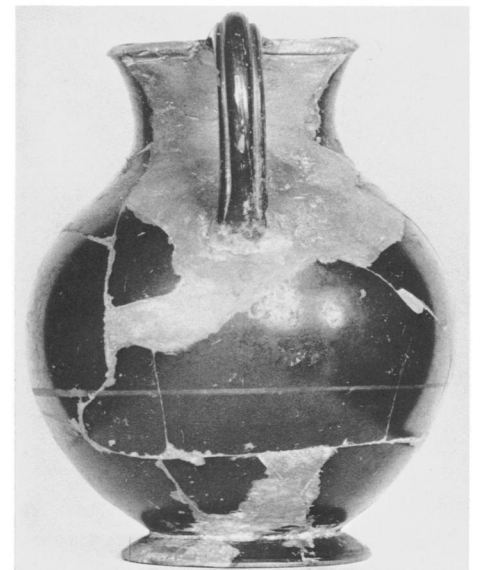
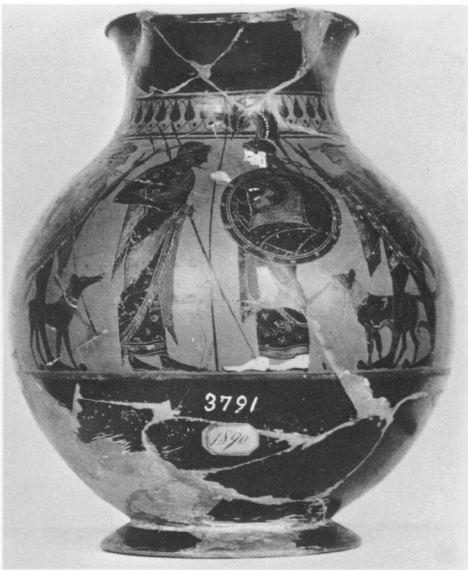


Amasis Painter's preferred drapery ornaments. Incisions approaching the type on the chous appear on a lekythos in a Zurich private collection, bordering the edge of the himation worn by the male standing on the right.²²

The Villa Giulia and the Philadelphia lekythoi offer

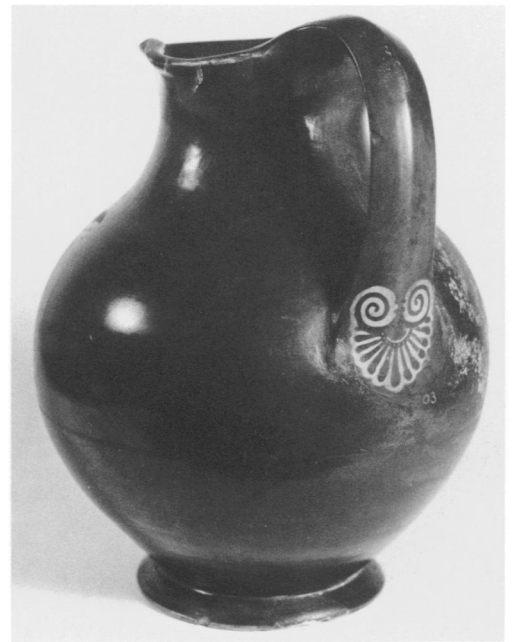
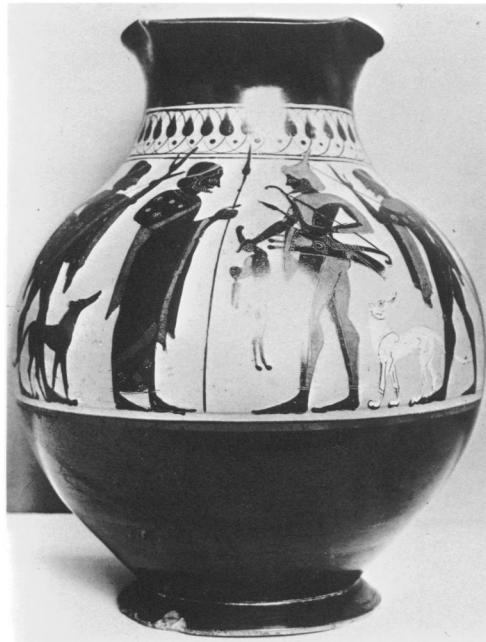
²² *Para.*, p. 66.

the best comparisons to the bud frieze on the chous. These three vases exhibit the only ornaments by the Amasis Painter composed of alternately open and closed lotuses. On the lekythoi the friezes are undotted, the individual buds are more neatly rendered, and the tip of every fourth lotus is enlivened with added red. As on the chous, the sepals and connecting tendrils are not drawn with relief lines but



15–17. Amasis Painter,
Chous; Athena and
Poseidon, with Hermes
and a man. Florence,
Museo Archeologico
Etrusco 3791 (photos:
D. von Bothmer)

18, 19. Amasis Painter,
Chous; return of hunter.
Bristol, City Museum
and Art Gallery H 803
(photos: City Museum
and Art Gallery)



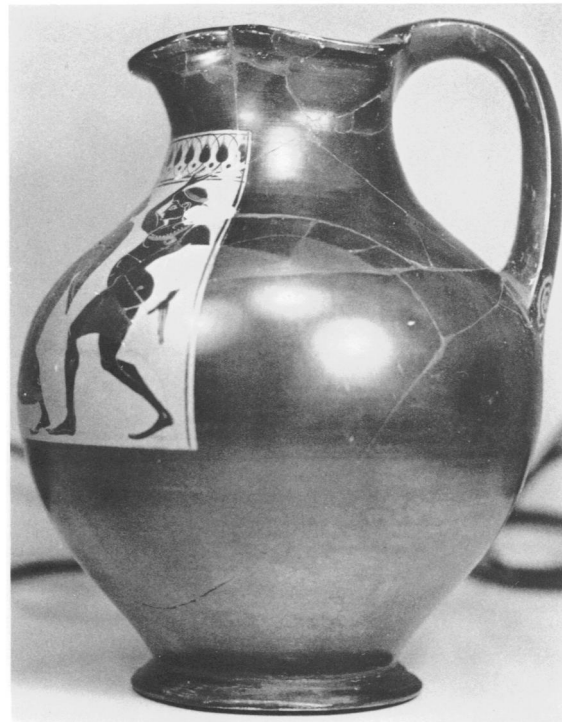
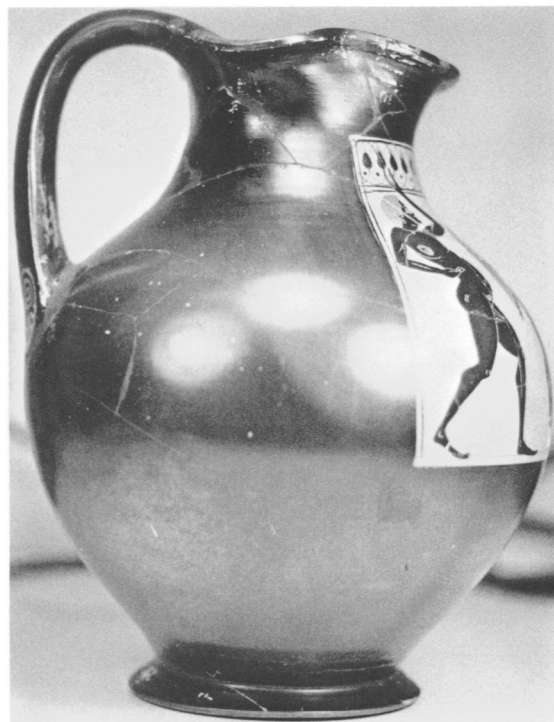
roughly brushed in. These comparisons confirm that the New York chous belongs very early in the Amasis Painter's career, and following Bothmer's relative chronology may be dated to about 560 B.C.²³ One cannot expect an exact correspondence in drawing between the chous and the smaller figures on the lekythoi. It is clear, though, that the earliest large vases by the Amasis Painter, the neck-amphora in the Embiri-

cos collection in Lausanne, formerly in Castle Ashby, and the amphorae of type B in Rome and New York, are executed in a more advanced style.²⁴

The Metropolitan Museum chous is datable in the

23. Bothmer, *AK* 3 (1960) pp. 74, 79.

24. *ABV*, p. 152, no. 23; *CVA*, pls. 7, 8; Christie's, London, July 2, 1980, no. 96. *ABV*, p. 150, nos. 1, 2; *Para.*, p. 62.



20–23. Amasis Painter, Chous; komos (woman fluting and youths dancing). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1965.122 (photos: R. Clark)

second quarter of the sixth century. The nearest comparisons for its composition are files of hoplites on the reverses of neck-amphorae attributed to the Camtar Painter (Boston 21.21, Louvre C 10521, Leningrad 2417) and the Painter of London B 76 (Munich 1450, once Cervetri [Ruspoli], Taranto 52.148),²⁵ which are also datable to the second quarter of the sixth century. The subject is not a common one, and elsewhere occurs only on six neck-amphorae of the Tyrrhenian Group, where the figures are on a smaller scale and are rather different stylistically.²⁶ On Boston 21.21 the six hoplites wear full armor but carry no weapons. There are no spectators beside the warriors on the six neck-amphorae by the Camtar Painter and the Painter of London B 76. On three of these vases the warriors must be Myrmidons, as Bothmer observes, for the subject of the obverse is the first arming of Achilles.²⁷ On the Taranto vase they may be companions of Herakles, and on the Leningrad neck-amphora reinforcements coming to aid the hoplites with round shields shown in combat on the obverse. The four warriors on the vase once in Cervetri have no connection with the Judgment of Paris on the obverse, unless they are meant to bring to mind the consequences of Paris's choice. Five hoplites also appear on Cambridge 44, attributed to the Camtar Painter, but they are Amazons instead of Greeks, and are running, not marching, to help the Amazons fighting Herakles and Telamon on the obverse.²⁸ Unfortunately, there is no clue on the chous in New York to indicate a possible narrative context for its picture.

Besides the thematic and compositional links with vases by the Camtar Painter and the Painter of London B 76, the ornament on the chous is also related to these artists, and to one of the Tyrrhenian Group, the Komos Painter. Upright bud friezes are not widespread before the middle of the sixth century, and it was the influence of the Amasis Painter that popularized the motif. In the second quarter of the sixth century, bands of upright lotus buds, alternately open and closed, occur often on the lips and bodies of neck-amphorae attributed to the Camtar Painter, the Painter of London B 76, and the Komos Painter.²⁹ All the bud friezes on their neck-amphorae are undotted, the buds are often embellished with added red and white, horizontal incisions are sometimes used under the calyxes of the buds, and the sepals are separated from the emerging flowers by incisions. In contrast to these, the band of buds on the Amasis Painter's chous

in New York is the first of its kind to appear directly above the picture, to be composed of all black buds, and to have dots between the buds.

A workshop association may underlie the links between the Amasis Painter early in his career and the Camtar Painter, the Painter of London B 76, and the Komos Painter. Although there is not yet enough evidence to justify speculation on this point, the Metropolitan Museum chous shares certain significant characteristics with the work of these artists: its subject and composition—a file of hoplites—and its ornament—upright lotus buds. In drawing, however, the Amasis Painter is far closer to the Camtar Painter and the Painter of London B 76 than to any artist of the Tyrrhenian Group, which specialized in multizoned decoration of ovoid neck-amphorae.³⁰ With regard to other possible early influences on the Amasis Painter, Bloesch notes that Amasis the potter made one vase decorated by Lydos, and this observation may serve as a point of departure for further investigations.³¹

Since the Metropolitan Museum chous fits into the Amasis Painter's chronology as a very early work, it must antedate his chous in Orvieto, until now the earliest known example of the shape in Attic vase-painting. The potterwork of the chous in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 1–4) should be compared with that of the eight other choes attributed to the Amasis Painter (Figures 10–23). The chart below tabulates the measurements of five of his nine choes, listed in

25. *ABV*, pp. 84, nos. 3, 4; 86, nos. 10, 12; *Para.*, p. 63.

26. Conservatori 96 (*ABV*, p. 95, no. 2; *Para.*, p. 36) and Louvre E 858 (unpublished); by the Castellani Painter. Munich 1436 (*ABV*, p. 95, no. 4; *Para.*, p. 36); by the Timiades Painter. Louvre E 855 (*ABV*, p. 99, no. 53, and p. 684); O.L.L. Group. London B 24 (*ABV*, p. 106, no. 2); Near the O.L.L. Group. Brussels A 715 (*ABV*, p. 103, no. 109); by the Kyllenios Painter [Bothmer].

27. D. von Bothmer, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 47 (1949) pp. 84–90; *CVA*, pls. 16, 17, 3 and 4.

28. *ABV*, p. 84, no. 2.

29. Camtar Painter: Louvre C 10521 (*ABV*, p. 84, no. 4), Laon 37.1017 (*Para.*, p. 31, no. 9). Painter of London B 76: London B 76 (*ABV*, p. 85, no. 1; *Para.*, p. 32). Komos Painter: Munich 1433 (*ABV*, p. 98, no. 37; *Para.*, pp. 36, 37); Paris, Niarchos (*ABV*, p. 102, no. 103; *Para.*, pp. 36, 37); Berlin (East), Humboldt University (ex Berlin F 1708; *ABV*, p. 683, no. 72 bis); Küsnacht, Hirschmann G 40 (unpublished); Leipzig T. 3383 (*ABV*, p. 96, no. 9).

30. Tyrrhenian Group: *ABV*, pp. 94–106, 683–684; *Para.*, pp. 34–43.

31. *ABV*, pp. 107; 109, no. 24 (Berlin 1685).

Collection	Height including handle	Height to lip	Width of handle	Dimensions of mouth	Diameter of neck	Maximum body diameter	Diameter of foot
	cm.	cm.	cm.	cm.	cm.	cm.	cm.
New York 1978.11.22	18.75	17.815	1.935	8.39 × 8.46	7.115	14.67	9.645
Louvre F 37	18.235	17.89	2.0	6.3 × 8.2	6.65	14.74	9.295
Florence 3791		22.85				18.5	10.8
Bristol H 803	23.9	22.35	2.8	10.91 × 9.8	8.3	18.75	10.6
Oxford 1965.122	24.235	23.255	2.785	10.78 × 9.82	8.1	18.59	10.415

chronological order. Regrettably, I do not have the measurements for Orvieto 1001, which would be second on the list; the three other choes are known only from the handle in the Louvre, and two small fragments of pictures and ornament in London and Oxford.³²

The choes listed in the chart may be divided into an earlier class of smaller vases and a later class of larger ones. Each class is remarkably uniform in its measurements. Louvre F 37 (Figures 12–14) is closest to the chous in the Metropolitan Museum, and a comparison of their profiles demonstrates that their shapes are well-nigh identical (Figure 24). Photographs show that the Orvieto chous (Figures 10, 11) should be classified with the New York and Paris vases. All nine choes are almost certainly by the same potter, Amasis, to whom the invention of the shape may be safely ascribed. Beazley observed that the potterwork of Oxford 1965.122 (Figures 20–22) was not that of Amasis, and indeed its greatest diameter comes somewhat higher up on the body than on the other choes; it also tapers more sharply above the foot (Figure 25). Its measurements, however, are so near those of the Florence and Bristol vases (Figures 15–19) that a second potter need not be postulated.

All the choes by the Amasis Painter have upright bud friezes above the picture.³³ Furthermore, except for the chous in New York and the fragment in London, the six others have the same variety of bud ornament, and the pattern is framed by one glaze line above and two below.³⁴ The lotuses on the chous in New York have just one line above and below, and the buds on the London fragment are framed above and

below by two glaze lines. Such double glaze lines, as Bothmer observes, are characteristic of the Amasis Painter's amphorae.³⁵ First-hand examination of the London fragment reveals, however, that it must be from a chous; it is too thin for an amphora, and there is a tiny bit of black preserved on the upper edge of the reverse.

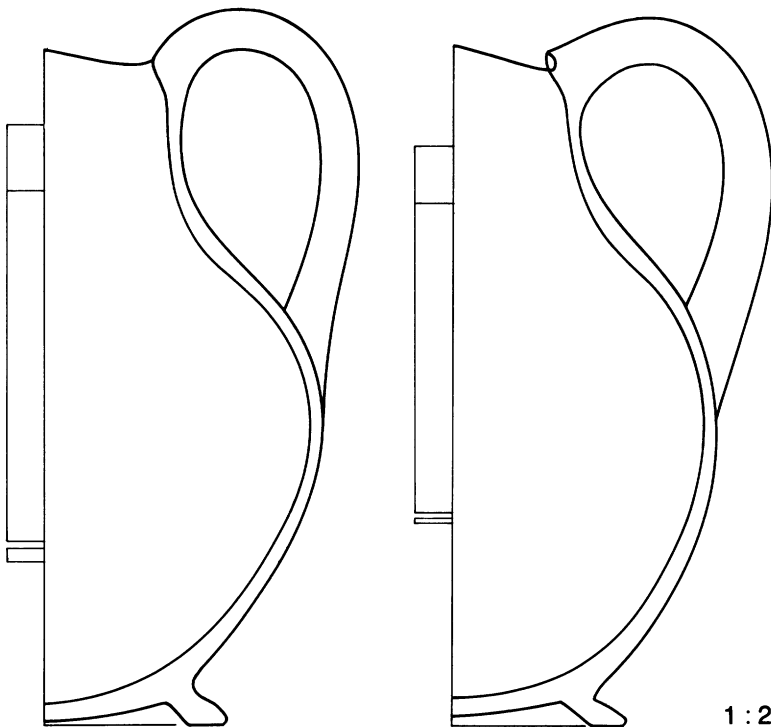
The handles of the Amasis Painter's choes are ridged (except for the handle of Florence 3791, which is alien). Although there is no ornament below the handle of the chous in the Metropolitan Museum, the other four choes and the Louvre handle (Figures 5, 6) are decorated with hanging palmettes, a characteristic Amasean feature. Furthermore, the palmettes on the Florence, Bristol, and Oxford vases, and on

32. Louvre handle: max. H. 10.86 cm., W. 2.13 cm. London B 600.31 (*ABV*, p. 155, no. 67; *Para.*, p. 64): 4.85 × 6.6 cm. (max.). Oxford G 137.52 (*ABV*, p. 154, no. 46): 5.8 × 3.475 cm. (max.).

33. Oxford 1929.19 (*ABV*, p. 153, no. 38), which Beazley thought was a fragmentary chous rather than an olpe, has a palmette-lotus festoon above the picture. I am inclined to think that it is an olpe, not just on the basis of the ornament, but because the profile does not seem bulbous enough for a chous. Moreover, on some nonjoining fragments, there is a bit of a reserved stripe preserved below the panel, which is a characteristic of olpai, not choes.

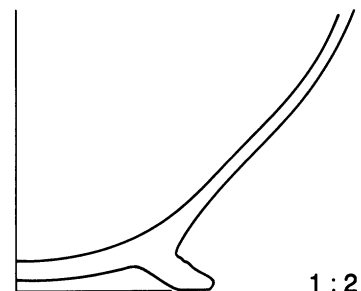
34. There are identical bud friezes on seven other vases placed by Bothmer in the Amasis Painter's middle period. See note 16 above.

35. *AK* 3 (1960) p. 77. M. Robertson (*AK* 9 [1973] p. 82, n. 16) also notes the similarities between the Bristol and Oxford palmettes. For Beazley's description of the palmette on the chous in Bristol, see *JHS* 51 (1931) p. 261.



24. Profile drawings of two choes by the Amasis Painter: The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1978.11.22 (left), and Paris, Musée du Louvre F 37 (right)

25. Profile drawing of the foot of a chous by the Amasis Painter: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1965.122



the Louvre handle, are considerably larger than the one on Louvre F 37.³⁶ These palmettes are composed of from eleven to thirteen fronds and have red hearts, an unusual detail apparently confined to the Amasis Painter.³⁷ Moreover, the shape and ornament of the handles of the Florence, Bristol, and Oxford choes are so distinctive that I immediately recognized the handle in the Louvre as part of a lost chous by the Amasis Painter.

On Attic vases, palmettes under handles originate in the period of earliest black-figure, the late seventh century.³⁸ The first example known to me is under handle B/A on an amphora of type B, London A 1531, attributed to the Chimaera and Nettos Painter, who is a conflation of two painters that Beazley once considered separate personalities.³⁹ Handle palmettes appear next on four neck-amphorae datable in the second quarter of the sixth century: Boston 21.21 and Louvre C 10521, attributed to the Camtar Painter; Athens 559, perhaps not far from the painter of the Kleimachos vase; a fragmentary Tyrrhenian neck-amphora in the Villa Giulia, attributed to the Timiades Painter; and a neck-amphora related to the Tyrrhenian Group in a German private collection.⁴⁰ On these four vases the palmettes are attached to the handles by tendrils. The earliest handle palmettes

36. The Bristol and Oxford palmettes have special characteristics. On the Bristol palmette, there are two black horizontal bars across the palmette's stem, and the root of each frond is marked by a tiny white dot. The Oxford palmette has two red horizontal bars across its stem.

37. A handle palmette and tendril are partially preserved on a fragmentary unpublished black-figured chous from the Athenian Agora (P 9278).

38. On Corinthian vases, an early example of a handle ornament appears on the late Protocorinthian Chigi olpe (Rome, Villa Giulia 22697). Under its handle is a hanging lotus bud in added white. The vase is datable in the middle of the seventh century. For good illustrations of the ornament see *Antike Denkmäler II* (Berlin, 1908) pls. 44, 45; see also P. E. Arias, M. Hirmer, and B. Shefton, *Greek Vase Painting* (New York, 1963) pls. 275, 276; and Simon and Hirmer, pls. vii, 25, and 26.

39. *ABV*, p. 3, no. 2; *Para.*, p. 2, no. 2.

40. Boston 21.21 and Louvre C 10521: *ABV*, p. 84, nos. 3, 4; *Para.*, p. 31; see also Bothmer, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 47 (1949) p. 89. Athens 559: *ABV*, p. 85, no. 1; *Para.*, p. 32. Villa Giulia: *ABV*, p. 100, no. 78; *Para.*, p. 38. German private collection: K. Schauenburg, *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44 (1973) pp. 15–16, figs. 1–4a, b. Compare with these: an upright palmette located in the zone of animals below handle A/B on Tyrrhenian neck-amphora Louvre E 840 (Goltz Painter: *ABV*, p. 99, no. 52; Schauenburg, *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44 [1973] p. 21, fig. 21); and an upright palmette next to handle A/B on Tyrrhenian neck-amphora Frankfurt VF 319 (Castellani Painter: *Para.*, p. 40, [no. 1]).

Bothmer observes a parallel development on some Tyrrhenian neck-amphorae, on which lotus buds are attached by tendrils to the lower handle root: Munich 1436 (*ABV*, p. 95, no. 4;

without connecting tendrils occur on an unattributed Tyrrhenian neck-amphora in the Bareiss collection, and on a red-bodied olpe in the Käppeli collection by the Princeton Painter, which also has a ridged handle.⁴¹ There are no ridged handles in black-figure earlier than the chous in New York and the Käppeli olpe, and since the two are contemporary, it is impossible to determine whether Amasis invented this handle.

In summary, study of the chous in the Metropolitan Museum establishes that it is a very early work by the Amasis Painter, datable to about 560 B.C. This makes it the earliest chous known to us, and suggests that the invention of the shape should be credited to the potter Amasis, who was probably himself the Amasis Painter. Both in shape and ornament the chous is wholly consistent with other choes attributed to the Amasis Painter. In size his choes fall into two rather uniform classes, and there can be little doubt that all were made by the same hand.

The chous, as will be discussed below, is a vase that was designed from the first to contain a small, specific volume of liquid. Consequently, even before the potter set out to formulate its shape, he already knew that the vase had to be small and that there would not be room for a large figured panel. As owner of the workshop, the potter also had to devise a scheme of decoration that would be well suited to the new shape. If not himself the artist, he must have told the painter just what the dimensions of the figured panel and ornament band ought to be, and possibly have even chosen the pattern to appear above the picture;⁴² the subject of the latter may have been a joint decision. On a chous, relatively little space is allotted to the ornament; thus the patterns can be neither large nor complex. Evidently, the upright lotus bud frieze, a simple ornament, was considered successful, because it is found on the choes attributed to the Amasis Painter, as well as on many of his small amphorae of type B.⁴³ In Attic black-figure no individual demonstrates the importance of the potter better than Amasis, whose choes aptly illustrate Beazley's observation that "the potter Amasis is as clearly defined a personality as the Amasis Painter; he has his own idea of shape and goes his own way."⁴⁴

Naturally, even a potter as skillful and inventive as the young Amasis drew inspiration from established black-figure shapes. It seems that, at least in some respects, the chous is related to an older type of oino-

choe, the olpe.⁴⁵ Both shapes are pitchers whose profiles describe a continuous curve, but the chous has a squatter body, a smaller foot, and a different handle. The majority of olpai in the first half of the sixth century follow the Gorgon Painter's trefoil-mouthed model with the picture placed to one side of the body (not opposite the handle), and an abstract eye on the other side.⁴⁶ This is not the type of olpe that is related to the invention of the chous.

On the other hand, some olpai with circular mouths are decorated with pictures opposite the handle, either in panels or continuing around the body, sometimes in more than one register.⁴⁷ The Amasis Painter used a picture panel on the new shape, the chous, but

Para., p. 36; Timiades Painter), Louvre E 845 (*ABV*, p. 102, no. 93; *Para.*, p. 38; Fallow Deer Painter), Louvre E 830 (*ABV*, p. 102, no. 105; *Para.*, p. 39; Guglielmi Painter), and Swiss private collection (*Para.*, p. 40, no. 6; Schauenburg, *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44 [1973] p. 36, fig. 56; Guglielmi Painter). Compare with these lotus buds the volute under handle B/A on a Tyrrhenian neck-amphora once in the Basel market, now Zurich (*Para.*, p. 42, [no. 7]; Schauenburg, *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44 [1973] p. 21, figs. 19, 20; Castellani Painter).

41. Bareiss neck-amphora: *Weltkunst aus Privatbesitz* (Cologne, May 18–Aug. 4, 1968), no. A 12; I. Raab, *Darstellungen des Parisurteils* (Bern, 1972) pl. 1; Schauenburg, *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44 (1973) pp. 22–23, figs. 22–25. Käppeli olpe: *ABV*, p. 299, no. 25; *Para.*, p. 130. Another early ridged handle is found on an unpublished olpe, Leningrad 1453 (St. 129), attributed to the Taleides Painter by Bothmer.

42. Compare Bothmer's remarks concerning the roles of the potter and painter in connection with the ornament of the Sarpedon krater by Euphronios and Euxitheos (New York 1972.11.10; *Archäologischer Anzeiger* [1976] pp. 489, 498).

43. See Bothmer's list in *AK* 3 (1960) pp. 77–78, 80.

44. J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-figure* (Berkeley, 1951) p. 57.

45. *Agora* XII, p. 63.

46. On the placement of the panel on trefoil olpai, see: P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen* (Berlin, 1927) pp. 13–16; W. Kraiker, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 59 (1934) p. 21; and C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* (Paris, 1936) pp. 13–15.

47. Gorgon Painter: *Agora* P 997 (*ABV*, p. 9, no. 15; *Para.*, p. 7); Athens 19176 (*ABV*, p. 9, no. 16; *Para.*, p. 7); Tübingen 28.5445 (*ABV*, p. 9, no. 11; *Para.*, p. 7; *CVA*, pl. 18, 1–4). Close to the Gorgon Painter: London B 32 (*ABV*, p. 11, no. 16). Early Olpe Group, a straggler: New York 26.164.28 (*ABV*, p. 15, no. 1). Ceramicus Painter: Ceramicus 40 and Athens 16285 (*ABV*, p. 19, nos. 2, 3). Manner of the KX Painter: Athens 19159 (*ABV*, p. 28, no. 4). Athens 18022, close to the Painter of Berlin 1686 [Bothmer] (*ABV*, p. 445; *Para.*, p. 192). Kriton Group: Louvre F 339, the cartellino is opposite the handle (*ABV*, p. 446, no. 1). Unattributed: *Agora* P 24946 (H. A. Thompson, *Hesp.* 25 [1956], pl. 17c).

in imitation of the less popular method of olpe decoration he placed the panel opposite the handle. Four olpai attributed to the Amasis Painter also follow this system of decoration,⁴⁸ and beginning around the middle of the sixth century it becomes the rule on circular-mouthed olpai. The earliest of these have Amasean upright buds above their pictures, and in fact are attributed to artists related in style to the Amasis Painter.⁴⁹

A few choes imitate the Amasis Painter's bud friezes. Two of these choes are attributed to the Taleides Painter, the fragmentary chous Boston 10.210 signed by Taleides as potter, and Madrid 10932, unsigned (Figures 7–9).⁵⁰ The Madrid vase is also very near in size to the Amasis Painter's larger choes. A third vase, in Mrs. Randolph A. Hearst's collection at Hillsborough, is unattributed but certainly Amasean in drawing.⁵¹ An unpublished fragment from the Athenian Acropolis is identified by Beazley as part of a chous and compared in drawing with the Amasis Painter.⁵² The fragment preserves a good part of the ornament, upright black lotus buds, all open, with single dots between the lotuses. Although the buds are too stubby to be attributed to the Amasis Painter himself, they are bordered by three glaze lines (one above and two below), his normal framing pattern.

Similarly fat lotus buds are found on the choes by the Taleides Painter (Figures 7–9), although their ornament bands are larger and framed by single black lines. As is usual in the Amasis Painter's bud friezes, there are single dots between the lotuses on the Madrid chous, but on the Boston and Hillsborough vases the bands are a little different. On the former there is a glaze dot in each spandrel under the buds, and a black droplet between the lotuses. On the Hillsborough chous the subsidiary ornaments are reversed; the droplets are in the spandrels and the dots are between the buds. A similar ornament appears once in the Amasis Painter's work, on the shoulder of the lekythos London B 548, placed by Bothmer in the painter's middle phase.⁵³ It is roughly contemporary with the Boston and Hillsborough choes. A fragment of a chous from the Athenian Acropolis, attributed to an artist near the Madrid Painter,⁵⁴ has a lotus frieze that recalls those by the Amasis Painter and the Taleides Painter. The buds are somewhat thinner, but there are glaze dots both between and below the lotuses.

One more aspect of our chous remains to be dis-

cussed, its liquid capacity. In the Greek world, chous was the name of a liquid measure⁵⁵ as well as of a vase shape. The standard chous equals twelve kotylai, which is the twelfth part of a metretes, and according to Hultsch a chous holds 3.283 liters.⁵⁶ Filled with water to the glaze ring inside the neck, the New York chous holds 1.35 liters, a little more than 41 percent of the standard or 5.5 kotylai (filled to the brim it contains 1.365 liters). Louvre F 37, nearly identical in

48. Once Canino (ABV, p. 153, no. 33), London B 471 (ABV, p. 153, no. 31), Berlin (East) 1731 (ABV, p. 153, no. 34), and Würzburg 333 (ABV, p. 153, no. 36).

49. Leningrad 1453 (St. 129), attributed to the Taleides Painter by Bothmer (unpublished); Conservatori 6 (ABV, pp. 176, and 671, no. 3); Paris, Niarchos (Münzen und Medaillen, Basel, Nov. 29, 1958, no. 89, pl. 25; D. von Bothmer, *AJA* 80 [1976] p. 437; Mommsen, *Der Affekter*, p. 36, n. 193); once New York market (Emmerich Gallery, *Art of the Ancients* [1968] no. 10); Louvre F 158 (unpublished) and Rhodes (no number; *Clara Rhodos* 8 [1936] p. 137, fig. 123,ii,3; p. 139, fig. 125), both by the same painter; Cabinet des Médailles 258, close to the Affekter (ABV, p. 229 (viii); *Para.*, p. 108); Leningrad 1450 (St. 38; unpublished); and Mytilene 58 and 59, frs. (unpublished).

50. ABV, p. 174, nos. 3, 4. Madrid: H. incl. handle 23.3 cm., to lip 22.5; mouth 10 × 9; D. body 18.3, foot 10.5. Taleides the potter may have been a member of Amasis's workshop. Dr. Olmos informs me that the Madrid chous has a ridged handle, but that it is not possible to determine if there was a handle palm-ette because the vase is restored at the lower handle attachment.

51. I. K. Raubitschek, *The Hearst Hillsborough Vases* (Stanford, 1969) pp. 10–13; Bothmer, *AJA* 80 (1976) p. 437. H. incl. handle 19.5 cm., to lip 18.4; W. handle 2.1; mouth 9.2 × 7.9; D. body 15.6, foot 8.8.

52. Photograph in the Beazley Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. See above, note 15(1).

53. ABV, p. 154, no. 58.

54. ABV, p. 330, II, no. 1.

55. For the ancient literature, see the sources cited by F. Hultsch, *Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1866) II, pp. 226–227; also, Hultsch, *RE* III, cols. 2526–2527. The use of the term chous is attested as late as A.D. 1349 (E. Schilbach, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*: XII, iv. *Byzantinische Metrologie* [Munich, 1970] pp. 114–115). The chous is identical with the Roman congius and the Sicilian prochous. On the name and the liquid capacity of a chous, see also M. Lang, *The Athenian Agora*: XXI. *Graffiti and Dipinti* (Princeton, 1976) p. 56, and especially cat. nos. F 198, Ha 2; and F. D. Harvey, *AJA* 84 (1980) pp. 92–93. For metrological systems with volumetric equivalents differing from those of Hultsch, see: A. Oxé, *Bonner Jb.* 142 (1937) pp. 148–155; and O. Viedebanitt, *Festschrift Oxé* (Darmstadt, 1938) pp. 135–146.

56. F. Hultsch, *Griechische und römische Metrologie*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1882) pp. 101–104, 107–108, 703. On the chous as a liquid measure, also see: A. Böckh, *Metrologische Untersuchungen über Gewichte, Münzfüsse, und Maasse des Altertums* (Berlin, 1838) pp. 17, 33, 200–202; J. de Witte, *Revue archéologique* n.s. 5

measurements and profile, holds slightly more, 1.44 liters (filled to the brim 1.59 liters).

Since little research has been done on the volumetrics of painted Attic vases, we must turn to black and plain vases for comparisons. A smaller, incomplete plain-ware chous from the Athenian Agora holds 0.875 liter filled to the neck, where it is broken.⁵⁷ It is inscribed δε[μόσιον] and is an official measure, but it contains slightly more than 3.1 kotylai or 27 percent of a chous, a little greater than half the volume of the vase in New York. Other vases from the Agora confirm the 3.283-liter chous, at least in the fifth century. A clepsydra from a well deposit datable about 400 B.C. is inscribed XX, an abbreviation of χοῦς χοῦς (two choes) and holds 6.44 liters or a little more than double the standard when filled to the level of the overflow hole.⁵⁸ Filled to the brim, two black choes from the last quarter of the fifth century hold approximately the standard amount.⁵⁹ An unusual cylindrical measure of the fifth century from the North Slope of the Acropolis, inscribed δε[μ]όσιον and probably a dry measure, holds 3.2 liters, nearly a full chous.⁶⁰ The half-chous measure also exists. Agora P 2077, for example, a black chous, holds 1.55 liters filled to the brim.⁶¹

The liquid capacity of olpai is also measured in choes, as shown by the retrograde inscription in the cartellino on the circular-mouthed olpe Louvre F 339, a black vase: Λυσίας μ' ἐποίησεν ἡμιχονεῖ.⁶² The first part is clear—"Lysias made me"—and the rest is interpreted to mean "I am half a chous."⁶³ Long ago de Witte filled this olpe to the brim with sawdust and found that it held 1.46 liters. He tried to compensate for the difference between wet and dry measures, and estimated the true liquid capacity of the vase at 1.62 liters, or just under half a chous. Using water, Dr. von Bothmer recently remeasured the cubic content of this vase. Filled to the glaze ring, it holds 1.44 liters, the same amount as Louvre F 37, and when filled to the edge of the mouth 1.65 liters. Both Louvre F 37 and Louvre F 339 may be safely considered half-chous measures.

A trefoil olpe in Newark, made by a potter close to Amasis if not by Amasis himself, is nearly the same size as Louvre F 339, yet holds 1.35 liters when filled to the glaze ring, the same amount as the New York chous.⁶⁴ A second black olpe with an inscribed cartellino, Warsaw 142449, potted by Kriton, is very closely

related in size and shape to Louvre F 339, and may well have the same capacity as the Paris vase.⁶⁵ A fragment from an olpe similar in shape to those of Lysias and Kriton is signed by the potter Priapos.⁶⁶ A comparison of the olpai fashioned by these three potters, who are brought together by Beazley to form the Kriton Group, shows that they were very likely members of the workshop of Amasis.⁶⁷ Taleides the potter and the Taleides Painter were probably also members of this workshop.⁶⁸

Perhaps the sixth-century chous held somewhat less than the fifth-century measure. This is suggested by the capacity of another olpe, New York 59.11.17,

(1862) pp. 332–335; W. Dörpfeld, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 7 (1882) pp. 305–306; Hultsch, *RE* III, cols. 2526–2527; H. Nissen, "Griechische und römische Metrologie," *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* I, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1892) pp. 842–843, 867–868; O. Broneer, *Hesp.* 7 (1938) pp. 222–224; S. Young, *Hesp.* 8 (1939) pp. 278–280; D. A. Amyx, *Hesp.* 27 (1958) p. 209; Rumpf, *Bonner Jb.* 161 (1961) p. 193; and *Agora* X, pp. 41–48, 56–58.

57. *Agora* X, p. 62, cat. no. LM 8 (*Agora* P 20234).

58. *Agora* P 2084: Young, *Hesp.* 8 (1939) pp. 278–280.

59. *Agora* P 2086 holds 3.31 liters, and *Agora* P 2075 3.06 liters. Young, *Hesp.* 8 (1939) pp. 279–280; *Agora* XII, cat. no. 118.

60. Broneer, *Hesp.* 7 (1938) pp. 222–224. See also *Agora* X, p. 39, and cat. nos. DM 2–24.

61. Young, *Hesp.* 8 (1939) pp. 279–280; *Agora* XII, under cat. no. 118.

62. *ABV*, p. 446, no. 1; *Para.*, p. 192. H. incl. handle 27.2 cm., to lip 20.75; D. mouth 9.65, body 13.75, foot 9.46.

63. De Witte, *Revue archéologique* n.s. 5 (1862), pp. 332–335; H. Nachod, *RE* XIII, cols. 2543–2544; *ABV*, p. 446, no. 1.

64. Newark 50.264: *ABV*, p. 445, no. 9; Kevorkian Collection, American Art Association, New York, Jan. 21, 1928, no. 324; filled with potting soil to measure its capacity—H. incl. handle 25.41 cm., to lip 20.505; mouth 8.165 × 7.9; D. neck 7.79, body 13.27, foot 9.845. Compare the capacity of the Newark olpe with that of a black olpe from Athens in East Berlin (F 2669; *Agora* X, p. 57, pl. 16). This vase, whose neck and mouth are partially restored, is inscribed δεμόσιον and holds approximately 1.3 liters.

65. *ABV*, p. 446, no. 2; *Para.*, p. 192. H. incl. handle 26.5 cm., to lip 20.505; D. mouth 9.5, body 13.5, foot 9.5.

66. *ABV*, pp. 170; 446, no. 3.

67. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens*, pp. 10, 27–28. Compare the olpai of the Kriton Group with London B 471, attributed to the Amasis Painter (*ABV*, p. 153, no. 32; *Para.*, p. 64; J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* [London, 1974] fig. 80).

68. *ABV*, p. 174.

attributed to the Amasis Painter.⁶⁹ When filled with water to the glaze ring it contains 2.8 liters, slightly less than double the cubic capacity of Louvre F 37 and Louvre F 339, and a little more than twice the volume of the chous in the Metropolitan Museum and the Newark olpe. It seems that the olpe in New York indeed holds a full sixth-century chous, and that this measure is less than the traditional contents of 3.283 liters for one chous. Furthermore, an olpe in the university of Mainz, attributed by Bothmer to the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe, is nearly identical in shape and measurements to New York 59.11.17, and has almost the same liquid capacity.⁷⁰ This vase has been pieced together from many fragments, and its interior is roughly patched in many places. Filled with salt, it holds about 2.0 liters to the glaze ring, and 2.75 liters to the brim.

The chous in the Metropolitan Museum stands at the head of a series of black-figured oinochoai of shape III that continues into the fifth century. The invention of the shape by Amasis so early in his career shows that from the beginning he was a master potter, and similarly, the characteristic drawing style of the Amasis Painter may be recognized even in the simple figures and ornament of our chous. If potter and painter were the same, then the apparent contrast between the refinement of the shape and the unsophisticated picture suggests that Amasis was a skilled potter before he turned to painting. Choes

datable later than the third quarter of the sixth century, however, have no direct connection with Amasis the potter and the Amasis Painter, and fall outside the subject of this article.⁷¹

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank Dr. Dietrich von Bothmer for giving me the opportunity to publish this vase, for allowing ready access to his photographic archive and to his notes, and for measuring the cubic contents of Louvre F 37 and Louvre F 339 on my behalf. Mary B. Moore kindly allowed me to examine photographs of black-figured oinochoai from the Athenian Agora, and her notes on them. In addition, I am grateful to the following individuals for their assistance concerning vases in their care: Susan H. Auth (The Newark Museum), D. P. Dawson and Georgina Plowright (City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery), G. Maetzke (Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco), Jane Nelson (San Francisco, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum), Alain Pasquier (Paris, Musée du Louvre), Dr. E. Rohde (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin), R. Olmos Romera (Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional), C. C. Vermeule III (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts), and Michael C. Vickers (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum). For their help, I am indebted to: J. Robert Guy, who drew my attention to the chous in Palermo; Joan R. Mertens, who made suggestions that improved the text; William Schenck, who prepared the drawings in Figures 24 and 25 for publication; and Thomas Weber, who provided a profile of the olpe Mainz 87.

69. *ABV*, p. 698, no. 3 bis; *Para.*, pp. 66, 192. H. incl. handle 32.9 cm., to lip 27.0; mouth 11.6 × 11.2; D. neck 10.060, body 16.541, foot 12.901. New York 59.11.17 is very close in proportions and measurements to an unattributed trefoil olpe from the Athenian Agora (P 1227; *ABV*, p. 445, no. 7), which may also have been fashioned by Amasis: H. incl. handle 32.5 cm., to lip 26.4; D. body 16.5, foot 12.0.

70. Mainz 87: *CVA*, pl. 38, 1–3; Bothmer, *AK* 3 (1960) p. 77.

71. The principal painters, classes, and groups to which Beazley attributes these choes are: Painter of Brussels R 236 (*ABV*, p. 436, no. 7), Class of Vatican G. 50 (*ABV*, p. 439; *Para.*, p. 190), Class of Red-bodied Oinochoai III (*ABV*, pp. 439–440; *Para.*, p. 191), Gela Painter (*ABV*, pp. 473, Haspels no. 196; 474, nos. 22–27; *Para.*, p. 216), Near the Gela Painter (*ABV*, p. 475, nos. 1, 2), Manner of the Haimon Painter (*ABV*, p. 555, no. 434), Swan Group (*ABV*, p. 658, nos. 134, 135), and Near the Swan Group (*Para.*, p. 315).

Appendix

CHOES: ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

This appendix includes some additions to Beazley's lists in *ABV* and *Para.*, and notes the unattributed choes known to me. Page references are to *ABV*, unless otherwise stated.

NORTH SLOPE GROUP

P. 129, no. 5 (Athens, Agora P 1255): a chous, not an oinochoe of shape IV.

Add:

ATHENS, Agora P 25577, fr., from Athens. (Warrior, and a male holding a staff.)

THE AMASIS PAINTER

P. 153, no. 38 (Oxford 1929.19, fr.): probably from an olpe.

P. 153, no. 41 (Louvre F 37): K. Schefold, *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen* (Munich, 1978) fig. 108.

P. 155, no. 67 (London B 600.31, fr.): from a chous.

Add:

NEW YORK 1978.11.22, found near Orvieto. Sotheby Parke-Bernet, December 14, 1978, no. 233. Warriors. [Bothmer].

LOUVRE, fr. Ridged handle, decorated with a palmette.

Add the following, related to the Amasis Painter:

HILLSBOROUGH, Hearst. I. K. Raubitschek, *The Hearst Hillsborough Vases* (Stanford, 1969) pp. 10–13. Arrival or departure of warriors. On the attribution, see D. von Bothmer, *AJA* 80 (1976), p. 437.

ATHENS, Acropolis, fr., from Athens. Fight (head of warrior to right, raised right hand holds a spear). [Beazley].

NEAR THE MADRID PAINTER

P. 330, II, no. 1 (Athens, Acropolis 825, fr.): from a chous.

NEAR THE MICHIGAN PAINTER

Add:

PALERMO, from Selinus. Adriani et al., *Odeon ed altri "monumenti" archeologici* (Palermo, 1971) p. 186, pl. 11C. Komos.

CLASS OF VATICAN G.50

P. 439, no. 7 (Berlin 1938): destroyed in the Second World War.

P. 439, no. 8 (Ferrara T. 251): CVA, pl. 33, 1 and 2; the number is 199.

Add:

ATHENS, Agora P 15723, fr., from Athens. Dionysos and a woman. Related in drawing to the Dot-ivy Group [Frel].

BALTIMORE, Archaeological Society KS 95 (Johns Hopkins University). Komos. [Bothmer].

TOKYO MARKET. Lion and boar flanking a tree. Sotheby at Mitsukoshi, Tokyo, October 1–2, 1969, no. 79.

VIENNA, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 907. Satyr and maenad.

DOT-IVY GROUP

Add:

ATHENS, Agora P 17466, from Athens. Warrior between women.

LIMOGES 78.97. CVA, pl. 8, 1 and 3. Fight.

VIENNA, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 500. Warrior between youths.

RED-BODIED OINOCHOAI III

Para. p. 191, no. 6 bis (to *ABV*, p. 439; Ferrara T. 26 C VP): CVA, pl. 33, 5 and 6; the number is 14309. Belongs to the Haimon Group. [Beazley].

THE GELA PAINTER

P. 473, Haspels no. 196 (Athens, Vlasto): now Tour la Reine (Attica), Serpieri.

P. 474, no. 22 (Ferrara T. 253): CVA, pl. 7, 3 and 6; the number is 197.

P. 474, no. 23 (Ferrara T. 790): CVA, pl. 8, 1 and 5; the number is 193.

P. 474, no. 25 (Ferrara T. 135): CVA, pl. 8, 2 and 6; the number is 196.

P. 475, no. 26 (Berlin 1490): on loan to Göttingen.

P. 475, no. 27 (Copenhagen 69): *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antike Beschaving* 49 (1974) p. 135, fig. 38.

Para. p. 216 (to *ABV*, p. 475; Leyden K 94.9.20): *Bulletin . . . Antike Beschaving* 49 (1974) p. 136, fig. 39; CVA, pl. 83, 1 and 2.

Add:

FERRARA 16353 (T. 1049 B), from Spina. CVA, pl. 7, 4 and 7. Dionysos reclining. [Beazley].

NEAR THE GELA PAINTER

P. 475, no. 1 (Ferrara T. 274): CVA, pl. 8, 3 and 7; the number is 198.

P. 475, no. 2 (Ferrara T. 748): CVA, pl. 8, 4 and 8; the number is 194.

BY OR NEAR THE ATHENA PAINTER

ATHENS, Agora P 5209, fr., from Athens. (Male, or perhaps a satyr). [Smith].

NEAR THE PAINTER OF VILLA GIULIA M. 482

Para. p. 296 (to ABV, p. 590; Agora P 24681): the correct number is P 24675, and the shape is probably a chous.

SWAN GROUP

Add:

ATHENS, Agora P 3019, from Athens. Swans.

OXFORD 1930.30, from Athens. Van Hoorn, fig. 375. Swans.

UNATTRIBUTED

ATHENS 19175, from Vari. Departure of a warrior (draped youth standing to right; nude youth moving right, looking around; horseman to right; warrior standing to left; nude youth standing to left).

ATHENS, Agora P 1559, fr., from Athens. (Bull). E. Vanderpool, *Hesp.* 15 (1946) p. 313, pl. 62, 210.

ATHENS, Agora P 4276, fr., from Athens. (Youth).

ATHENS, Agora P 4573, fr., from Athens. (Woman).

ATHENS, Agora P 6091, fr., from Athens. (Dionysos reclining on a couch).

ATHENS, Agora P 8886, fr., from Athens. Dionysos and two satyrs.

ATHENS, Agora P 9278, fr., from Athens. (Woman; at the left, the feet and part of the body of an animal [a deer? held by the woman?]).

ATHENS, Agora P 12495, fr., from Athens. Fight.

ATHENS, Agora P 17140, fr., from Athens. (Youth on horseback, holding two spears, opposite a male hand grasping a spear or staff).

ATHENS, Agora P 24681, fr., from Athens. (Dionysos and Hermes).

ATHENS, British School. Van Hoorn, fig. 420. Leto, Apollo, Artemis.

FERRARA 247 (T. 660), from Spina. CVA, pl. 33, 3 and 4. Satyr and a dancing man.

ONCE LUCERNE MARKET. *Bedeutende Kunstwerke aus dem Nachlass Dr. Jacob Hirsch*, A. Hess, A.G., Lucerne, December 7, 1957, no. 16, pl. 11. Herakles fighting an Amazon.

MAPLEWOOD (N.J.), Noble. Satyr pouring wine from a skin.

MOSCOW, Pushkin M-1363. Goat and satyr. Small.

MOSCOW, Pushkin II 1 b 361. Man in a Phrygian cap reclining on a couch, holding out a phiale. Small.

TÜBINGEN S./10 1504, fr. C. Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen* (Reutlingen, 1924) cat. no. D 6, pl. 6; CVA, pl. 22, 1. Dionysos between satyrs. [Bothmer].

ABBREVIATIONS

ABV—J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford, 1956)

Agora X—M. Lang and M. Crosby, *The Athenian Agora: X. Weights, Measures and Tokens* (Princeton, 1964)

Agora XII—B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora: XII. Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th, and 4th Centuries B.C.* (Princeton, 1970)

AJA—*American Journal of Archaeology*

AK—*Antike Kunst*

Bonner Jb.—*Bonner Jahrbücher*

CVA—*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*

fr., fr., fragment, fragments

Hesp.—*Hesperia*

van Hoorn—G. van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria* (Leyden, 1951)

JHS—*Journal of Hellenic Studies*

Para.—J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford, 1971)

RE—*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*

Simon and Hirmer—E. Simon, and M. and A. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen* (Munich, 1976)

Stained Glass from the Cathedral of Tours: The Impact of the Sainte-Chapelle in the 1240s

LINDA MOREY PAPANICOLAOU

THE SAINTE-CHAPELLE AND THE DISSEMINATION OF THE COURT STYLE

IN 1239 St. Louis (Louis IX, 1226–70) purchased the Crown of Thorns from his cousin Baldwin II, the Latin emperor of Constantinople. An account of the solemn translation of the relic to Paris was written by Gauthier Cornut, archbishop of Sens and a participant in the ceremonies. The relic was met at Villeneuve-l'Archevêque by St. Louis and his brother, Robert d'Artois. Following its reception in the cathedral of Sens, it was borne to Paris, where it was displayed by Gauthier to the people before being placed in the palace chapel. In 1241 more relics of the Passion were acquired and within the next seven years St. Louis built a new, sumptuously decorated chapel in the palace, the Ste.-Chapelle, to house them. The chapel was consecrated on April 26, the first Sunday after Easter, in 1248. Four months later, St. Louis, his prestige as *rex christianissimus* at its apogee, departed on his ill-fated crusade to the Holy Land.¹

The Ste.-Chapelle has long been recognized as the critical monument in the wide dissemination of the Parisian Court Style of stained glass in the mid-thirteenth century. The chapel was conceived as a monumental reliquary, its stonework painted and gilt like metalwork. Its upper chapel, where the relics were housed, glitters with the reds, golds, and blues of a vast ensemble of stained-glass windows, illustrating the history of mankind from the Creation through the Redemption in multiple registers of historiated medallions. Modern history is represented in the final bay of the narrative sequence, which depicts the

history of the relics of the Passion, from the Finding of the True Cross through the Translation of the Crown of Thorns, the chapel's chief relic, to Paris.²

Almost immediately, the Ste.-Chapelle began to set new architectural and artistic fashions in Paris and in the surrounding regions. Stained glass resembling that of the Ste.-Chapelle survives at Soissons, Troyes, Auxerre, and St.-Julien-du-Sault. Virginia Raguin has attributed the Court-Style windows of the last two of these churches, both in Burgundy, to the Isaiah Master of the Ste.-Chapelle and has proposed a date as early as 1247 for them. She credits the commission of artists from the royal chapel to the respective patrons of the churches, who wished to express their close associations with the crown. St.-Julien-du-Sault belonged to the archbishops of Sens. The patron and builder of the church was none other than Gauthier

1. Gauthier Cornut, "Historia susceptionis corone spinee Jesu Christi," in *Historia francorum scriptores*, ed. A. Duchesne (Paris, 1649) V, pp. 407–411; for a general life of St. Louis see Margaret Wade Labarge, *Saint Louis, Louis IX, Most Christian King of France* (Boston/Toronto, 1968).

2. Robert Branner, *Saint Louis and the Court Style* (London, 1965) chap. 4; Jean Lafond and Louis Grodecki, *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, France: I. Notre-Dame et la Sainte-Chapelle* (Paris, 1959) and Louis Grodecki, *Sainte-Chapelle*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1975), for the architecture and stained glass of the chapel. The Relics of the Passion window, bay A, is illustrated in Lafond and Grodecki, *Corpus Vitrearum*, pls. 184–188. For the program of the Ste.-Chapelle, see Robert Branner, "The *Grande Châsse* of the Sainte-Chapelle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, n.s. 77 (1971) pp. 5–18, and "The Painted Medallions in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s. 58, pt. 2 (1968) pp. 5–42.

Cornut, author of the account of the translation of the Crown of Thorns to Paris. Gauthier died in 1241, and was succeeded as archbishop by his brother, Gilon Cornut, who participated in the dedication of the Ste.-Chapelle in 1248.³

In the cathedral of Soissons, the arrival of glass painters from the atelier of the Passion master of the Ste.-Chapelle was associated with the engagement of a Parisian architect to design the upper stories of the facade.⁴

During these years, a new choir was under construction at the cathedral of Tours. The glazed triforium and the clerestory of the Tours choir are filled with tracery closely copying the patterns of the Ste.-Chapelle. These bays are glazed with standing figures and Court-Style historiated medallion windows which also help to make the chancel reminiscent of the royal chapel in Paris.

The glazing of the Tours chancel, however, was only begun around 1255 and belongs to a later phase in the development of Parisian stained-glass painting.⁵ Its style and relationship to the Ste.-Chapelle lie outside the scope of the present paper. Here we shall be concerned with the identification of an earlier stained-glass atelier at Tours, whose activity in the later 1240s forms an intermediary between the chancel glazing and that of the Ste.-Chapelle, and makes Tours also among the first provincial centers to embrace the Court Style under the influence of the Ste.-Chapelle.

THE CROWN OF THORNS ATELIER AT TOURS CATHEDRAL

The focus of this study is a set of four panels of stained glass in the Cloisters Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁶ Two of these contain narrative scenes. In one a young, beardless king clad in a red tunic, and followed by three companions, is carrying a chalice on which rests a green twisted wreath (Figure 1). The other shows an archbishop wearing the pallium, who stands behind a masonry parapet or low wall and raises both hands, seemingly to display something—which is now lost—to a kneeling man below (Figure 2). The other panels are of figures deprived of their original context. One combines two figures from different scenes, a standing nimbed monk who holds a book in his left hand (probably St. Martin of Tours), and a seated female saint (Figure

3). The other represents two seated men, a bearded saint, whose garments and bare feet identify him as an apostle, and his companion (Figure 4).

Attempts to determine the provenance of these panels have been made ever since they were acquired for The Cloisters in 1937. According to the dealer, they were said to have come from Troyes, although no comparable glass survives in the region of Champagne. The serenity of the figures and the fishhook folds of their drapery led Jane Hayward to suggest that the panels derived stylistically from Parisian art and that they might have been produced in northern France between 1230 and 1240.⁷

In fact, two of the panels, and by implication therefore all of them, may be traced to Tours. During the course of my research on the stained glass of the chancel of the cathedral of Tours, I discovered that Figures 1 and 2 had been described by Baron François de Guilhermy, who visited Tours several times in the nineteenth century prior to the ambula-

3. Louis Grodecki, "De 1200 à 1260," in *Le Vitrail français*, ed. Marcel Aubert (Paris, 1958) pp. 150–156, and idem, "St. Louis et le vitrail," *Les Monuments Historiques de la France*, n.s. 16, no. 4 (1970) pp. 6–21, discusses the dissemination of the Parisian Court Style following the glazing of the Ste.-Chapelle. For the Ste.-Chapelle-style glass of Auxerre and St.-Julien-du-Sault, see Virginia C. Raguin, "The Isaiah Master of the Sainte-Chapelle in Burgundy," *Art Bulletin* 59 (1977) pp. 483–493.

4. Carl F. Barnes, Jr., "The Location of the Sainte-Chapelle Stained Glass in the Cathedral of Soissons," *Art Bulletin* 53 (1971) pp. 459–460, and Madeline H. Caviness and Virginia Chieffo Raguin, "Another Dispersed Window from Soissons: A Tree of Jesse in the Sainte-Chapelle Style," *Gesta* 20 (1981) pp. 191–198.

5. Bourassé and Manceau, *Verrières du choeur de l'église métropolitaine de Tours* (Paris/Tours, 1849), and H. Boissonnot, *Histoire et description de la cathédrale de Tours* (Paris, 1920), the two primary sources for the Tours stained glass, publish only drawings of the windows. Stylistic discussion and photographs may be found in Louis Grodecki, *Vitraux de France*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1953) no. 23, and idem, in *Le Vitrail français*, p. 156, fig. 112. The chronology and style of the chancel glazing were summarized in my paper, "Thirteenth-Century Stained Glass from the Abbey Church of St.-Julien at Tours and Its Parisian Sources," 13th Conference on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Mich., May 1978, abstracted in *Gesta* 17 (1978) pp. 75–76.

6. The Cloisters Collection, 37.173.2–5; this discussion does not follow the order of the accession numbers, or that in which the panels are now exhibited in The Cloisters. Detailed descriptions of the panels appear in the appendix. James J. Rorimer, "Stained Glass for The Cloisters," *MMAB* 33:5, sect. II (1938) p. 12, fig. 9, and idem, *The Cloisters*, 3rd ed. (MMA, New York, 1963) pp. 56–57, fig. 22; Jane Hayward, "Stained-Glass Windows," *MMAB*, n.s. 30 (1971–72) p. 114, fig. p. 115.

7. Hayward, "Stained-Glass Windows," p. 114.



1. *St. Louis Carrying the Crown of Thorns*. H. 21 in. (53.3 cm.). The Cloisters Collection, 37.173.3

tory restorations and made detailed lists of the subjects in the windows. Guilhermy saw these panels installed with other fragments in a window of one of the choir chapels:

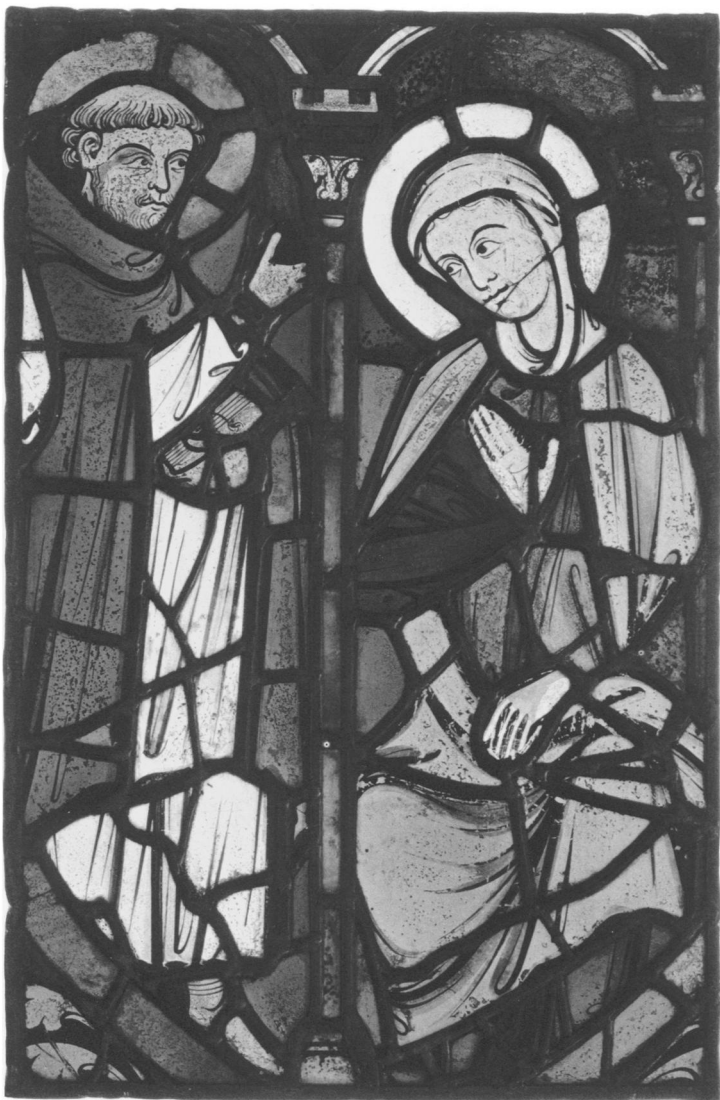
Un évêque debout sur un édifice montre un objet circulaire de couleur verte, qui me paraît la Sainte Couronne d'Epines. Un homme du peuple agenouille et joint les mains. . . . Un petit personnage imberbe, debout, couronné, vetu de rouge, porte la Sainte Couronne sur un vase d'or. Deux ou trois personnages le suivent.⁸



2. *Gauthier Cornut, Archbishop of Sens, Displaying the Crown of Thorns*. H. 21 1/8 in. (53.7 cm.). The Cloisters Collection, 37.173.4

The Crown of Thorns has disappeared from the archbishop's hands, but Guilhermy's description testifies to its onetime existence. Both panels probably come from the same window, one that illustrated the

8. François de Guilhermy, "Description des localités de la France," Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Department of Manuscripts, MS. fr. n.a. 6111, XVIII, p. 24. According to the numbering system established by the International Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi in 1958, the panels were mounted in bay sV.



3. *Standing Monk (St. Martin of Tours?) and Seated Female Saint*. H. 21 in. (53.3 cm.). The Cloisters Collection, 37.173.2

translation of the Crown of Thorns to Paris by St. Louis and its display to the people outside the city by Gauthier Cornut, archbishop of Sens. The identification of this lost window, which was probably inspired by the illustration of the same events in the Relics of the Passion window in Ste.-Chapelle,⁹ suggests a name for the Tours workshop: the Crown of Thorns atelier.

Other stained-glass debris by this atelier survives in the choir chapels of Tours Cathedral. Of the original glazing of these chapels, only four windows remain intact. These are a typological Redemption or New



4. *Seated Apostle and Companion*. H. 21 1/8 in. (53.7 cm.). The Cloisters Collection, 37.173.5

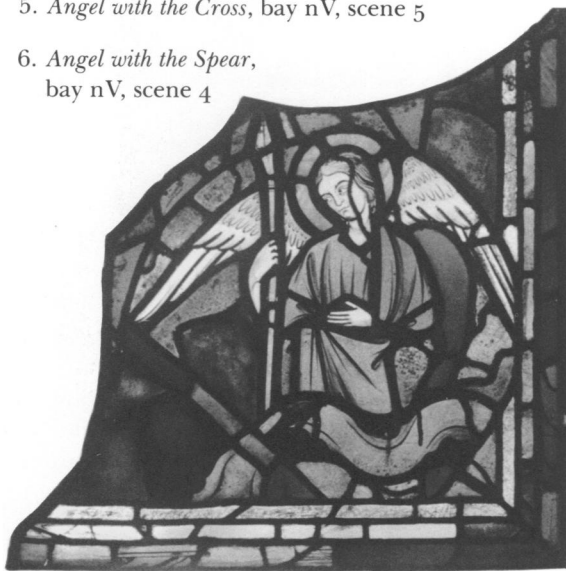
Alliance window in the Lady Chapel and three hagiological bays in the adjacent radiating chapel to the north, all in a style quite different from that of the Crown of Thorns atelier. Two of the north chapel bays, however, contain stopgaps, fragments of medieval glass which have been inserted at a later date to replace original panels lost from the window. Five of these are in the Crown of Thorns style. They include three fragments, each with an angel bearing instruments of the Passion (Figures 5–7), and a panel of

9. See above, note 2.



5. *Angel with the Cross*, bay nV, scene 5

6. *Angel with the Spear*,
bay nV, scene 4



7. *Angel with the Nails*, bay nIV, scene 8



5–7. *Angels Holding Relics of the Passion*, from a Last Judgment window. Cathedral of Tours (photos: © Arch. Phot. Paris/SPADEM)

risen souls, all evidently from a Last Judgment window; and a panel depicting a seated youth dressed in red and white, who has been mistakenly restored as Christ (Figure 8).¹⁰ Five panels from a St. Martin window, which before the Second World War were set as stopgaps in the lancets of the south transept rose, are also of this stylistic group. The subjects of three panels are the mule team which St. Martin miraculously halted, the death of St. Martin, and the translation of his body to Tours (Figures 9–11). Two other heavily restored panels depict St. Martin appearing to a sleeping figure in a dream, and three cripples. The standing monk in Figure 3 may have belonged to this window.¹¹

10. Boissonnot, *Histoire et description*, p. 343, gives a drawing of the souls. They are now mounted in bay nV, scene 2.

11. The panels are represented in their former positions in the central lancets under the south transept rose in the photo-montage in the library of the Direction de l'Architecture of the Monuments Historiques, Paris; they were not mounted again after the war. For the life of St. Martin of Tours, Dialogues, and the Epistle to Bassula," *The Fathers of the Church*, ed. R. J. Deferrari, VII (New York, 1949); Gregory of Tours, "Selections from the Minor Works," trans. W. C. McDermott, *Pennsylvania University Department of History, Translations and Reprints from European History*, ser. 3, IV (London, 1949) p. 24–60; and Lecoy de la Marche, *St. Martin* (1881; rpt. Tours, 1920).

8. *Seated Youth*, restored as Christ. Cathedral of Tours, bay nV, scene 3 (photo: © Arch. Phot. Paris/SPADEM)





9. *Mule Driver and Team*



10. *Death of St. Martin*



11. *Translation of the Body of St. Martin to Tours*

9–11. *Scenes from the Life of St. Martin*, from a St. Martin window. Paris, Monuments Historiques (photos: © Arch. Phot. Paris/SPADEM)

12. *Kneeling Angel*. Present location unknown (photo: Demotte, Inc.)



Several other pieces of stained glass, now lost, may be added to the catalogue of this atelier's work. One is a roundel depicting a kneeling angel (Figure 12) who holds up a book in the same way that Gauthier Cornut holds up the Crown of Thorns in the Cloisters panel (Figure 2). The roundel, which is at present unlocated, was at one time in the possession of



13. *Head of a Bearded Man*. Present location unknown (after *Stained Glass*, 1934)

the dealer Demotte, in whose catalogue it was given as coming from Le Mans and dated about 1240. No similar glass, however, survives in the cathedral of Le Mans.¹² Another fragment is the head of a bearded man, possibly an apostle and apparently a detail of a whole panel, which illustrates a posthumously published article by Lucien Demotte in the 1934 issue of *Stained Glass* (Figure 13). The caption gives Rouen as the provenance of the piece, although here again there is no comparable glass at that site. The present location of the panel, which may have been in the Demotte collection when it was published, is unknown.¹³ If the bearded figure is an apostle, it may have come from the same window as Figure 4.

In addition, Guilhermy's description of the Tours ambulatory glazing refers to other panels which may have belonged to this stylistic group. They include two devils with a cauldron and an angel weighing souls, both probably from the Last Judgment window, and a scene of an apostle before a seated, sword-wielding king.¹⁴ These panels, as well as those in The Cloisters, were removed from the ambulatory by the Tours restorer, Leopold Lobin, who apparently formed a private collection from his gleanings. The collection was dispersed at the beginning of this century and several panels from it found their way to the United States through various dealers.¹⁵

Unfortunately, no window by the Crown of Thorns atelier survives in its original location at Tours, and the fact that Guilhermy saw some of its work in windows of the cathedral chapels in the nineteenth century is no guarantee of provenance. The chapter is known to have purchased glass from other churches in the region for use as stopgaps in the early nineteenth century and even before. Some of these stopgap panels were installed in the choir chapels with the Crown of Thorns panels when Guilhermy saw them.¹⁶ Nonetheless, the dating and stylistic analysis of the choir architecture, together with the stylistic analysis of the stained glass of the Crown of Thorns atelier itself, support the theory that this glass was made for the cathedral of Tours, and probably for the chapels of the choir.

STYLE AND DATING

The style of the Crown of Thorns atelier is restrained and elegant. The coloration is cool, yet intense, with

figures clothed in gold, red, green, and especially in lavender and white, and deployed against rich blue backgrounds—or, in the case of the Demotte angel, a red background. The panels show a variety of medallion types. The St. Martin bay was composed of almond-shaped medallions quartered and linked on the axis by quatrefoils (Figures 9–11). The panels of angels with instruments of the Passion seem to have been lobes framing a canted square (Figures 5–7),

12. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Stained Glass from the XI to the XVIII Century*, Demotte, Inc. (New York, 1929) no. 15. The panel is illustrated in color on the cover of the catalogue and in black and white in an advertisement for the exhibition in *International Studio* (March 1929) p. 79. I am grateful to Michael Cothren for calling this piece to my attention.

The catalogue, which gives a diameter of 10 in. for the panel and describes part of the leading as old, states that it came through the Julien Chappée collection. My dismissal of the attribution to Le Mans around 1240 requires some explanation. Several panels from a St. Nicholas window and one from a St. Martin window, now mounted in the choir chapels of the cathedral of Le Mans, have a soft drapery style which features bunches of fishhook folds reminiscent of the Crown of Thorns style at Tours. Grodecki dates this glass in the 1240s (Eugène Hucher, *Calques des vitraux peints de la cathédrale du Mans* [Le Mans, 1864] pls. 70–79; Louis Grodecki, "Les Vitraux de la cathédrale du Mans," *Congrès archéologique de France* 119 [1961] pp. 59–99). The features of the Le Mans figures are similar to those of Tours; however, their expressions lack the acuteness of the Tours heads, and characteristic details of the Tours style, such as the rendering of the nose and eyebrows and the exposed ears, are absent. The relationship between the Le Mans and the Tours glass remains to be determined, but one conclusion is readily apparent: the Demotte angel belongs stylistically with the Tours group and probably comes from Tours rather than Le Mans.

13. "Lucien Demotte, 1906–34," *Stained Glass* 29 (1934) ill. p. 81. Another, more enigmatic piece of glass within this stylistic group is a fragment representing a risen soul which is set into one of a pair of medallions depicting the story of Noah in the Pitcairn Collection, Bryn Athyn, Pa. The panels are modern and, moreover, are composed of a pastiche of heads imitating a variety of medieval stained-glass styles. The risen soul is itself of dubious authenticity, but at least one other head in these panels has proved to be a copy of an authentic medieval fragment, which leaves open the possibility that an original may exist for the soul also (I am grateful to Jane Hayward for this information). Interestingly, a set of photographs acquired by James J. Rorimer from Demotte for the archives of the Metropolitan Museum includes these panels (nos. 1924, 1926).

14. Guilhermy, "Description des localités," XVIII, pp. 23v–24.

15. My paper, "The Iconography of the Genesis Window of the Cathedral of Tours," *Gesta* 20 (1981) pp. 179–189, deals with some of the glass from the Lobin collection.

16. Guilhermy, "Description des localités," XVIII, pp. 20–24.

suggesting a composite medallion structure for the Last Judgment bay. The segment of filleting at the base of the Cloisters apostle panel indicates for this bay a quatrefoil medallion with projecting darts in the corners (Figure 4).

The figures sit or stand and communicate with one another in restrained gestures. They are well proportioned and rendered with a convincing feeling of solidity. Their faces are oval, with full curving jawlines. The treatment of the nose and eyebrow is particularly distinctive. The nose is straight and slightly bony. At first glance, the two lines framing the bridge of the nose seem to continue smoothly into the broad arc of the eyebrow. Closer inspection reveals that the brushstrokes of the nose fan upward into the forehead, leaving a pair of light barbs which give the face an expression of intensity. The eyebrow is formed by a second brushstroke starting from the line of the nose. The eyes are almond-shaped with straight lower lids and small black pupils which fix intently on their objects. A light grisaille is washed around the eye sockets, down the sides of the nose, and around the mouth and chin. The hair is rendered with precise, neatly combed curls tucked tightly under. The scalloped curls of the tonsured archbishop and monk, and of the Demotte angel, are cut short to expose large, conch-shaped ears (Figures 2, 3, 12).

The quality of the Crown of Thorns atelier's style is revealed especially in its handling of drapery. Surfaces are smooth and simplified. Cloth is drawn across the knees of the seated figures in smooth concentrically curving folds which are carefully shaded in their troughs by grisaille (Figures 3, 4). This wash terminates in a series of delicate single brushstrokes which from a short distance give the impression of a graded shadow where the fold opens out. Where the cloth is gathered, in bunched cloaks or in bodices and sleeves, it is rendered in jutting fishhook folds, again carefully shaded. Grisaille wash is also used to give the figures a sense of sculptural mass. In the skirt of the figure kneeling before the archbishop, shadows modulate his silhouette, making his torso seem to turn in space. The cloak looped over the apostle's shoulder is washed with shadow, emphasizing his gesturing hand in front of it by creating an impression of overlapping planes.

Clearly, this is a sophisticated painting style. Its sources, as Hayward observed, are Parisian. The medallions, as they can be reconstructed, are all compa-

rable to Parisian types. The quartered, almond-shaped medallions of the St. Martin bay (Figures 9–11) recall the Ste.-Chapelle-style glass at Soissons or the glass from the Lady Chapel of St.-Germain-des-Prés, especially the panels from the Life of the Virgin or those that seem to have come from a window depicting the history of the abbey.¹⁷ The darted quatrefoil shape of the filleting in the Cloisters apostle panel (Figure 4) suggests a bay of smaller medallions arranged in registers, more like the glass of the Ste.-Chapelle itself or of St.-Julien-du-Sault.¹⁸ The composite medallion structure evident in the Last Judgment debris (Figures 5–7) recalls the arrangement of scenes in an early thirteenth-century Parisian manuscript, the Crawford Psalter in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.¹⁹ The Ste.-Chapelle-style St. Martin window at Auxerre has a similar structure, suggesting that even at mid-century composite lobed medallions might be used by Parisian glaziers when faced with a broad, plain lancet to fill.²⁰

The color selection of the Crown of Thorns atelier's glass can also be compared with Parisian stained glass. Its rich figural coloration is, admittedly, unlike that of the Ste.-Chapelle, where primary hues predominate in the ornament and the medallion grounds, while the figures themselves tend toward a paler, muted tonality. It does, however, resemble the St.-Germain-des-Prés history panels, which have a rich coloration of gold, green, red, lavender, and white against a deep blue background.

The relationship of the Tours figural style to Parisian stained glass is more difficult to define. In the Life of the Virgin and the history windows from St.-Germain-des-Prés, drapery retains a supple quality of the Tours style, but the use of the fishhook fold has declined. The laps of the seated figures and the gathered fabric of cloaks are articulated with sharply

17. Grodecki, in *Le Vitrail français*, pp. 150–155; and idem, "Stained Glass Windows of St.-Germain-des-Prés," *Connoisseur* 140 (Sept. 1957) pp. 33–37. Two panels from the history window have recently been acquired by The Cloisters (1973.262.1,2); see *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Notable Acquisitions, 1965–1975* (MMA, New York, 1975) p. 162.

18. Raguin, "Isaiah Master," discusses the medallion shapes of St.-Julien-du-Sault and the Ste.-Chapelle.

19. Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of St. Louis* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1977) fig. 58.

20. Raguin, "Isaiah Master," fig. 15.

creased pouch folds similar to those found in the north transept rose of Notre-Dame.²¹ The St.-Germain glass, dated around 1250, belongs stylistically to the second half of the century.

The major glazing atelier of the Ste.-Chapelle, a large shop of several painters, is in many respects closer in style to the Tours atelier. Its solid, columnar figures have small, oval heads. They sit or stand, gesturing to one another with calm deliberation, reminiscent of the Tours figures (Figure 14). Their physiognomy, however, differs from that of their Tours counterparts, as does the style of their drapery. The difference is particularly evident in the rendering of the laps of seated figures. In the Ste.-Chapelle glass, fabric falls in an apron of broken fishhook folds between the knees, while at Tours it is drawn loosely across the lap in a series of concentric curves.

This distinctive characteristic of the Tours style has its closest comparisons not in Parisian stained glass, but in a group of manuscripts of which the *Vie de St. Denis* of 1250 is the best known (Figure 15). Robert Branner dubbed the style of the *Vie de St. Denis* the flat-fold style and attributed all the manuscripts where it occurs to a single atelier active between 1230 and 1250. During the 1240s, then, the flat-fold style coexisted with the emerging broken fishhook style of Ste.-Chapelle, and, to judge by the number of surviving manuscripts, satisfied a widespread taste.²² In these manuscripts, drapery is drawn in smooth, concentric, flat folds across the knees of the seated figures and bunches up in jutting, fishhook folds. Fold channels are filled with delicately graded shadow. The heads are strongly reminiscent of the Tours heads. They have the same full jawlines, almond eyes with straight lower lids, bony noses, and precisely rendered hair with tight curls often tucked under to expose the ears. Moreover, in some illustrations the lines of the nose and eyebrows are broken by a pair of barbed strokes which recall the treatment of the nose and brow in the Tours heads.

The comparisons with Parisian stained glass and



14. Detail from the Exodus Window. Paris, Ste.-Chapelle (photo: © Arch. Phot. Paris/SPADEM)

15. *Virgin and Child*, from the *Vie de St. Denis*, 1250. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. acq. fr. 1098, fol. 58 (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)



21. Grodecki, "St.-Germain-des-Prés," figs. 7, 8; Lafond and Grodecki, *Corpus Vitrearum*, pp. 35–51.

22. Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, pp. 87–93, 95–96, figs. 244–271. A Missal from St.-Corneille, Compiègne, dated by Branner toward mid-century, seems particularly close to the Tours glass in style.

manuscripts show that the style of the Tours Crown of Thorns atelier derives from the art of Paris, and suggest a date in the 1240s for the atelier's activity. The translation of the Crown of Thorns in 1239 is obviously a firm *terminus post quem* for the Tours Crown of Thorns window, though it also seems likely that the prototype for the latter was the Relics of the Passion bay of the Ste.-Chapelle and that the Tours bay may be dated in the later forties.

This date, contemporary with or shortly after the glazing of the Ste.-Chapelle, is also consistent with the evidence of chronology and style of the architecture of the Tours choir.

THE CHOIR OF TOURS CATHEDRAL: ITS ARCHITECTURE AND ITS CHAPEL GLAZING

The earliest documents relating to the new choir of the twelfth-century cathedral are a letter from Pope Gregory IX to the abbot of Marmoutier, and a letter from the archbishop of Tours to the archbishop of Rouen, both dated 1233 and both concerned with soliciting donations for the construction. Work probably began shortly thereafter. Two royal charters, dated 1241 and 1243, later granted the cathedral chapter permission to use quarries owned jointly by the crown and the archiepiscopacy and to cut wood in a royal forest.²³

The beginning of St. Louis's crusade in 1248 may have slowed or even halted construction. The council of Lyon in that year had agreed that the Church should support the king's expedition with a 10 percent levy on ecclesiastical revenues. Churches within the royal sphere of influence actually donated 20 percent, an expense which lasted from 1248 to 1252 and formed the major source of income for the crusade.²⁴ The towns also contributed substantially. An account by the bailiff of Tours, dated Ascension 1248, lists the collection of 2,000 pounds *tournois* from the city.²⁵ Although no documents of Tours Cathedral's support for the crusade survive, this important archbishopric must certainly have contributed its share.

It is uncertain how far work had progressed by this time. Until recently the accepted interpretation of the documents was that actual construction began with the royal charters of 1241 and 1243, and that the chancel, reminiscent of the style of the Ste.-Chapelle,

was not undertaken until after the crusade.²⁶ It is in fact more likely that work had already begun shortly after the earliest documents of 1233. An unpublished manuscript of the acts of the chapter, unfortunately destroyed during the Second World War, apparently contained evidence suggesting a partial resumption of services in the choir during the early forties. In 1242 a bell was suspended over the choir, for which the chapter treasurer was directed to furnish a rope. In 1243, the canons resumed the celebration of the translation of St. Gatian, first bishop of Tours.²⁷

The earlier date for the commencement of construction is most strongly supported by Branner's analysis of the Tours architecture as representative of the early, "restrained" Court Style which preceded that of the Ste.-Chapelle. The elevation of the Tours chancel includes a tall, twin-unit triforium which, Branner suggests, was modeled on the royal Cistercian abbey of Royaumont, built by St. Louis and his mother, Blanche of Castile, between 1228 and 1236. During the course of construction at Tours, the tracery of the triforium and clerestory was redesigned in the newer fashion of the Ste.-Chapelle.²⁸

If the Tours choir had been begun around 1233 and the ambulatory chapels finished in the early forties, work on the chancel could have been underway

23. Boissonnot, *Histoire et description*, pp. 67ff., includes most of the documents of construction of the choir. A letter of 1233 from Gregory IX to the abbot of Marmoutier, requesting the abbey's assistance in the reconstruction of the cathedral choir, is preserved in an 18th-century copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Department of Manuscripts, Collection of Touraine and Anjou, VII, no. 2749.

24. Kenneth Setton, ed., *History of the Crusades: II. The Later Crusades* (Madison, Wis., 1969) pp. 490–492, analyzes the financial documents of the crusade.

25. M. Bouquet et al., eds., *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Paris, 1738–1904) XXI, p. 280, g.

26. Boissonnot, *Histoire et description*, pp. 67ff.; Francis Salet, "La Cathédrale de Tours," *Congrès archéologique de France* 106 (Paris, 1949) pp. 29–40; idem, *La Cathédrale de Tours*, Petite Monographie (Paris, 1949); and André Mussat, *Le Style gothique de l'ouest de la France* (Paris, 1966) pp. 164–169.

27. "Statuta et juramenta," Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 1273. The entries are cited in Jean Maan, *Sancta et metropolitana ecclesia turonensis* (Tours, 1667) p. 135, no. vii; Casimir Chevalier, "Les Origines de l'église de Tours," *Société Archéologique de Touraine, Mémoires* 21 (1871) p. 510; and Boissonnot, *Histoire et description*, pp. 83–86.

28. Branner, *St. Louis and the Court Style*, pp. 37–39, 65–67.

for several years before it was halted by the crusade. The decision to adopt Ste.-Chapelle tracery, therefore, could have been made in the 1240s, perhaps even while the royal chapel was itself still under construction.

Undoubtedly, the New Alliance window on the axis of the Lady Chapel and the three hagiological windows in the north radiating chapel represent the earliest phase of the chapel glazing. Louis Grodecki, citing the absence of influence of the Ste.-Chapelle style on the atelier which produced them, has dated the windows before 1245. This accords well with a completion of the ambulatory in the early forties. Although the New Alliance atelier has not yet been thoroughly studied, its figural style suggests a connection with the glazing of the Lady Chapel at Le Mans.²⁹

The Crown of Thorns atelier, I believe, was active in the second stage of the glazing of the ambulatory chapels. From what we can reconstruct of the atelier's windows, their scale and medallion formats are consistent with the broad, untraceryed lancets of these chapels. Two St. Martin panels, Figure 9 and the restored panel of the three cripples, preserve the lead-lines of lancet heads; the subjects cannot have been combined in a single medallion, which suggests that this window may have occupied one of the double lancet and rose bays of the lateral chapels. Perhaps a Relics of the Passion window, to which the Crown of Thorns panel probably belonged, was paired with the Last Judgment window in one of the chapels.

The probable date of the Crown of Thorns atelier's activity may thus be estimated to be from the mid-forties, following the New Alliance atelier's glazing of the central chapels on the one hand, and before the beginning of the crusade levy in 1248 on the other. It was in just those years that the upper stories of the chancel were redesigned in imitation of the Ste.-Chapelle.

CONCLUSIONS

The Court Style of Paris spread to Tours, as it did to other parts of France, in the immediate wake of the glazing of the Ste.-Chapelle. The possibility remains that the flat-fold style of the Crown of Thorns atelier was taken from Parisian manuscript painting, although the exceptional quality of the atelier's glass ar-

gues that these were not provincial artists dependent for their style on manuscript models. My personal conviction is that in the Crown of Thorns atelier we have a true Parisian glass shop whose style, heretofore identified only in manuscript painting, was also popular in the period of the Ste.-Chapelle.

Of the glass attributed to the Crown of Thorns atelier at Tours, the two eponymous panels are particularly important as a document of Capetian kingship on the eve of the crusade. Kingship, as has often been noted, is a consistent theme of the glazing program of the Ste.-Chapelle. Coronation scenes figure frequently in its biblical windows, and Christ's royal lineage is stressed in an unusually extensive Tree of Jesse with fourteen crowned ancestors. Its Relics of the Passion window continues this thread of sacred history into thirteenth-century Paris. St. Louis, who would depart on crusade for the Holy Land a few months after the consecration of the chapel in 1248, is depicted as the very heir to Christ. In the words of the papal charter for the foundation of the Ste.-Chapelle, in taking possession of the Crown of Thorns Louis had been crowned with Christ's own crown.³⁰ As Raguin has shown, it was this mystical association of Louis with Christ, as well as the special prestige of the French crown, which underlay the vogue for Parisian glass in the late forties.³¹ The two Crown of Thorns scenes in the Cloisters Collection are the only surviving works of art of the period which evoke this aspect of the Ste.-Chapelle's meaning through iconography rather than style.

The impending crusade was an integral part of the religious and political climate of 1248 when the Ste.-Chapelle was consecrated. Ironically, it was probably the crusade which cut short the career of the Crown of Thorns atelier at Tours. By 1248 construction had very likely progressed into the upper stories of the chancel, and quite possibly some preliminary plans

29. In the Corpus Vitrearum numbering system, these bays are I, nIII, nIV, and nV. Grodecki, in *Le Vitrail français*, pp. 155–156, fig. 120, publishes a section of bay nV; see also note 10 above. For the glass of the Lady Chapel at Le Mans, see Grodecki, "Vitraux de la cathédrale du Mans," pp. 78–80.

30. Grodecki, *Sainte-Chapelle*, pp. 51–52, Branner, *St. Louis and the Court Style*, pp. 56–57, and Raguin, "Isaiah Master," p. 492, discuss the importance of the relic of the Crown of Thorns in contemporary French thought.

31. Raguin, "Isaiah Master," pp. 491–493.

for the glazing of its great traceried windows had been made. Had the crusade been less of a financial burden, slowing or halting progress on the new choir, the Crown of Thorns atelier might well have gone on to glaze the chancel.

The archbishop of Tours, Geoffroy Martel, followed St. Louis to the Holy Land. He died abroad in 1251. His successor, Pierre of Lamballe, was elected in 1252 and it was probably he who undertook the glazing of the chancel around 1255.³² A new team of glass painters was engaged for the purpose. The fate of the Crown of Thorns atelier is unknown, for by this time it had disappeared from the cathedral chantier.

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32. Maan, *Sancta et metropolitana ecclesia turonensis*, pp. 137–138, and *Gallia Christiana*, ed. B. Haureau, XIV (Paris, 1856) cols. 109–110, give brief biographies of these two archbishops.

Appendix

FOUR STAINED-GLASS PANELS FROM TOURS CATHEDRAL

The Cloisters Collection, 37.173.2 (Figure 3)
Standing Monk (St. Martin of Tours?) and Seated Female Saint

21 × 13¾ in. (53.3 × 34.9 cm.)

The female saint wears a green robe and gold mantle, the monk, who holds a book in one hand and gestures with the other, a habit of lavender and white. Her nimbus is white, his red. For their heads, hands, and the monk's foot a delicate, flesh-toned glass is used. The panel has probably been completely remade, as the two figures are unlikely to have originally belonged together. The woman's right elbow and knee and the monk's gesturing hand are cropped off by the central column. Overlapping his shoulder is the elbow of a figure dressed in white, the remains of a companion who has also been cropped away. The central column and some of the blue background are modern, as are the glass of the woman's left wrist and the segment of bodice above it. The red filleting and blue foliate debris in the lower corners of the panel are probably stopgaps inserted by the restorer.

The monk may be a figure of St. Martin from the same window as the five St. Martin panels from the south transept rose (Figures 9–11). His physiognomy matches that of the saint on his deathbed (Figure 10). A similarly posed figure of St. Martin, also followed by companions, appears in the *Miracle of the Pine Tree* in the Ste.-Chapelle-style window at Auxerre.¹ The female saint may be the Virgin Mary but the particular subject depicted cannot be ascertained.

The Cloisters Collection, 37.173.3 (Figure 1)
St. Louis Carrying the Crown of Thorns
21 × 13½ in. (53.3 × 34.3 cm.)

St. Louis wears a red tunic and a gold crown. He carries the green Crown of Thorns on a gold chalice. Two of his companions wear green and gold respectively; only the top of the third companion's head can be seen. The head and shoulder of the figure in gold, a piece of purple fabric protruding behind him, and

the tree in the background are modern. In the upper corners of the panel are segments of red filleting and foliate debris which are probably stopgaps inserted by the restorer.

In the Translation scene in the Ste.-Chapelle, the relic is encased in a *châsse* which the king and his brother Robert carry between them. This is not necessarily inconsistent with our supposition that the Tours window is iconographically dependent on the Ste.-Chapelle Relics cycle. Though the meaning of the *châsse* would have been clear in the context of the latter, it would probably have been ambiguous in a window at Tours. Instead, the relic itself was depicted.²

The Cloisters Collection, 37.173.4 (Figure 2)
Gauthier Cornut, Archbishop of Sens, Displaying the Crown of Thorns
21⅞ × 13⅜ in. (53.7 × 34.0 cm.)

The archbishop wears a red cope and a white miter and pallium; the tunic of the kneeling figure is lavender. The parapet on which Gauthier stands is green and gold. The painting in this panel is all original, but the blue background has been pieced together from old glass, particularly where Gauthier once held the Crown of Thorns. The ornamental debris in the four corners is probably also old glass pieced in by the restorer. In this panel, as in the Translation panel, there is no indication of the original shape of the medallion.

According to Gauthier, the Crown of Thorns was displayed to the public from a specially constructed pulpit at the church of St. Anthony outside the walls

1. Raguin, "Isaiah Master," fig. 15.

2. Gauthier Cornut, "Historia susceptionis corone spinee," pp. 410–411; Lafond and Grodecki, *Corpus Vitrearum*, Ste.-Chapelle, bay A, scene 84. For illustrations of the Crown of Thorns carried in the hands, see Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, fig. 253, and Labarge, *St. Louis*, fig. 6a.

of Paris. A similar scene is preserved in the Relics window of the Ste.-Chapelle, although there Gauthier is depicted frontally with the king and queen standing on either side of him.³

The Cloisters Collection, 37.173.5 (Figure 4)

Seated Apostle and Companion

21 1/8 × 13 1/4 in. (53.7 × 33.7 cm.)

The bearded apostle wears a green robe and red mantle, his companion a white robe and pale blue mantle. The head of the companion is stylistically related to some of the clerestory windows of the chancel and may be a thirteenth-century restoration rather than simply a stopgap of old glass inserted at a later

date. An architectural structure on the left has been created from old glass, including a fragment of an inscription. The companion's knee is also a replacement. A few pieces of the blue background are modern. The segment of red and pearled white filleting, however, may well be the original border of the medallion, and the blue foliate sprigs and filleting in the lower left corner may be the remains of an ornamental boss in the window.

The subject of the panel is unknown, although among the stopgap debris that he saw in the choir chapels Guilhermy recorded another subject from an apostle's life, the apostle standing before a seated king bearing a sword (see above, note 14).

3. Gauthier Cornut, "Historia susceptionis corone spinee," p. 411; Lafond and Grodecki, *Corpus Vitrearum*, Ste.-Chapelle, bay A, scene 71.

The Arrest of Christ: A Gothic Relief in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

DOROTHY GILLERMAN

Assistant Professor, Department of Art, Brown University

IN HONOR OF ERNST KITZINGER¹

IN RECENT YEARS a Gothic relief representing the Arrest of Christ has been placed on exhibition in the medieval hall of the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 1).² Acquired through the dealer Demotte in France and said to have come originally from a church near Amiens, the relief entered the Museum through the bequest of Isaac D. Fletcher in 1917. Despite its nearly perfect condition and the unusual power of its imagery, the relief has never been published. The refinement of the carving and the complex interaction of the figures suggest a major monument, and yet it must be said that at present the mystery surrounding the date and provenance of this *Arrest of Christ* remains difficult to dispel entirely. Even without a secure pedigree, however, the relief deserves consideration in the light of developments in French sculpture during the period of the last Capetian kings.

It was Robert Branner who used the term "Court Style" to describe the highly sophisticated architecture produced in Paris under the direct patronage or associated with the prestige of Louis IX.³ Branner traces the origins of this style, which reached definitive form in the 1240s, to earlier Rayonnant building in Amiens and in the Ile-de-France.⁴ Although his terminology, which seeks to distinguish between a common stylistic vocabulary and the particular imprint of royal patronage, cannot conveniently be applied to sculpture, not unexpectedly the development of sculpture seems to parallel architecture at this

time. The stylistic revolution announced in the figure of Christ the Judge on the central west portal at Notre-Dame and by the apostles of the Ste.-Chapelle seems, like Parisian architecture, to have been prepared in the work of the preceding decade at Amiens and Paris, but the specific mark of court patronage is elusive. During this period the monumental and didactic art of the High Gothic cathedral was gradually transformed, becoming more graceful, more naturalistic, and more intimate. This transformation, evident even in large-scale exterior programs, is especially obvious in interior sculpture and in the many small objects in metal, wood, and ivory that adapt the new style to the context of devotional art.

Recent restudy of such important individual monuments as the Last Judgment portal of Notre-Dame, the transept sculpture of Amiens, Paris, and Rouen,

1. This paper was originally prepared as part of a unique volume of studies presented to Professor Ernst Kitzinger on the occasion of the symposium and exhibition organized to celebrate his retirement as A. Kingsley Porter University Professor, Harvard University, March 17, 1979.

2. I wish to express my gratitude to Charles Little, associate curator of Medieval Art at the Metropolitan Museum, for his encouragement and assistance in all phases of the work on this paper. In addition, I received valuable counsel from Harvey Stahl and Caroline Houser.

3. R. Branner, *Saint Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (London, 1965).

4. Idem, "Paris and the Origins of Rayonnant Gothic Architecture down to 1240," *Art Bulletin* 44 (1962) pp. 39-51.

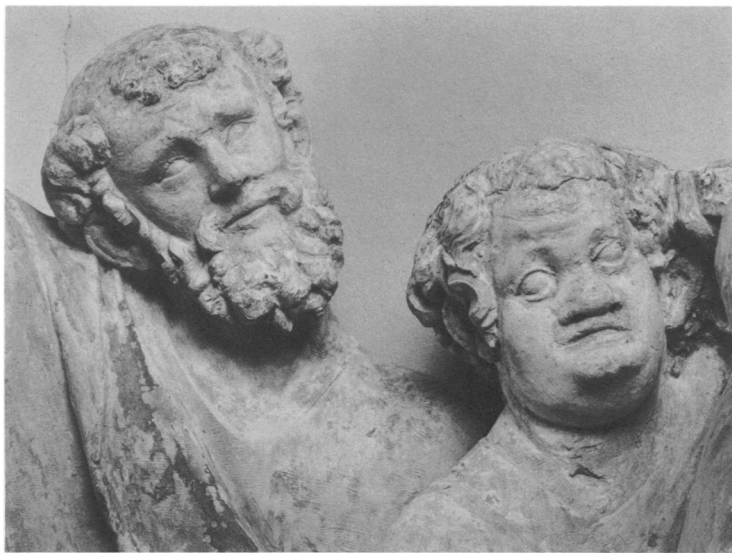


1. *The Arrest of Christ*, 1260–70. Limestone, 39 × 42½ in. (99 × 108 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Isaac D. Fletcher Bequest, 1917, 20.5



2. Christ and Judas, detail of Figure 1

3. Two of Christ's captors, detail of Figure 1



4. St. Peter and lantern-bearer, detail of Figure 1

5. Malchus, detail of Figure 1



and the various interior projects carried out at Chartres and St.-Denis has, in revising some dating, inevitably altered the relationships traditionally seen to exist among these works.⁵ The predominant role of Paris appears somewhat less clear and sculpture of the decade before the Ste.-Chapelle suggests the possibility that the new style was created in monuments outside the capital. In a further development the sculpture of the 1260s has been more clearly defined and can be seen to be exploiting new locations, new subject matter, and new expressive possibilities. This situation appears to change toward the end of the century when the new style, although still vigorous in its outward movement across the Channel and the Rhine, was becoming dependent on the past for its sources. French sculpture often seems to be quoting itself, and the concept of "1300"—like that of "1200"—suggests a moment of relative stylistic hegemony and internationalism following upon a period of greater experimentation and regional variation.

The *Arrest of Christ* in the Metropolitan Museum has until now been assigned to the fourteenth century, but a date after 1300 is surely too late. Rather than an example of the "recycled" style of 1300–30, stylistic and iconographical evidence adduced below makes it fit more naturally into the innovative period *before* the turn of the century. Beyond issues of style or date, however, the relief poses questions of original context. Its size, its flat back, and the configuration of the base suggest that it was installed in a shallow niche or shelf space against a background wall; and since representations of the Arrest of Christ virtually never appear alone in Gothic art, it must once have formed part of a larger Passion cycle. If this had included the usual number of scenes, it could, on the evidence of the *Arrest of Christ*, have been over 30 feet in length. Ensembles of the kind were common in thirteenth-century sculpture but very few remain of such magnitude.

The relief is executed in a fine-grained, grayish white limestone. The height of the tallest figure is 39 inches and the piece measures 42½ inches across the middle. While varying considerably in thickness, it occupies a space ranging from 8¾ inches at the base to a maximum of 10 inches in the overlapping figures. The back is sheared off flat and is completely unworked. The relief is in excellent condition with only a few important losses, which will be noted in detail below. A recent cleaning has revealed sufficient traces

of polychromy remaining in the folds and inner surfaces of the stone to show that at one time it was entirely painted and gilded.⁶

Three episodes—the Betrayal, the Arrest of Christ, and the story of Malchus—are combined in the relief.⁷ Christ is located in the center facing outward. His face and body are partially masked by the figure of Judas whose left hand clasps Christ's shoulder as he raises his head to kiss him (Figure 2). Traces of paint indicate that Christ was clothed in a pinkish red gown with gilt ornament along the lower edge and that Judas's cloak was light green. The armed man on the right (Figure 3), seen like Judas from the rear, grasps Christ's garment in a sharp backhand gesture, and seems about to strike him with his clenched fist. His mail shirt, hood, and metal helmet all bear patches of steel blue. A second, unarmed captor, perhaps dressed in brown, seizes Christ's left wrist from

5. A. Erlande-Brandenburg, "Les Remaniements du portail central à Notre-Dame de Paris," *Bulletin Monumental* 129 (1971) pp. 241–248; idem, "Nouvelles Remarques sur le portail central de Notre-Dame de Paris," *Bulletin Monumental* 132 (1974) pp. 287–296; idem, "La Place des découvertes dans l'histoire de la sculpture," *Les Rois retrouvés* (Bienne, 1977); D. Kimpel and R. Suckale, "Die Skulpturenwerkstatt der Vierge Dorée am Honoratusportale der Kathedrale von Amiens," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 36 (1973) pp. 217–268; D. Kimpel, *Die Querhausarme von Notre-Dame zu Paris und ihre Skulpturen*, Ph.D. diss., University of Bonn (1971); H. Krohm, "Die Skulptur der Querhausfassaden und der Kathedrale von Rouen," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 40 (1970) pp. 40–58; L. Pressouyre, "L'Adoration des Mages du jubé de Chartres, nouveaux fragments conservés en France et aux Etats-Unis," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1971) pp. 82–91; idem, "De Nouveaux Fragments pour le jubé de Chartres," *Archeologia* 50 (1972) pp. 71–74; G. S. Wright, "A Royal Tomb Program in the Reign of St. Louis," *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974) pp. 224–243; M. Bideault, "Le Tombeau de Dagobert dans l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis," *Revue de l'Art* 18 (1972) pp. 27–33; F. Joubert, "Les Retables du milieu du XIIIe siècle à l'abbatiale de Saint-Denis," *Bulletin Monumental* 131 (1973) pp. 17–28. The standard older works on this period are H. Bunjes, *Die steinernen Altaraufsätze der hohen Gotik und der Stand der gotischen Plastik in der Ile-de-France um 1300* (Marburg, 1937), and H. Weigert, "Die Stilstufen der deutschen Plastik von 1250 bis 1350," *Marburger Jahrbuch* 3 (1927) pp. 147–273.

6. Charles Little was responsible for the original analysis of the polychromy on this relief. The color notations given below are purposely kept simple to give a sense of the original work without overwhelming the reader with detail. A more precise description is in the possession of the Museum's Department of Medieval Art.

7. Matt. 26:47–56; Mark 14:43–49; Luke 22:47–53; John 18:3–11. All biblical citations are to the Douay Version of the Latin Vulgate.

behind. On Christ's right a grimacing man with porcine features presses Judas forward with his right hand; his left can just be seen emerging next to Christ's head at the upper center of the composition (Figure 4). The broken object in this hand should undoubtedly be reconstructed as a lantern. The events represented occurred at night, and St. John recounts that the band of men who came out from the city carried lanterns and torches as well as weapons.⁸ Medieval representations of the scene invariably include these props and the Metropolitan sculpture was surely no exception. The lantern is held above Christ's head to illuminate his face and make him recognizable to the crowd. In a formal sense it would have given vital emphasis and height to the center of a composition that subtly balances horizontal and diagonal lines.

The two remaining figures enact the third episode, the story of Malchus, the high priest's servant.⁹ St. Peter is shown sheathing his sword in response to Christ's words. His right arm has been broken off at the elbow and the sword handle is missing but the blade can be seen thrust into the scabbard crisscrossed by a leather sword belt.¹⁰ Below, in the nearest plane of the relief, Malchus has fallen to the ground. His right ear, struck off by Peter, is miraculously healed by the touch of Christ (Figure 5). Peter's mantle, falling in graceful folds from his raised arm, has traces of maroon and blue with gold borders. Malchus's short tunic, painted gray-blue, is worn over light hose and shoes.

From this brief description two features call for special emphasis. First, the physical appearance of the relief, its condition, and its size suggest a program designed for an interior setting; indeed, the lack of serious breakage and the quality of the surface preclude prolonged exposure to the elements. A second observation concerns the manner in which the story is related. Three episodes are compressed into a single dramatic moment, and each of the seven figures is carefully characterized by clothing, gesture, and physiognomy. The psychological mood is intensified by setting the closely packed crowd into positions of violent but constricted action. Through the use of rear views and diagonal gestures a complex interweaving of spatial layers is achieved, and the figures seem bound together both physically and emotionally.

To assign the *Arrest of Christ* to the first quarter of

the fourteenth century is to associate it with such works as the choir reliefs of Notre-Dame (Figure 6) and the apostles from St.-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins (Figure 7), products of two important workshops active in the capital at this period.¹¹ Idealized head types, an air of aristocratic restraint, and a suave handling of the surface are common to these works and suggest that the Metropolitan relief relates to the Parisian milieu. In other respects, however, the comparison fails.

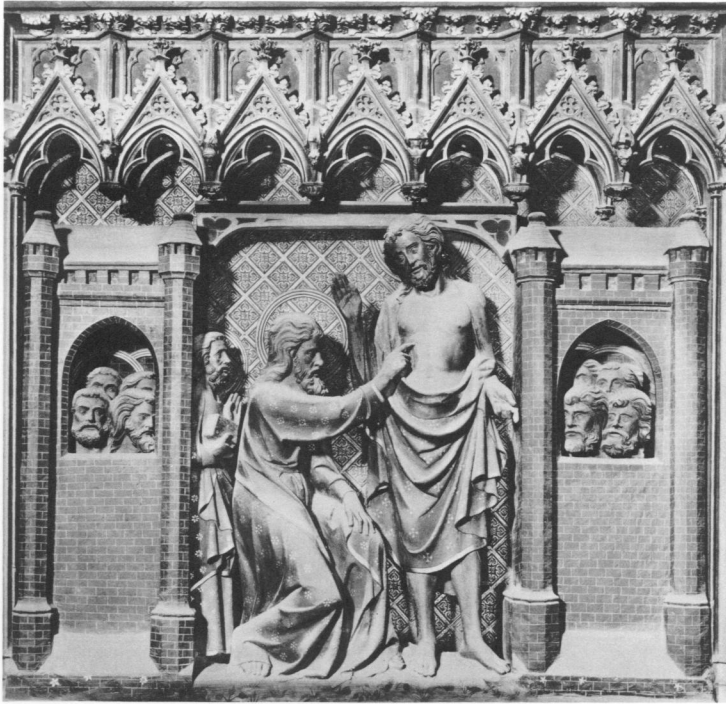
If underlying affinities seem to link the sculpture of Louis IX's reign with that of his grandson, Philip IV, the fourteenth-century work usually reveals itself in a different and characteristic tendency toward abstraction. Compared to the active, emphatic poses of the *Arrest of Christ* figures, the Notre-Dame Christ and St. Thomas are frozen in an immutable design. Drapery is laid over rigid body cores in a beautiful carapace, and the axes of the figures, as well as the direction of gesture and glance, are controlled by horizontals and verticals that move inward from the framing edges. As opposed to the *Arrest of Christ*, the psychological relationships in the *Incredulity of Thomas* have become detached from the events depicted. While the St.-Jacques apostle represents a more ingratiating version of the Parisian style, many of the same tendencies are present. Drapery, rather than enlivening areas of hip, shoulder, or knee, moves across the tubular body in a series of graceful gestures. An expression of conventional sweetness contrasts with the dignity of the New York Christ, and the slight curve that animates the St.-Jacques figure is held parallel to the frontal plane. In both fourteenth-century examples, movement restricted in two dimensions and the calligraphic line, especially in the hems, have the effect of

8. John 18:3.

9. John 18:10. Luke 21:51 mentions the healing of the ear.

10. I wish to thank Helmut Nickel, curator of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum, for his help in describing the armor and weapons represented in the relief. The sword belt is of a type that appears on the center portal of the north transept at Reims as well as on the figure of Markgraf Eckart II from the founders' series in the west choir of Naumburg. Made of soft leather without a buckle, the split ends were passed through the holes on the opposite end and tied together.

11. F. Baron, "Le Décor sculpté et peint de l'Hôpital Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins," *Bulletin Monumental* 133 (1975) pp. 29-72; D. Gillerman, "The Clôture of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame: Problems of Reconstruction," *Gesta* 24 (1975), and idem, *The Clôture of Notre-Dame and Its Role in the Fourteenth Century Program* (New York, 1977); S. Salet, "La Sculpture à Paris sous Philippe le Bel," *Document Archeologia* 3 (1973) pp. 45-52.



6. *Incredulity of Thomas*, early 14th century. Paris, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, south wall of choir enclosure (photo: Alinari)

flattening the figure, whether carved in relief or in the round. By contrast, the figures of the *Arrest of Christ* are freer in space, the bodies have greater volume, and the drapery is more plastically conceived.

Rather than belonging with these mannered versions of a great style, the *Arrest* seems to recall the style's beginnings half a century earlier. In the Paris area, two major workshops were active about 1260, one on the south transept of the cathedral and the other at the abbey of St.-Denis. At the same time the enormous ensemble of the west facade being completed in Reims required literally hundreds of figures to fill out an encyclopedic program spread over the inner and outer surfaces of the three portals.¹² Common to this body of work, to a greater or lesser extent, is an interest in the realistic portrayal of figures in complex poses and of intense expressive relationships.

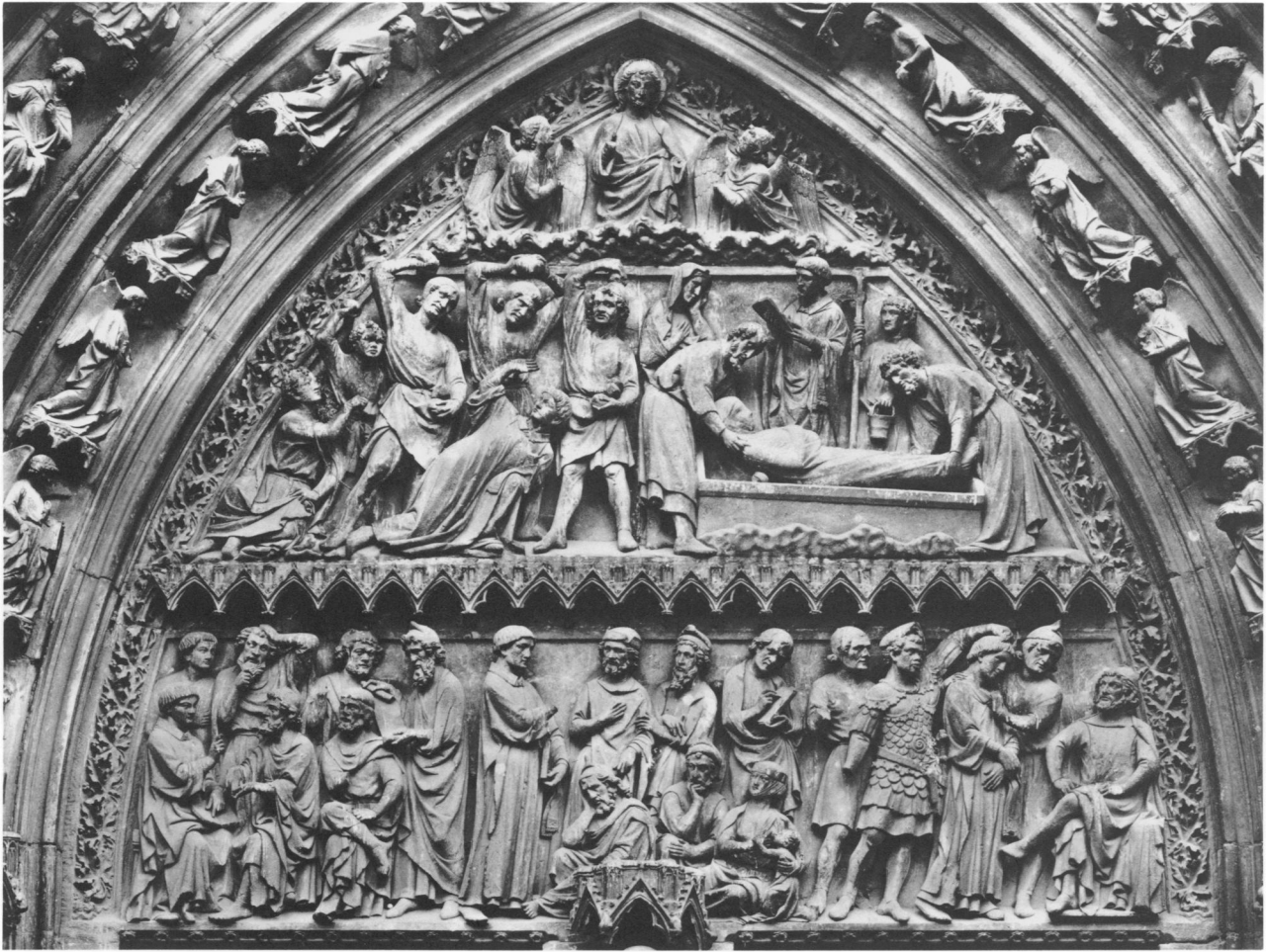
The sculpture of the St. Stephen portal of Notre-Dame (Figure 8) represents the clearest example. In a departure from the slender proportions of the recently completed north transept, the St. Stephen Master prefers an energetic, stocky body type. Heads are enlarged so that their features are clearly visible and the figures, pressing up against each other, overlap in large compositional units. The carving digs into the stone, creating restless troughs of drapery; and the treatment of hair and beards brings out contrasts of light and shade. It has been suggested that the St. Stephen Master came from Reims where, especially in martyrdom scenes of the exterior and interior west facade (Figure 9), similarly vigorous carving and a preference for earthy types are observable in figures and reliefs executed slightly earlier than the St. Stephen portal.¹³

12. W. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140–1270* (New York, 1972) pls. 185–235.

13. Kimpel, *Die Querhausarme von Notre-Dame*, pp. 169–193.



7. Apostle from St.-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins, Paris, 1319–24. Paris, Cluny Museum (photo: Musées Nationaux)



8. Tympanum, portal of St. Stephen, 1260–65. Paris, Cathedral of Notre-Dame (photo: Alinari)

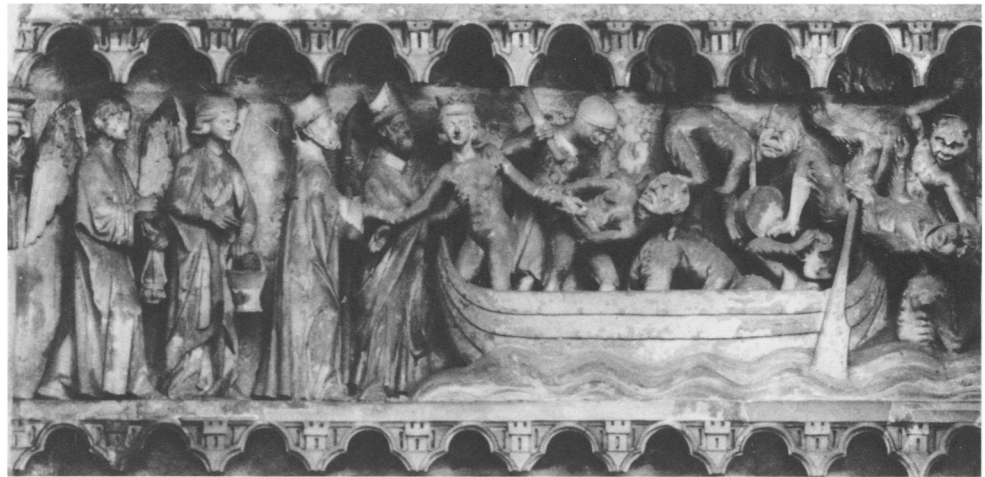


9. Soldier, detail of the Legend of St. Nicasius, 1250–60. Reims, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, inner west wall (photo: James Austin)

The Reims lintel scenes are carved on a series of blocks more or less complete in themselves and applied against the neutral surface of the wall. Within each block figures are composed in units of action in a manner that seems to foreshadow the St. Stephen portal and the *Arrest of Christ* relief. One example represents participants in the burning of St. John the Baptist's bones (Figure 10): three figures in contrasting attitudes form a compact group built on a three-dimensional ground plan. This sculpture effects a radical break with the conventions of early Gothic relief where figures parallel to the background move



10. Three figures, detail of the Legend of St. John the Baptist, 1250–60. Reims, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, inner west lintel (photo: James Austin)



11. Scene from the Legend of Dagobert, Cenotaph of Dagobert I, ca. 1260. St.-Denis, Abbey Church (photo: Marburg)

along a shallow ribbon of space. Compared to the Reims reliefs the New York *Arrest of Christ* is more concentrated around the axial figure of Christ. The ground plan is more symmetrical and the in-and-out movement of the figures is controlled by a surface design which reads as the intersecting of two Vs. Drapery folds are simplified and the whole surface is handled with a restraint suggesting that, although the *Arrest* belongs to the same period as the Reims and Paris reliefs, it does not emerge from an eastern French tradition.

At St.-Denis some of the sculpture around 1260 belongs to the same stylistic current. The Dagobert tomb and the first retables executed for the new choir chapels maintain a general similarity to the Notre-Dame and Reims work, but they are less naturalistic.¹⁴ In comparable martyrdom scenes from the Dagobert tomb (Figure 11) and from the retables of St. Benedict and St. Eustace (Figure 12), the figures are more gracious, their movements are less abrupt, and the drapery is gathered in rhythmical folds and cascades.

At the end of the century a final large-scale project stands as an example of the later development of the style of the sixties. The tympanum of the Porte de la Calende at Rouen is devoted to a Passion cycle which starts on the middle register with the Arrest of Christ and terminates below with Pentecost, a total of nine scenes in addition to the Crucifixion in the upper register.¹⁵ It is interesting to compare the scene of the

Arrest at Rouen (Figure 13) with that of the Stoning of St. Stephen at Notre-Dame (Figure 9) and with the Metropolitan Museum relief. At Rouen the composition is cramped and the movement of the figures reflects the geometry of the framing edges. Diagonal gestures across the plane and through the spatial layers of relief, strikingly present at Notre-Dame and in the Metropolitan Museum *Arrest of Christ*, are absent. The figures are taller and more elegant, and the narrative lacks both the convincing brutality of the St. Stephen Master and the clarity of the Metropolitan relief. Altogether the Rouen sculpture, while closely following Notre-Dame in the selection of motifs, is fussier in its details, less naturalistic, more mannered in style.

As this summary suggests, sculpture of the sixties, especially the work of the St. Stephen Master, is characterized by an expressive naturalism ideally suited to the depiction of active figures in complex and often violent poses. This mode of representation, most clearly seen in martyrdom and Passion scenes, while not necessarily Parisian in origin had an immediate impact on sculpture in Paris and in the Parisian sphere of influence. Comparisons of the Metropoli-

14. Bunjes, *Die steinernen Altaraufsätze*, pp. 113–116; Bideault, “Le Tombeau de Dagobert,” p. 32; Joubert, “Les Retables,” p. 27.

15. Krohm, “Die Skulptur . . . von Rouen,” pp. 40–158.

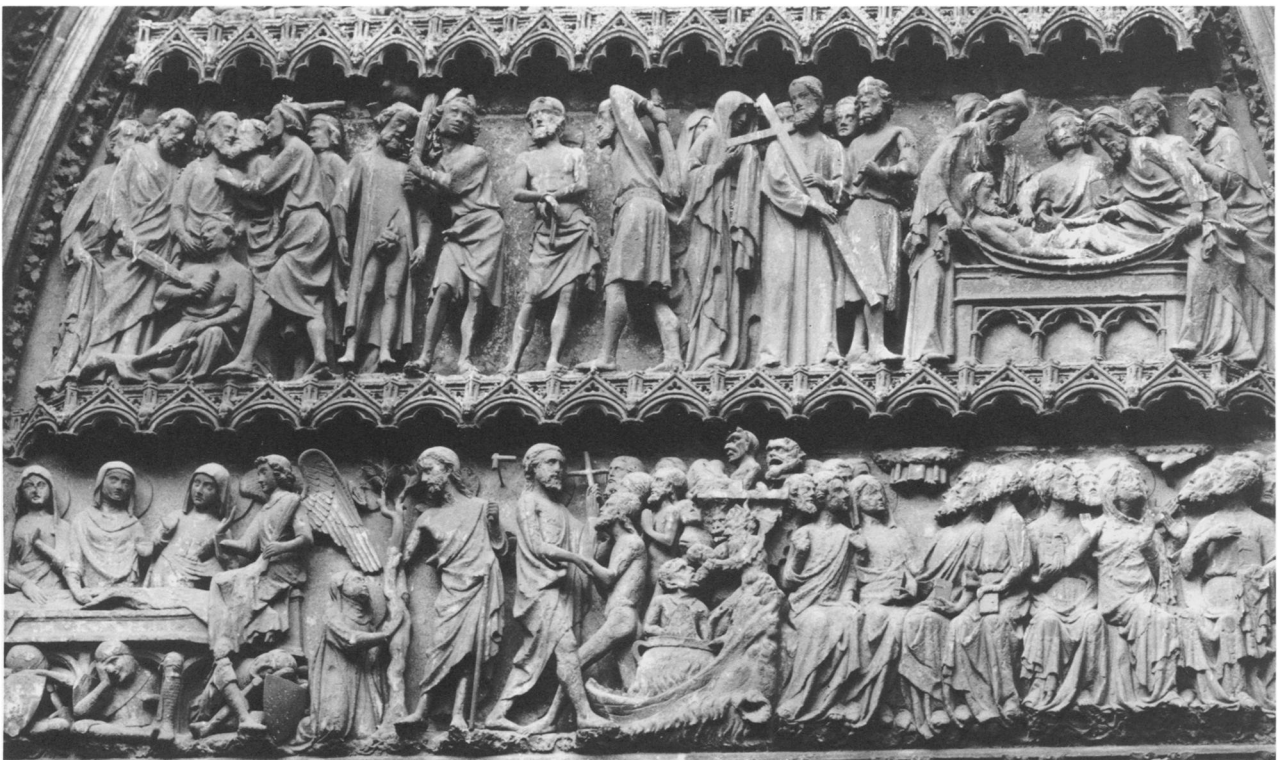


12. Retable of St. Eustace, 1250–60. St.-Denis, Abbey Church (photo: Monuments Historiques)

tan Museum *Arrest of Christ* with the Reims lintels and the St. Stephen tympanum indicate a basis for the narrative mode and allow an insight into the origins of this type of dense, overlapping composition. On the other hand, in the *Arrest of Christ* the drapery, which is gathered in broad folds into a few masses

outlined by simple hems, and the refined facial types of Christ and St. Peter suggest that the new naturalistic mode has been modified by a more traditional attitude. Since the Rouen sculpture represents a considerably later and dilute version of the Paris style,

13. Passion scenes, tympanum of the Porte de la Calende, ca. 1300. Rouen, Cathedral of Notre-Dame (photo: Marburg)



the Metropolitan piece is most comfortably assigned to a period nearer to Notre-Dame and before Rouen, that is, to the decade 1260–70.

So far, comparisons with other works have tended to place our relief in the context of the Ile-de-France. Since it was said to have come from the Amiens region, however, it is there that further comparisons must be made. Construction of Amiens Cathedral started about 1220 in the western bays of the nave and progressed rapidly toward the east.¹⁶ It is now thought that the facade was erected after the death of Geoffroy d'Eu, between 1236 and 1241, and that the greatest part of the facade sculpture was completed during these years. The west facade, where many artists were employed, represents a veritable survey of High Gothic sculptural style from perhaps 1225 through the decade of the forties.

The south transept portal at Amiens is from a later phase of the building, although its actual date has been much debated. Georges Durand considered the sculpture of this portal to have been executed by two workshops. To the first, which he dated to the 1230s, he attributed the architecture of the portal, the jamb figures, and the reliefs of the trumeau;¹⁷ to the second, active between 1259 and 1302 after the fire that damaged upper parts of the building, the so-called Vierge Dorée, the lintel, the tympanum, and the archivolts.¹⁸ Willibald Sauerländer, relating the work of the second workshop to developments in Parisian sculpture of the fifties and specifically to the north transept tympanum and trumeau Virgin at Notre-Dame, dates the Amiens sculpture more precisely between 1259 and 1269.¹⁹ His view of this work, particularly the scenes from the legend of St. Honoratus that occupy the four registers of the tympanum, is far from enthusiastic and he describes its “uninspired narrative manner” as a rehash of Parisian ideas. However, recent study of the portal shows its sculpture in a different light. In their article of 1973, Dieter Kimpel and Robert Suckale agree that the work was divided into two stages but not that these were separated by a generation; rather, they believe the sculpture to have been executed continuously over a short period of time between 1236 and 1240.²⁰ In their view Amiens, anticipating the figure of Christ the Judge at Notre-Dame and the Ste.-Chapelle apostles, was a foyer for the new relief style characterized by exploration of space, animation of the figure, and drapery falling in sharp beaklike folds. The Parisian version

14. Tympanum and lintel, portal of St. Honoratus, ca. 1250. Amiens, Cathedral of Notre-Dame (photo: James Austin)

of this style, represented by the Notre-Dame north transept, rejects its naturalistic side in favor of an elegant figure canon, simpler space composition, and less active poses. There is much to argue in this thesis; questions of quality and the presumed variation allowable within a single workshop are issues that lead far beyond the limits of this study, but the current tendency to move the latest sculpture of the Amiens facade forward from the mid-thirties to the mid-forties makes the earlier date for the transept unacceptable. The continuity between the sculpture of the facade and the transepts is undeniable, but a better date for the Honoratus portal might now be the decade of the fifties, contemporaneous with the north transept at Notre-Dame.

Revision of the Amiens chronology suggests that there, as at Chartres, Paris, and Reims, the stylistic revolution of mid-century was accomplished rapidly and without recourse to a single great prototype. Even if one does not accept Kimpel and Suckale's dating, their effort to associate the Honoratus portal with the beginnings of the new style suggests that this change was impelled by a widespread revival of interest in nature particularly evident in the handling of the figure in space. Many figures are seen in profile, lost profile, or rear view, and groups, composed on a three-dimensional ground plan, create an illusion of depth (Figure 14). Figures characterized by gesture, physiognomy, and costumes are frequently shown in expressive confrontations. Taken together the sculpture has a vivacity that seems to reinforce its position

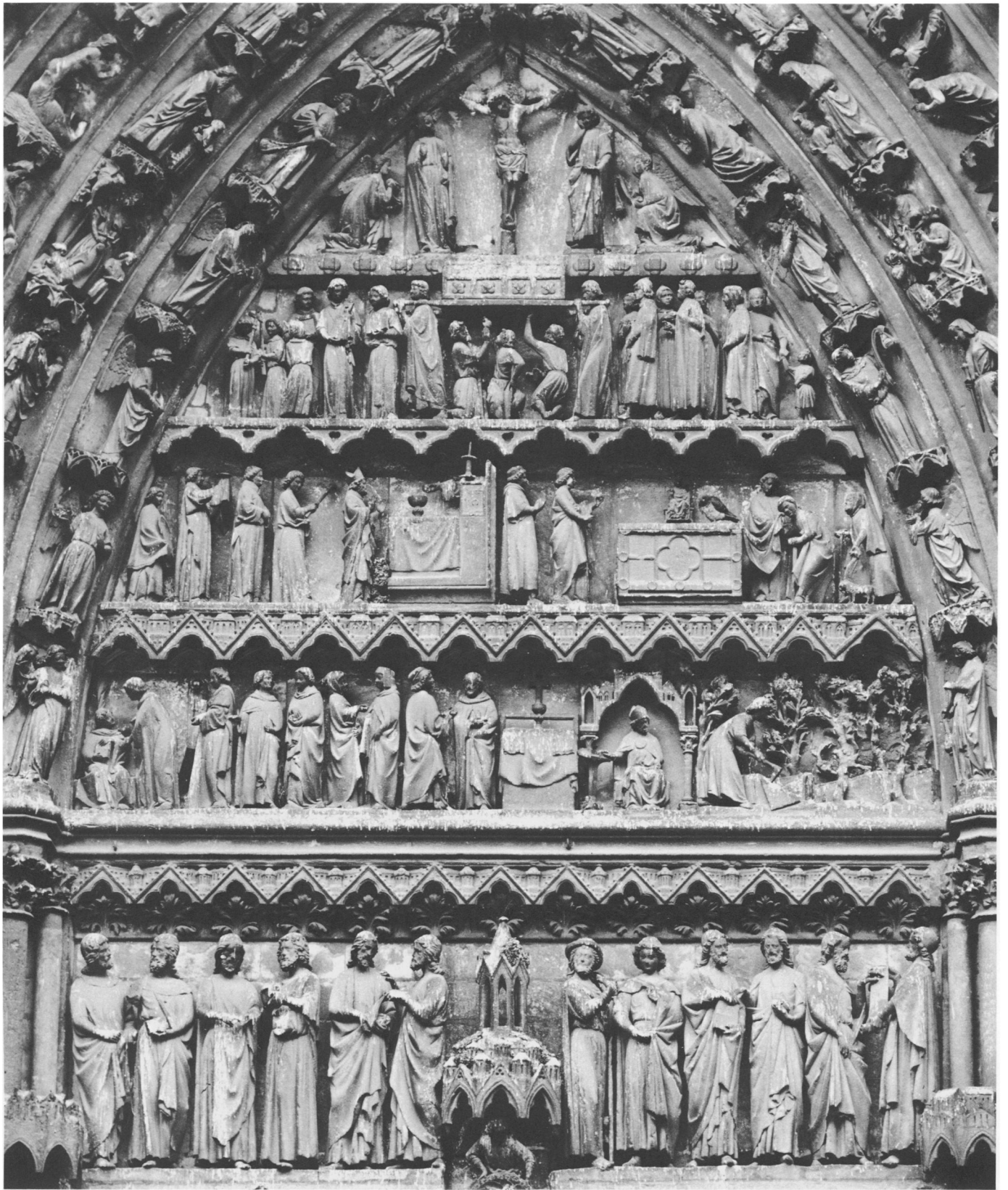
16. G. Durand, *Monographie de l'église de Notre-Dame, cathédrale d'Amiens* (Paris, 1901–03) 2 vols. Although Durand's work remains a model of scholarship and a classic in the field, recent reexamination of the documents and the fabric of the cathedral have somewhat altered his idea of the chronology. A. Erlande-Brandenburg, “Le Septième Colloque international à la Société française d'archéologie (1er et 2 Octobre 1974): La Façade de la cathédrale d'Amiens,” *Bulletin Monumental* 135 (1977) pp. 254–296.

17. Durand, *Cathédrale d'Amiens*, I, pp. 244 and 241.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 437.

19. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 294–495, pls. 278, 279.

20. Kimpel and Suckale, “Die Skulpturenwerkstatt der Vierge Dorée,” pp. 233ff.



as an independent work rather than a secondhand version of Parisian models.

The Metropolitan Museum relief has certain affinities with the sculpture of the Honoratus portal, especially with the scenes of the saint's legend. Judas and the armed soldier seen from the rear (Figure 1) can be compared with figures below the sarcophagus and the cross-bearing acolytes on the second register from the top. Judas's drapery gathered under his arm is a simplified version of the drapery of the second figure to the left of the altar of the fourth register. The type of apostle with narrow head and cascading drapery that appears on the lintel of Amiens and derives ultimately from the Ste.-Chapelle is seen in the figures of St. Peter and Christ on the Metropolitan Museum relief. The more individualized faces of the *Arrest of Christ* have many parallels at Amiens not only in the Honoratus workshop but also in the slightly earlier sculpture of the Firmin portal. On the tympanum (Figure 15) the story of the saint is recounted in a series of scenes that form discrete compositional groups. These are not as lively as the lintel scenes at Reims, or as complex as the *Arrest of Christ*, but the densely packed figures are similarly characterized by their varied costumes and physiognomies. Quite close comparisons can be made between the heads of Malchus and the helmeted soldier (Figures 5 and 3) and figures in the middle register of the St. Firmin tympanum; and the middle bishop of the right lintel can be seen as a benevolent version of the fat-faced lantern-bearer in our relief (Figure 4).²¹

If the Honoratus portal was executed before 1260, it is possible to imagine this sculpture as the background for a work such as the Metropolitan Museum relief, but in fact, despite the comparisons made above, even closer stylistic parallels are to be found in the cathedral workshops at Paris. The head of Christ (Figure 2) shares with heads from the Nativity cycle of the north transept (Figure 16) more than a type relationship. Rather, in spite of differences in the carving—the north transept master prefers a harder contour line and his forms tend to be rounder and stiffer—they seem to reflect the same sensibility. The north transept is no doubt somewhat earlier than the Metropolitan Museum relief, which reflects the more advanced compositional ideas of the St. Stephen Master on the south transept. Here too a comparison of the heads is informative. The New York St. Peter now appears to be derived from a type that is seen several

15. Tympanum and lintel, portal of St. Firmin, ca. 1240–50. Amiens, Cathedral of Notre-Dame (photo: Marburg)

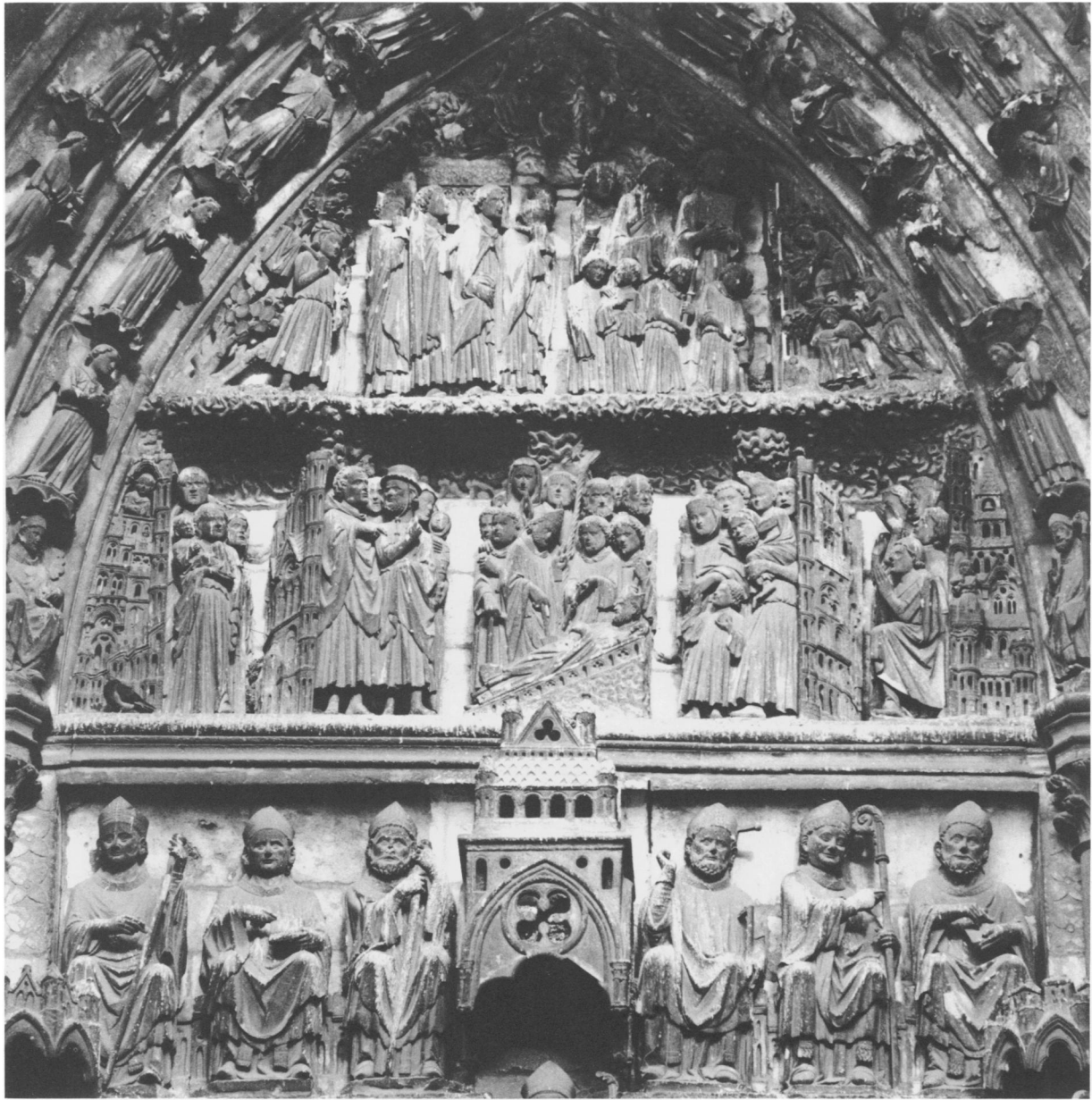
times on the lowest register (Figure 8), with a tightly curled beard that rises to meet a lock of hair descending from the side of the head. The men who arrest Christ seem to descend directly from the persecutors of St. Stephen.

These comparisons indicate, however, that the style of the New York relief represents a modified retreat from the naturalistic extremes of the St. Stephen Master and a continuation of the more conservative tendencies of the fifties as seen at Paris and Amiens. Its particular effectiveness, however, is in large measure attributable to the way in which the familiar events that took place in the Garden of Olives are represented. Contemporary monuments provide examples of similar dense, dramatic figural compositions but in none of the saints' lives at Paris, Reims, or Amiens is the narrative itself so compressed and distilled. It is worth considering, therefore, whether the New York relief reflects iconography which was adopted by Gothic artists in response to specific programmatic or liturgical requirements.

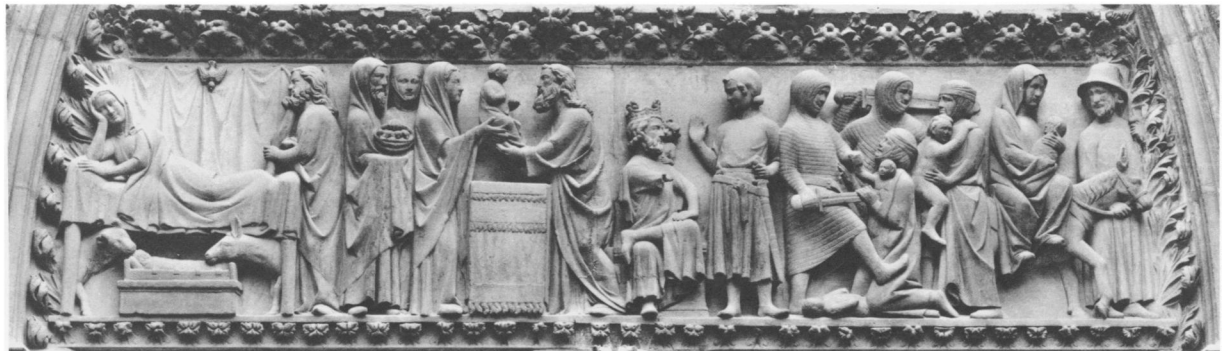
The transformation of Christ's image from apocalyptic and imperial to historical and human is one of the ways to measure the distance separating early from late medieval art.²² Especially in the story of the Passion, Gothic art after 1250 finds the basis for new representations that invite the viewer to assume a specifically empathic role. In a formal sense, this art

21. Kimpel and Suckale derive the workshop of the Honoratus portal from the Firmin portal group.

22. The literature on devotional art and practice is voluminous and specialized. To such basic studies as Erwin Panofsky's "Imago Pietatis," *Festschrift für Max Friedländer* (Leipzig, 1927), should now be added: S. Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 73 (1969) pp. 159–170; E. Delaruelle, *Le Piété populaire au Moyen Age* (Turin, 1975); R. Suckale, "Arma Christi: Überlegungen zur Zeichenhaftigkeit mittelalterlicher Andachtsbilder," *Städel-Jahrbuch* 6 (1977) pp. 197ff. Also useful in a more general way are M. Molat, *La Vie et la pratique religieuses au XIVe siècle et dans la première partie du XVe principalement en France* (Paris, 1963), and *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, d'ascétique et de mystique* (Paris, 1932–68) 6 vols.



16. Nativity cycle, detail of tympanum, north transept portal, ca. 1250. Paris, Cathedral of Notre-Dame (photo: Alinari)





17. *Arrest of Christ*, from the former choir screen of Bourges Cathedral, ca. 1250. Paris, Louvre (photo: Musées Nationaux)

proceeds by removing events formerly embedded in a narrative unfolding through time to stand as “set pieces,” where narrative time is arrested and the events are opened up to fresh interpretations. The increased emphasis on the iconic and devotional aspects of later Gothic art accompanied changes in religious practice, both within the church and in the private lives of the devout. Since this new art was intended to inspire rather than to instruct, it should be understood in conjunction with certain texts of the Mass and the Holy Office, which together with these images came to comprise a virtual program for meditation.

The subject of Christ’s Betrayal and Arrest frequently introduces thirteenth-century Passion cycles, as is the case at Rouen on the *Porte de la Calende* (Figure 13). In sculpture mounted on the choir screen at Bourges about 1250, it is simply represented with only four figures (Figure 17).²³ Judas approaching from the left kisses Christ, who is seized by a figure on the right holding aloft a small torch. No weapons have been drawn, and no minor events are introduced to detract from the central figure of

Christ. In this, the Bourges *Arrest of Christ* is somewhat calmer than usual depictions of the subject in thirteenth-century art.

During this period in both East and West, the gospels and the legends of the saints were exploited in a narrative art that increasingly placed emphasis on the human sufferings of divine and sainted persons.²⁴ The Passion cycle executed for the west choir screen at Naumburg illustrates this tendency (Figure 18).²⁵ In the closely packed group the figure of Christ is almost lost. A Jew shouldering a sword reaches backhandedly to grab Christ’s gown and attempts to drag him off to the left. Toward the center next to Christ’s head appears a torch held by one of the bystanders. On the right St. Peter uses both hands to wield a huge sword with which he hacks off Malchus’s ear. The weight of the blow crushes Malchus to the ground, and Peter’s violent action extending across the foreground becomes the dominant element of the composition.

By adding the final episode of the healing of Malchus’s ear, the Metropolitan Museum relief tells a more complex story than Naumburg and returns the emphasis to the figure and character of the Savior. Within its closed composition separate incidents take place simultaneously as if they were aspects of a single idea. Motifs such as the invisibility of Judas’s face, the lantern held close to Christ’s head, the gesture of the soldier, and the paired brutish faces on either side of Christ, above all, the choice of the healing rather than the maiming of Malchus have the effect of subsuming potentially anecdotal elements into a concentrated

23. T. Bayard, *Bourges Cathedral: The West Portals* (New York, 1976) chap. 4; Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 505–506; C. Gnudi, “Le Jubé de Bourges et l’apogée du ‘classicisme’ dans la sculpture de l’Île-de-France au milieu du XIII^e siècle,” *Revue de l’Art* 3 (1969) pp. 18–36; P. Gauchery, “Restes de l’ancien jubé de la cathédrale de Bourges,” *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre* 36 (1911) pp. 249ff.

24. Examples of early and high medieval representations of the Betrayal and Arrest of Christ can be found in *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie* (Friburg, 1972) pp. 44off. For the development in Byzantine mural painting see S. Dufrenne, “L’Enrichissement du programme iconographique dans les églises byzantines du XIII^e siècle,” *L’Art byzantin du XIII^e siècle: Symposium in Sopotani 1965* (Belgrade, 1967) pp. 35–46.

25. H. Nickel et al., *Der Naumburger Dom* (Dresden, 1956); P. Metz, *Der Stifterchor des Naumburger Doms* (Berlin, 1947) pp. 9–16; W. Pinder, *Der Naumburger Dom und der Meister seiner Bildwerke* (Berlin, 1937) pp. 19–22.

statement about human anger countered by divine compassion.

It is impossible to trace the development of this version of the *Arrest of Christ* in sculpture where losses, particularly in interior programs, have been so great. On the other hand, a good number of manuscripts from the period survive, and here, especially in French and English psalter prefates, Passion scenes show the advanced state this iconography had reached by the thirteenth century.²⁶

The first example comes from a psalter that Branner has attributed to a Parisian workshop active just before 1250 (Figure 19).²⁷ The *Arrest of Christ* is shown in a straightforward traditional version analogous to the Bourges choir screen. The only signifi-

cant addition, the outer pair of sword-bearers, seems to reflect the artist's taste for symmetrical composition equally evident in the *Flagellation* scene below.²⁸

The next miniature, datable between 1260 and 1270, is from a psalter leaf in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 20).²⁹ A product of an English scriptorium under strong French influence, the original

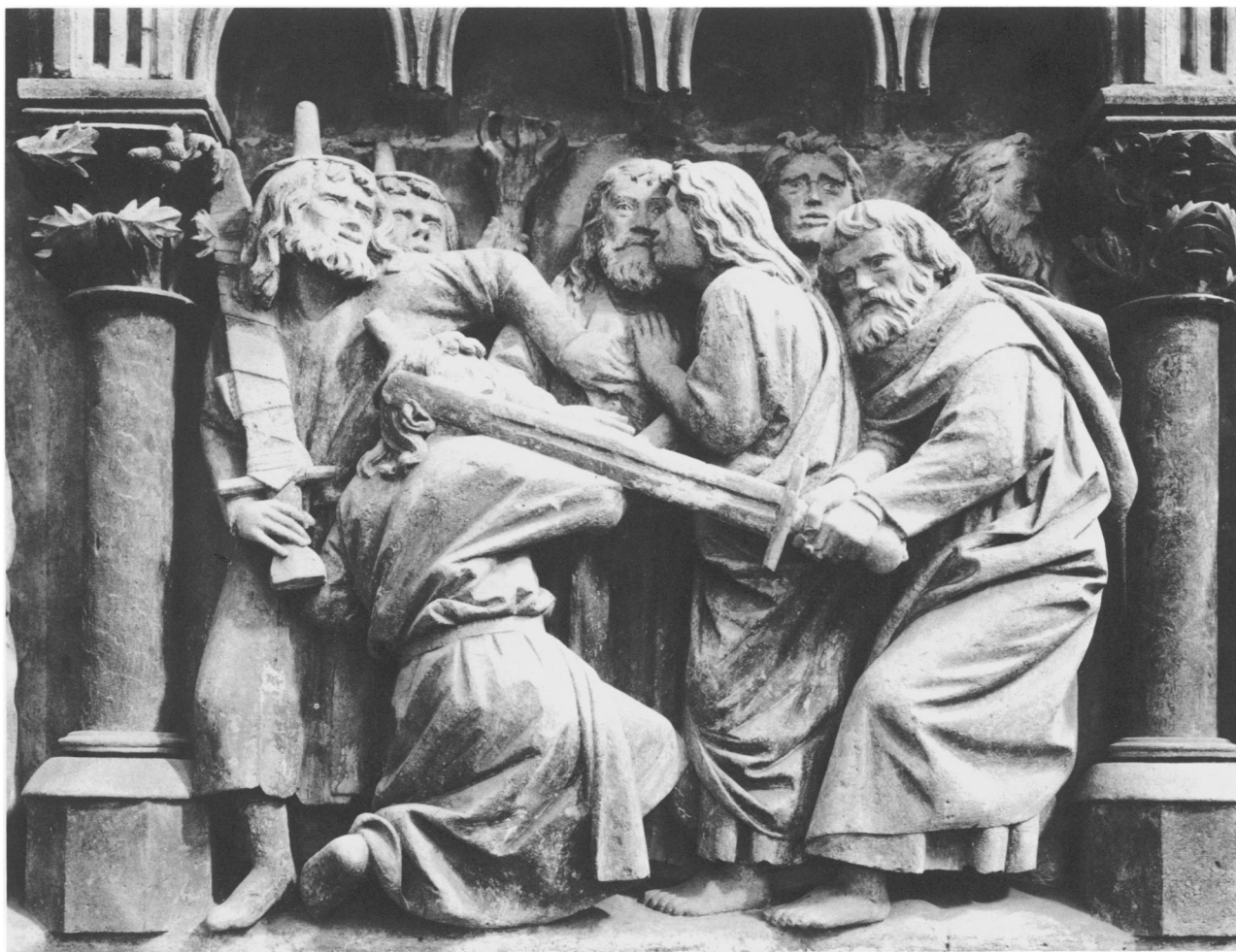
26. G. Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert* (n.p., 1938).

27. R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1977) pp. 60, 65, fig. 101.

28. Their original source might be Matt. 26:47.

29. *Transformations of the Court Style: Gothic Art in Europe 1270–1330*, catalogue of exhibition by the Department of Art, Brown University, at the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, R.I. (1977) no. 44. B. B., "A Thirteenth-Century Manuscript," *MMAB* 17 (1922) pp. 153–155; H. Stahl, "Selected Manuscript Paintings from the Medieval Collection," *MMAB*, n.s. 30 (1972) pp. 226–228. Another example of this

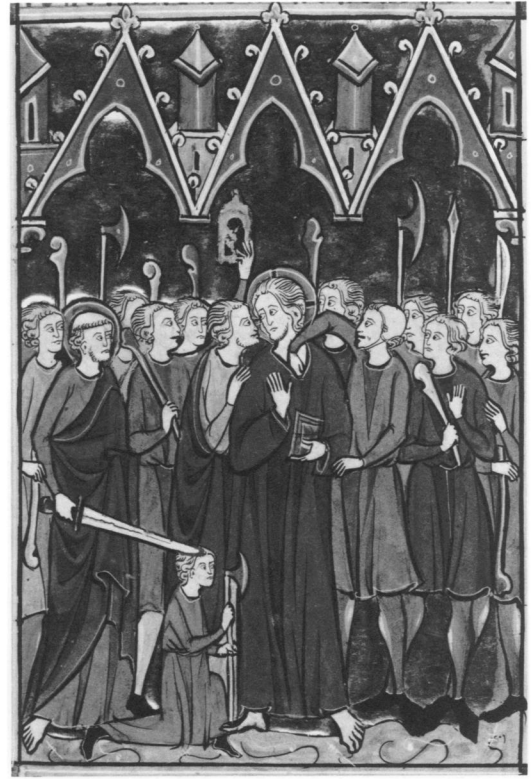
18. *Arrest of Christ*, detail of western choir screen, ca. 1260. Naumburg, Cathedral (photo: Marburg)





19. *Arrest of Christ and Flagellation*, psalter, ca. 1250. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat 10434, fol. 15v (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

20. *Arrest of Christ*, detail of psalter leaf, ca. 1260. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 22.24.4



21. *Arrest of Christ*, psalter, ca. 1260. London, British Library, Egerton Add. MS. 17868, fol. 24v (photo: British Library)

psalter belonged to the Benedictine abbey of Fontevrault. The Passion scenes are cast in a new mode which conflates several events into a single scene. In the miniature of the Arrest Christ is hemmed in by a menacing crowd. The cutting off of Malchus's ear, although not the incident of its healing, is included in the scene. A lantern is held over Christ's head near the center of the composition and the figure on his left seen from the rear seizes him in a backhanded grip. A contemporary French version chosen more or less at random (Figure 21) confirms the widespread adoption of these motifs.³⁰ While the figures are less

iconography in a contemporary English manuscript from a different stylistic group can be found in a Book of Hours, London, Brit. Lib., Egerton MS. 1151, fol. 95v, reproduced in *Art and the Courts: France and England from 1259 to 1328*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Canada (Ottawa, 1972) no. 25.

30. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, pp. 105f., figs. 290 and 291. Another example from France is in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 101, fol. 19; *ibid.*, pp. 126, 129, figs. 240 and 374.



22. *Arrest of Christ*, Peterborough Psalter, before 1318, detail of fol. 40v. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 9961–62 (photo: Bibliothèque Royale)

active and the mood is less violent than in the English example, certain key motifs are present in a dense composition which includes the Malchus incident on the left, the lantern held over Christ's head, and the backhanded grip of the figure next to Christ. Two final examples, while by no means exhausting the diffusion this model attained, will serve to illustrate later developments. The Peterborough Psalter (Figure 22), dated about 1299–1318, shows Christ healing Malchus and introduces a new element in the grotesque heads of certain of Christ's captors.³¹ The gestures in this late example are mannered and forced. Movements originally invented to lend a greater sense of immediacy to the scene are here transformed into dancelike steps. A final French version of the *Arrest of Christ* seems to indicate that the extremes of the Fenland group were never really taken up on the Continent. In the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, possibly executed between 1325 and 1328, Pucelle retains many of the elements of the thirteenth-century version (Figure 23).³² However, the contrast between the fe-



23. Jean Pucelle, *Arrest of Christ*, *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, 1325–28(?), detail of fol. 15v. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 54.1.2

rocious group of captors and the milder apostles is sharpened and the backhand gesture of the soldier is rejected; perhaps it seemed too artificial to Pucelle.

From this brief survey, it appears likely that the new treatment of the Arrest of Christ originated in the 1260s in both painting and sculpture. The reasons for its sudden popularity are obscure, although, as we shall see, there are grounds for positing the existence of a monumental model. The sources for individual motifs, however, seem to lie in texts that, as collected in the Missal and the Breviary, were repeated during the week preceding Easter in prayers,

31. The same model is used in other manuscripts of this group, e.g., the Ramsey Psalter and the Gough Psalter; see L. F. Sandler, *The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and Other Fenland Manuscripts* (London, 1974).

32. J. J. Rorimer, ed., *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen of France*, in *The Cloisters* (MMA, New York, 1957); F. Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century* (New York, 1978) pl. 3.

antiphons, and in readings from the Gospels. Selections from the Psalms, the Prophets, and from St. Paul not only amplified the Gospel accounts but also enriched them with metaphorical content, which provides a way of understanding the new imagery of devotion.³³

The figure of Christ is closely surrounded by "a great multitude with swords and clubs" (Matt. 26:47).³⁴ He cannot move.

For many dogs have encompassed me: the council of the malignant hath besieged me. (Ps. 21:17)³⁵
They have digged a pit to take me, and have hid snares for my feet. (Jer. 18:22)³⁶

Christ is seized by armed men.

You are come out as it were to a robber with swords and clubs to apprehend me. (Matt. 26:55)³⁷
For my enemies have spoken against me . . . Saying: God hath forsaken him: pursue him and take him, for there is none to deliver him. (Ps. 70:10–11)³⁸

Cruel men surround him; in the words of Psalm 21, they are like dogs, lions, and bulls,³⁹ and are jeering and crude.

[They] have laughed me to scorn: they have spoken with the lips, and wagged the head. (Ps. 21:8)⁴⁰

Christ is taken and led away, his composure a mute rebuke to the crowd.

He shall be led as a sheep to the slaughter, and shall be dumb as a lamb before his shearer, and he shall not open his mouth. (Isa. 53:7)⁴¹
Deliver not up to beasts the souls that confess to thee. (Ps. 73:19)⁴²

Amid this turmoil the episode of Malchus is used to point a further lesson against violence. Peter sheathes his sword as Christ warns him:

Put up again thy sword into its place: for all that take the sword shall perish with the sword. (Matt. 26:52)⁴³

The drawn sword becomes a powerful image of wrath, both human and divine; an image which is repeatedly evoked in the readings for Good Friday.

Deliver, O God, my soul from the sword. (Ps. 21:21)⁴⁴
For the word of God is living and effectual, and more piercing than any two edged sword. (Heb. 4:12)⁴⁵

In the preceding texts it will have been observed that the Evangelists carry the narrative line, the Prophets' comments interpret the meaning of events, and Christ's dialogue with God issues from the mouth of the psalmist, that is, he has been given an inner voice. As read by different members of the officiating clergy the texts create a kind of drama out of the liturgy. By the mid-thirteenth century this public part of the Mass was customarily read from the choir screen that traversed the nave, closing off the sanctuary now reserved for the clergy.

The size of the *Arrest of Christ* relief, its form similar to an antique metope, its theme, which implies that it was part of a larger series, and above all, the devotional aspect of the iconography evoke an interior setting in close association with an altar.⁴⁶ If the legends

33. The following analysis owes a considerable debt to recent work by James Marrow and F. P. Pickering, who have provided a means for examining the relationship between word and image in late medieval art: J. Marrow, "Circumdederunt me canes multi: Christ's Tormentors in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance," *Art Bulletin* 59 (1977) pp. 167ff.; F. P. Pickering, *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1970). I also wish to thank Anne H. van Buren for sharing knowledge and ideas about private recitation of the canonical office. Some of these ideas have appeared in her article, "The Canonical Office in Renaissance Painting: Part II. More About the Rolin Madonna," *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978) pp. 634ff.

34. "Et cum eo turba multa cum gladiis et fustibus."

35. "Quoniam circumdederunt me canes multi; concilium malignantium obsedit me."

36. "Quia foderunt foveam ut caperent me, et laqueos absconderunt pedibus meis."

37. "Tamquam ad latronem existis cum gladiis et fustibus comprehendere me."

38. "Quia dixerunt inimici mei mihi . . . dicentes: Deus dereliquit eum; persequimini et comprehendite eum, quia non est qui eripiat."

39. Ps. 21:17–22.

40. "Omnes videntes me deriserunt me; locuti sunt labiis, et moverunt caput."

41. "Sicut ovis ad occisionem ducetur, et quasi agnus coram tondente se obmutescet, et non aperiet os suum."

42. "Ne tradas bestiis animas confitentes tibi."

43. "Converte gladium tuum in locum suum; omnes enim, qui acceperint gladium, gladio peribunt."

44. "Erue a framea, Deus, animam meam."

45. "Vivus est enim sermo Dei, et efficax, et penetrabilior omni gladio incipiti."

46. J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar* (Munich, 1932) II, pt. 1; E. von Sydow, *Die Entwicklung des figuralen Schmucks der christlichen Altar- Antependia und -Retabula bis zum XIV. Jahrhundert* (Strasbourg, 1912).

of the saints might find various locations within the church, as in the example of the St. John cycle from the inner west lintel at Reims, Christ's own martyrdom is customarily reserved for a more important position, either mounted on the choir screen as at Bourges or Naumburg, or on retables like the examples from St.-Denis. Monuments of both types are far from numerous, having been subjected to systematic removal and destruction in later centuries, but comparison of typical measurements and number of scenes establishes their differences and will place the New York relief in a firm context.

Retables, as they evolved during the High Gothic

period, vary considerably in their dimensions, but since they were installed on the rear edge of the *mensa* and usually allowed free movement around the sides and access to the area behind the altar, the horizontal measurement of the altar table provides a logical limit to their size.⁴⁷ In the retables of St.-Denis (Figure 12), St.-Germer-de-Fly, and others cited by Hermann Bunjes,⁴⁸ lengths vary between 6 and 9 feet with an average height from the *mensa* of just over 12 inches.⁴⁹ An *Arrest of Christ* in the Art Institute of Chicago (Figure 24), datable after 1300, at a height of 18 inches represents part of an unusually large example of this type.⁵⁰ Passion retables frequently omit the scene of



47. The most thorough discussion of the development of the Gothic retable is by Bunjes, *Die steinernen Altaraufsätze*, pp. 8ff. Drawings of the choir arrangements at Notre-Dame and St.-Denis are included in E.-E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1875) III, pp. 233 and 235; see also Figure 27.

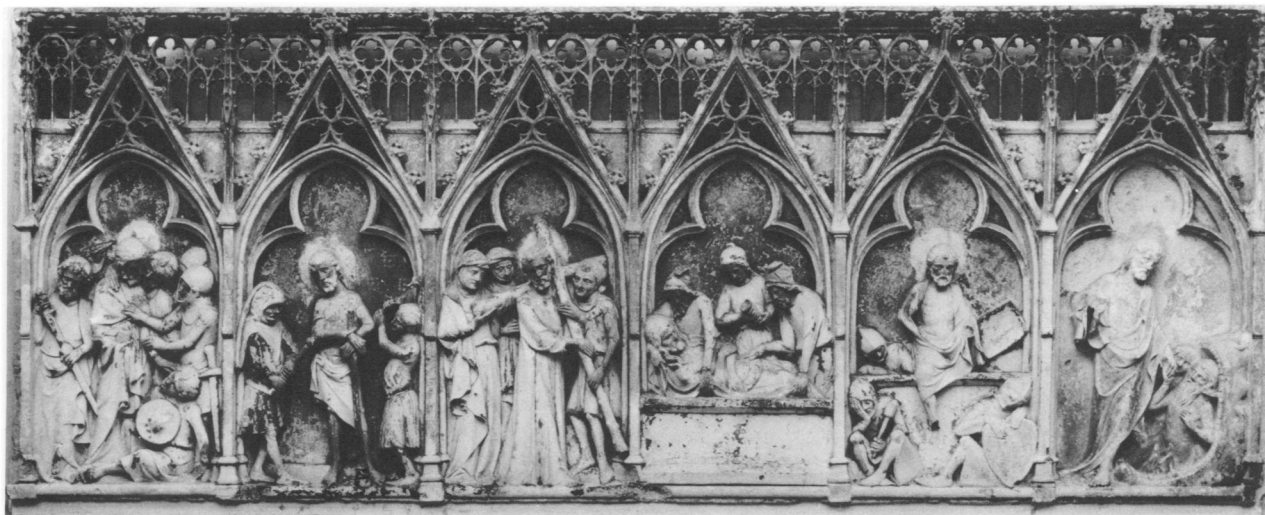
48. Bunjes, *Die steinernen Altaraufsätze*, pp. 16ff; A. Besnard, *L'Eglise de Saint Germer de Fly et la Sainte Chapelle* (Paris, 1913).

49. Besnard, *L'Eglise de Saint Germer de Fly*, p. 24.

50. *Transformations of the Court Style*, no. 4; the relief, carved in a fine white limestone, measures 18 × 19 in. (45.7 × 48.3 cm.).

24. *Arrest of Christ and Suicide of Judas*, fragment of a retable, early 14th century. Chicago, The Art Institute, Gift of René Gimpel, 1924.1051 (photo: Art Institute)

25. Scenes of the Passion, retable, mid-14th century. Paris, Cluny Museum (photo: Musées Nationaux)



Christ's death, which would have been present in the form of a crucifix either on or above the altar. Since it was usual to divide the reliefs between events that took place before and after the Crucifixion, an even number of scenes (six or eight is the general rule) may be shown, as in a fourteenth-century Passion retable in the Cluny Museum (Figure 25).⁵¹

Choir-screen reliefs, on the other hand, were mounted on a structure equal to the width of the nave. Here again dimensions differ, but a total width of between 30 and 40 feet is usual.⁵² As with retables, the number of scenes tends to be even if the Crucifixion is shown separately, as it probably was in Paris,⁵³ or odd if, as at Bourges, it was integrated into a narrative frieze.⁵⁴ As might be expected, choir-screen reliefs, because of their installation in a monumental architectural structure and their distance above the viewer, are larger than retables. The dimensions of the Metropolitan Museum relief are well within the norms for choir-screen sculpture, and it appears likely that a choir screen was its original location.⁵⁵ Present knowledge of such arrangements is too fragmentary to reconstruct an architectural setting for the relief. A scheme similar to the Cluny Passion retable (Figure 23), however, consisting of a continuous arcade of rather slender proportions, would, if it were enlarged to a scale appropriate for the relief and included a central entrance arcade, result in a structure about 36 feet long.⁵⁶

In spite of extensive research on the subject, it is still not entirely clear when and why such monumental screens were first introduced into nonmonastic churches. The German and French terms, *Lettner* and *jubé*, in referring to its function as the location for the liturgical readings, relate the structure in its origins to the *ambo*. Indeed, the screen is sometimes called the *lectorium* or *pulpitum*.⁵⁷ In England the same element is known as the rood screen, from the cross that properly surmounted it.⁵⁸ The Italian words *pontile* and *tramezzo*, on the other hand, by describing the choir screen as a space divider, draw attention to the physical separation between clergy and laymen that ultimately derives from Early Christian chancel screens perpetuated in monastic usage.⁵⁹ A relationship which has been far less explored concerns changes in the Eastern iconostasis taking place at this time. Aside from its architectural and liturgical function in the celebration of the Mass, the outer face of the choir screen, like the iconostasis in the high medieval pe-

riod, was decorated with images.⁶⁰ In the West there were also altars against the lower wall of the choir screen which, like the icons in the East, became the focus of lay devotion consisting of daily prayers and lighted candles. Ultimately no single source seems to account for the form taken by the thirteenth-century choir screen, and understanding of its development is to be sought in the more general history of choir closure during earlier times.

Choir barriers from the Early Christian period onward came in various types, their form, as well as their function, being still ill-defined. The situation changes in the thirteenth century; and especially in

51. CL 11694; Bunjes, *Die steinernen Altaraufsätze*, pp. 121–122.

52. The width of the central nave at Royaumont is 40 ft., in Notre-Dame, Paris, 39 ft. The nave of Bourges Cathedral at 49 ft. is unusually wide.

53. See the drawing by Israël Sylvestre in the Louvre, reproduced most recently by Gillerman, "The Clôture of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame," p. 54.

54. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, pl. 294.

55. Comparable choir-screen reliefs: Bourges, H. 41 in.; Chartres, H. 37¼ in.; Bourget-du-Lac, H. 39 in. The retables from St.-Denis range in height from 23¼ to 30¼ in.

56. This measurement was derived by multiplying the width of the Metropolitan Museum relief by seven and adding an estimated 12 ft. for the seven bays of framing arcade.

57. Traditionally, the study of medieval choir screens begins with J. B. Thiers, *Dissertation ecclésiastique sur les principaux autels des églises* (Paris, 1688); Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe* (Paris, 1883); W. Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, trans. in part by Neale and Webb as *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments* (London, 1843). More recent scholarship follows Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, and E. Doberer, *Die deutschen Lettner bis 1300*, diss. (Vienna, 1946); idem, "Der Lettner: Seine Bedeutung und Geschichte," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien* 9 (1956) pp. 117ff. H. Sedlmayer, *Die Entstehung der Kathedrale* (Zurich, 1950) p. 288, uses Doberer's ideas.

58. A. W. Pugin, *A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts, Their Antiquity, Use and Symbolic Signification* (London, 1851); F. Bond, *Screens and Galleries in English Churches* (London, 1908); A. Vallance, *Greater English Church Screens, Being Great Roods, Screenwork, and Rood Lofts in Cathedral, Monastic and Collegiate Churches in England and Wales* (London, 1947).

59. M. B. Hall, "The 'Tramezzo' in Santa Croce, Florence, Reconstructed," *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974) pp. 325ff; idem, "The Ponte in Santa Maria Novella: The Problem of the Rood Screen in Italy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974) pp. 157–173.

60. V. Lazarev, "Trois Fragments d'épistyles peintes et le temple byzantin," *Δελτιον* (1964/5, 1966) pp. 117–143; A. Grabar, "Deux Notes sur l'histoire de l'iconostase d'après des monuments de Yougoslavie," *L'Art de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen âge* (Paris, 1968) I, pp. 403–412.

France, after a brief era of experimentation, choir screens and enclosures tend to conform to a type. Earlier choirs often contained specific structures for liturgical reading, singing, and preaching, but in the Gothic choir screen the roles of lectern, singing gallery, and pulpit were combined in a barrier wall which put an end to the layman's physical and visual access to the celebration of the Mass. From the thirteenth century until it was abolished in the post-Tridentine liturgical reforms, the choir screen defined the eastern end of the layman's church and the focus of his devotional life was diverted to the chapels.⁶¹

Erica Doberer, who has studied Gothic choir screens most thoroughly, has established types which she illustrates with examples from those that remain.⁶² The most evolved form of choir screen and the one that was preferred in northern Europe was the *Hallenlettner*, a loggia-like structure with an upper platform, reached by stairs, where the lectern and the cross were located. Below, under an arcade, altars might flank the central entrance to the choir. The western face was frequently decorated with a rich program, which might include painting as well as ornamental and figural sculpture.

The earliest screen of this type that has been reconstructed was installed in the nave of the cathedral of Chartres sometime between 1230 and 1240.⁶³ Other screens were erected during the next century in France at Reims, Sens, Bourges, Paris, Strasbourg, Noyon, and Bourget-du-Lac, and in Germany at Mainz, Naumburg, and elsewhere in the area of the middle Rhine.⁶⁴ At Chartres the sculptural program centers on the Infancy of Christ, and at Mainz Last Judgment themes are arranged between the gables of the arcade; but as the century progressed Passion iconography becomes the preferred choice for choir screens in France and Germany. Infancy, Passion, and Resurrection scenes are combined rather casually at Bourget-du-Lac in a frieze executed around mid-century.⁶⁵ At Naumburg, however, the events preceding the Crucifixion are divided into a series of framed reliefs that are mounted along the top of the choir screen. The Crucifixion occupies the jambs and trumeau of the doorway into the choir. At Bourges the format is again the narrative frieze but the program has become organized symmetrically with Passion scenes to the left and Resurrection scenes to the right of the Crucifixion. The most expansive realization of such a program was designed for Notre-Dame in

Paris, where eventually the choir was fully enclosed by a wall decorated with relief sculpture. The section of the choir screen which traversed the nave was destroyed in the seventeenth century and is known primarily through drawings and descriptions.⁶⁶ It is usually thought to have formed part of the program initiated in 1296 on the north side of the choir. Here an Infancy and Mission cycle runs in a frieze of undivided scenes from the Annunciation to Christ in the Garden of Olives (Figure 26). Scenes on the nave section of the choir screen probably started with the Arrest of Christ and concluded with Christ Delivering Adam and Eve from Limbo. The Flagellation was included in this sequence and perhaps also a scene that featured the Holy Women; that is, we can imagine a cycle somewhat like the one that appears on the

61. Various functions of the choir screen are well summarized by Hall in her articles cited above in note 59. Quoting from Borghini, *Discorsi* (Florence, 1584) and Durandus, she suggests that entrance to the choir in some instances was limited to male members of the congregation or to Christians in good standing. While largely in agreement with her conclusions about the reasons for erecting these screens, I believe that in thirteenth-century France the *jubé* was an addition not originally planned in many cathedrals. The dates for the destruction of various *jubé* programs are listed by H. Bunjes, "Der gotische Lettner der Kathedrale von Chartres," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* 12-13 (1943) pp. 70-114.

62. See note 57 above, and E. Doberer, "Zum Lettner problem und zur Inschrift am Südportal von Innichen," *Weinert Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 27 (1974) pp. 185ff.

63. Bunjes, "Der gotische Lettner der Kathedrale von Chartres"; J. Mallion, *Le Jubé de la cathédrale de Chartres* (Chartres, 1964); J. Villette, "Précisions nouvelles sur le jubé de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Bulletin Monumental* 125 (1967) pp. 419-429; L. Pressouyre, in *Archeologia* 50 (1972) pp. 71-74 and in *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1971) pp. 82-91. For a partial bibliography on French *jubés* see Gillerman, *The Clôture of Notre-Dame*, pp. 49-50, or idem, "The Clôture of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame," pp. 41ff. For the St.-Quentin choir screen see R. Branner, "The Saint Quentin Rotulus," *Scriptorium* 21 (1967) pp. 352ff.

64. A. Peschlow-Kondermann, *Rekonstruktion des Westlettner und der Ostchoranlage des 13. Jahrhunderts im Mainzer Dom* (Wiesbaden, 1972).

65. J. Roussel, *La Sculpture française: Époque gothique* (Paris, 1931) II, pls. 24, 25.

66. A. Marty, *L'Histoire de Notre-Dame de Paris, d'après les estampes, dessins, miniatures, tableaux exécutés aux XVe-XIXe siècles* (Paris, 1907); M. Aubert, "Les Trois Jubés de Notre-Dame de Paris," *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* 43 (1923) pp. 105-118; Gillerman, *The Clôture of Notre-Dame*, pp. 14-15 and 30-39; idem, "The Clôture of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame," p. 49, where reconstruction of the lost *Annunciation* is discussed.



26. *The Agony in the Garden*, north wall of the choir enclosure, 1296–1318. Paris, Cathedral of Notre-Dame (photo: Alinari)

Cluny retable (Figure 25).⁶⁷ The Crucifixion, as at Naumburg, was not included among the reliefs but appeared as a monumental sculptured group above the doorway into the choir, as is shown in Viollet-le-Duc's hypothetical reconstruction (Figure 27).⁶⁸ The program concluded with ten scenes from a Resurrection cycle in framed reliefs mounted on the south wall of the enclosure.

It has recently been suggested that in fact the central section of the choir screen predates the choir program of about 1300 and was instead part of work done in the interior of the transept during the sixties.⁶⁹ This dating remains difficult to substantiate on the basis of style alone since the fragmentary figures attributable to this section of the screen are headless, but the draped female torso (Figure 28), which might have come from a scene of the Visit to the Sepulcher,

67. Gillerman, *The Clôture of Notre-Dame*, pp. 33–36.

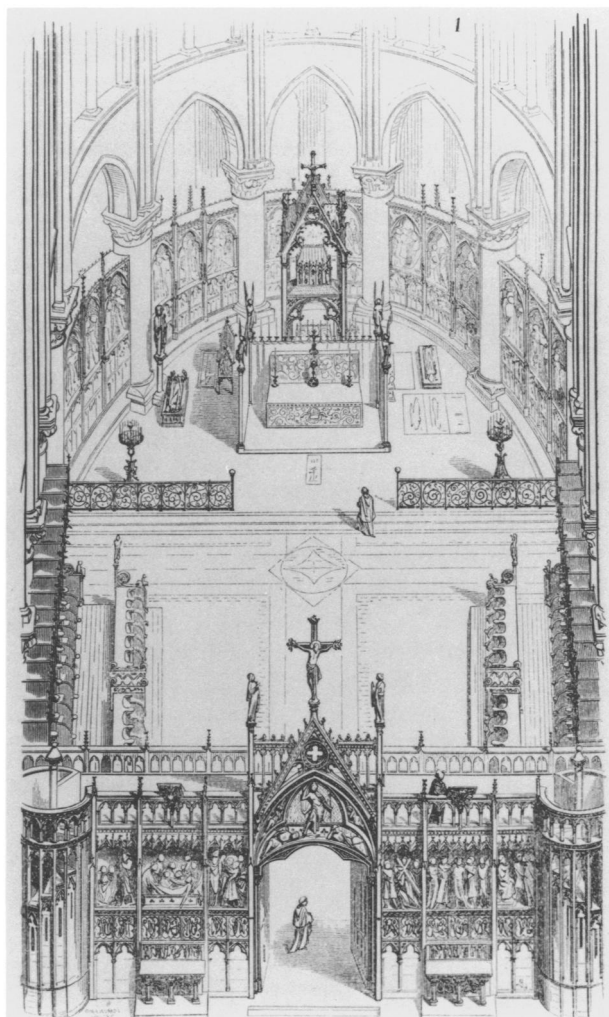
68. See note 47. For a critical evaluation of Viollet-le-Duc's reconstruction see Gillerman, "The Clôture of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame," pp. 42–47.

69. A. Erlande-Brandenburg, "L'Adam du Musée de Cluny," *La Revue du Louvre* 25 (1975) pp. 81–90.

in its slender proportions, rippling drapery, and swaying stance is strikingly similar to the group of the Three Magi from the buttress aedicule located just east of the north transept (Figure 29).⁷⁰ This group and the Adam, both now in the Cluny Museum, provide the best criteria for evaluating the style which flourished alongside the work of the St. Stephen Master around 1260. The choir-screen fragments are carved virtually in the round and this fact, in addition to their dimensions (which would be appropriate for a complete figure standing about 46 inches—the same height as figures in the Resurrection cycle), suggests that the central section of the enclosure was handled more like the south than the north side.

70. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, p. 473, ill. 90.

27. Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Reconstruction of View into the Choir of Notre-Dame*, from *Dictionnaire de l'architecture française*, 1875



Both the smaller scale of the *Arrest of Christ* figures and the less linear drapery style, which emphasizes a few bulky folds, seem to preclude an association with the Notre-Dame enclosure. Nevertheless, the relief's proposed date in the sixties, its Paris-derived style, its format (anticipating the south enclosure reliefs?), and above all, the complexity of its iconography raise the possibility that it might reflect the Notre-Dame sculpture quite closely. If a thirteenth-century *jubé* was erected at Amiens as part of the work in progress on the inner and outer transept facades, its sculptural program and stylistic affinities could have linked it to the Parisian monument.⁷¹ There are many unknowns in such a hypothesis and, for the time being, any relationship between transept programs at Paris and Amiens must remain in the realm of speculation. The

Arrest of Christ is important in its own right, however, as the witness of a development of choir-screen programs for which we possess very few examples; and if its execution does not place it among the greatest works of the period, its iconography bespeaks an advanced stage in the evolution of devotional art.

Iconographically the Metropolitan Museum relief draws on both Bourges and Naumburg. However, as

71. For the chronology of this area of the church see above and note 16. An early *jubé* is mentioned by Viollet-le-Duc in *Dictionnaire de l'architecture*, VI, pp. 147–150. Durand discusses the later *clôture* erected after 1489 (*Cathédrale d'Amiens*, I, p. 68), and Kimpel and Suckale briefly discuss existing interior sculpture of the south transept that represents angels bearing instruments of the Passion in "Die Skulpturenwerkstatt der Vierge Dorée," p. 248.

28. Female torso, from the choir enclosure of Notre-Dame, ca. 1260. Paris, Louvre (photo: Musées Nationaux)



29. *The Magi Group*, from buttress aedicule at Notre-Dame, ca. 1260. Paris, Cluny Museum (photo: Musées Nationaux)



psalter illustrations and scriptural sources indicate, its particular choice of motifs reflects a more specifically liturgical context. Stylistically the sculpture represents a balancing of certain opposing tendencies present in French sculpture after mid-century. Naturalism is a major component in the art of the St. Stephen Master, whereas the Magi group achieves a more idealized and aristocratic grace. The full significance of the *Arrest of Christ* becomes apparent, however, only when it is recognized as a work formed by its function and location in the church.

During the decades after 1250 French sculpture

seems to take new directions. In the most exemplary compositions, designed for interior locations, an intimate scale and closeness to the viewer accompany innovations in the portrayal of traditional subject matter. The story of Christ's Passion provided the late thirteenth century with the materials for an art that, by converting narrative illustration into hieratic image, became eligible for the choir and the altar, areas formerly reserved for Second Coming and Last Judgment iconography.⁷² Choir screens, introduced into most church interiors at this time, played a special role in this change of locale and emphasis.

72. C. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei, vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zum Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1960); F. van der Meer, *Maiestas Domini* (Rome, 1938); Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, I.

Two Fifteenth-Century Aragonese Retables and Painters of the Calatayud Group

JUDITH BERG SOBRE

Associate Professor of Art History, University of Texas at San Antonio

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART possesses a small but representative collection of fifteenth-century Spanish paintings. Two of these, both now at The Cloisters, are a retable dedicated to St. John the Baptist (Figure 1) and a *banco*, the Spanish equivalent of a predella, depicting six scenes from the Passion of Christ (Figure 4). Their provenance is unknown, but they were attributed by Chandler R. Post to two artists who painted in related styles: the *St. John the Baptist* retable to Francesc Solibes, a Catalan painter, and the *banco* to an unknown Aragonese follower of Solibes whom Post christened the Bonnat Master.¹ Scholarship concerning Solibes was always problematic: his only documented retable was painted in Catalonia, but a large undocumented group of paintings attributed to him, as well as to several prolific followers, all came from western Aragon.

The publication of Aragonese documents discovered within the last two decades has significantly clarified this problem. At least two of the Aragonese works formerly attributed to Solibes are now proved to be by local artists working in and around the city of Calatayud in the western sector of the province of Saragossa. A careful study of these documents and a reevaluation of some published earlier in this century help to shed new light on the two works at The Cloisters, for they provide clues to their region of origin, and if not to the specific authors, to the group of artists who probably produced them. The Aragonese documents give elaborate specifications as to size, components, content, and even colors for each re-

table, enabling us to reconstruct the probable original appearance of altarpieces for which contracts no longer exist, such as the *St. John the Baptist* retable.

THE ALTARPIECES

The retable of *St. John the Baptist, with Scenes from His Life* is important because it is nearly, though not completely, intact. It is now dismantled but was formerly exhibited at The Cloisters in a simple modern frame (Figure 1). The format is typical of Aragonese altarpieces of the second half of the fifteenth century. The figure of the Baptist occupies the largest panel in the center (Figure 2).² He is seated on a gilded throne

A list of frequently cited sources is given after the appendix to this article.

1. Post, VII, pp. 366ff., and VIII, p. 431.

2. Because the original frame is lost, it is impossible to give the correct dimensions of the retable as a whole, but the dimensions of each panel are as follows: central effigy of St. John the Baptist Enthroned, 135.9 × 103.2 cm.; Visitation, 76.4 × 97.9 cm.; Crucifixion, 70.0 × 103.2 cm.; Annunciation to Zacharias, 95.8 × 72.4 cm.; Birth of St. John, 96.4 × 72.4 cm.; St. John Preaching in the Wilderness, 74.0 × 72.4 cm.; Baptism of Christ, 73.1 × 72.4 cm.; St. John Reproving Herod and Herodias, 73.7 × 72.4 cm.; Banquet of Herod with the Beheading of the Baptist, 73.7 × 72.4 cm. *Banco* panels: St. Martial, 48.3 × 31.2 cm.; St. Sebastian, 48.3 × 30.7 cm.; St. Mary Magdalen, 48.3 × 31.2 cm.; St. Bridget, 48.3 × 31.2 cm.; St. Christopher, 48.3 × 32.1 cm.; and St. William, 48.3 × 31.2 cm. Minor discrepancies would have been masked by the original frame.



1. Domingo Ram (active between 1464 and 1507), Retable of *St. John the Baptist, with Scenes from His Life*. Tempera on wood. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 25.120.668–671,673, 674, 927–929

2. Ram, *St. John the Baptist* retable: central panel, *St. John the Baptist Enthroned*

rendered in raised and modeled gesso (a technique called *embutido* in contemporary documents). In his left hand he holds a book on which rests a small image of the Lamb of God, with a staff surmounted by a cross and banner. He points to the Lamb with his right index finger. The saint's wine-colored cloak is lined with green, and its gold *embutido* border and his halo of gilded concentric rings are set off from the gold of the throne by a painted cloth, once a vivid azure with a brocaded pattern, but now faded to a dull Prussian blue. The panel may originally have been larger, as the top of the halo and throne is now missing.

Above the seated image is a smaller panel depicting the Visitation, and above that in turn the Crucifixion.



3. Ram, *St. John the Baptist* retable: *banco*, *St. Bridget*, *St. Christopher*, and *St. William*



Flanking the center section are six scenes from the life of St. John. The registers read from the top, left to right, as follows: the Annunciation to Zacharias, the Birth of St. John, John Preaching in the Wilderness, the Baptism of Christ, John Reproving Herod and Herodias, and the Banquet of Herod with the Beheading of the Baptist.

Below is the *banco*, which now consists of six small images of saints. To the left are St. Martial, St. Sebastian, and the Magdalen, all shown seated on benches in front of a garden of cypress and lemon trees. Their names are inscribed on the backs of the benches. To the right we find St. Bridget, St. Christopher, and St. William (Figure 3),³ Bridget and William in the identical setting as the three already mentioned, while Christopher carries the Christ Child through a river in a landscape setting. In the modern frame at The Cloisters, the space in the center of the *banco* was occupied by a label panel.

Style and color are homogeneous throughout the retable. The interior scenes are all in Gothic settings, with such details as capitals, chairs, and shrines as well as halos picked out in the ubiquitous gilded *embutido*. The landscapes show trees arranged in regimental file, lemon trees depicted with a strict sense of pattern reminiscent of an oriental rug, while cypresses and pines are brushed in somewhat more softly. Conical hills mark the horizon. The figures are rather stiff

and formal, their faces heavy and expressionless, with strongly outlined eyes. The garments are draped in heavy folds, and brocaded fabrics are picked out in flat patterns of black and red over punched gold with pleats brushed in over them.

Colors are restricted mostly to greens, reds, wine tones, and blacks. Originally, these hues were brighter, and there was also considerable use of blue, but it was an inferior grade of the pigment for many of the blue areas have now darkened virtually to black. In the case of St. Christopher's tunic, most of the blue has been lost and the garment now reads as tan with a few traces of Prussian blue. Shading is fairly heavy, particularly in the faces and in the drapery folds, with the exception of the scarlet garments where pleats and creases are indicated by incisions and thin black hatching.

The retable in its present state gives an overall impression of a harmony of elements, with a predominating tendency toward flat decorative pattern. The

3. Post, VII, p. 366 n. 1, wishes to identify the last saint in the row as St. Kilian, since the figure lacks William of Aquitaine's attribute of a helmet. This is the name given to the saint in the modern label formerly set into the *banco* (Figure 1). The inscription behind the figure reads "Quilen." The obscure Irish St. Kilian would seem to be an odd choice for an Aragonese retable. A reasonable case can be made for the identification of William, even if there is a shift in the attribute: Spanish artists often depicted knightly saints dressed as nobles in civilian garb. This is true of St. Sebastian, and the "William" figure is dressed almost identically. In addition, the spelling of William, normally Guillermo or Guillén in Spanish texts, occurs at least sometimes in Aragon as Quillén, and we have an example of it among the painters of Calatayud whom we will study below: Quillén Dolzina. The fact that the name with that spelling is found in the region where the retable was produced suggests that it would have been sufficiently popular to have been inspired by the popularity of St. William in western Aragon. I have found no one in this region at this time who was named Kilian, nor any Aragonese representation of him.

4. Bonnat Master, *Six Scenes from the Passion*, late 15th century. Tempera on wood. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William M. Laffan, 10.12



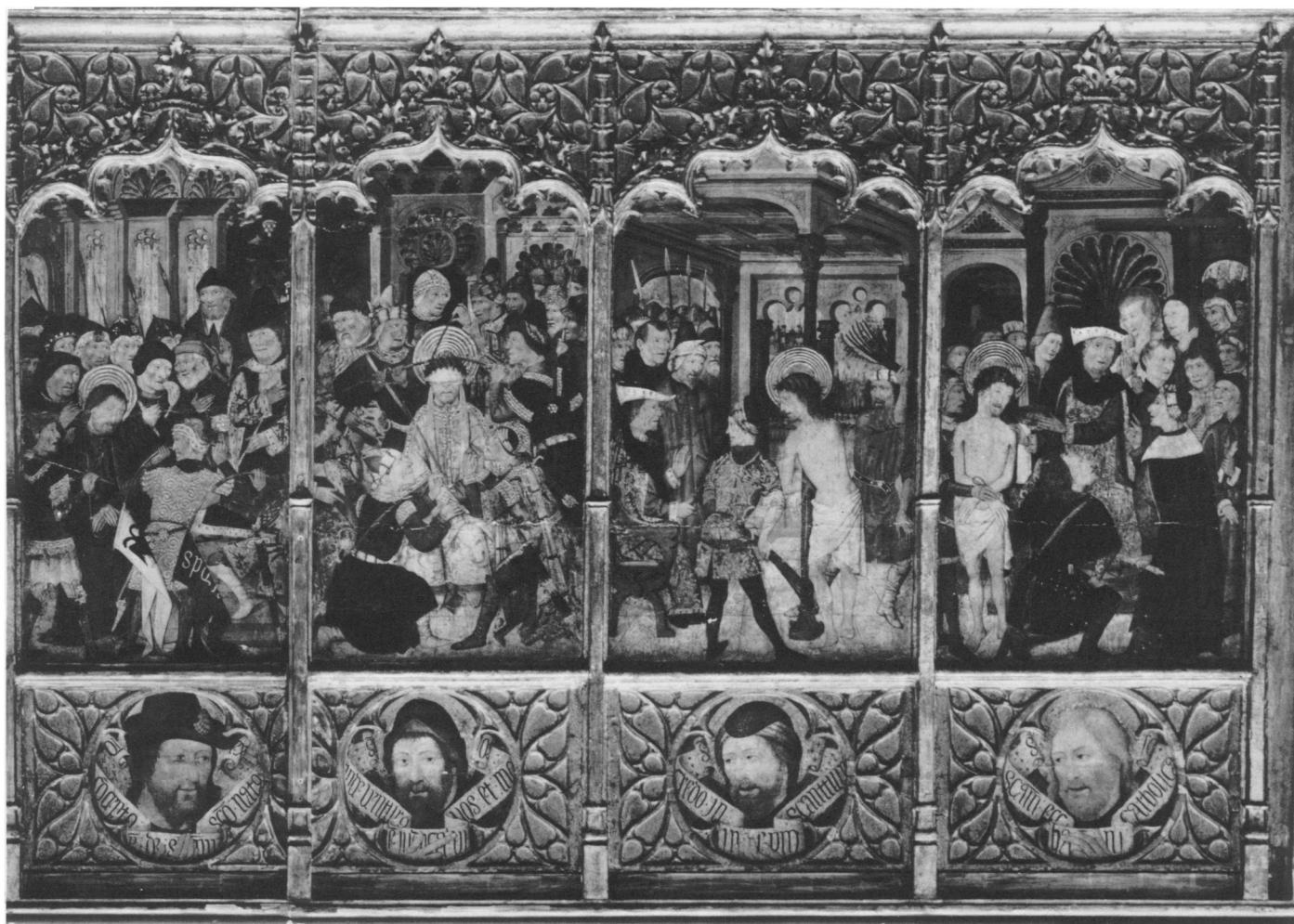
compositions are simple, drama is conveyed by gesture rather than expression. The figures are monumental, the painting is large in scale and broadly, even coarsely executed. The altarpiece is meant to be seen from a distance and projects its message clearly rather than subtly.

This patterned quality must originally have been even stronger. Gone are the *polseras* (or *guardapolvos*), the slightly tilted “dust guards” that would have surrounded the body of the altarpiece. These would have been gilded with rich *embutido* and painted with images of angels or of saints, or possibly with the coats of arms of the donor—or a combination of these. Missing also is the tabernacle, or *custodia*, that probably occupied the center of the *banco*—a three- to five-sided box to house reserve hosts, which would have been adorned with images of the Man of Sorrows, the mourning Virgin, and John the Evangelist, and possibly weeping angels.⁴ Since space is reserved for a tabernacle, the *St. John the Baptist* retable would

have originally adorned the high altar of a church rather than a side chapel. Lastly, the decorative pillars and canopies and lanterns of Gothic gilded tracery, which would have flanked and capped each painted scene and given the retable its sense of architectural unity, have vanished, except in the *banco*.

The second, related work in *The Cloisters*, the *banco* of *Six Scenes from the Passion* (Figure 4) is far less complete. The six surviving paintings are all that remain of what must have been a large and important altarpiece. The dimensions provide one indication,

4. The argument that the center of the *St. John* retable contained a tabernacle is further reinforced by the structure of the remaining parts of its *banco*. The three saints to the left and the three to the right are painted on two large single panels, with the dividing frames laid over them. By custom, the *bancos* of Aragonese retables always consisted of an odd number of panels, or if there was a tabernacle, by an even number plus the tabernacle, which would have substituted for the odd-numbered panel in the middle. When there was no tabernacle, all of the *banco* paintings were customarily painted on a single



5. Bonnat Master, *Six Scenes from the Passion: The Agony in the Garden*

6. Bonnat Master, *Six Scenes from the Passion: The Arrest of Christ and Christ Before Caiaphas*

for the total height of the *banco* is over 142 centimeters, or more than twice the height of the *banco* of the *St. John the Baptist* retable. The six scenes represent, left to right: the Agony in the Garden, the Arrest of Christ, Christ Before Caiaphas, the Crowning with Thorns, the Flagellation, and Pilate Washing His Hands. Below these images, which constitute the *banco* proper, is the *sotabanco*, which contains roundels decorated with heads of six of the apostles, and banneroles bearing inscriptions from the Creed.⁵ From left to right the passages quoted are: 1. "Credo in Deum, Patrem omnipotentem Creatorem caeli et terrae"; 2. "Et in Jesum Christum, Filium eius unicum Dominum nostrum"; 3. "Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine"; 4. "... inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos"; 5. "Credo in Spiritum Sanctum"; and 6. "Sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam. . . ." Only one apostle is identifiable: St. James the Great, third from the left, wears a cockle shell in his pilgrim's hat (Figure 6). *Banco* and *sotabanco* are unified by shared pillars and similar tracery in the arches above and the *sotabanco* below.

The six scenes are actually painted three each on two large horizontal panels, and these panels are slightly cut on the right side of Christ Before Caiaphas (Figure 6) and on the left side of the Crowning

wooden panel, or if the retable was of large size, the images would have been divided asymmetrically over two panels, e.g., three paintings on one panel and four on the other. The fact that the paintings of the *St. John banco* are divided three and three suggests that a separate unit was originally inserted between them.

5. The inscriptions on the scrolls actually present only a portion of the Apostles' Creed. The artist abbreviated as follows: 1. "Credo indeū prem̄ om̄ipotentem creatorem et ter"; 2. "Et in ih̄m x̄r̄m filium eius unicu d̄m nr̄m"; 3. "Qi cōceptus ē de sp̄u sc̄o natus ex maria virgin"; 4. "S̄ inde venturus ē judicare vivos et moos"; 5. "S̄ credo in in sp̄m scantum"; and 6. "S̄ scam eccham catholicā sc."

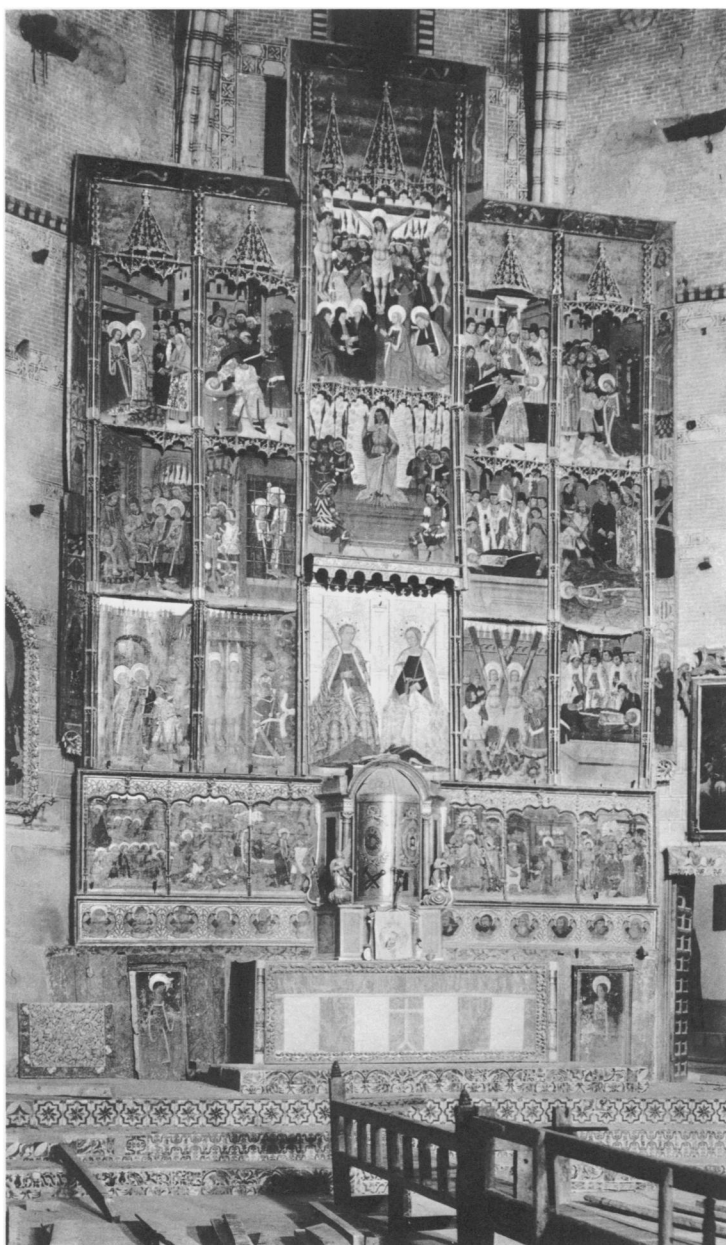




with Thorns (the pillar on the left of the Crowning with Thorns is a modern one, superimposed on the panel to mask the join when the two halves are displayed together). As in the *St. John the Baptist* retable, there was probably a tabernacle between these two scenes.⁶

The style here is less schematic than that of the retable of *St. John the Baptist*. The figures are represented in a sketchier manner, with softer outlines than were used in the retable. The shading of the garments is less schematic, too, and, for the same reason,

7. Domingo Ram and Juan Rius, Retable of SS. *Justa and Rufina*. Maluenda, Santas Justa y Rufina (photo: Mas)



landscapes appear more confused and crowded. This artist used some Italianate architectural detail, such as the shell niche, columns with Corinthian-style capitals, and pediments, although these elements are scarcely classical in proportion or combination. Aside from its larger dimensions, the greater importance of the retable from which the *banco* came is reinforced by the fact that it was painted with better-quality colors. The surface is covered by a discolored varnish, but where this has nicked or worn off, a brilliant rich blue shines through, as well as indications of vivid reds and yellows. This artist used *embutido* touches more sparingly than the *St. John* painter; they are confined to halos and soldiers' armor. Some gold was also employed in interior architectural details.

The *banco* and the retable are the work of two different artists, but they share certain devices that painters in the same atelier or in association might pick up from one another. Both artists used an identical lemon tree motif—it occurs in the Agony in the Garden of the *Passion banco* (Figure 5) and in all of the *banco* panels of the *St. John the Baptist* retable (Figure 3)—and painted other species of trees in the same loose, “furry” manner. They used the same technique for shading red garments: incision and black hatching rather than tonal variation. The artist of the *banco* used this technique also for yellow draperies.

THE RETABLE OF SS. *JUSTA AND RUFINA*

Even more significant is the connection between the two works in The Cloisters and the large retable dedicated to SS. Justa and Rufina (Figure 7) which is still in place over the high altar of the church of Santas Justa y Rufina in Maluenda, a small town about seven kilometers south of Calatayud in western Aragon. This retable shows twelve episodes from the lives of two woman ceramists who were martyred in Seville for refusing to worship pagan idols. Though they were Andalusian, they were worshiped in Maluenda because of the importance of the ceramics industry there. The twelve narratives flank a large rectangular

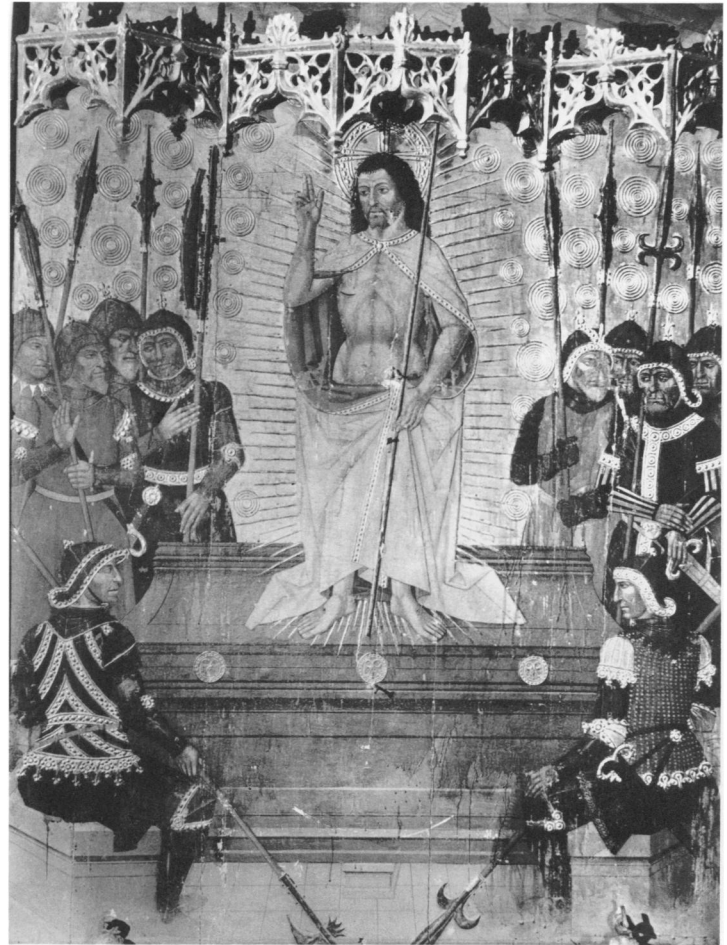
6. It is also possible that the tabernacle of the *banco* of the *Passion* was removed at a much earlier date, for the majority of Aragonese 15th-century *retablos mayores* had their contemporary wooden tabernacles removed and replaced by more elaborate Baroque ones during the 17th and 18th centuries.



8. Ram and Rius, SS. *Justa and Rufina* retablo: SS. Justa and Rufina Enthroned (photo: Mas)

panel of Justa and Rufina, richly dressed in brocades and seated on a throne liberally adorned with *embutido* patterns (Figure 8). In their hands they hold carding rakes, instruments of their martyrdom. Above these effigies is the Resurrection, and above that, the Crucifixion. In the *banco*, six scenes from the Passion flank a tabernacle of Baroque design that replaced the original fifteenth-century one, and below in the *sotabanco* are roundels of the twelve apostles with scrolls that show verses of the Creed. *Polseras* with prophet figures complete the arrangement. Some of the framing moldings are still in place over the narratives, the Resurrection, and the Crucifixion, as are all of the pillars that divide the retablo vertically.

Chandler Post noticed the connection between the Maluenda retablo and that of *St. John the Baptist* (though not the *Passion banco*) many years ago, and



9. Ram and Rius, SS. *Justa and Rufina* retablo: The Resurrection (photo: Mas)

his observation has been confirmed since by other art historians.⁷ If we examine the central images of both retables, the affinities are clear. Both are broadly painted with a strong sense of outline, heavy shading in the draperies, and the same masklike faces. Certain patterns used in the thrones are similar, such as running spirals and the four-petal flower within a circle. The same flat decorative schematic quality dominates both works.

In spite of these similarities, the retables of *St. John the Baptist* and SS. *Justa and Rufina* also show certain stylistic differences. The Resurrection (Figure 9) and some of the narrative panels such as the Burial of St. Justa use such a heavy outline for shading that the

7. Post, VII, pp. 354ff. See also James J. Rorimer, "A Spanish Retablo of the Fifteenth Century," *MMAB* 28 (1933) p. 10.



10. Ram and Rius, SS. *Justa and Rufina* retablo: The Crucifixion (photo: Mas)

features have an almost Byzantine cast.⁸ The figures of Christ and the two thieves in the Maluenda Crucifixion (Figure 10) display heavier bodies than the corresponding Christ in the retablo of *St. John the Baptist*. In this work there is a greater sense of decorative design, less crowding, than in the retablo of SS. *Justa and Rufina*. But in general, the style of the two works is close enough to postulate that they came from the same circle of artists, if not the same workshop.

8. Some of the heavy shading in the faces may be due to overpainting. The face of St. Justa in the panel of the Burial of St. Justa was restored in the 17th or 18th century, and the restorer may have taken the opportunity to modernize the panel a bit.



11. Ram and Rius, SS. *Justa and Rufina* retablo: Pilate Washing His Hands (photo: Mas)

The connection between the retablo of SS. *Justa and Rufina* and the *banco* of the *Passion* is less one of style than of content. The six compositions in the *banco* are replicas, even to architecture and landscape, of those at Maluenda. If we compare any of the scenes, such as Pilate Washing His Hands (Figures 11 and 12), we can see that virtually the same figures in the same poses were depicted by both artists. They also used the same Italianate architectural details, with apparently the same kind of misunderstanding of proportion and function. The degree of stylistic difference between these two *bancos* is approximately the same as the one we saw between the *banco* of the *Passion* and the *St. John* retablo.

In the *Passion banco* the apostle busts are in roun-



12. Bonnat Master, *Six Scenes from the Passion: Pilate Washing His Hands*

dels just as in the Maluenda *sotabanco* (Figure 13), but there are differences. The most obvious is that the *banco* has only six apostles to Maluenda's twelve (Figures 4 and 7). The sequence of the twelve apostles and their scrolls with the Creed is also more understandable, since we get a paraphrasing of the whole Creed from left to right across the Maluenda *sotabanco*. The artist of the *banco* of the *Passion* repeated the first three lines as at Maluenda, but then skipped three, repeated the next three, and omitted the last three, making the sequence of the inscriptions jumpy and fragmentary. The Maluenda artist included the names of each of the apostles on his scroll while the artist of the *banco* omitted the names but added hands to the figures.

Fortunately, the contract for the retablo of SS. *Justa and Rufina* was discovered in the Archivo de Protocolos of Calatayud by the Aragonese scholar and archivist Fabián Mañas Ballestin and published by him.⁹

9. Mañas Ballestin, pp. 215ff. Unfortunately, Mañas did not publish the text of the retablo contract in full, instead paraphrasing most of it and quoting only the excerpts he considered significant. This is also true of the other documents in the article.



13. Ram and Rius, SS. *Justa and Rufina* retablo: detail of *sotabanco*, St. James the Great (photo: Mas)

The contract not only identifies the two painters, Domingo Ram and Juan Rius, but also supplies valuable information about the construction, composition sources, and techniques used by the artists.

The contract was made in 1475. As in most Aragonese retable agreements of the period, the subject matter and the format of the altarpiece were carefully spelled out, down to the colors of the gowns of the two saints. Not only were specifications made for the paintings, but for the framing elements as well. Significant, but not unusual, is the fact that two already completed altarpieces were cited as examples and sources: the tabernacle in the center of the Maluenda *banco* was to duplicate in scale, frame, and figures one set into the high altar retable of San Pedro de los Francos in Calatayud. The rest of the *banco* and the *sotabanco* were to be a replica of those of the high altar retable of Santo Sepulcro, also in Calatayud, with one modification: there were apparently only ten apostles in the Santo Sepulcro *sotabanco*, and the contract for the Maluenda retable specifically mentions that this number be expanded to twelve.¹⁰ In addition, the Santo Sepulcro retable was to serve as a model for the framing elements and measurements—as well as an example of what *not* to do:

Item—it is agreed [that the artists] will make the said retable of wood, nails, framing, colors, size [the same as] the *retablo mayor* of the church . . . of Santo Sepulcro of Calatayud. But the said central panel [is to be] two *palmos* [about 20 cm.] wider than the said central panel of the said retable of the said Sepulcro. Since in the said retable of the Sepulcro there are some poor and imperfect colors, the said master Johan and master Domingo are obligated to put in the said retable good and perfect colors. Similarly, the enframements of gold and silver leaf, pillars, *bancos*, and lanterns are to have all of the completeness and perfection as has the said retable of the Sepulcro.¹¹

Neither the high altar retable of San Pedro de los Francos nor that of Santo Sepulcro has survived, but the contract indicates how much borrowing went on from previous models.¹² The retable of SS. *Justa and Rufina* would itself serve as a model for another retable painted by Domingo Ram, again in Maluenda, this time for the high altar of the church of Santa María in 1477. For that altarpiece, the subcontract between Ram and the carpenter-craftsman Franci Gomar stipulated:

[Gomar] is to make the whole body of the retable, that is: the carpentry work, all of the flower-tracery pillars and enframements and lanterns . . . like those of the retable of St. Justa; to make some beautiful *polseras*, worked with carpentry with leaf patterns at their lower edges, with the spaces like those that are in [the *polseras* of] St. Justa, and to make a *sotabanco*. . . .¹³

THE ORIGINAL APPEARANCE OF THE RETABLE OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

The contract for the retable of *St. John the Baptist* has either been destroyed or awaits discovery, but the contracts we have cited, the surviving retable of SS. *Justa and Rufina*, and clues within the panels themselves can help to reconstruct the original frame and other missing elements (Figure 14).

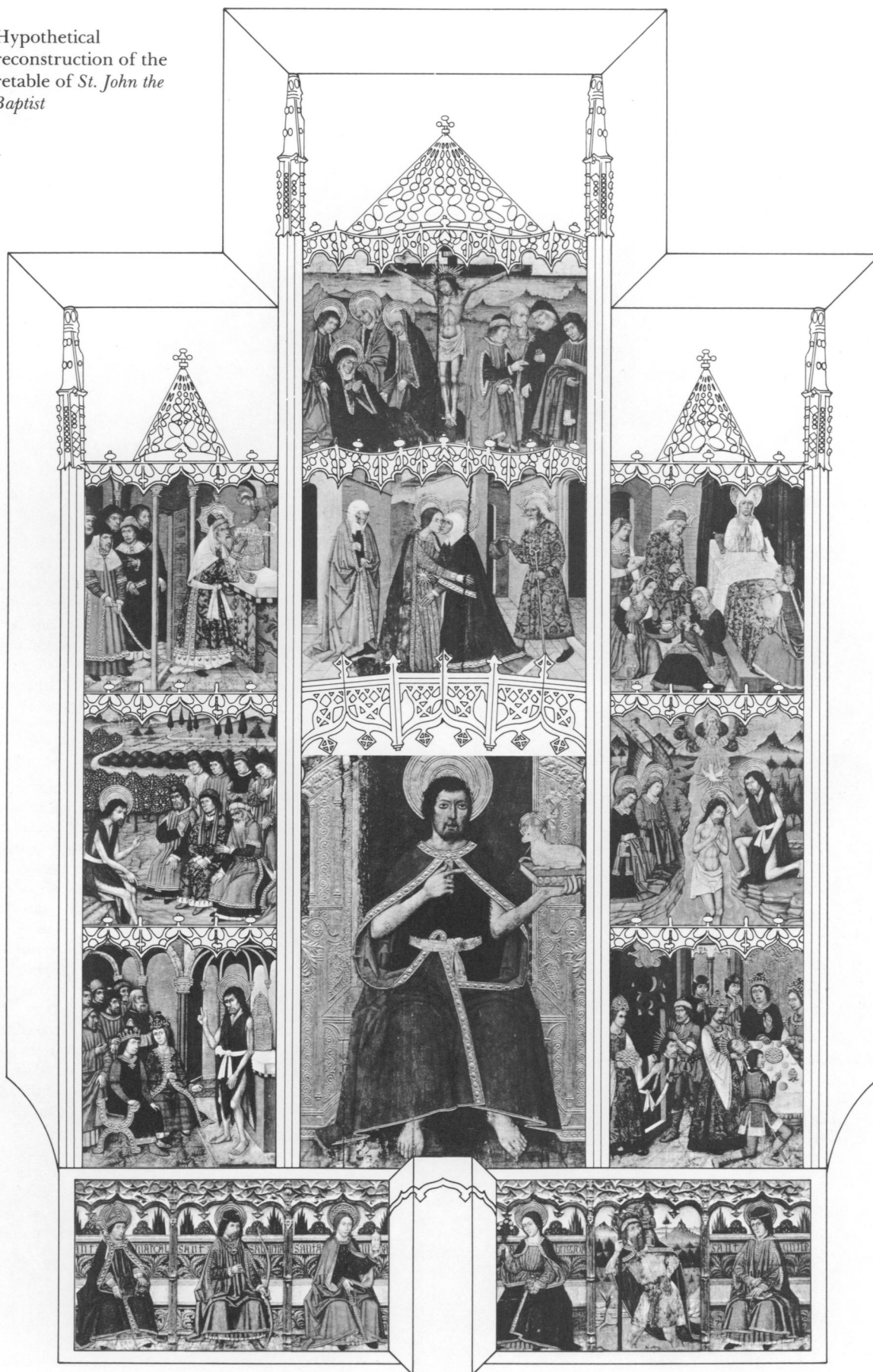
10. The fact that the *banco* and *sotabanco* of the SS. *Justa and Rufina* altarpiece was based on the one at Santo Sepulcro raises the question as to which of these two works (if either) provided the source for the *banco* of the *Passion* in The Cloisters. The question is probably unanswerable, as the Santo Sepulcro retable no longer exists. However, the difference in the number of apostles in the Santo Sepulcro and SS. *Justa and Rufina sotabancos* seems to imply that their number was not strictly fixed within the *sotabanco* function, and may help to explain the seemingly arbitrary reduction of apostles and Creed excerpts to six in the *banco* of the *Passion*.

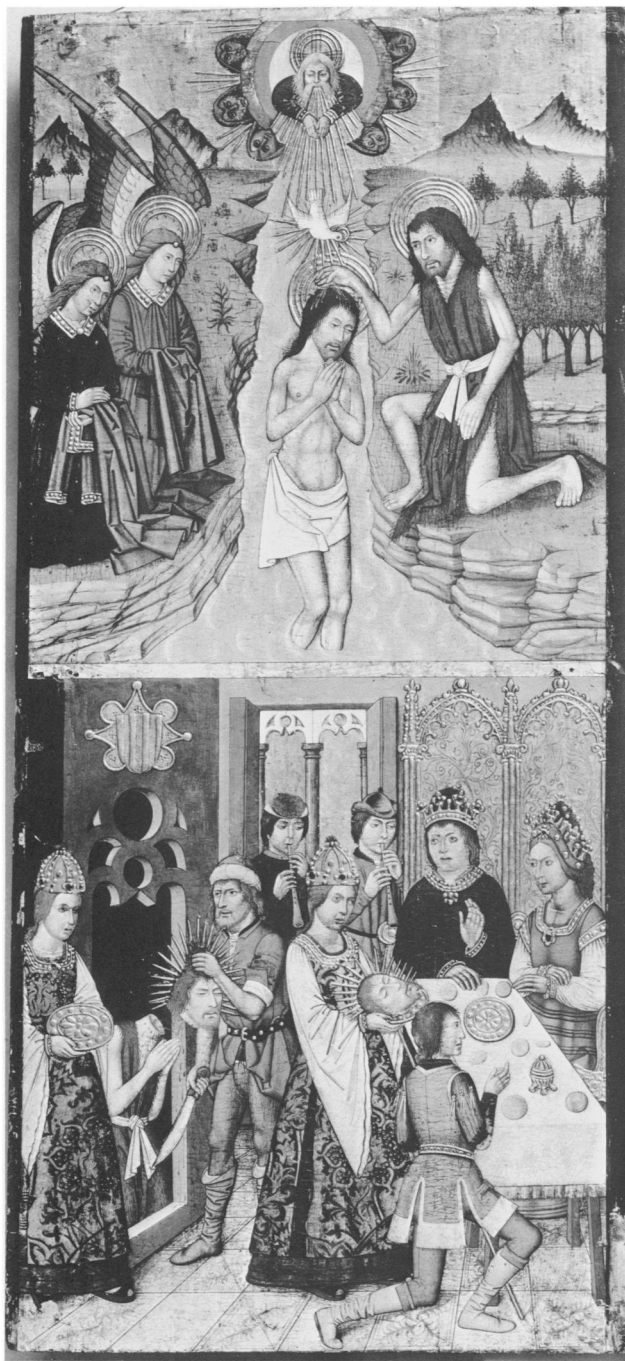
11. Mañas Ballestin, p. 220: "Item es pactado [que los pintores] fagan el dito retaulo de fusta, clavazon, mazoneria, colores, grandeza [lo mismo] que es el retaulo mayor de la iglesia . . . del Santo Sepulcro de Calatayut. Empero que la dita taula mediana sea dos palmos mas ampla que la dita taula mediana del dito retaulo del dito sepulcre. Empero por quanto en el dito retaulo del Sepulcre ay algunas colores mortificadas e imperfectas, los ditos mastre Johan e mastre Domingo sean tenidos poner en el dito retaulo colores buenas e perfectas. E asi de tubas como de oro, azoques, pilares, bancos e esmortinos tengan toda aquella perfeccion e complimento que tiene el dito retaulo del Sepulcre." (Author's translation of this and other documents quoted.)

12. The medieval church of Santo Sepulcro was replaced by a new structure with the same dedication in the 17th century. At the same time, the retables that adorned the old structure were replaced by Baroque examples, and none of the old retables is known to survive. See F. Abbad Rios, *Catálogo monumental de España: Zaragoza* (Madrid, 1955) p. 347.

13. Mañas Ballestin, p. 227: "Fazer todo el cuerpo del retablo, es a saber: la maçoneria, todos los pilares trasflores e tubas e esmortimientos . . . segunt estan en el retablo de Santa Justa; fazer unas bellas polseras, obrades de mazoneria con sendas fullas a los cabos baxos, con aquellas espacios que estan en las de Santa Justa, e faga un sotabanco. . . ."

14. Hypothetical
reconstruction of the
retable of *St. John the
Baptist*





15. Ram, *St. John the Baptist* retable: The Baptism of Christ and the Banquet of Herod with the Beheading of the Baptist

16. Ram, *St. John the Baptist* retable: The Annunciation to Zacharias

On the sides of the central panels (St. John, the Visitation, the Crucifixion), approximately 5 centimeters were left as black vertical strips. Similar vertical strips extend along the narrative panels; they are about 7 centimeters on the outer sides and 2 centimeters on the inner sides (Figure 15). These strips were painted black to set off the pillars of gilded open tracery (referred to as “*pilares trasflorios*,” or “flower-tracery pillars,” in contemporary documents). Since the panels were customarily joined closely together and the pillars placed over the joints to mask them, we can assume that there were four sets of pillars, each about 9 centimeters wide, framing the three main divisions of narrative and didactic episodes in the body of the retable.

Each panel would have also been capped by some kind of framing device. In smaller retables, there might have been an *archet*, a frame of relatively flat tracery in wood and gesso, which was applied to the



panel before it was painted, to be gilded along with portions of the background (as in the *banco* panels of the retable of *St. John the Baptist*), or placed over the panel after it was painted. The space where the frame was to be placed was usually marked out on the panel and either painted black or with a brocade pattern. This type of frame was apparently not used in the body of the *St. John* altarpiece, because if it had been, the upper part of each panel would have an area of no paint, of overpaint, or of brocade in a curvilinear pattern to correspond with the intended overlay. Instead, the two lower narratives on each side were painted on a single panel, divided by a strip only about 2 centimeters in height (Figure 15). A more elaborate type of framing device, a length of Gothic openwork tracery which usually stood away from the panel like a small canopy (*tuba*), can be seen over the second and third tiers of narrative panels in the Maluenda retable. Similar ones were probably used in the *St. John* retable.

A different sort of frame was employed for the uppermost panels, as the Annunciation to Zacharias (Figure 16), the Crucifixion, and the Birth of St. John (Figure 25) all show quite clearly: above each scene are the remains of a green brocade strip with a black triangle in the center. This triangle would have formed the background for a lantern or *esmortino*, a cone of tracery which would have been placed above the *tuba* to serve as a pinnacle. The one above the Crucifixion was probably less acute in angle than those over the other narratives, since its triangle projected higher to start with, and was wider. Similar lanterns are again found over the upper panels of the retable of SS. *Justa and Rufina* (Figure 7), and were also specified in the carpentry contract for the retable of Santa María.

The other missing elements of the *St. John the Baptist* altarpiece can be reconstructed from contemporary examples. There is no way of knowing the width of the *polseras*, since these varied from retable to retable, nor is there a way to guess what actually adorned them. But we can speculate with greater certainty about the missing tabernacle. If we examine any of the few surviving ones in Aragon, such as the high altar retable in the parish church of Velilla del Cinca (Figure 17), we can see that the framing elements are virtually the same as the rest of the retable. The images on that tabernacle are standard: the Man of Sorrows on the door at center, and the mourning

Virgin and St. John the Evangelist on the left and right sides. Since the *St. John the Baptist* retable is a fairly small one, its tabernacle probably had only three sides rather than the five or even seven sides specified by contracts for larger altarpieces of the period.

THE PAINTERS OF THE CALATAYUD GROUP

Identification of the artists of the retable of SS. *Justa and Rufina* makes it tempting to speculate whether Domingo Ram and Juan Rius were also responsible for one or both of the works in The Cloisters. Like the *St. John the Baptist* retable, the retable of SS. *Justa and Rufina* had previously been attributed to Francesc

17. High altar retable, Velilla del Cinca (Huesca), Ermita de San Valero (photo: Mas)



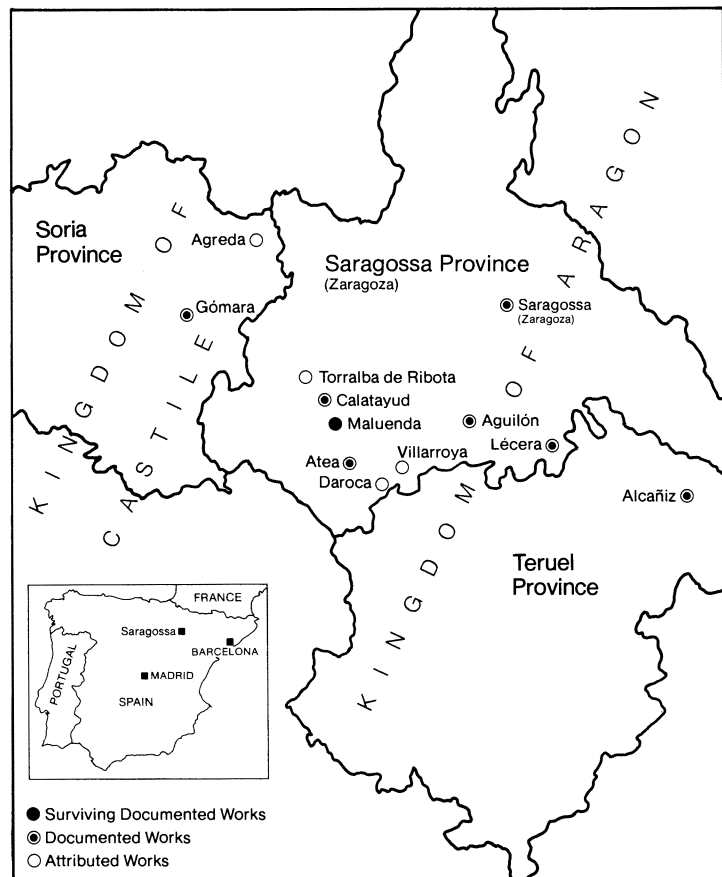
Solibes, whose only documented work, the retable dedicated to the Man of Sorrows in the Ermita de la Piedat at Sant Llorenç de Morunys, in Catalonia, dates to 1480. Chandler Post ascribed a sizable number of Aragonese works to Solibes.¹⁴ But he was bothered by the fact that although the majority of works of known provenance attributed to the artist came from western Aragon, there was no documentary trace of Solibes in that region. Discovery of the contract for the retable of *SS. Justa and Rufina* has disproved the Solibes attributions and shifted the Aragonese works into the orbit of Domingo Ram and Juan Rius. At the same time it has raised other questions, for the additional documentation published by Mañas Ballestin and others reveals a group of at least seven artists working in and around Calatayud, who were constantly in collaboration with one another and involved in relationships that sometimes extended to marriage.

Domingo Ram has been designated the head of the Calatayud group, for he is the only artist by whom surely documented works survive. (Rius, as we shall

see, presents problems in this respect.) Ram is mentioned in documents from 1464 to 1507. Almost as important, if the number of surviving retable contracts can be taken as a measure of prominence, was Pedro de Aranda, active from 1464 to 1496. The other artists in this circle include Domingo Ram's brothers Tomás (fl. 1480–89) and Juan (fl. 1488); his son, also named Juan (fl. 1496–1507); Juan Rius (fl. 1457–82); Antón de Santorquat (fl. 1464–82); Quillén Dolzina (fl. 1472); and Bartolomé de Berdesco or Verdesco (fl. 1507). Most of them lived and worked in Calatayud, but their activity extended at various times to Maluenda, Alcañiz, and Saragossa (Figure 18).¹⁵

The names of these painters, such as Tomás Ram and Quillén Dolzina, are recorded only in minor legal documents.¹⁶ The other artists are known from the documents to have executed retables for Calatayud and the surrounding area, but these do not survive. Their relationships are made even harder to untangle as they frequently collaborated on these lost works with other, equally unidentifiable members of the group. Pedro de Aranda is a good example: he teamed twice with Juan Rius, once in 1470 on a retable dedicated to St. Mamas for the monastery of San Agustín in Calatayud, and four years later on an altarpiece for the parish church of Gómara (in the adjoining Castilian province of Soria). In the interim, in 1472, he signed an agreement with Rius and Domingo Ram to collaborate on retables and share the income from them for a period of one year.¹⁷ Previously, in 1464, he and Ram had been associated with

18. Map showing area of activity of painters of the Calatayud group



14. Post, VII, pp. 354ff. See also Rorimer, "A Spanish Retable," pp. 10–11.

15. See the appendix for a list of their activities. There were also other artists at work in Calatayud at this period who were apparently unaffiliated with the group mentioned here, including Juan and Pedro Vazquez and a family of painters named Arnaldin. See Borrás Gualis and López Sampedro, pp. 185, 195.

16. Tomás Ram, who apparently resided in Maluenda, is cited in only two agreements made in connection with his brother Domingo (Mañas Ballestin, p. 228). Quillén Dolzina, a resident of Maluenda in 1472, witnessed, along with Domingo Ram, the purchase of a house by Juan Rius in that year (Mañas Ballestin, p. 224).

17. Mañas Ballestin, pp. 223–224. Such agreements were common in Aragon during this period, and they have interesting implications for a study of 15th-century painting in the region. Sometimes, as in the case of the Saragossa painters Miguel Ximenez and Martín Bernat, these arrangements were long and fruitful, but the three-way partnership of Ram, Rius, and

Antón de Santorquat.¹⁸ But Pedro de Aranda also worked alone. He seems to have enjoyed considerable prestige in Calatayud, where he painted several retables during the last two decades of the fifteenth century.¹⁹

The members of Domingo Ram's family maintained strong professional connections. His brother Juan joined him in painting a retable (now lost) for the high altar of the parish church of Alcañiz, some time before 1488.²⁰ In 1496, Domingo Ram apprenticed his son Juan to Pedro de Aranda. The younger Juan Ram subsequently married the daughter of yet another of his father's associates, Bartolomé de Berdesco.²¹

Given the rich and complex picture of artistic activity indicated by these documents, it is a pity that the only known stylistic personality is Domingo Ram.²²

Aranda was dissolved in 1473. Collaboration among the three artists did not stop, however, for Rius and Aranda worked jointly in 1474, and Ram and Rius teamed up for the retable of *SS. Justa and Rufina* in 1475–76.

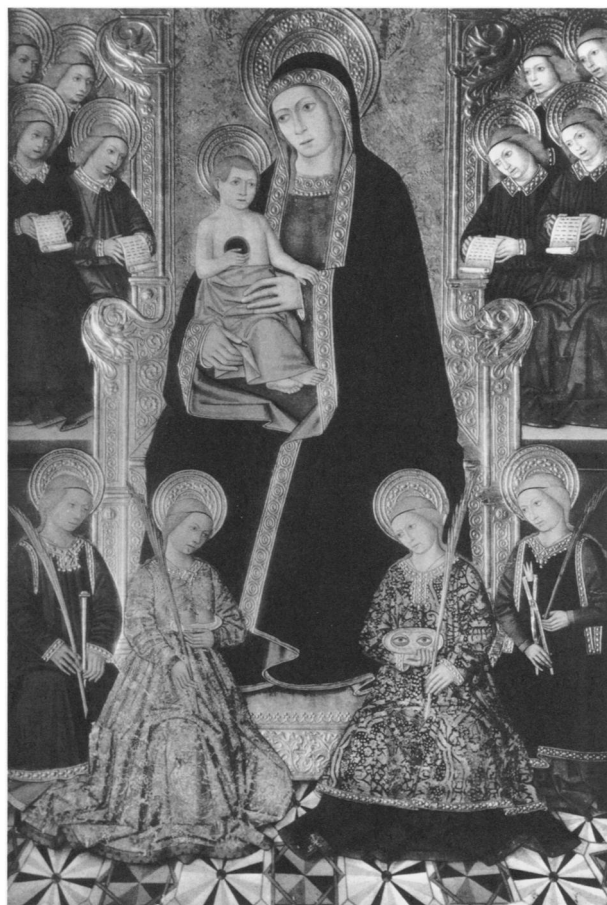
18. Antón de Santorquat signed a document of reconciliation with Domingo Ram and Pedro de Aranda in 1464 (Mañas Ballestin, p. 226). In 1480, he painted a retable of *St. Michael* for the church of San Francisco in Calatayud (Borrás Gualis and López Sampedro, p. 188).

19. Borrás Gualis and López Sampedro, pp. 183, 193–194. Pedro de Aranda's independently executed retables include one dedicated to St. Cecilia for the church of El Salvador (1486), the retable of the *Virgin of the Rosary* for the chapter house of San Pedro Mártir in 1488, and in 1493, an altarpiece whose central panel depicted the Holy Trinity for the high altar of Santo Domingo de Silos. All these churches were in Calatayud.

20. Serrano y Sanz, 1915, pp. 427–428. In 1488, Juan Ram resided in Saragossa, having already finished his stint in Alcañiz, and made a solicitation for final payment, implying that the altarpiece was complete by that date.

21. Mañas Ballestin, pp. 228–229. Domingo Ram was with the elder Juan Ram in Alcañiz before 1488, and he apparently returned there in 1496, because Mañas states that he sent his son Juan back to Calatayud from Alcañiz in 1496 to begin his apprenticeship with Pedro de Aranda. The younger Juan subsequently collaborated with his father on a set of organ doors for the church of San Juan de Vallupié in Calatayud in 1503. In the same year that the younger Juan married Bartolomé de Berdesco's daughter (1507), Berdesco collaborated with Domingo Ram on a retable dedicated to St. Anne (Mañas Ballestin, p. 229). Mañas does not cite the church for which this retable was intended, but presumably it was in Calatayud.

22. More than half the churches flourishing in 15th-century Calatayud have been destroyed. Of the large number of retables produced in the 15th century for the city, only a handful survive. All are meticulously catalogued by Borrás Gualis and López Sampedro.



19. Domingo Ram, Retable of the *Virgin* from Santa María, Maluenda: central panel, Virgin and Child with Choir of Angels and Virgin Martyrs. Barcelona, Torelló Collection (photo: Mas)

We have already examined his style in the retable of *SS. Justa and Rufina*, and if there are any doubts about Ram's contribution to the retable, we can look at the one surviving work that is documented as his alone: the retable of the *Virgin* for the church of Santa María, in Maluenda. Though the retable is no longer in place, Post saw fragments of it in the sacristy of Santa María during a visit to the town in 1926.²³ Sections of the *polseras* with angels bearing symbols of the Passion are still in the sacristy at Santa María. The central panel has surfaced in the Torelló collection in Barcelona (Figure 19), and the subject, the Virgin and Child with a choir of angels and virgin martyrs,

23. Post, VII, p. 360. Post attributed this retable to Solibes.

fits the specifications of the contract of 1477.²⁴ In this panel, we see the same type of throne as that in the retables of SS. *Justa and Rufina* and *St. John the Baptist* (Figures 8 and 2), the same heavy folds, the same masklike faces: the style of the work that Ram painted by himself is virtually the same as that of the retablo that he painted with Rius.

If this is the case, what about Juan Rius? Mañas Ballestin dismissed him as a minor figure.²⁵ His strongest case for this assertion rests on an agreement of 1472 signed by Domingo Ram, Pedro de Aranda, and Rius, whose part was specifically spelled out: he was to do all of the underdrawing required in work taken on by the group, and he would receive a small percentage of the total payment for this task.²⁶ He was also to model in gesso all of the crowns and accessories in all panels.²⁷ This breakdown of tasks is also indicated in one other contract that Rius made jointly with Salvador Roig years before in Saragossa.²⁸

If we examine documents covering the career of Juan Rius in greater detail, he emerges as a more complex personality than Mañas's conclusions indicate, even though he remains an enigma. Unlike other artists in the group, Rius apparently came originally from Saragossa. We hear of him there in 1459, when he collaborated with Martín de Soria on a retablo for the parish church of Aguilón.²⁹ In the same year, he signed a contract with Salvador Roig to paint a retablo for the Roldán family in San Pablo, also in Saragossa. Still in the same city in 1466, Rius collaborated with yet another artist, Jaime Romeu, on a retablo dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, St. George, and St. Michael for the parish church of Lécera. According to the contract for this work, Rius's contribution here was precisely the opposite of his work for the Roldán retablo: Jaime Romeu was to draw all of the figures in the *banco* and finish all of the faces in color in the body of the altarpiece, while Rius was responsible for the gesso ornamentation, gilding the grounds, and then painting with color all parts of the compositions *except* the faces, which were Romeu's task.³⁰ By 1469, Rius had moved to Maluenda.³¹ But there is an interesting postscript to the Lécera retablo, for a second document, dated 1470, made by Jaime Romeu's son Felipe, stated that his father was now dead and that the retablo was left unfinished. Felipe agreed to complete it, and declared that Juan Rius had renounced all part and rights that he had had to the retablo in favor of Romeu.³² Does this imply that

Rius perhaps found that he was not able to produce all of that illusionistic painting of figures, brocades, etc., or does it merely indicate that he opted out of his contract with Romeu so that he could leave Saragossa for Maluenda?

At any rate, in 1470, Rius signed a contract jointly with Pedro de Aranda to paint the retablo of *St. Matías* in Calatayud, in which the participation of each artist was not specified.³³ Two years later, he entered into the three-way agreement with Domingo Ram and Aranda. In 1474, he contracted jointly with Pedro de Aranda for the Gómara retablo. For that work, Rius was given three specific tasks: to do all of the underdrawing for the retablo, to help Pedro de Aranda in finishing the color (in other words, to do the sort of fine brushwork typically performed by a master), and to execute the decorative details in

24. Mañas Ballestin, pp. 228–229.

25. Ibid., pp. 223ff.

26. Ibid., p. 224: "que aya de deboxar qualquiere obra que los ditos pintores habran de necesario." This amount was worked out on a sliding scale.

27. Ibid.: "cubrir todos los abellimentes de diademas e las cosas necesarias en la pieza."

28. In this retablo, commissioned by the heirs of Juan Roldán for the cloister of San Pablo in Saragossa, Rius was to draw and color the heads of all figures in all of the altarpiece panels (Serrano y Sanz, 1915, p. 159: "diboxar, pintar et encarnar todas las testas de todas las historias qu'en el dito retaulo sean contenidas, y no hotro alguno . . ."). Chandler Post (VIII, pp. 249 ff.) erroneously identified the Roldán retablo with one dedicated to SS. Catherine, John, and Mary Magdalen still in San Pablo. Since the style of that retablo is very different from that of the retablo of SS. *Justa and Rufina* (the surviving altarpiece reflects the influence of the painter Bartolomé Bermejo), Mañas Ballestin (p. 226) concluded that Rius's role in both works was quite subsidiary, as befits someone doing mere preparatory work. But Post's identification of the Roldán retablo with the one still in San Pablo is incorrect. Even he pointed out that neither subject nor location of the retablo of SS. *Catherine, John, and Mary Magdalen* exactly matches the description of the altarpiece in the contract. Actually both painting and costume style of the retablo indicate a date toward 1490 rather than the year of the Roldán contract, 1459.

29. Cabezudo Astrain, p. 68.

30. Serrano y Sanz, 1921, p. 139: "el Johan Rius aya de enbotir, daurar los planos, pisar e vestir e fazer de colores fasta fazer las caras. . . ."

31. Mañas Ballestin, p. 223. Rius rented a vineyard in Maluenda in this year.

32. Cabezudo Astrain, p. 78: "el dito Juan Rius, pintor, haver renunciado toda la part e dretyo que el havia en la dita factura del dito retaulo, en poder del dito mi padre, e apries el dito padre haver sido finado. . . ."

33. Mañas Ballestin, p. 224.

molded gesso (*embutido*) which Aranda would then gild.³⁴

The last known mention of Rius in Maluenda is the contract and documents of payment for the retablo of SS. *Justa and Rufina*, where references are constantly made to Ram and Rius together, with no specific division of tasks indicated. Rius apparently left the Calatayud area after this, for in 1482 he was back in Saragossa, where he received money from his stepson, Jaime Serrat.³⁵ All together, the documentary evidence depicts Juan Rius as an artist whose greatest strengths lay in his talents as a draughtsman and a gilder and decorator.³⁶ Yet he also seems to have been called upon at times for his skills as a painter.³⁷

Apart from Domingo Ram, the only other artist with whom Rius worked whose style is known at all is Martín de Soria. His oeuvre has not been sufficiently defined for identification of characteristics in it that are *not* his, however, and the jointly executed retablo does not survive.³⁸ It can, however, be asserted that the styles of Martín de Soria and Domingo Ram both reflect distant influences of the Catalan painter Jaume Huguet, who evidently spent some of his early years at Saragossa. Rius would thus have been working with men who painted in vaguely similar styles—at least in these two instances.

Any attempt to delineate Rius's style has to take into account one final consideration: judging from the extent of collaboration that the documents suggest went on among Aragonese artists at this time (and those cited here are only a small proportion) it would seem that the prevailing aim of both artist and patron was a good corporate product rather than a unique manifestation, a product in which the artists would have tried to look as much *alike* as possible, rather than letting individual talents shine forth.³⁹ Given this corporate character, we can easily imagine each artist in the "company" using his special skill in a given project, and then working with his partner or partners on the finishing of the piece, as at Gómara. It must also be remembered that other artisans within the workshop of the two masters probably did much of the preparatory and rough work.

The temptation is to look for different characteristics and to pick out different hands within a given stylistic group. While it is futile to try to distinguish Rius's hand from Ram's in the retablo of SS. *Justa and Rufina*, there are at least three distinct but related groups of paintings, all roughly from the area of Ca-

latayud, which seem to stem from the group of artists we have discussed.

DOMINGO RAM, THE BONNAT MASTER, AND THE ST. VINCENT MASTER

The first and easiest works to identify are those that come closest to the known production of Domingo Ram. These are the works that used to be ascribed to Solibes by Post and others. They include the Cloisters retablo of *St. John the Baptist*; a retablo dedicated to SS. Isidore, Ambrose, and Nicholas in the Museo de Arte Sacra, Calatayud; a single panel of St. Barbara in the Museo de la Colegiata de Santa María, Daroca; a *banco* of seated saints with the dead Christ in its center that now adorns the high altar of the parish

34. Ibid., p. 225: "El dito Pedro de Aranda aya de dar al dito Joan per debuxar el dicho retaulo . . . asi mesmo tiene de ayudar ad acabar de colores aquel dito Pedro. E el dito Pedro le aya de dar por istorias vint y dos sueldos, empero el dito Juan Rius se les aya de embotir, e el dicho Pedro se les aya de dorar. . . ."

35. Serrano y Sanz, 1917, p. 452.

36. Mañas Ballestin, p. 223. In 1470, Rius made an agreement with two goldsmiths of Medina del Campo to educate them in methods of separating gold from silver by the use of certain acids.

37. Other artists of considerable talent were often specifically asked to execute underdrawing of a given retablo. A case in point was Bartolomé Bermejo, who was asked in the second contract of 1477 to draw and paint with his own hand the faces for the *retablo mayor* of Santo Domingo de Silos in Daroca.

38. Post (VIII, pp. 312 ff.) sought to attribute a vast number of works of widely differing styles to Martín de Soria. This has been challenged by José Gudiol Ricart, in *Pintura medieval en Aragón* (Saragossa, 1971) pp. 49ff. A careful reevaluation of Martín de Soria has still to be made.

39. There is documentary and stylistic evidence to support this theory in 15th-century Aragonese painting. A key document is the joint agreement in 1466, between Tomás Giner and Arnaut de Castellnau de Navalles, in which they formed a company ("companyia") for five years, agreeing to share execution of all commissions (Serrano y Sanz, 1915, p. 419). Documentary and stylistic proof can be found in the association between Martín Bernat and Miguel Ximenez: though both painted independently, they executed numerous retables together between 1482 and 1496. One, the retablo of the *True Cross* from Blesa (1486) survives (now in the Museo de Bellas Artes, Saragossa). The contributions of the two masters in the various panels of this altarpiece are distinguishable, but barely so, for their style is closely linked. The same similarity of style characterizes their independent commissions, for example Bernat's *Virgin of Mercy* from the Talavera Chapel of Tarazona Cathedral (now in the Museo de la Colegiata de Santa María, Daroca), documented to 1493, and Ximenez's signed Resurrection from the retablo of SS. *Michael and Catherine* from Egea de los Cabeleros (now in the Prado, Madrid).

church of Villarroya del Campo; another *banco* with the unusual center theme of the Epiphany in the church of San Felix at Torralba de Ribota; and parts of an altarpiece—a panel depicting Mary Magdalen, as well as a *banco* with St. James, St. Michael, the Mass of St. Gregory, St. Paul, and the Virgin of the Rosary—now in the parish church of Alcañiz. The figure of the Magdalen (Figure 20) is quite close to other figures by Domingo Ram discussed here, but those of the *banco* show a slightly stiffer style (Figure 21).⁴⁰ This might possibly reflect participation by the elder Juan Ram, active with his brother at Alcañiz.

The works belonging to the second hand include the *banco* of the *Passion* in The Cloisters. Post called

the artist the Bonnat Master after panels from a retable dedicated to St. Martin in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne (Figure 22).⁴¹ These panels and a small

40. Post, VII, p. 361, n. 1. Post hesitated to attribute the Alcañiz *Magdalen* and *banco* to the Rams, but he did mention the pertinent documentation of Domingo and Juan Ram in Alcañiz. He also remarked that the specifications for a high altar retable in the request for payment published by Serrano y Sanz (see note 20) were too large for identification with the pieces found in Alcañiz. Another candidate for the authorship of the Alcañiz retable was Jaime Serrat, stepson of Juan Rius, who painted a retable dedicated to the Magdalen for Alcañiz in 1506 (Abizanda y Brotó, "Documentos para la historia artística y literaria de Aragón, siglo XVI," *Zaragoza* [1917] pp. 10ff.). This too was for a larger retable, and it was destined for the castle, not the parish church. Mañas Ballestin (p. 233) assumes that Serrat did the Alcañiz panels, without presenting any new proof.

41. Post, VIII, p. 428. Gudiol Ricart (*Pintura medieval en Aragón*, p. 68) for some reason attributes both works in The Cloisters to the same hand—the Bonnat Master.

20. Domingo Ram and Juan Ram the Elder (?), *The Magdalen*. Alcañiz, Parish Church (photo: Mas)



21. Domingo Ram and Juan Ram the Elder (?), *banco*: St. Michael. Alcañiz, Parish Church (photo: Mas)

22. Bonnat Master, Retable of *St. Martin*: central panel, St. Martin Dividing His Cloak. Bayonne, Musée Bonnat (photo: © Arch. Phot. Paris/SPADEM)

23. St. Vincent Master, Retable of SS. Vincent, John, and Mary Magdalen. Calatayud, Museo de Arte Sacra (photo: Mas)



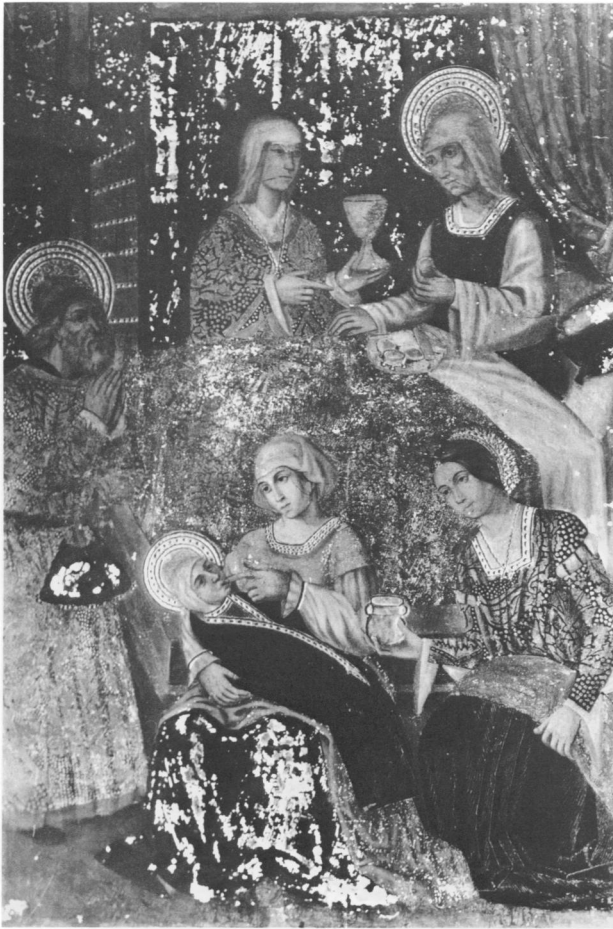
group of other works, including a single panel of the Temptation of St. Anthony (Museo de Pinturas, Bilbao), a *St. Christopher* in Santa María, Calatayud, and three panels of prophets in the Museu d'Art de Catalunya (Barcelona), display the same rather cursive style as the Cloisters *banco*. The close relationship between the *banco* of the *Passion* and the *banco* from the retable of SS. *Justa and Rufina* certainly suggests that the Bonnat Master is a painter of the Calatayud group, but in the absence of concrete documentary evidence, he may as well keep this rather unsatisfactory title.

A third master shares some characteristics with Domingo Ram and the Bonnat Master. This is the

painter of a retable dedicated to St. Vincent, St. John, and St. Mary Magdalen in the Museo de Arte Sacra, Calatayud, reputed to have come from the Granadas family chapel in the now-destroyed church of San Torcuato (Figure 23).⁴² Post christened him the St. Vincent Master.⁴³ This artist's style is heavier, with strong outlines and shading and rather rigid, blocky figures—a stiff version of Domingo Ram's style. There are also compositional affinities with Ram. The St. John in the Calatayud retable has the same device of a cloak tucked into his belt, while the Magdalen

42. Borrás Gualis and López Sampedro, p. 70.

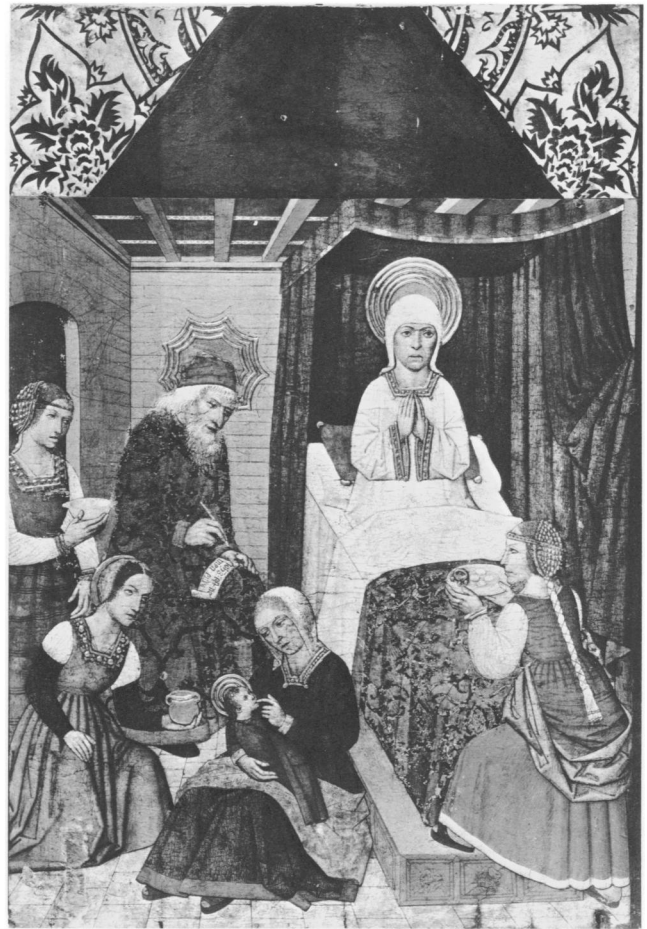
43. Post, VIII, p. 439.



24. St. Vincent Master, *Birth of the Virgin*. Maluenda, Santa María (photo: Mas)

resembles Ram's version of the same saint at Alcañiz. The composition of another work attributed to the St. Vincent Master, the center panel from the *Birth of the Virgin* retable in Santa María, Maluenda (Figure 24), has affinities with the Cloisters Birth of St. John the Baptist (Figure 25), particularly in the foreground group. Other works attributed to this artist include the retable of SS. *Anne, Valerius, and Vincent* in Santa María, Maluenda, and panels of St. Nicholas and St. Bartholomew in the Muntadas collection, Barcelona.

Several attempts have been made to identify the St. Vincent Master with one or another of the artists documented in Calatayud. In an elaborate but unconvincing argument, Mañas Ballestin sought to identify part of the retable of SS. *Vincent, John, and Mary Magdalen* with the retable of St. *Anne* painted by Domingo Ram and Bartolomé de Berdesco in 1507. It involved



25. Ram, *St. John the Baptist* retable: Birth of St. John

taking the panels of St. John and the Magdalen (admittedly reversed the way the retable is presently set up), and combining them with the *banco* from the retable of SS. *Isidore, Ambrose, and Nicholas*, attributed to Domingo Ram. Mañas contended that these, plus the missing central panel of St. *Anne*, constituted the original Ram–Berdesco altarpiece.⁴⁴ Part of his argument was based on the fact that the 1507 contract specifies that the center of the *banco* be occupied by the “*piedat*,” and the center of the St. Isidore *banco* has as its subject the Pietà, the dead Christ on the Virgin’s lap. But in fifteenth-century Aragonese documents, the term *piedat* refers to the Man of Sorrows, not to the theme now known as the Pietà, which was called the *trasfixo*. Thus, like the Bonnat Master, the

44. Mañas Ballestin, p. 231.



St. Vincent Master, though surely a member of the Calatayud group, remains unidentified.⁴⁵

At least one more work by yet a different hand echoes closely one of the compositions in the retablo of *St. John the Baptist*. This is the *Birth of the Virgin*, one of a series of four panels formerly in the Parcent collection, Madrid, reputed to have come from Agreda in Soria (Figure 26).⁴⁶ The other three panels depict the Visitation, the Nativity, and the Epiphany.⁴⁷ The last two are interesting because their compositions appear to have been based on prints by Martin Schongauer, an artist widely copied in Spain, but the panel showing the Birth of the Virgin is practically a replica of the Cloisters Birth of St. John (Figure 25). Stylistically, the two works differ, and the Parcent panel is of a later date, judging from the costumes of the female figures. Did the author of the Parcent panels somehow have contact with the Calatayud group? Or did both artists have access to the same cartoon? From the

26. *Birth of the Virgin*. Formerly Madrid, Parcent Collection (photo: after *Catálogo de las tablas de primitivos españoles . . .*, 1911)

evidence of what has survived, the Calatayud artists do not seem to have been aware of the works of Schongauer.

We are thus left with a fairly common art-historical dilemma. A set of documents shows extensive activity and interaction among a group of artists working around Calatayud, and a number of paintings were done by several closely related artists also working around Calatayud, but only one artist named in the documents, Domingo Ram, can be linked to surviving documented works, the retables of SS. *Justa and Rufina* and of the *Virgin*. It is fairly safe to guess that the

45. Other scholars have suggested that the St. Vincent Master might actually have been two artists, unrelated to the group we have been discussing: Juan and Pedro Vazquez (Borrás Gualis and López Sampedro, p. 185). These painters contracted in 1493 for a retablo dedicated to St. Mary of Egypt for the church of San Pedro Mártir in Calatayud. The *banco* of this retablo was to have five compartments depicting SS. Sebastian, Fabian, Cosmas, and Damian, with the figure of St. Peter Martyr, patron of the church, occupying the important central position usually filled by the Man of Sorrows or a eucharistic theme. It was thought that only the *banco* survived, and that it was the one formerly placed below the retablo of SS. *Vincent, John, and Mary Magdalen* and now attached to another retablo of an earlier date in the Museo de Arte Sacra, Calatayud. This *banco*, closer in style to the retablo of SS. *Vincent, John, and Mary Magdalen* than the earlier retablo, includes images of SS. Fabian, Sebastian, Cosmas, and Damian, but its center is occupied by St. Anthony Abbot, not St. Peter Martyr. One explanation for this discrepancy is that since St. Peter Martyr was already so often represented in this church, the artist or patron decided to change the subject of the center panel. However, given the importance of the *banco* in Aragonese retables, and particularly the center panel, it seems highly unlikely that the saint deleted from this one would be the patron of the church. Also no provenance for the piece is known.

46. Elías Tormo y Monzó, *Catálogo de las tablas de primitivos españoles de la colección de la excma. Señora Doña Trinidad Scholtz Hermensdorff Viuda de Iturbe* [duchess of Parcent], Exposición de la Real Academia de San Fernando, May 1911 (Madrid, 1911). The four panels are reproduced in the catalogue as nos. 9–12. The provenance is hazily reported as “quizá de tierra de Agreda, o de Aragón, donde se negociaron” (no. 9).

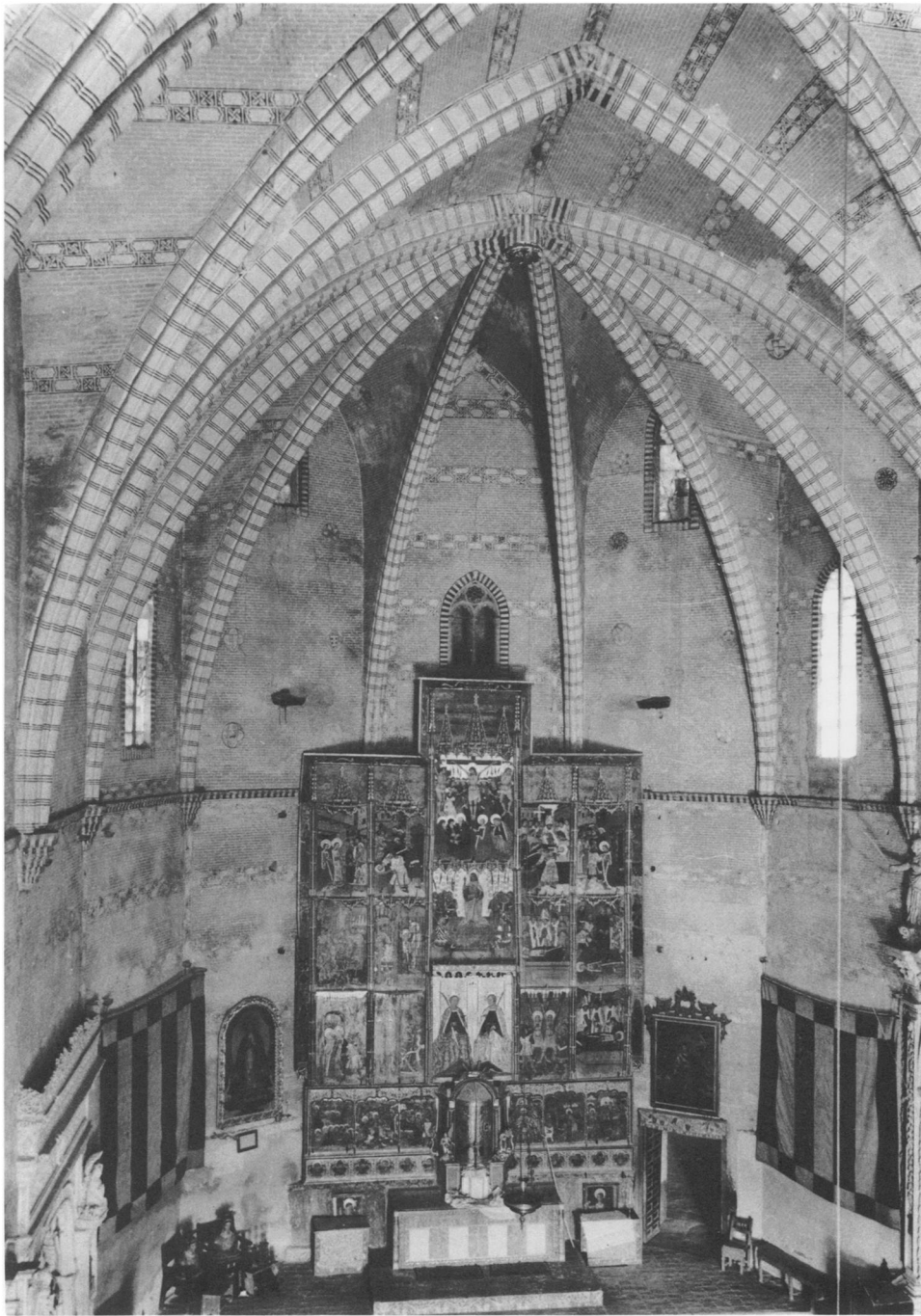
47. Post, VIII, pp. 281ff. He attributed these panels to Jaime Lana. Subsequent scholars have convincingly proved that these panels were not the work of Lana, but they have come up with no new attribution (see Gudiol Ricart, *Pintura medieval en Aragón*, p. 67).

retable of *St. John the Baptist* reflects the hand of Domingo Ram, but we can only speculate about the identity of the Bonnat Master, the author of the *banco* of the *Passion*. It is tempting to connect him with Juan Rius, if only because of his reputation as a draughtsman and because the *banco* of the *Passion* is executed in such a cursory style, but since Rius is not known to have worked alone, there seems no way of proving this theory.⁴⁸

The *St. John* altarpiece and the *banco* of the *Passion* together demonstrate well how a regional style works. The paintings share a similar aesthetic even though they show individual differences. Both the retable and the *banco* were conceived and carried out as decorative entities. With their structure and frames complete, they would have formed half-architectural, half-painterly totalities and would have blended very well into their settings. We can understand this if we

look at the retable in Santas Justa y Rufina (Figure 27), the only *retablo mayor* still occupying its original position above the high altar in an Aragonese church which retains its fifteenth-century decoration. The majority of fifteenth-century village churches in western Aragon were single naved and decorated in the Mudéjar style. They afforded an unimpeded view from nave entry to altar, and the interior of the church was richly decorated with abstract painted, carved, and inlaid designs. The high altar retable contributed to this decorative scheme with its scintillating gold frame and its brightly colored paintings. Lack of perspective and the de-emphasis of narrative in favor of symbolic content were offset by a large-scale schematic sense and a harmony of two-dimensional surface design, as both the retable of *St. John the Baptist* and the *banco* of the *Passion* admirably demonstrate.

48. Since it seems certain that the retable of *St. John the Baptist* was made for the high altar of a church, it was logical to search in the area of Calatayud for churches dedicated to St. John the Baptist. There are a number of these which might have had a 15th-century retable over the high altar, including Illueca, Valdeorna, Torrijo de la Cañada, and Campillo de Aragón, though there is no way to know if the Cloisters altarpiece came from one of these. In addition, there was the church of San Juan de Vallupié in Calatayud, which was torn down in 1769 (Borrás Gualis and López Sampedro, pp. 195–196). We know that Domingo Ram and his son Juan painted organ doors for that church with themes similar to the *St. John* retable (Mañas Ballestín, p. 228), but it seems unlikely that they would have repeated the same themes in a retable. The old *retablo mayor* of this church does survive, in fact, but it is a Baroque sculpted object, now split between Sediles and the church of San Juan el Real. One other interesting thought presents itself: the parish church of Gómara, for which Pedro de Aranda and Juan Rius contracted to execute a retable of unknown theme, is dedicated to St. John the Baptist. If the Cloisters retable *did* come from Gómara, then we would be faced with the possibility that Aranda and Rius in collaboration painted in a style that is virtually indistinguishable from that of Domingo Ram.



27. Interior of Santos Justa y Rufina, Maluenda, showing the high altar and retablo (photo: Mas)

Appendix

THE CALATAYUD GROUP, 1459–1507: CHRONOLOGY

1459 Saragossa (November 4)

JUAN RIUS is working on a retable for the parish church of Aguilón with MARTÍN DE SORIA. The latter receives a payment of 500 *sueldos* for work in progress. (Cabezudo Astrain, ref. p. 68 and doc. p. 76.)

Saragossa (n.d.)

JUAN RIUS and SALVADOR ROIG make a contract with the heirs of Juan Roldán for a retable dedicated to St. Michael, St. Catherine, and St. John the Baptist for the Roldán Chapel in San Pablo, Saragossa. Rius is to draw, paint, and color all the heads in all panels of the retable. (Serrano y Sanz, 1915, doc. pp. 159–160.)

1464 Calatayud (October 19)

DOMINGO RAM, PEDRO DE ARANDA, and ANTÓN DE SANTORQUAT sign a peace agreement, resolving a quarrel between them. They also fix prices for the painting of household articles such as chests and curtains. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. p. 226 and n. 31.)

1466 Saragossa (March 14)

JUAN RIUS and JAIME ROMEU sign a contract for a retable of *St. Mary Magdalen* for the parish church of Lécera. Rius is to gesso, gild, and paint everything except the faces, which will be executed by Romeu. (Serrano y Sanz, 1921, doc. pp. 136–139.)

1469 Calatayud (February 8)

JUAN RIUS, inhabitant of Maluenda, rents a vineyard belonging to himself and his wife at La Ornella, to Johan Rodriz. DOMINGO RAM witnesses the document. (Serrano y Sanz, 1916, doc. p. 475.)

1470 Saragossa (May 14)

JUAN RIUS has renounced his part in the retable of *St. Mary Magdalen* at Lécera in favor of JAIME ROMEU, who has just died, leaving the retable in a state of unsatisfactory completion. FELIPE ROMEU, son of Jaime, agrees to complete it to the satisfaction of the patrons. (Cabezudo Astrain, ref. p. 71 and n. 3; doc. p. 78.)

Calatayud (August 16)

JUAN RIUS undertakes to teach gold- and silver-separation methods to two goldbeaters from Medina del Campo, Yfach Avienzut and Mosé Bezudo. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. p. 223 and n. 20.)

Calatayud (October 18)

JUAN RIUS and PEDRO DE ARANDA sign a contract with the brotherhood of St. Mamas to paint a retable dedicated to the saint for the monastery of San Agustín, Calatayud. (Mañas Ballestin, partial citation of doc. pp. 223–224 and n. 22.)

1471 Calatayud (February 5)

JUAN RIUS and PEDRO DE ARANDA receive two-thirds of the total price of the retable of *St. Mamas*. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. p. 224 and n. 22.)

1472 Maluenda (January 12)

JUAN RIUS buys a residence at Noguera Muerta (near Maluenda). DOMINGO RAM and QUILLÉN DOLZINA are witnesses. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. p. 224 and n. 23.)

Maluenda (June 30)

DOMINGO RAM and PEDRO DE ARANDA sign a contract of association to share retable commissions for the space of five years. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. p. 227 and n. 32.)

Maluenda (August 16)

DOMINGO RAM and PEDRO DE ARANDA sign an agreement with JUAN RIUS, to give Rius the underdrawing and the modeling of adornments for whatever retables they undertake, for the period of one year. Rius is to accept no other work during this period. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. p. 224, partial citation of doc. n. 24.)

Maluenda (September 27)

DOMINGO RAM, inhabitant of Maluenda, sells his furniture to his mother for 300 florins. JUAN RIUS witnesses the document. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. p. 227 and n. 35.)

1474 Calatayud (May 4)

DOMINGO RAM, inhabitant of Calatayud, receives a payment of 800 *sueldos* for a retablo he is painting for the parish church of Atea. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. p. 227 and n. 36.)

Calatayud (October 30)

JUAN RIUS and PEDRO DE ARANDA sign a contract to execute a retablo for the parish church of Gómara of unspecified dedication. PEDRO DE ARANDA is to paint and gild the retablo, JUAN RIUS will execute the underdrawing and modeled gesso ornamentation and assist Aranda with the painting. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. and partial citation of doc. p. 225 and n. 25.)

1475 Maluenda (April 25)

DOMINGO RAM and JUAN RIUS contract for the high altar retablo (*retablo mayor*) of the church of Santas Justa y Rufina, Maluenda. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. and partial citation of doc. pp. 216–222.)

Maluenda (October 3)

DOMINGO RAM and JUAN RIUS receive the second payment of 2000 *sueldos* for the retablo of SS. *Justa and Rufina*. (Mañas Ballestin, partial citation of doc. p. 221, nn. 9–11.)

1476 Calatayud (January 27)

JUAN RIUS, residing in Calatayud, owes Gabriel de Santa Cruz 10 gold florins. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. p. 225 and n. 27.)

Maluenda (February 15)

Council of Maluenda lends DOMINGO RAM and JUAN RIUS 2000 *sueldos*. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. p. 222 and n. 12.)

1477 Maluenda (June 8)

DOMINGO RAM and JUAN RIUS receive final payment for the retablo of SS. *Justa and Rufina*. They also repay their debt of February 15, 1476. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. p. 222 and n. 13.)

Maluenda (November 16)

DOMINGO RAM signs a contract with the city of Maluenda to execute the *retablo mayor* of the church of Santa María, Maluenda. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. and partial citation of doc. p. 222 and n. 14; p. 227 and n. 38; pp. 229–231.)

1480 Maluenda (July 22)

DOMINGO RAM signs an agreement with TOMÁS

RAM, his brother, to resolve a dispute. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. p. 228 and n. 39.)

Calatayud (n.d.)

ANTÓN DE SANTORQUAT contracts for a retablo dedicated to St. Michael for the church of San Francisco, Calatayud. (Borrás Gualis and López Sampedro, ref. p. 188.)

1482 Saragossa (July 22)

JUAN RIUS receives 450 *sueldos* from JAIME SERRAT, painter (his stepson). (Serrano y Sanz, 1917, doc. p. 452.)

Calatayud (n.d.)

ANTÓN DE SANTORQUAT completes the *St. Michael* altarpiece for San Francisco, Calatayud. (Borrás Gualis and López Sampedro, ref. p. 188.)

1486 Calatayud (n.d.)

PEDRO DE ARANDA contracts for a retablo of *St. Cecilia* for the church of El Salvador, Calatayud. (Borrás Gualis and López Sampedro, ref. p. 194.)

1488 Alcañiz (January 4)

DOMINGO RAM and his brother JUAN RAM have completed the *retablo mayor* of Santa María la Mayor in Alcañiz, and solicit final payment. (Serrano y Sanz, 1915, doc. pp. 427–428.)

Calatayud (n.d.)

PEDRO DE ARANDA contracts for a retablo dedicated to the Virgin of the Rosary for the chapter house of San Pedro Mártir, Calatayud. (Borrás Gualis and López Sampedro, ref. p. 183.)

1489 Maluenda (May 24)

DOMINGO and TOMÁS RAM, inhabitants of Maluenda, conduct a financial transaction with Juan Daza. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. p. 228 and n. 40.)

1493 Calatayud (September 8)

PEDRO DE ARANDA contracts for the *retablo mayor* of Santo Domingo de Silos, Calatayud, dedicated to the Holy Trinity. (Borrás Gualis and López Sampedro, ref. p. 193.)

1496 Alcañiz (October 16)

DOMINGO RAM, resident in Alcañiz, sends his son JUAN to Calatayud for apprenticeship to PEDRO DE ARANDA for two years. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. p. 228 and n. 41.)

1503 Calatayud (July 20)

DOMINGO RAM and his son JUAN RAM contract for organ doors with scenes from the lives of the two St. Johns, for the church of San Juan de Vallupié, Calatayud. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. and partial citation of doc. p. 228 and n. 42.)

1507 Calatayud (July 13)

DOMINGO RAM and BARTOLOMÉ DE BERDESCO sign a contract to paint a retablo of *St. Anne* (church unspecified), presumably in Calatayud, commissioned by Juan Fernández de Moros. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. and partial citation of doc. p. 229 and n. 43.)

Calatayud (n.d.)

The younger JUAN RAM marries the daughter of BARTOLOMÉ DE BERDESCO. (Mañas Ballestin, ref. p. 235.)

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English Tapestries “After the Indian Manner”

EDITH A. STANDEN

*Consultant, Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

ENGLISH DECORATIVE ART in the second half of the seventeenth century includes many works that show a deliberate intention to imitate oriental imports, indifferently described at the time as “Indian,” “Chinese,” or “Japan.” A well-known instance is documented by an inventory of Kensington Palace taken in 1697, which includes “Seven peices of Tapistry hangings with India ffigures 9 foot deep.” In an inventory of 1699 this set is mentioned as hung in the “previe chamber.”¹ These tapestries had been supplied by John Vanderbank, “yeoman arras-maker” of the Great Wardrobe (a department of the royal household) in 1690, 1691, and 1696; they were said to be “designed after the Indian manner.”²

This royal set has not been identified, but it has been assumed for many years that its designs must

have been similar to those of a number of unusual tapestries, some of them signed by Vanderbank, of which at least fifty individual pieces are known. Most of these have dark grounds, usually black or brown, with brightly colored exotic figures, buildings, and vegetation placed on little islands, scattered as if floating over the entire surface of each piece; the motifs are tiny at the top and increase in size as they near the bottom. One tapestry of this type in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Figure 1) is inscribed: IOHN VANDREBANC FECIT.³

Most of the motifs of the Victoria and Albert tapestry reappear on a piece in the Yale University Art Gallery (Figure 2), one of a set of four.⁴ Several other similar tapestries are known.⁵ An appropriate name for this grouping of motifs might be *The Harpist*.⁶

1. Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, “Documents on the Furnishing of Kensington House,” *Walpole Society* 38 (1960–62) pp. 21, 50.

2. W. G. Thomson, *Tapestry Weaving in England* (London, 1914) p. 143. Nine pieces in all are listed. The first four were made for the Withdrawing Room at Kensington Palace. For Vanderbank’s origin and career see *ibid.*, pp. 139–147. A more complete account of the “Indian manner” tapestries made for Kensington Palace is given by Wendy Hefford, “‘Bread, Brushes, and Brooms’: Aspects of Tapestry Restoration in England, 1660–1760,” *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium, November 1976* (San Francisco, 1979) p. 70.

3. A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Tapestries* (London, 1924) no. 5.

4. William Tappan, “The Tapestries of Elihu Yale,” *International Studio* 82 (1925) p. 210, illus. The piece is here given the title “The Promenade.” The sale of Yale’s collection after his death in 1721 took forty days and included more than 10,000 items in 3,600 lots; “India Japan Cabinets” were listed, but no

tapestries (Hiram Bingham, *Elihu Yale* [New York, 1939] p. 313). The tapestry set is believed to have been inherited by his daughter.

5. A reduced version of much the same combination of motifs makes up the right side of a tapestry sold at Sotheby’s, July 27, 1969, no. 25, and a reversed example was in the James W. Barney collection, sold at Parke-Bernet, May 8, 1948, no. 134. Another reversed example with an elaborate border very like contemporary Beauvais designs is owned by Sir Alfred Beit, Russborough, Ireland; it was formerly at Melville House, owned by the earl of Leven and Melville, and was sold with a companion piece, also now in the Beit collection (Figure 8), at Christie’s, Nov. 19, 1959, no. 143.

6. This conspicuous figure is also found in the set that covers the walls of the Tapestry Room of The Vyne, Hampshire, owned by the National Trust, and is among the fragments at Hopetoun House, West Lothian, owned by the marquess of Linlithgow.

1. *The Harpist*. Wool and silk tapestry. English, late 17th–early 18th century. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum, crown copyright)

Though all the versions are basically similar, they vary in size and format. Motifs have been added or omitted rather freely. Vanderbank had clearly found a formula that could easily be adapted to suit his client's requirements.

This flexibility of design is implied in a letter from the architect Hawksmoor to Lord Carlisle, dated July 2, 1706. The writer gives the dimensions of three tap-



estries that are to be hung "in my Lds Bedchamber" at Castle Howard and says that the room is to have "a basement of Wainscot 2 feet 6 inches or three foot from the floor having a proper moulding to keep the hangings from Injury" and "a coveing and small Entablement next ye ceiling above." After stating the dimensions of the tapestries, he concludes: "These are ye Neat measures between wood and wood, what Mr.

2. *The Harpist*. Wool and silk tapestry. English, late 17th–early 18th century. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, BA 1897 (photo: Yale University Art Gallery)



Vanderbanc will allow on all sides for nailing, he can best judge.”⁷ Tapestries were no longer the easily movable objects they had been even a hundred years before; similar precise instructions about dimensions must have been given to Vanderbank by many of his customers. The great advantage of the “Indian manner” designs was that the motifs could be arranged to form compositions of any dimensions required. The tapestries of the Yale set show signs of having been heightened by the addition of strips at the top, and Vanderbank was paid for enlarging the tapestries he had supplied to Kensington Palace in 1691 and 1696.⁸

Though Vanderbank made other kinds of tapestry, three “Indian” pieces at Castle Howard correspond fairly closely to the dimensions given by Hawksmoor in 1706;⁹ two other, very narrow pieces have a differ-

ent border and may have been ordered later, perhaps as *entrefenêtres*. Other sets for which an approximate date can be given include the Yale pieces, believed to have been made for Elihu Yale after his return from India in 1692 and before his death in 1721. Two panels (later joined) formerly owned by Sir Walter Blount at Mawley Hall, Kidderminster, have the arms of the fourth Baron Aston of Forfar and his wife, who were married in 1698; she died in 1723.¹⁰ The tapestries were presumably made between these dates.

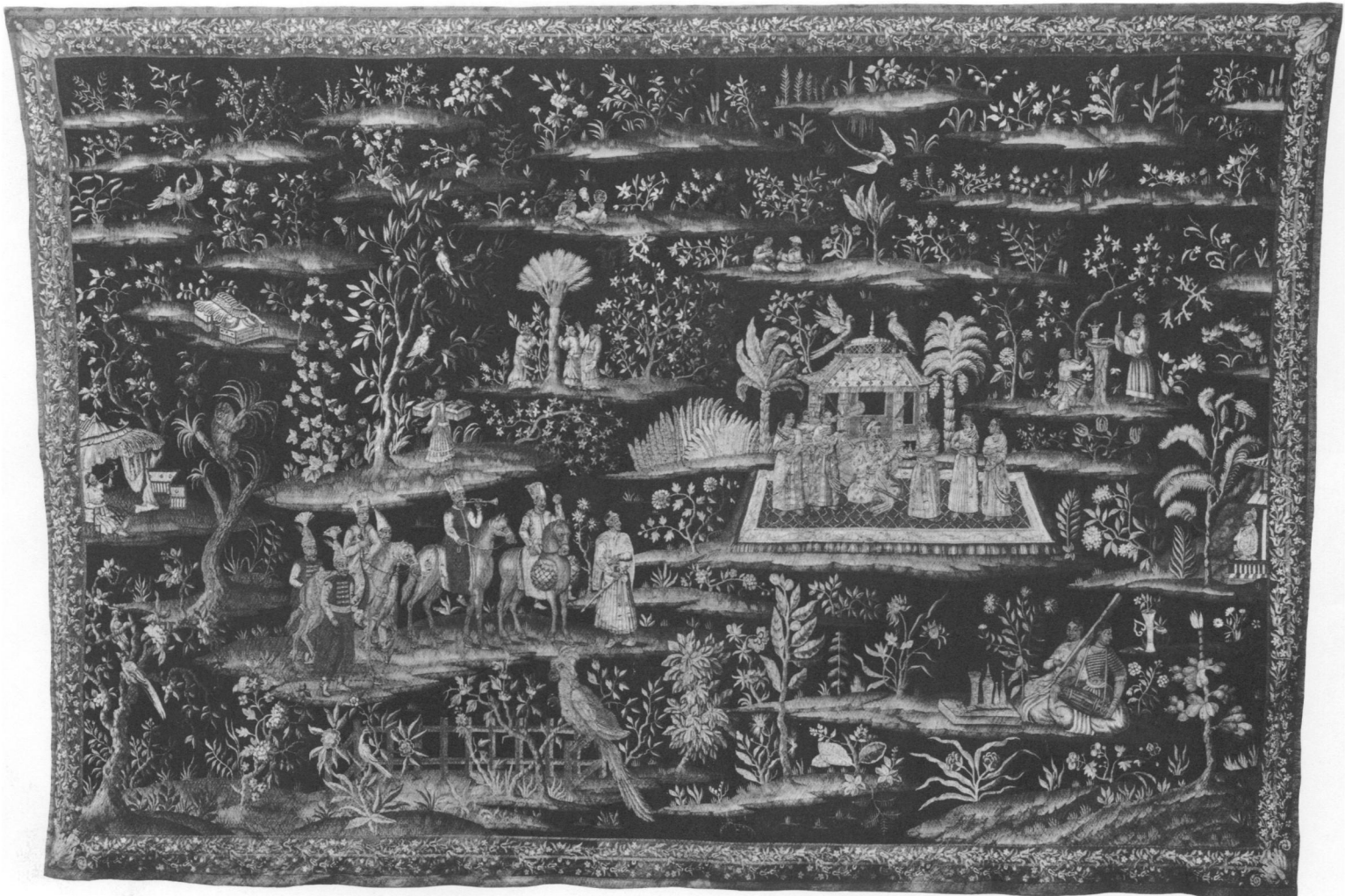
7. Kerry Downes, *Hawksmoor* (London, 1959) p. 237, no. 15 in list of letters. I am indebted to Mr. Downes for the transcription of the pertinent portion of this letter and to Mr. George Howard for permission to quote from it.

8. Thomson, *Tapestry Weaving*, p. 143.

9. They are hung on the Grand Staircase (Geoffrey W. Beard, “Castle Howard, Yorkshire Home of Mr. George and Lady Cecilia Howard,” *Connoisseur Year Book*, 1956 [London, 1956] p. 4, fig. 1). Vanderbank also supplied “Teniers” tapestries that are still at Castle Howard.

10. Sold at Christie’s, July 7, 1932, no. 118. H. C. Marillier, *English Tapestries of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1930) p. 34.

3. *The Concert*. Wool and silk tapestry. English, late 17th–early 18th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. George F. Baker, 53.165.1



With the deliveries at Kensington Palace starting in 1690, a range of dates is thus provided that can be associated with the tapestries; it seems probable that most of them were made by Vanderbank while he was yeoman arras-maker at the Great Wardrobe in Great Queen Street, Holborn, that is, from 1689 until his death in 1717. However, some may have been supplied by his widow before her death in 1727, or by their son Moses, who held the Great Wardrobe post until 1730.¹¹

Very few "Indian manner" tapestries have found permanent homes in museums and many are known only from their appearance in sales. Arbitrary titles have been given to certain combinations of motifs. The grouping most frequently found has been called *The Concert*. The example in the Metropolitan Mu-

4. *The Toilet of the Princess*. Wool and silk tapestry. English, late 17th–early 18th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. George F. Baker, 53.165.2

seum (Figure 3)¹² has a companion piece, *The Toilet of the Princess* (Figure 4). This occurs in other versions,¹³

11. *Survey of London: XXXIV. The Parish of St. Anne Soho* (London, 1966) app. 1, "The Soho Tapestry Makers," p. 515. An older son, John (1694–1739), was a painter.

12. Two others, with reversed compositions, are at Yale University, one in the Elihu Yale set and another acquired later (M.T.J.R. [Margaret T. J. Rowe], "An Important New Tapestry," *Bulletin of the Association in Fine Arts at Yale University* 10, no. 1 [Nov., 1941] pp. 1, 2). There is one in the set at The Vyne and a very wide version, in which the house with a man behind a balustrade appears complete, was in the Mrs. Evelyn St. George collection sold at Sotheby's, July 25–26, 1939, no. 101. This has the same border as the pair in the Beit collection. The London dealers Harris and Sons owned one, in a set of three pieces, in 1950, possibly the set sold at Sotheby's, Mar. 17, 1950, no. 141. Another set of three sold by Lady Sackville at Brighton, June 25–July 3, 1923, nos. 1280–1282, also included a *Concert*.

13. It is found, reversed, in the Yale set and the motifs of the right side were used for the left side of a tapestry sold by Weinmüller, Munich, Dec. 9–10, 1960, no. 377 (Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche: III. Die germanischen und slawischen Länder* [Berlin, 1934] II, pl. 150a. As owned by Otto Bernheimer, Munich).





5. *The Palanquin*. Wool and silk tapestry. English, late 17th–early 18th century. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, BA 1897 (photo: Yale University Art Gallery)

6. *The Tent*. Wool and silk tapestry. English, late 17th–early 18th century. The Art Institute of Chicago (photo: courtesy The Art Institute of Chicago)

and some of its motifs are also seen in other groupings; the tripartite openwork facade, for instance, partly visible on the far right of Figure 4, appears in its entirety in Figure 2, with a man dancing on the oriental rug under it.¹⁴

The fourth tapestry in the Yale set is called *The Palanquin* (Figure 5); a wide version was sold at Christie's, May 15, 1952, no. 168. The Chicago Art Institute owns yet another combination of motifs, which might be called *The Tent* (Figure 6);¹⁵ another version is now in the Davids Samling, Copenhagen.¹⁶ Christabel, Lady Aberconway (who died in 1974), owned a small version, previously in the Victor Maclaren collection, showing only the tent and the islands immediately above and below it (Figure 7).¹⁷ A piece in Sir

14. Other motifs of the *Toilet* occur on tapestries in the Barbican House Museum, Lewes; the Linlithgow collection; and in Sotheby sales of May 29, 1964, no. 69, and Dec. 10, 1965, no. 30.

15. Christa Charlotte Mayer, *Masterpieces of Western Textiles from the Art Institute of Chicago* (Chicago, 1969) pl. 32. From the A. M. Legh collection, Adlington Hall, sold at Christie's, Mar. 14, 1929, no. 91.

16. From the collection of Col. John Harvey, Ickwell Bury, Biggleswade, sold at Knight, Frank and Rutley, London, Nov. 11, 1927, no. 5. It was sold again at Christie's, Nov. 27, 1975, no. 117, and at Sotheby Parke Bernet, Feb. 18, 1977, no. 128.

17. W. Gordon Hunton, *English Decorative Textiles* (London, 1930) pl. 43. As owned by the Hon. Victor Maclaren. The group of "Indian" tapestries in these collections do not all belong to the same set. They are now in private collections in Great Britain.



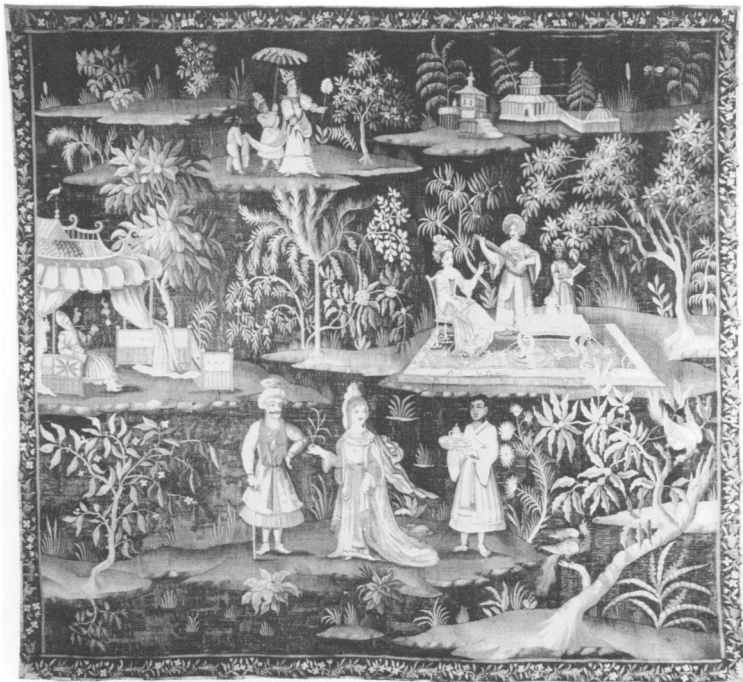
Alfred Beit's collection has been called *The Tea Party in a Garden Tent* (Figure 8). No repetition of all the motifs in this arrangement is known, but several of them are found in other combinations.¹⁸

18. The man in a chariot drawn by leopards on the upper left appears in Figure 22; the man on the upper right sitting at the opening of a long tent and smoking a pipe is seen, reversed, in Figure 3, and, enlarged and reversed, in Figure 9. The four-pole palanquin recurs, reversed, on a tapestry in the Maclaren-Aberconway group, which also has a most unusual motif of a man riding a flying dragon (Hunton, *English Decorative Textiles*, pl. 41); the border is the same as that of the *Chicago Tent* (Figure 6). The four-pole palanquin is also seen on a companion piece to this *Tent*, formerly in the A. M. Legh collection, Adlington Hall (Thomson, *Tapestry Weaving*, fig. 43). This tapestry was lent to the exhibition "Three Centuries of English Silver" at the Los Angeles County Museum by French & Company in 1950 (*Los Angeles County Museum: Bulletin of the Art Division* 3, no. 3 [Fall, 1950] no. 239, fig. 18).

7. *The Tent*. Wool and silk tapestry. English, late 17th–early 18th century. Location unknown (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum, crown copyright)

8. *The Tea Party*. Wool and silk tapestry. English, late 17th–early 18th century. Russborough, Ireland, Sir Alfred Beit Collection (photo: courtesy Christie, Manson & Woods, London)





9. *Couple with a Servant*. Wool and silk tapestry. English, late 17th–early 18th century. London, Mallett & Son (photo: courtesy Mallett)

Couple with a Servant could be the title of a tapestry owned by the London dealers Mallett and Son in 1978 (Figure 9); the same grouping of motifs makes up the left side of a tapestry sold at Sotheby's, June 27, 1969, no. 25. Yet more motifs appear on a tapestry from the L. V. Hart collection, sold at Christie's, November 12, 1964, no. 162, and November 29, 1979, no. 107 (Figure 10); its title might be the *Couple Under a Canopy*.¹⁹ The border is like that of a second version of the *Concert* at Yale. But the chief interest of this tapestry is that it is a reduced version of one formerly in the Maclaren and Aberconway collections with a signature, "M. Mazarind," a weaver otherwise totally unknown.²⁰

The signed Mazarind tapestry has a distinctive border of small teapots, cups, and vases, with red-tongued blue dragons and twisting birds at the corners, all very Chinese; it is also found on the Copenhagen and Maclaren–Aberconway versions of the *Tent* (Figure 7). But the *Chicago Tent* (Figure 6) has almost the same border as the Metropolitan Museum pair (Figures 3, 4). Until more information comes to

light about Mazarind (even his name is puzzling), any interpretation of these facts must remain extremely tentative, but he was evidently closely connected with Vanderbank and, like him, was probably not English.²¹

In all, some forty motifs can be counted on the dark-ground "Indian manner" tapestries, not includ-

19. Some motifs are found elsewhere, such as the two standing musicians and the two women by the zigzag fence, both, reversed, on the Yale *Palanquin* (Figure 5), and the monkey sitting in a tree in the lower right corner, which is also, reversed, in the Metropolitan Museum *Concert* (Figure 3).

20. Hunton, *English Decorative Textiles*, pl. 44.

21. There were a number of foreign tapestry weavers working in London in the early eighteenth century. When Joshua Morris was the defendant in a lawsuit brought against him by Hogarth, whom he had refused to pay for a cartoon, he said that he employed "some of the finest hands in *Europe* in working tapestry, who are most of them foreigners, and have worked abroad as well as here." He called witnesses "to prove that the painting was not performed in a workmanlike manner, and it was impossible to make tapestry by it"; their names are given as "Mr. Bernard Dorrider, Mr. Phillips, Mr. De Friend, Mr. Danten, and Mr. Pajon" (perhaps a misprint for Pajou). These were presumably weavers, perhaps men working for Morris; some of the names do not sound English (John Nichols, *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth* [London, 1782] p. 23, note). Hogarth won his case.





ing islands with plants only; they are usually arranged, as in most of the examples listed above, in fairly consistent relationships. At least six types of borders are known, the most usual being variations of the central rod with twisting sprays seen in Figures 3, 4, and 6.²²

It has long been recognized that the general scheme of these tapestries is taken from Chinese lacquered screens (Figure 11), which were imported into England in large numbers during the second half of the seventeenth century. They were sometimes used as wall-coverings; John Evelyn wrote in his diary on July 30, 1682: "Went to visit our good neighbour, Mr. Bohun, whose whole house is a cabinet of all elegancies, especially Indian; in the hall are contrivences of Japan Skreens, instead of wainscot; . . . The landskips of the skreens represent the manner of living, and country of the Chinese." The quotation shows that the words "Indian" and "Chinese" had no very exact meaning at this time; "Japan" referred to the varnish or lacquer of the screens. The dark grounds, the scat-

11. Screen, lacquer. Chinese export, late 18th century. Location unknown (photo: courtesy Sotheby & Co., London)

tered motifs diminishing in size toward the top, and some of the buildings of the tapestries are clearly derived from the screens. But the lighthearted insouciance of the screens, with their delicate boats and bridges and complete disregard of supports for plants and people, is very different from the solidity of the floating islands on the tapestries. Other Chinese features can be identified, such as the flowers in the borders of the signed tapestry in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Figure 1) and the chinaware in those of the Mazarind pieces (Figure 7). Some of the figures also are Chinese, usually the smaller ones; examples are the group of musicians at the right center

10. *Couple Under a Canopy*. Wool and silk tapestry. English, late 17th–early 18th century. Location unknown (photo: courtesy Christie, Manson & Woods, London)

22. Tapestries not so far mentioned are or were at Godmersham Park (Christopher Hussey, "Godmersham Park, Kent: II. The Home of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Tritton," *Country Life* 95 [1945] p. 335), in the Maclaren–Aberconway group (Hunton, *English Decorative Textiles*, pl. 42), and in several sales. All contain motifs found elsewhere, as well as less usual ones. A tapestry in the same style, including the figure of the harpist, sold at Sotheby's, May 7, 1976, no. 59, was described as Brussels, late 19th century. Another modern reproduction was sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet, June 1, 1967, no. 30, and a set of four at the same auction house, Dec. 9, 1978, no. 476.



12. *Lovers on a Terrace*, detail. Painted miniature. Indian (Bilaspur), 1750–60. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum, crown copyright)

of the *Toilet of the Princess* (Figure 4) who play Chinese instruments, including a chime gong.²³ There is, however, a curious lack of some typical chinoiserie motifs. There are no pagodas, rocks with holes in them, junks, willow trees, or wavy clouds, and few zig-zag fences, dragons, or phoenixes, all of which would become very common in English eighteenth-century chinoiserie.

It is clear that Indian works of art also provided models for some of the figures. Like the screens, such works of art, including small paintings, are known to have been imported into Europe in the seventeenth century; Archbishop Laud owned an illustrated Indian manuscript²⁴ and Rembrandt's drawings after Indian miniatures are well known. The seated man clasping a woman on the left in the *Toilet of the Princess* (Figure 4) is an Indian subject (Figure 12).²⁵ The

23. Information from the late Edwin M. Ripin.

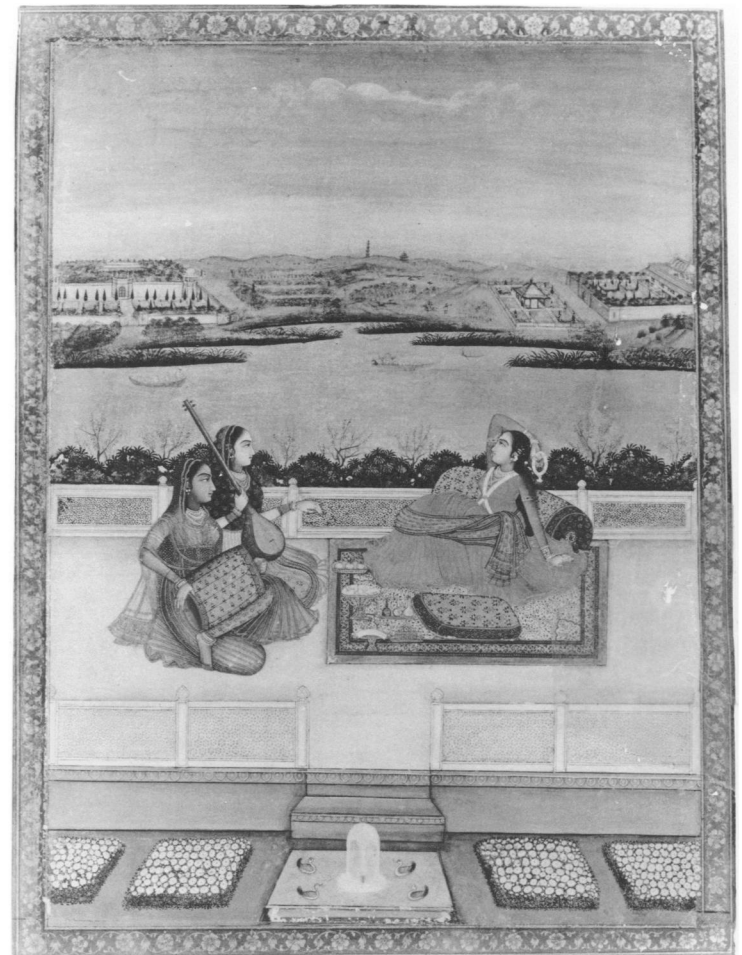
24. H. J. Stooke and K. Khandalavala, *The Land Ragamala Miniatures* (Oxford, 1953). Several instances of Indian miniatures copied in European prints are given in Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: History of European Reaction to Indian Art* (Oxford, 1977) pp. 68–72.

25. For a Mughal version of the subject, see Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1923–30) VI, pl. 36. I have not been able to illustrate the Indian parallels with examples that could have been in England in the 17th century. Later specimens, however, are sufficiently like the figures on the tapestries as to suggest that they are still close to earlier versions.



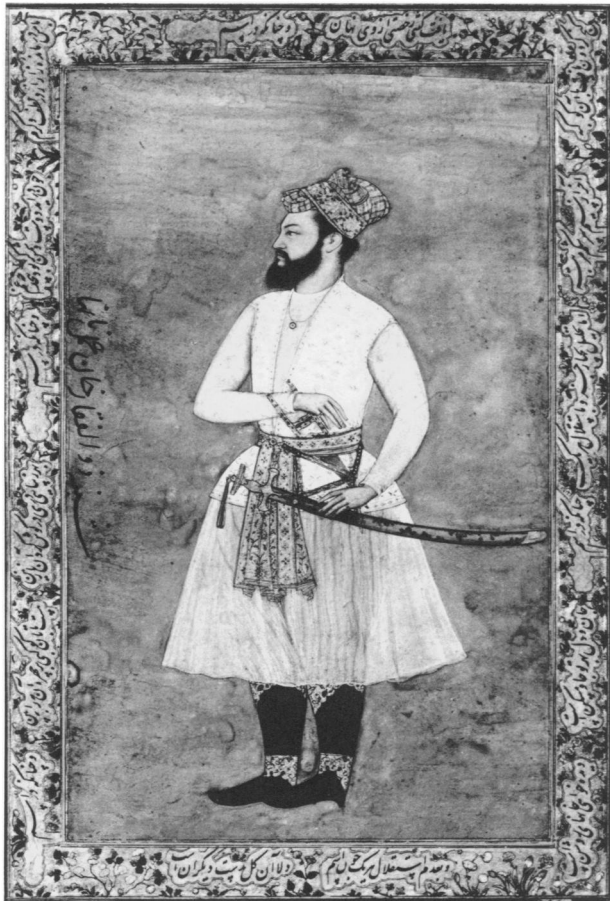
13. *The Concert*, detail of Figure 3

14. *Musicians and a Girl*. Painted miniature. Indian, 18th century. Private collection (photo: Helga Photo Studio, courtesy Doris Wiener Gallery, New York)





15. *Sarabhoji, Rajah of Tanjore, in Procession*. Painted miniature. South Indian (Tanjore), ca. 1800. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Purchase, Alpheus Hyatt Fund (photo: Fogg Art Museum)



16. *Indian Prince, perhaps Zulfikar Khan*. Painted miniature. Indian (Mughal), 17th century. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum, crown copyright)

woman wrapped in a sari with a baby in her arms and holding a child by the hand near the center of the same tapestry also appears to be Indian. The two seated girls playing a two-ended drum and a *tambura* in the *Concert* (Figure 13) are seen in a Mughal miniature (Figure 14); so is the prince sitting on a rug under a canopy with female musicians and dancers on either side of him.²⁶ The palanquin (Figure 5), with its tied-up curtain and tassels, is of the same type as one in a much later miniature in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge (Figure 15);²⁷ even the costumes of

²⁶ *Muhammad Shah Entertained by Musicians and Dancers*, Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad (Stuart Cary Welch, *The Art of Mughal India*, exh. cat. [New York, 1963] pl. 77).

²⁷ Stuart Cary Welch, *Room for Wonder*, exh. cat. (New York, 1978) no. 74.



the riders are very similar. Standing men of obviously high rank (Figures 1, 2) can be compared to portraits of Indian rulers (Figure 16).²⁸

In the *Harpist* (Figures 1, 2), however, the enormous instrument and its kneeling player may be Turkish; a similar harp was recorded in Turkey by Melchior Lorck (or Lorich) in 1583 (Figure 17).²⁹ The group of horsemen and attendants in the *Concert* (Figure 18) are Turks; the kettledrums played by one

28. An even closer parallel is with the figure of the Emperor Aurengzeb in F. Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (Amsterdam, 1724–26), which was certainly copied from a miniature (Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, fig. 39).

29. E. Tietze-Conrat, "A Revival of Melchior Lorich," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 31 (1947) p. 82, fig. 2.

17. Melchior Lorich, *Turkish Harpist*, 1583. Woodcut. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Prints and Photographs, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 32.86 (fol. 8v.)

18. *The Concert*, detail of Figure 3





19. Carpet, detail. Wool. Indian, 1605–27. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.858

of the riders are Turkish, though his companion's trumpet is European.³⁰ The horsetail dangling from the neck of one of the steeds is the Turkish *wuntshuk*,³¹ though it is also found in Mughal miniatures.³²

Some figures are European, such as the strolling ladies with a deer in the London *Harpist* (Figure 1) and the lady wearing a *fontange* headdress (fashionable in the 1690s) in Figure 9. The table and chair in this tapestry are also European, as are the chairs in the *Beit Tea Party* (Figure 8). The vegetation in all the tapestries is less easy to account for, but parallels to some of it can be found in Indian carpets (Figure 19); the palms and the trees with birds in them, however, are less realistic in the tapestries (Figure 20) than they are in the rugs.

It has been suggested that the designer of the tapestries was Robert Robinson (fl. 1674–1706).³³ A room with painted panels signed by him and dated 1696 is in Sir John Cass's Schools, Duke Lane, Aldgate, London, and stylistically similar panels are in the Victoria and Albert Museum. One of those (Fig-

ure 21) shows a chariot rather like a motif in the *Beit Tea Party* (Figure 8) and in a tapestry sold at the Kende Gallery, New York, on October 16, 1943, no. 208, and owned by the Sternberg Galleries, London, in 1971 (Figure 22).³⁴ But the resemblance is not very close. Both chariots may, in fact, have been imitated from a Chinese original; a similar vehicle, drawn by lions, is seen on a lacquer cabinet once owned by Sir James Horlick.³⁵ The general style of the paintings—vaporous and dreamy, but basically rational—is far from the clear-cut, naive illogic of the tapestry designs.

Vanderbank also made a somewhat different type of fantastic tapestry that should perhaps be described as “chinoiserie,” rather than “Indian.” There is a pair

30. Information from the late Edwin M. Ripin.

31. Information from Dr. Helmut Nickel.

32. British Museum, Prints and Drawings Gallery, *Paintings from the Muslim Courts of India*, exh. cat. (1976) nos. 21, 22a.

33. Edward Croft-Murray, “An English Painter of Chinoiserie,” *Country Life Annual* (1955) pp. 174, 177, 179.

34. The motif is also found in the Lewes and Godmersham Park sets.

35. H. Avray Tipping, “Marqueterie and Lacquer Furniture in Sir James Horlick's Collection,” *Country Life* 49 (1921) p. 531, fig. 3.

20. *The Concert*, detail of Figure 3





21. Robert Robinson (fl. 1674–1706), Wall panel. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum, crown copyright)

22. Tapestry, detail. Wool and silk. English, late 17th–early 18th century. Private collection (photo: courtesy Vigo-Sternberg Galleries, London)

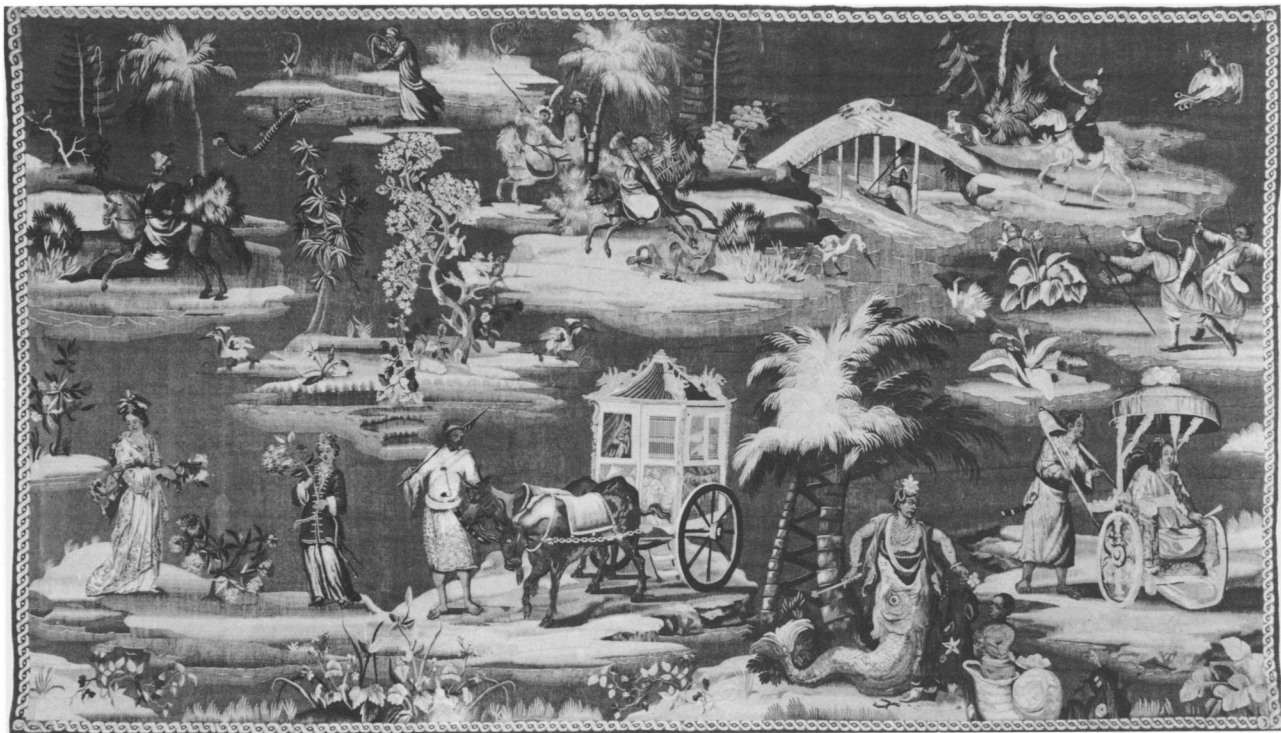


23. Chapel Ante-Room, Belton House, Lincolnshire, owned by Lord Brownlow (photo: National Monuments Record, crown copyright)



24. Chinoiserie tapestry. Wool and silk. English, late 17th–early 18th century. Weston Park, Shropshire, Earl of Bradford Collection (photo: courtesy Victoria and Albert Museum)

FOOT OF PAGE:
25. Chinoiserie tapestry. Wool and silk. English, late 17th–early 18th century. Private collection, England (photo: *Country Life*)



26. Chinoiserie tapestry. Wool and silk. English, late 17th–early 18th century. Private collection, England (photo: *Country Life*)

27. Chinoiserie tapestry. Wool and silk. English, late 17th–early 18th century. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum, crown copyright)

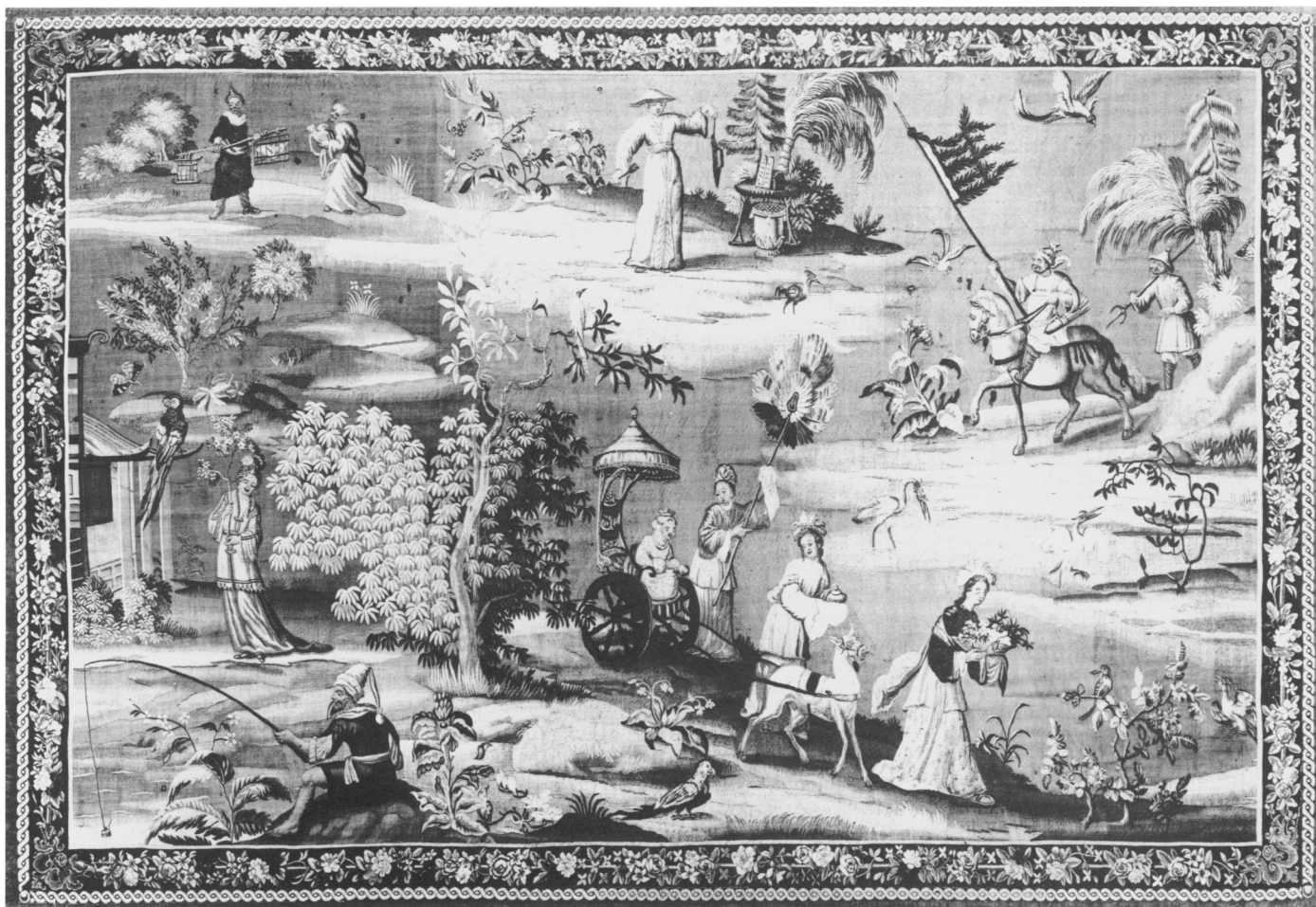


of the type at Belton House, Lincolnshire, owned by Lord Brownlow (Figure 23); one is inscribed JOHN VANDERBANC FECIT and Vanderbank's bill for the two has been preserved.³⁶ The grounds are dull yellow and the islands and figures are much more three-dimensional than those of the "Indian" tapestries, casting conspicuous shadows. The borders are markedly Chinese; a very similar design was used for a combined *Toilet* and *Harpist* tapestry sold by Weinmüller in Munich in 1960. The motifs in the tapestry on the right in Figure 23 reappear in a piece owned by Lord Bradford at Weston Park, Shropshire,³⁷ which is inscribed *J. Vandrebanc in Great Queen* (Figure 24).³⁸ The ground is pale brown. A third version of this tapestry (Figure 25) is in another private collection in England, which contains a companion piece (Figure 26) and a narrow panel with a palace, a sage, and a boy writing. The colors of this set are particularly brilliant: in the lion hunt of Figure 25, for instance, bright red blood pours from the victim; the person-

36. Alma Harris, *Belton House* (Norwich, 1979) n.p. This bill has not been available for study and its date has not been recorded.

37. *Weston Park, the Shropshire Home of the Earl of Bradford* (Derby, 1974) p. 21.

38. The tapestry has been cut on the right and the border replaced or added, presumably losing the word "Street" at the end of the inscription. A letter from Vanderbank to Lady Mary Bridgeman is at Weston Park; it is dated 1682 and is an apology for not having finished a tapestry. Vanderbank did not become arras-maker to the Great Wardrobe in Great Queen Street until 1689, so, unless the weaving of Lady Mary's tapestry suffered a further and inordinate delay, the letter must refer to a tapestry that has not survived, rather than to the chinoiserie piece now at Weston Park (G. W. Beard, "Tapestries by John Vanderbank," *Country Life* 110 [1951] pp. 653, 654). The Great Wardrobe moved to Great Queen Street in 1685, the yeoman arras-maker in charge being Thomas Axton; the names of his assistants are known (Thomson, *Tapestry Weaving*, p. 139). Vanderbank is believed to have been in London from 1680 to 1683, but the location of his workshop is not known. It is possible that it was in Great Queen Street in premises other than those later used by the Great Wardrobe or even in rooms taken over by the royal enterprise in 1685, but there is no evidence to support this theory.



age at the lower right, rising from a great yellow fish, wears a pink, yellow, and red scarf over his red robe. A small panel, probably a fragment, owned by Mr. H. B. Powell, Alton, Hampshire, includes the man on horseback on the bridge, the man in a litter, and the man with two baskets on a carrying pole seen on the right side of Figure 26. They are shown in a landscape rather than on islands, but the sky is dark. A tapestry in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Figure 27)³⁹ includes the girl holding a flowering branch seen at the upper left of Figure 24 and the lower left of Figure 25.⁴⁰

The most conspicuous motifs on the tapestries of Figures 23 to 26 are taken from illustrations in the English edition of Arnold Montanus's *Atlas Japannensis*, first published in Holland in 1669. The English translation by John Ogilby appeared in the following year with the subtitle: *being Remarkable Addresses by way of Embassy from the East-Indian Company of the United Provinces, to the Emperor of Japan*. The Dutch envoys,

according to the text (page 36), were in Japan in 1641. On the left in Figure 23 (right-hand tapestry) and Figure 24 and in the center on Figure 25 is a

39. Kendrick, *Catalogue*, no. 6.

40. Paintings showing motifs from both types of tapestry have been on the art market. One in New York in 1930 was described as: "Soho tapestry cartoons made into a four-fold screen. Oil on canvas." The figures are of the "chinoiserie" type and the border, with affronted birds, is close to that of the combined *Harpist* and *Toilet* sold at Weinmüller, Munich, in 1960 (see note 13) and the Belton House set (Figure 23; George Wingfield Digby, "English Tapestries at Burlington House," *Burlington Magazine* 97 [1955] p. 388; a reproduction from an unidentified source is in the Marillier Archive at the Victoria and Albert Museum). A smaller painting with a different border combines the swans, deer, parrot, and harpist from Figure 1 with the horseman and his follower from Figure 27; it was in London in 1968. A chinoiserie tapestry was owned by the Paris dealer Schutz in 1927. It contains several of the usual motifs of these tapestries, with the addition of a coat of arms in the upper border (Emile Bayard, *L'Art de reconnaître la tapisserie* [Paris, 1927] fig. 66).



28. *The Japanese Lady-of-Honor's Chariot*. Print from Arnold Montanus, *Atlas Japannensis* (London, 1670) p. 133. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

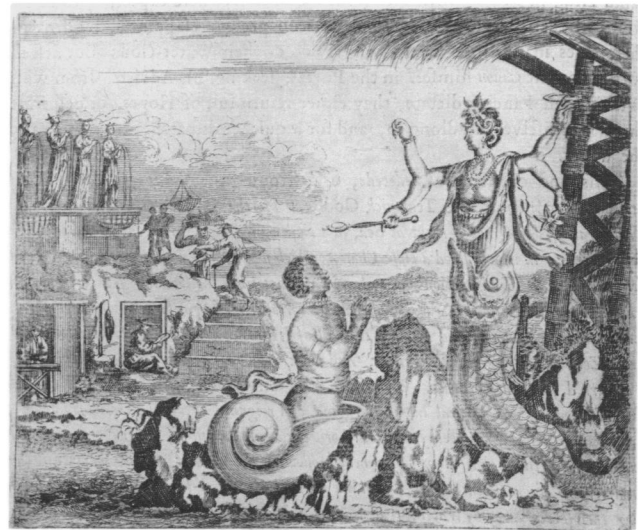
chariot drawn by a pair of oxen; this is copied from the print on page 133 of Montanus (Figure 28) illustrating the account of a journey by the Japanese emperor's niece:

she had also many Ladies of Honor that attended her, sitting in Chariots drawn by Oxen and Horses, which were led by some of their Servants, with Reins made of Gilded Chains; the Chariot having two Wheels, near which were steps like a Ladder to enter the Chariot, which as ours hath four, theirs have eight Angles, every corner above adorn'd with a Dragon Couchant; the outside of the Coach curiously Painted and Gilt in several Panes, with a frame neatly Carv'd, are Pannel'd with several Pictures.

Except that the artist was unable to conceive an octagonal chariot, the print is close to the description and the tapestry rendering follows it fairly exactly, though in reverse.

The strangest group is that of the worshiper and idol at the bottom of the tapestries (Figures 23 [right], 24, 25). The corresponding print is found on page 94 of Montanus (Figure 29) and is described as:

the Idol *Canon*, who, according to the Relation of the *Bonzi*, or Japan priests, liv'd two thousand Years ago, and created the Sun and Moon. The image appears from the middle upwards as if rising out of the Jaws of a Fish: On his Forehead sticks a Flower: From each Elbow-joynt



29. *The Idol Canon*. Print from Montanus, *Atlas Japannensis*, p. 94. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

come two Arms; one erected, with a Ring on the Middle-finger; the other pendent, holding a Flower between his Fingers. That Right-hand which he holds aloft is clinch'd; the lowermost holds a Scepter: About his Arms, Neck, and Middle hang Strings of Pearl: Before him stands the Figure of a Youth, appearing from the middle upward out of a great Shell; who with Arms erected, prays to *Canon*; having a Scarf ty'd about his Middle, of which the ends hang over: . . . The Mythologie of . . . the Figure in the Shell, the Bonzies refus'd to declare.

The "Idol Canon" is presumably the deity Kannon. The tapestry designer has left out the scene in the background and added a large palm to the unexplained zigzag structure behind the idol. The groups in Figures 23 (right) and 24 also include prone worshipers, perhaps adapted from an illustration in Athanasius Kircher's *China Monumentis*.⁴¹

The rickshaw or sedan chair on the right in Figures 23 (right) and 24 comes from Montanus's illustration of the procession of the Japanese empress (page 190; Figure 30). The description reads:

The whole Procession was clos'd by the several Maids of Honor, carry'd in little two-Wheel'd Chariots, which as

41. Edith A. Standen, "The Story of the Emperor of China: A Beauvais Tapestry Series," *MMJ* 11 (1976) p. 109, fig. 10. See also Figure 37.



30. *The Japanese Maid-of-Honor's Chariot*. Print from Montanus, *Atlas Japannensis*, p. 190. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

the Print represents, are shod at the ends with Plates of Silver and Gilt: the Spokes of Cedar, Carv'd and gilt, the Fellies of the Wheels shod also with Copper; the Seat in the Stern, fitted to hold one in great State, spread with Tapistry, which hangs down betwixt the Wheels; the empty part before fashion'd like an Oval, is open, she having a stately Canopy over her, defends her from Rain and the Sun, and when she pleases, she draws her ty'd-up Curtains to keep off the Wind, being driven along by a lusty Man, with two Poles athwart his shoulders.

The tapestry in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Figure 27) includes another Montanus illustration (page 107), one of the "Japan priests" (Figure 31):⁴²

which perform their Duties in the Temples, and serve as Chaplains in Noble-mens Houses, as we said; their Hats are made of fine Straw with broad round Brims, the Crown like our Scull-caps, fitting just the Mold of their Heads: their Coats, which are very wide, hanging down to their Heels, of several colours, and are Selvidg'd with white: their Girdles, which are broad, and stuff'd full of Cotton, serve them in stead of Packets for their Books and Memorials; which they use chiefly in their publick Devotions: . . . In the right Hand they carry a thick Cord, roll'd up like a Spindle; in the left, a Copper Ba-

42. This derivation was pointed out by Helmut Börsch-Supan (*China und Europa*, exh. cat., Schloss Charlottenburg [Berlin, 1973] no. K96).

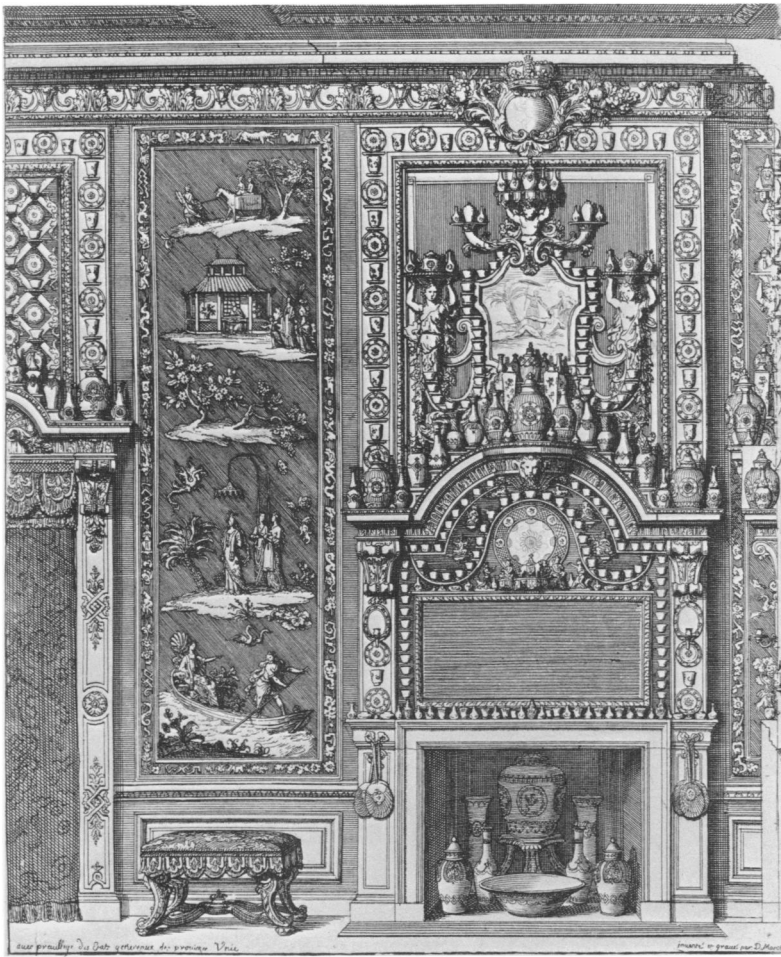


31. *The Japanese Priest*. Print from Montanus, *Atlas Japannensis*, p. 107. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

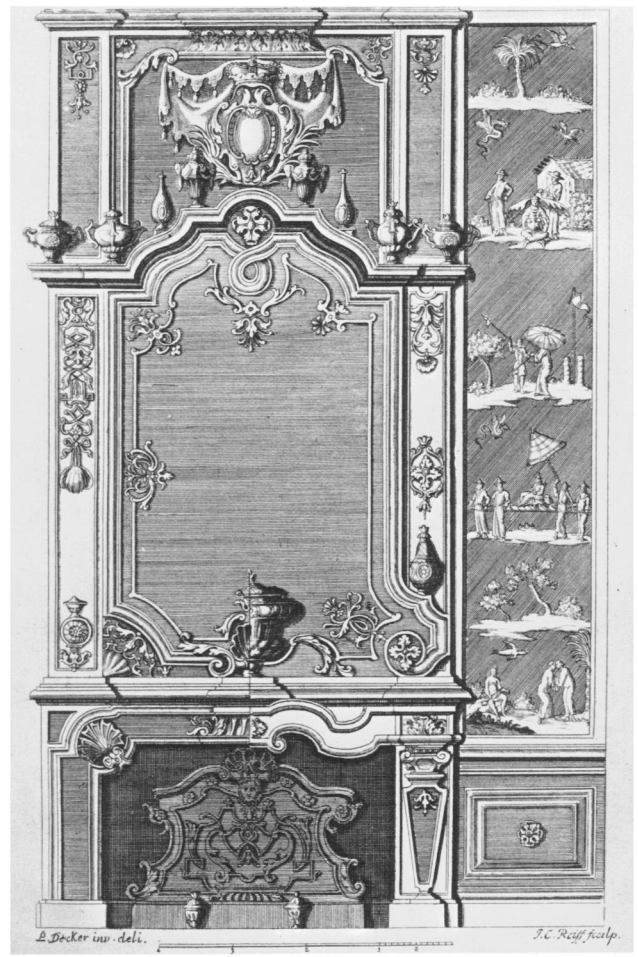
son, Engraven with Images, representing the *Japan* Idols: on which Basons they strike with great force with the knotted Rope.

The tapestry designer simplified his model, omitting the book in the girdle and changing the object in the priest's hand; the altar, however, is accurately copied.

No sources have been found for the motifs on Lord Brownlow's second tapestry (Figure 23, left), but figures close to some of them appear in an illustration in Daniel Marot's *Nouvelles Cheminées*, published in Amsterdam in 1712 (Figure 32). On the wall to the left of the fireplace in this design is a panel with a chinoiserie border and figures. At the top of this panel and in the upper part of the tapestry is a man leading a beast of burden with large panniers; people sit on these in the tapestry, on the animal's back in the print. Lower down in the panel is a group of three women on an island, two of them holding a parasol over the third; a similar group appears in the tapestry under the animal with the panniers. At the bottom of both tapestry and print is a boat with one person poling and one seated; the designs are not the same, but there is a certain general resemblance. The panel shown in the print, which must be about twelve feet high, is always considered to be a leaf of a Coromandel screen, but it is not impossible that it represents a Vanderbank tapestry, perhaps even one in Kensing-



32. Daniel Marot, *Design for a Fireplace*. Print from *Nouvelles Cheminées* (Amsterdam, 1712). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Prints and Photographs, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 30.4(43)



33. After Paul Decker the Elder (1677–1713), *Fireplace and Panel*. Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Prints and Photographs, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 60.703.11(1)

ton Palace; there is a king's crown above the chimney-piece, though the medallion beneath it that would have held the royal arms is blank. The title page of the *Nouvelles Cheminées* says that Marot was "Architecte des appartements de sa Majesté Britanique," though it adds that the *cheminées* were "faites en plusieurs endroits de la Hollande et autres provinces." One other fireplace is shown between narrow pictorial panels, probably tapestries, representing purely European woodland scenes.⁴³ Chinoiserie, indeed, is hardly found elsewhere in Marot's work. If the wall-panel in Figure 32 is a reminiscence of one in Kensington Palace, the set there might have been like the chinoiserie tapestries with their usually light grounds

(Figures 23–27), rather than the dark-ground "Indian" pieces (Figures 1–10). A recent publication of the Marot print stresses the point that the figures on

43. P. Jessen, *Das Ornamentwerk des Daniel Marot* (Berlin, 1892) pp. 145, 150. Marot is known to have been in England from 1694 to 1698 (Arthur Lane, "Daniel Marot: Designer of Delft Vases and of Gardens at Hampton Court," *Connoisseur* 123 [1949] p. 23). Another chimneypiece in Marot's book is inscribed "cheminée à l'angloise" and also includes a royal crown (Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland* [New Haven/London, 1978] pp. 67, 78, 406, pl. 74; the book is presumed to have been published in the 1690s and the chimneypieces to be perhaps in palaces in England as well as Holland).

the panel are not taken from travel-book illustrations.⁴⁴

This independence from the travel books is in marked contrast to a very similar print of a fireplace and a chinoiserie wall-panel (Figure 33). This engraving after Paul Decker the Elder of Nuremberg (1677–1713) would seem to be derived from Marot,⁴⁵ but all the figures in the wall-panel are Chinese, taken from Johan Nieuhoff's illustrated book on the Dutch ambassadorial mission to China in 1655–57; the first edition was published in Amsterdam in 1665.⁴⁶ Decker made several other chinoiserie prints showing figures on islands, many of them also taken from Nieuhoff.

Vanderbank does not seem as a rule to have used the travel-book motifs on his dark-ground "Indian" tapestries, but he did put two on one piece of an otherwise typical "Indian" set. This is at The Vyne, Hampshire. There are now eight pieces, covering most of the walls of the Tapestry Room; they were hung here in the nineteenth century, having been much cut in the process.⁴⁷ To the right of the fireplace is a standard version of the *Concert* (Figure 34), though shorter than the example in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 3). In the overdoor panel are the prince and his attendant from the *Harpist* (Figures 1, 2), and other motifs of this subject and of the *Tea Party* (Figure 8) appear on tapestries further to the left and on the window wall.⁴⁸ But between one of the windows and one of the doors (Figure 35) is the "Idol Canon" with its worshipers (Figure 29) and the "Japan Priest" (Figure 31). A similar mixture of "Indian" and chinoiserie motifs is found on a dark-ground tapestry that was part of the Maclaren–Aberconway group.⁴⁹ The appearance of motifs from dark-ground "Indian" tapestries on light-ground chinoiserie pieces is also uncommon. Some are seen in Figure 26 (lower left), namely the two European ladies with a deer between them from the signed Victoria and Albert Museum *Harpist* (Figure 1), and the boy climbing a palm tree, encouraged by a man standing below, from this and other versions of the same subject (Figures 1, 2).

Another manufacturer adopted Vanderbank's idea of dark grounds and figures on islands for at least one set of tapestries. This was I. Morris, who signed three pieces of a set of four formerly owned by Viscount Sidmouth; they were at Erleigh Court, near Reading in 1912⁵⁰ and were sold at Sotheby's, November 23, 1979, nos. 2–5. The weaver is usually identified with Joshua Morris of Soho, whose tapestries

were sold at auction in 1726 and who was involved in a lawsuit with Hogarth in 1728; his signed works are mostly arabesques.⁵¹ In the widest panel (Figure 36), the Chinese temple is taken from the similar building in the Beauvais tapestry of the *Emperor on a Journey* in the Story of the Emperor of China series (Figure 37).⁵² Another piece in the set includes the group of men with enormous blue-and-white vases behind

44. *China und Europa*, no. J15: "Der Wandabschnitt zwischen Tür und Kamin ist mit einer grossen, über dem Sockelpaneel bis zum Deckengesims reichenden Lacktafel verkleidet. Einzelne Landschaftinseln übereinander, darunter auch ein Nachen auf einem Gewässer, sind mit chinesischen Personen, einem Gebäude sowie Bäumen und Tieren belebt. Diese Motive entstammen offenbar nicht der Reiseliteratur der Nieuhoff oder Dapper, sondern wurden direkt von importierten Lackmöbeln übernommen. Das gleiche gilt von der aus amorphen Ornamentformen, Blumen und Tieren gebildeten Umrahmung dieser Tafel" (Tilo Eggeling).

45. This possibility has been suggested by Eggeling (*ibid.*, no. J14b).

46. The groups from top to bottom of the panel show priests, a peasant with a parasol, a Peking litter, and beggars (Otto Pelka, *Ostasiatische Reisebilder im Kunstgewerbe des 18. Jahrhunderts* [Leipzig, 1924] pls. 30, 27, 21, 31). Reminiscences of travel-book illustrations occur even in Boucher's designs for Beauvais chinoiserie tapestries, first woven in 1743. An instance is the palanquin of Figure 30 found on the *Chinese Fair* tapestries in Minneapolis, Cleveland, and Amsterdam.

47. *The Vyne, Hampshire* (n.p., 1973) pp. 7, 29.

48. H. Avray Tipping, *English Homes, Period II* (London, 1924) I, p. 107, pl. 122. The seated man with huge vases behind him in the lower left of Figure 8 is visible in the tapestry on the window wall.

49. Hunton, *English Decorative Textiles*, pl. 44.

50. H. C. Marillier, *English Tapestries of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1930) p. 34.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 8, n. 1; the identification has been questioned by Adolph S. Cavallo, *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1967) I, pp. 166–168. See also note 21 above.

52. The temple has been associated with one in a print by Fischer von Erlach in his *Entwurf einer historischen Architectur* (Vienna, 1721) and similar pagodas in Aubusson tapestries (Anna G. Bennett, *Five Centuries of Tapestry from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco* [San Francisco, 1976] no. 71, figs. 75, 76). But the Beauvais tapestry is too early to have been copied from Fischer von Erlach and the English tapestry repeats its design very exactly, even including the Jesuit astronomer in the same pose on the steps and the palm tree behind the temple (Standen, "Story of the Emperor of China," p. 106, n. 10). Fischer von Erlach's building is taken from the illustration of the Sinkocien pagoda in Johan Nieuhoff's book on China; this and the German print lack the statues in the pagodas of the Beauvais and English tapestries (Pelka, *Ostasiatische Reisebilder*, pl. 20, fig. 39).





36. Chinoiserie tapestry. Wool and silk. English, 18th century. Formerly Lord Sidmouth Collection (photo: courtesy, Christie, Manson & Woods, London)

FACING PAGE:

34. Tapestry Room, from northeast. The Vyne, Hampshire, owned by the National Trust (photo: National Monuments Record, crown copyright)
35. Tapestry Room, from southwest. The Vyne, Hampshire, owned by the National Trust (photo: National Monuments Record, crown copyright)

37. *The Emperor on a Journey*, detail. Wool and silk tapestry. French (Beauvais), late 17th–early 18th century. Paris, Gallery Dario Boccara (photo: Gallery Dario Boccara)



them found on “Indian” tapestries at The Vyne, in the Beit collection (Figure 8), and at Godmersham Park, Kent; other figures are reminiscent of motifs in the light-ground chinoiserie tapestries. The white-ground borders, with particularly beautiful naturalistic flowers, are found on other Morris tapestries.⁵³ Though chinoiserie continued to be fashionable in English ceramics, furniture, silver, woven and printed textiles, and other decorative arts until it reached a climax in the Brighton Pavilion, it is not known to have appeared again in English tapestries.⁵⁴

53. Cavallo, *Tapestries of Europe*, I, p. 166. The author says that the designer was “familiar with the latest fashion in French tapestry design.”

54. A number of tapestries in Continental collections have small chinoiserie figures on islands on dark grounds with none of Vanderbank’s motifs; they are known to be Flemish and thought to date from 1720 to 1730 (Luisa Hager, “Wirkteppiche aus der Werkstatt des J. de Vos mit Chinesenszenen,” *Artes Textiles* 5 [1959–60] pp. 45–46); *China und Europa*, no. L31). The Soho tapestries at Erddig Park in Wales are garden scenes with figures in vaguely oriental costume, not chinoiserie (Gervase Jackson-Stops, “Erddig Park, Clwyd: II,” *Country Life* 163 [1978] p. 972, fig. 6, “The Tapestry Room,” part of one tapestry visible).

Decorative Panels by François Girardon from the Tomb of the Princesse de Conti

DEAN WALKER

IN 1939 The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired a marble sculpture of an allegorical figure (Figure 1),¹ one of the few works by François Girardon (1628–1715) which is now to be found outside France. Girardon emerged as an important artist in the mid-1660s. Twenty years later, he had attained a preeminent position among the sculptors of Louis XIV, and until his retirement in 1700, he continued to superintend important royal projects.² As with all the sculptors of the *ancien régime*, his oeuvre suffered seriously as a consequence of the French Revolution. While his sculptures at Versailles were protected from damage, the same cannot be said for those works that were more accessible to the public. His large-scale equestrian statues were all destroyed. His tomb monuments, however, met various fates, and most survived in one form or another. The Museum's relief belongs to this group. It was once the principal sculptural decoration for the tomb of the princesse de Conti (1639–72) in the church of St.-André-des-Arts in Paris.³ The appearance of the monument is known from an engraving (Figure 2), showing it in reverse. The two marble panels of cypress branches that originally flanked the relief had been thought lost for over a century, but have now been rediscovered in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris (Figure 3).⁴

The history of the princesse de Conti's tomb is known primarily from the research of Louis Réau.⁵ In 1793, during the Revolution, the reliefs were removed to the convent of the Petits-Augustins, which served as a depot for displaced sculptures. From a recently published drawing by Vauzelle, dated to the first decade of the nineteenth century, we now know that the central relief arrived there intact.⁶ When the

holdings of the convent were reorganized into the Musée des Monuments Français, confusion arose over the attribution and provenance of the three reliefs, and for a short while it was forgotten that they

1. Preston Remington, "Recent Acquisitions of French Sculpture," *MMAB* 34 (1939) pp. 213–215, repr. cover.

2. The standard reference is Pierre Francastel, *Girardon* (Paris, 1928).

3. The former presence of memorials to the princesse de Conti in the church of Port-Royal-des-Champs has led some writers to suggest that this tomb was originally erected there: *Chefs-d'oeuvre de l'art français*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1937) pp. 468–469, no. 1040; and Gérard Hubert, "Josephine, A Discerning Collector of Sculpture," *Apollo* 106, n.s. no. 185 (July 1977) pp. 37–38. The monument is identified as in the church of St.-André-des-Arts at the top of the engraving by Charpentier (Figure 2), and is described there by G. Brice, *Description de Paris* (Paris, 1684) II, p. 127. The memorials related to the princesse de Conti at Port-Royal are transcribed by Edouard de Barthélemy, *Une Nièce de Mazarin: La Princesse de Conti* (Paris, 1875) pp. 254–259.

4. Inv. 240 (IV 47); the panels were identified in May 1978 with the aid of Mlle Annie Jacque, curator of the library of the Archives of the Museum and Collection of the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts.

5. Louis Réau, "Un Bas-relief de Girardon retrouvé: Le Monument de la princesse de Conti," *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* 41 (1922) pp. 34–38; idem, "Un Bas-relief de Girardon retrouvé: Le Tombeau de la princesse de Conti," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1921 (1922) pp. 68–74. See also Francastel, *Girardon*, p. 72, no. 29, and François Souchal, *French Sculptors of the 17th and 18th Centuries: The Reign of Louis XIV* (London, 1981) II, pp. 33–34, no. 29.

6. The drawing is discussed and reproduced as anonymous by J. Vanuxem, "Aperçus sur quelques tableaux représentant le Musée des Monuments français de Lenoir," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1971 (1972) p. 150 and repr. p. 149, fig. 2. It is signed on the lower center: *Vauzelle*. The date below the signature is uncertain because the lower margin of the sheet has been trimmed. Still, it is possible to read: 180(?).



1. François Girardon (1628–1715), *Allegorical Figure*, executed probably between 1672 and 1675 as part of the tomb of Anne-Marie Martinozzi, princesse de Conti (d. 1672). Marble, $56\frac{3}{4} \times 25\frac{1}{4}$ in. (144.3 × 64.2 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 39.62
2. René Charpentier (1680–1723), Engraving of the tomb of Anne-Marie Martinozzi, princesse de Conti, in St.-André-des-Arts, Paris. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Va 263f. fol. (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)



belonged together.⁷ They can be found correctly identified, however, in the museum's catalogues from 1797 to 1810.⁸ By then, at the orders of the museum's director Alexandre Lenoir, the central relief had been recut to its present form for use in the garden at Malmaison, to which it was probably transported in 1807.⁹ Of the attributes representing the three theological virtues originally displayed by the figure, only the foundation block of Faith remains, supporting her right foot.¹⁰ The anchor symbolizing Hope was completely removed, and the flaming heart of Charity was transformed into a poppy.¹¹

Meanwhile, the decorative panels remained in Paris. When the Musée des Monuments Français was suppressed in 1816, Lenoir listed the pilasters without an attribution and gave their location as the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, which had been constructed on the same spot and had taken over part of the museum's

7. According to Alexandre Lenoir's journal for 1793 (Louis Courajod, *Alexandre Lenoir, son journal et le Musée des Monuments français* [Paris, 1878] I, p. 261), the three reliefs arrived together on 12 Nivôse, 1793, with an attribution to Girardon and a provenance of St.-André-des-Arts. However, in Lenoir's own copy (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes) of his *Notice succincte des objets de sculpture et d'architecture réunis au dépôt provisoire nationale rue des petits Augustins* (Paris, 1793) manuscript notes, p. 31, no. 276, the allegorical relief is attributed to Coysevox and there is no reference to the cypress panels. In the next catalogue, A. Lenoir, *Notice historique des monuments des arts, réunis au dépôt national* . . . (Paris, 1796), the central relief is correctly identified as by Girardon (p. 30, no. 155), and the cypress panels, though without attribution, are listed as from St.-André-des-Arts (p. 7, no. 32).

8. In 1797, the year in which permanent reference numbers were assigned, the three reliefs were designated as no. 193, from the princesse de Conti's tomb, St.-André-des-Arts: A. Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique des monuments de sculpture réunis au Musée* . . . (Paris, 1797) p. 149; (1798) p. 186; (1800) p. 278; (1802) pp. 263–264; (1803) p. 94; (1806) V, pp. 92–94; (1810) p. 213.

9. This chapter of the history of the relief is discussed in the following article by Gérard Hubert, chief curator of the Musée National of the château of Malmaison. For another tomb by Girardon that was displaced by the French Revolution and modified in the 19th century, see Dean Walker, "A Fragment of Girardon's Tomb of Henri Bonneau de Trassy," *Burlington Magazine* 123, no. 934 (1981) pp. 30–33.

10. Cesare Ripa, trans. Jean Baudoin, *Iconologie* (Paris, 1644; Garland reprint, New York, 1976) I, pp. 75f., under "Foy chrétienne." There is no visible evidence that Charpentier's engraving is correct about this detail of the relief, which he represents as a footstool.

11. The anchor is associated with Hope in Hebrews 6:19. The flaming heart is given as an attribute of Charity in Ripa, *Iconologie*, II, p. 114.

3. Girardon, *Cypress Branches*, decorative panels from the tomb of the princesse de Conti. Marble, 56 × 11¾ in. (142 × 30 cm.) Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts (photo: Bulloz)

collection.¹² Corrad de Breban, author of an important book on Girardon in the nineteenth century, saw them there in 1832.¹³ He gave their setting as a window bay in an arcade, and noted that the reliefs were damp from students taking plaster casts from them. His fear that the panels would suffer even more from the approaching reconstruction of the school was justified. Sometime after that the reliefs disappeared. Louis Courajod did not refer to them in his discussion of the sculptural remains of Lenoir's museum; Stanislas Lami did not include them in his list of Girardon's works; Pierre Francastel described them as lost in the Revolution along with the rest of the tomb's decorative details.¹⁴

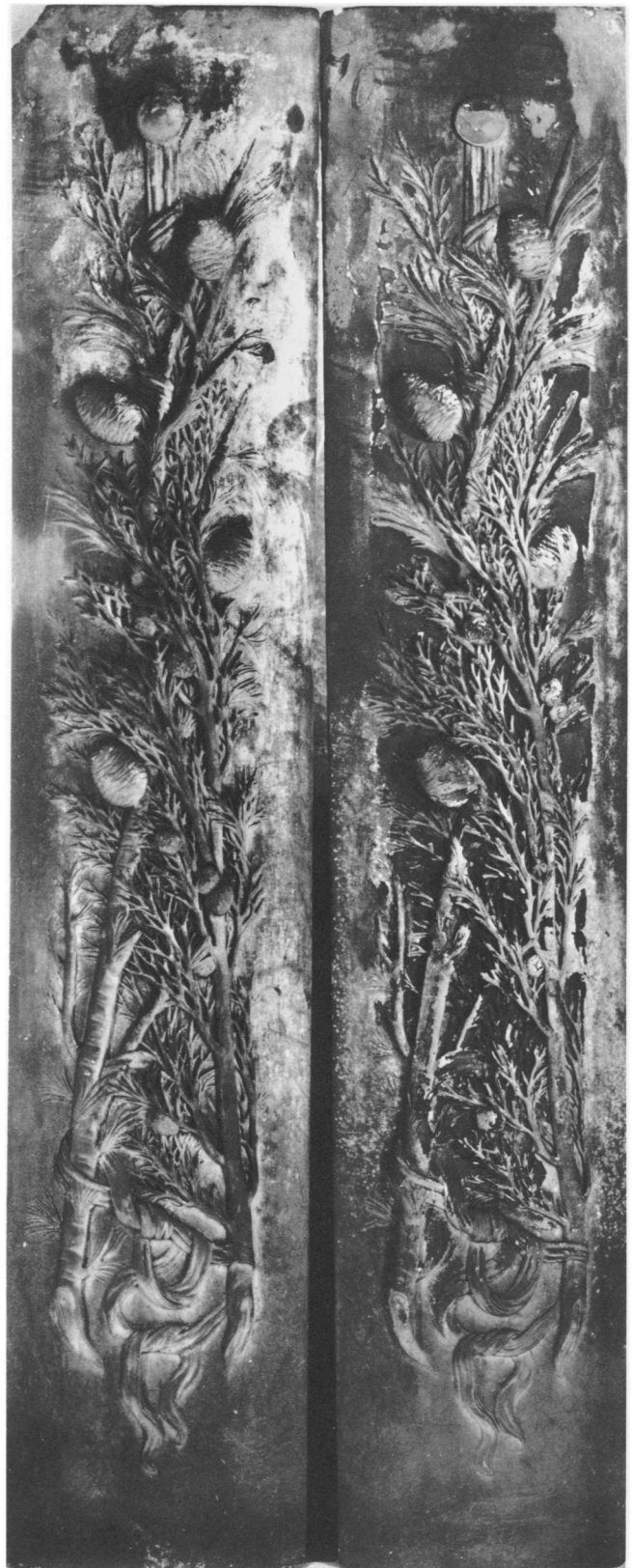
Although black with dirt, the reliefs still exist at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. They do not correspond exactly with the form or dimensions given in the print. Both pilasters are essentially of one composition, but differences in handling and in the placement of cones prevent an impression of exact repetition. The panels are in correct scale with the allegorical relief,¹⁵ and are rounded to follow the shape of the pier in St.-André-des-Arts against which they were placed. The quality of the carving is also evidence of their authenticity. In particular, the loose ribbons tying the boughs at their stems are close in handling to the soft folds of the allegorical figure's inner robe and veil. The bows shown at the top of the panels in the print do not

12. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, Yb4/671, Alexandre Lenoir, *Manuscrits*, under: "No. 2 Ornaments sculptés," no. 148.

13. Corrad de Breban, *Notice de l'oeuvre de François Girardon de Troyes . . .* (Paris, 1833) p. 30, no. 12.

14. Louis Courajod, *Alexandre Lenoir* (Paris, 1886) II, pp. 19–204; Stanislas Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française sous le règne de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1906) pp. 204–216; Francastel, *Girardon*, p. 72, no. 29.

15. The measurements derived from the scale given on the print are too small for the tomb. The height of the allegorical relief in its present condition would be 50 in. according to the printed scale, as opposed to its actual 56¾ in., and that of the cypress reliefs 52 in. as opposed to 56 in. Corrad de Breban (*Notice*, p. 30) gave the height of the cypress panels as around 4 ft. 10 in.

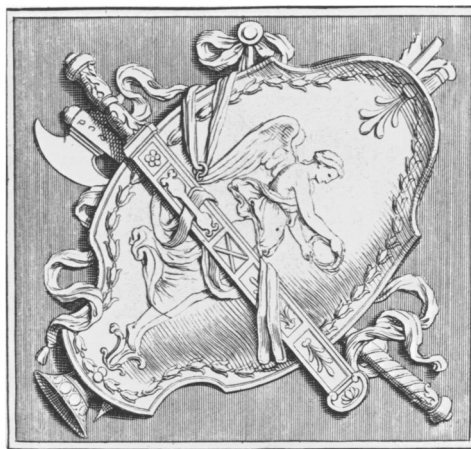


exist today, but it is likely that they were removed at some point after being damaged.¹⁶

In her unpublished inventory of 1973, Mme Bouleau-Rabaud, former curator of the library at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, considered the possibility that the reliefs were those of the princesse de Conti's tomb,¹⁷ but she was put off by their apparent similarity to pine branches. In fact, the branches of cypress, traditionally associated with death, were represented by Girardon with botanical fidelity. Girardon had earlier, in the late 1660s, created more freely modeled but still identifiable growing plants in his lead relief of the *Bath of the Nymphs*.¹⁸ Closer in date to the pilasters are the carefully finished plants in the marble *Bath of Apollo* group completed in the mid-seventies.

The significance of the cypress reliefs extends beyond their demonstration of Girardon's virtuosity in plant rendering to their quality as ornamental design. Throughout his career Girardon devoted great attention to the decorative passages in his works. Although the design itself has not come down to us, his entry of around 1670 in the competition for a third colossal order, a "new composite French order" for the attic of the Louvre, was singled out for praise in the late seventeenth century by the architectural theorist A.-C. d'Aviler.¹⁹ The cypress panels at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, remarkably delicate in their execution, are our earliest surviving examples of Girardon's decorative relief carving in marble. His talent in this direction seems to have been readily appreciated. In an official guidebook to Versailles of 1681, Girardon was credited with designing a set of decorative reliefs of the arms of the nations of the world in what is now called the Bosquet des Dômes.²⁰ In the royal account books from the late 1670s, Girardon is mentioned in a way that suggests a predominant role in the project, but additional evidence has been lacking.²¹ However, a series of prints, not known since the mid-eighteenth

4. Charpentier, Engraving of a trophy by Girardon in the Bosquet des Dômes at Versailles. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, K. H.B.183, f. 41, no. 29 (photo: Lichtbildwerkstätte "Alpenland," Vienna)



5. Girardon, *Trophy*. Marble. Versailles, Bosquet des Dômes (photo: Myra Orth)

16. Additional support that the ribbons existed comes from an anonymous 18th-century drawing of G. Coustou's monument for the princesse de Conti's son, which was placed across from her tomb and was designed as a pendant. In it, two flanking panels have military trophies that hang from ribbons (Paris, Musée Carnavalet, 105H).

17. Mlle Annie Jacque confirmed this for me.

18. Francastel, *Girardon*, pl. xv, fig. 20.

19. Ibid., p. 71, no. 25.

20. Le sieur Combes, *Explication historique de ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans la maison royale de Versailles et en celle de Monsieur à Saint Cloud* (Paris, 1681) pp. 98–100.

21. Jules Guiffrey, *Comptes des bâtiments du roi sous le règne de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1881) I, cols. 963, 1160, where the payments are made to "Girardon et consors. . ." Francastel wisely took a conservative stand on this issue (*Girardon*, p. 76, no. 39).

century, corresponds to some of the reliefs and supports the attribution to Girardon.²² Like the engraving of the princesse de Conti's tomb, the prints are by Girardon's student René Charpentier, and were most likely commissioned by the sculptor himself. Most of the arms hang from bows, and in several reliefs there is a notable repetition of the winding ribbon motif of the cypress panels. One such trophy represents a shield decorated with a figure of winged victory, shown here in Charpentier's print (reversed) and in the marble relief (Figures 4, 5).

Taken together, the three reliefs from the tomb of the princesse de Conti allow a reconsideration of its character. A much grander monument would have been justified by the princess's fortune and by her rank as the niece of Cardinal Mazarin and the widow

of the younger brother of the Grand Condé. As was well known in her own time, however, the princesse de Conti was a fervent adherent of Jansenism and lived austere.²³ In the seventeenth-century manner, her charitable acts were described in some detail in her epitaph.²⁴ The lost gilt-bronze festoons on the urn of the tomb and the prominent placement of the monument near the high altar reflect her importance.²⁵ But the tomb avoided the lavish use of colored marble and any form of effigy or portrait. Instead, the allegorical figure expressed the Christian virtues that motivated the princess's life.²⁶ No seventeenth-century sculptor was better suited than Girardon to create such a monument. Even today, despite later vicissitudes, its veiled figure and cypress reliefs retain an appropriate, eloquent modesty.

22. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, K. H.B.183. I am indebted to Dr. Fritz Koreny for helping me find these prints. They will be discussed thoroughly in my doctoral dissertation on Girardon for the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.

23. For the most detailed account of her life, see de Barthélemy, *Une Nièce de Mazarin*.

24. The inscription as preserved in Charpentier's print reads: "A la gloire de Dieu / et à la Mémoire Eternelle / d'Anne Marie Martinozzi / Princesse de Conty. / Qui détrompée du Monde de l'âge de / XIX. ans vendit toutes ses pierreries pour / nourrir durant la famine de M.DC.LXII. / les pauvres de Berry, de Champagne et de / Picardie, pratiqua toutes les austérités que / sa santé put souffrir. Demeurée veuve a / l'âge de XXIX. ans consacra le reste de sa / vie à élever en Princes Chrétiens les Princes / ses enfants, et a maintenir les Loix temporelles, et Ecclesiastiques dans ses Terres, se / reduisit a une dépense tres modeste, restituez / Tous les biens dont l'acquisition

lui fut sus- / pecté jusqu'à la somme de D.CCC. mil li- / vres, distribua toute son espargne aux / pauvres dans ses Terres, et dans toutes les parties du Monde, et passa soudainement / a l'éternité apres XVI. ans de perseverance / le IV. Fevrier M.DC.LXXII. âgée de / XXXV. ans. / Priez Dieu pour Elle. / Louis Armand de Bourbon Prince de Conty, et François / Louis de Bourbon Prince de la Rochesurayon ses enfants, / ont posé ce Monument."

25. A. N. Dézallier d'Argenville, *Voyage pittoresque de Paris* (Paris, 1749) p. 218.

26. Girardon's allegorical figure for the tomb of the princesse de Conti served as the model for the funerary monument of François de Guénégaud by the sculptor's pupil Pierre Granier. In this work, commissioned in 1685, Granier represented only Charity. He retained the flaming heart in the figure's raised left hand and added three children, one of whom is feeding at Charity's breast. For more about this work, see Souchal, *French Sculptors*, II, pp. 92–93, no. 15.

Girardon's "Melancholy": A Note on Its Placement in the Park at Malmaison During the Nineteenth Century

GERARD HUBERT

Conservateur en chef, Musée National du Château de Malmaison

PAINTINGS ARE NOT the only works of art to travel widely before finding refuge in museums. In spite of their weight, dimensions, and fragility, many sculptures have had a comparable fate. Before it came to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the beautiful allegorical relief by François Girardon—principal element of the funerary monument to Anne-Marie Martinozzi, princesse de Conti, who died in 1672—was adapted for use in a way that its author could never have foreseen. Offered as a complement to the article by Dean Walker, the following details concern the removal of Girardon's work to Malmaison and its placement in the park surrounding the empress Josephine's château.

The appearance of the tomb as it stood in St.-André-des-Arts in Paris is known from a drawing in the Gaignières collection.¹ During the Revolution, the main figure was saved and deposited in the Petits Augustins, where Alexandre Lenoir exhibited it under the number 193:

De Saint-André-des-Arts.

Un grand bas-relief, consacré à la mémoire d'Anne-Marie Martinozzi, princesse de Conti, morte en 1672, âgée de 35 ans; consistant en une belle figure de marbre blanc, à demi-bosse, accompagnée des attributs qui désignent la Foi, l'Espérance et la Charité, vertus caractéristiques de cette princesse.

Ce monument érigé par ses deux fils, a été exécuté par Girardon. On remarque de chaque côté une branche de cyprès, précieuse pour la délicatesse du travail.²

A watercolor in the Musée Carnavalet shows the work in the introductory gallery of the Musée des Monu-

ments Français, still practically intact, including the semicircular part at the top adorned with vaporous clouds in relief, the burning heart symbolizing Charity held in the figure's left hand, and the anchor, symbol of Hope, steadied by her right.³ In entry 1062 of his Journal, Lenoir mentions this sculpture among the "objects" whose removal to the château of Malmaison was authorized by the Minister of the Interior on the sixth of Germinal in the year IX of the Republic (1801):

18° Un bas-relief en marbre blanc, représentant la Mélancolie, par Girardon, venant de Saint-André-des-Arts.⁴

The work's title has changed, and there is no longer any question of Christian virtues. We do not know

1. Jean Adhémar, "Les Tombeaux de la collection Gaignières: Dessins d'archéologie du XVII^e siècle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* ser. 6, 90 (1977) p. 18, no. 1932, ill.

2. Alexandre Lenoir, *Description historique . . . des monumens de sculpture, réunis au Musée des Monumens français* (Paris, 1798) pp. 186–187. The entry is repeated through the 1806 edition of this catalogue.

3. The Musée Carnavalet watercolor is reproduced in J. Vanuxem, "Aperçus sur quelques tableaux représentant le Musée des Monuments français de Lenoir," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1971 (1972) p. 149, fig. 2, where Girardon's authorship is not mentioned; see also D. Walker, "Decorative Panels by François Girardon from the Tomb of the Princesse de Conti," *MMJ* 15 / 1980 (1981) pp. 143–148, n. 6.

4. Louis Courajod, report on the sculptures at Malmaison in 1800–15 and on those restored to the Louvre in 1877, *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1877), minutes of meeting Apr. 11, pp. 117–126, esp. pp. 119, 120, 121 n. 1.

whether it was at this time, in anticipation of the work's new destination, that the anchor was eliminated and the burning heart transformed into a poppy evoking sleep and oblivion, or whether the changes were made a few years later, in 1807, when—as the following message indicates—the relief was actually moved:

Le chambellan de service près S.M. l'impératrice a l'honneur de prévenir Monsieur Lenoir que S.M. désire qu'il apporte lundy, à la Malmaison, le petit monument de la Mélancolie.

A Malmaison, ce 2 avril 1807⁵

Later, Alexandre Lenoir, “honorary curator” of Josephine's collections, published an article in the *Dictionnaire de la conversation* on his role as supplier and arranger of the sculptures at Malmaison. Although his memory misled him in certain details, he wrote:

Je procurai aussi un Saint François . . . ainsi qu'un bas-relief funéraire, sculpté en marbre par Girardon, afin qu'il y eût dans le parc un tombeau suivant l'ordonnance d'un jardin anglais.⁶

The inventory of the empress's effects after her death confirms Lenoir's recollection in this case. Included “dans le parc” in 1814 was:

n° 1566. Item. Un bas relief en marbre blanc par Girardon représentant la mélancolie et formant un monument tumulaire prisé 400 francs.⁷

It fell to Lenoir to draw up the “état du partage des objets d'art et Antiquités de la Malmaison” between Josephine's heirs, Prince Eugène and Queen Hortense, the two children born of her union with Alexandre de Beauharnais. In Prince Eugène's share, assigned September 16, 1814, is found:

Dans le parc . . . n° 261 un bas relief en marbre blanc, par Girardon, représentant la Mélancolie et formant monument tumulaire 800 francs.⁸

The words are identical, although the value has doubled. The “parc” is clearly distinguished from the “parc extérieur,” which implies a monument erected not far from the château. Like most of the statuary in

the gardens, it was sold with the building. Bought back in 1861 by Napoleon III, the château was confiscated in 1870. The officials of the Domaines de l'Etat took possession of it and drew up various inventories, notably that of August 23, 1876, which recorded the “objets susceptibles d'être conservés” in the event of a new sale. The park was then reduced to a few acres around the château. The inventory lists “au dessous de la Garenne, la fontaine de la Dormeuse, avec un bas relief en marbre blanc, représentant une jeune fille”—undoubtedly Girardon's “Melancholy,” whose veiled head and poppy would allow her to be taken for a woman asleep. By this date, then, the relief was part of a fountain. Had the “tumular monument” already served as a fountain in Josephine's day? There is no drawing or document to indicate one way or the other. On December 13, 1876, the “Sleeping Woman” does not figure in the list of vases, sculptures, and columns reserved for the French museums. Their conveyance took place on February 1, 1877, and the same day an inspector called Schoell wrote to the director of the Domaines mentioning those objects that could still be sold or kept, among them the “bas-relief de la fontaine de la Dormeuse en marbre blanc.”⁹

After a stay of seventy years in the park at Malmaison, Girardon's work was to pass from hand to hand. Sold privately with part of the park, it was left on deposit at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs and exhibited in the Palais de l'Industrie from 1884 to 1890, then taken by the Parent family to Varengeville-sur-Mer in Normandy, put up for sale in 1909, again deposited at Malmaison in 1927–28, lent by Georges Bernard to the “Exposition des chefs-d'oeuvre de l'art français”

5. Ibid., pp. 122–123 n. 3. Courajod was unaware of the fate of the relief after its transfer to Malmaison.

6. Alexandre Lenoir, “Malmaison,” in William Duckett, ed., *Dictionnaire de la conversation et de la lecture* XXXVI (Paris, 1837) p. 465; quoted by Courajod, *Bulletin*, pp. 122–123.

7. Serge Grandjean, *Inventaire après décès de l'impératrice Joséphine à Malmaison* (Paris, 1964) p. 201, fol. 261, with note; the location of the relief at the time is not indicated. Gérard Hubert, “Josephine, A Discerning Collector of Sculpture,” *Apollo* 106, n.s. no. 185 (July 1977) p. 38, fig. 7.

8. Twelve-page notebook in Lenoir's hand, Archives Malmaison, inv. MM 67-9-1, gift of Comte Roger Walewski, 1967.

9. Versailles, Archives Départementales (Seine et Oise, D 822, Malmaison).



1. Stele in the park at Malmaison, showing holes above for the attachment of a relief and below for the installation of a fountain (photo: Studio Laverton, Rueil-Malmaison)



2. Photomontage showing the placement of Girardon's "Melancholy" at Malmaison, 1807–77 (photo: Studio Laverton, Rueil-Malmaison)

at the Palais National des Arts in Paris, 1937, and finally acquired in 1939 by the Metropolitan Museum.¹⁰

It remains to be seen whether the exact site of the monument at Malmaison can be determined, as I think it can. In the park, which is now rather modest

by comparison with its former size, and not far from a small artificial waterfall crowned by a statue of Neptune, there is a tall stone stele, curved at the top and approximating the form of a Greek funerary stele (Figure 1). This "monument" is pierced by a hole at

10. Paris, Palais National des Arts, *Chefs-d'oeuvre de l'art français* (Paris, 1937) pp. 468–469, no. 1040, with history. Paul Vitry, responsible for the sculpture section, completed this entry in his personal copy of the catalogue with a mention of the sale of 1909 and the loan to Malmaison in 1927–28, of which

there is no trace in the museum's archives. The sculpture was reproduced in an album of plates by Paul Vitry, *Les Chefs-d'oeuvre de l'art français à l'Exposition internationale de 1937*: II. *La Sculpture française du XVIe au XIXe siècle* (Paris, n.d. [1937]) pl. ix.

its base, which evidently once held pipes designed to convey water into a fountain whose basin has disappeared. In addition, there is a roughly worked, sunken area in the middle with three holes to allow for the attachment of a relief. It happens that the width of this recessed area corresponds with that of the Girardon relief—namely, 64 centimeters. The stele is thus certainly to be identified with the “tumular monument” conceived by Lenoir as a setting for Girardon’s “Melancholy.” A photomontage shows how well the relief resumes its former place (Figure 2). The only thing missing is the semicircular upper portion which Lenoir must have had carried out by an unknown sculptor with some symbolical or decorative attribute to complete the ensemble.

The stele bears a graffito dated 1906, proving that it was in place when the Musée National du Château de Malmaison was created. It is unlikely to have been brought from a neighboring property at that date, since it no longer had any sculptural decoration. On the other hand, the nearby statue of Neptune is not in its original place in the “Naumachia,” whose remains lie a few hundred yards away on private property. I am persuaded that the stele-fountain close by the “rivière anglaise” served as a support for Girardon’s work in the years following 1807. Even though unhappily deprived of its graceful decoration, it remains an almost unique witness to Josephine’s taste for parks enlivened with statues and *fabriques sentimentales*.

A Drawing by Chassériau

JOAN R. MERTENS

Curator, Department of Greek and Roman Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

IN 1971, the Drawings Department of the Metropolitan Museum acquired 242 works through the bequest of Harry G. Sperling. The group included a watercolor (Figure 1) that presented no evident problem of identification or attribution. The subject shows part of a house whose architecture and wall decoration evoke a Roman villa and, indeed, the caption below reads *TRICLINIUM DÉCOUVERT DE LA MAISON DITE D'ACTÉON A POMPEÏ*. At the bottom of the sheet is the inscription *Chassériau fecit*. Before its acquisition by the Museum, the drawing had already been published twice by the art historian Marc Sandoz as a work of the French painter Théodore Chassériau (1819–56). Sandoz identified this as one in a series of early drawings, believed lost, that Chassériau had executed in Italy during the summer of 1840 and that he had shown to Ingres.¹

The drawing was recently considered for a loan exhibition of classical subjects from the Museum's collections. In the process, a number of points emerged that had hitherto gone unnoticed. They now enable us to place the work in a specific context; as a further consequence, they also call into question the current dating and attribution.

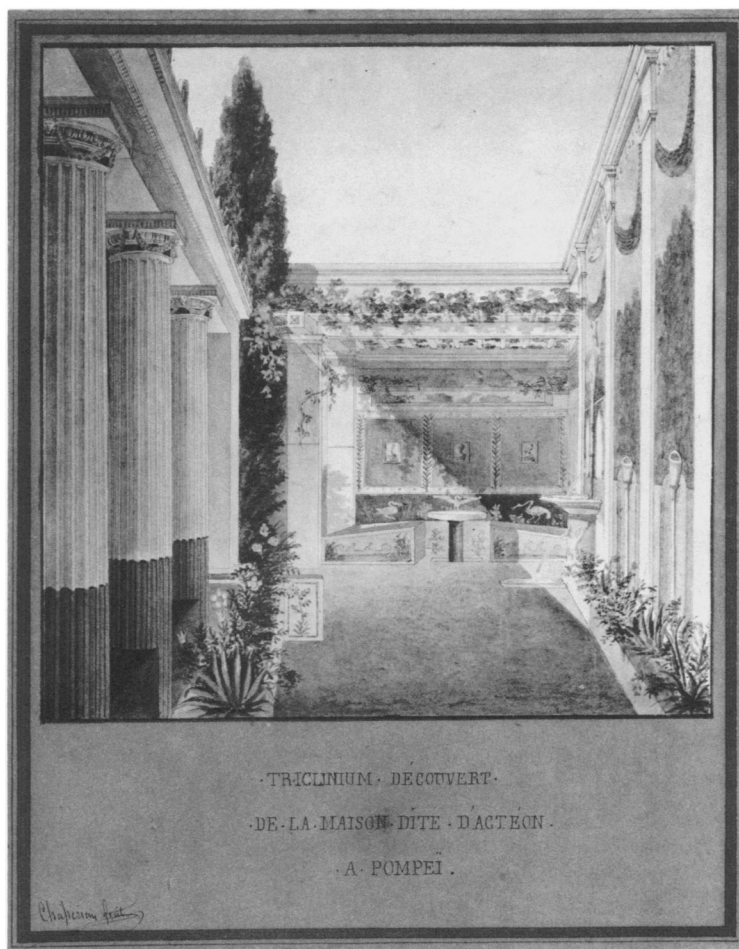
The scene depicted is an open area within the House of Actaeon, more commonly known as the House of Sallust; it was built during the second century B.C. and rediscovered in excavations that took place between 1806 and 1809. In the foreground appears the end of an interior garden bounded on the right by a wall subdivided by pilasters and painted with swags, greenery, and niches; the columns on the left mark the limit of the core of the house, consisting of the atrium with its surrounding rooms. At the end of the garden is the actual triclinium shaded by a vine-covered arbor, decorated with wall paintings, and provided with benches, a stone table, and a fountain projecting from the adjacent long wall. Attractive

though it is, this view is clearly not a strict archaeological record but rather a reconstruction or evocation. It is, in fact, one of a series of images that can be associated with an engraved illustration in the second volume of François Mazois's *Ruines de Pompéi*, published in Paris in 1824 (Figure 2).

Les Ruines de Pompéi dessinées et mesurées pendant les années 1809, 1810, 1811 was the principal achievement of François Mazois's career.² Born in 1783, he was trained as an architect under Charles Percier, and in 1808 went to Rome in order to study classical languages and literature as well as ancient monuments. Soon after his arrival, he was called to Naples by Joachim Murat, brother-in-law of Napoleon, who needed architects for his ambitious building programs. While charged with restoring the palace of Portici, Mazois devoted most of his energies to measuring, drawing, and describing the remains of Pompeii. Through the protection of Caroline Murat, who contributed one thousand francs a month to his support, he gained access to the site, still jealously controlled by the Naples Academy. After three years' work, from 1809 through 1811, Mazois produced the first part of the *Ruines* in 1812. Thereafter he studied Paestum, Pozzuoli, and Herculaneum. In 1815 Mazois was entrusted with the restoration of the Trinità de' Monti in Rome. In 1819 he returned to France where he spent the few remaining years of his life,

1. M. Sandoz, "Chassériau: Quelques Oeuvres inédites," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 51 (1958) pp. 113–116, fig. 9; a technical point not mentioned by Sandoz is that the sheet of paper with the drawing is pasted onto the larger one with the inscription and signature. M. Sandoz, *Théodore Chassériau: Catalogue raisonné des peintures et estampes* (Paris, 1974) pp. 27–28.

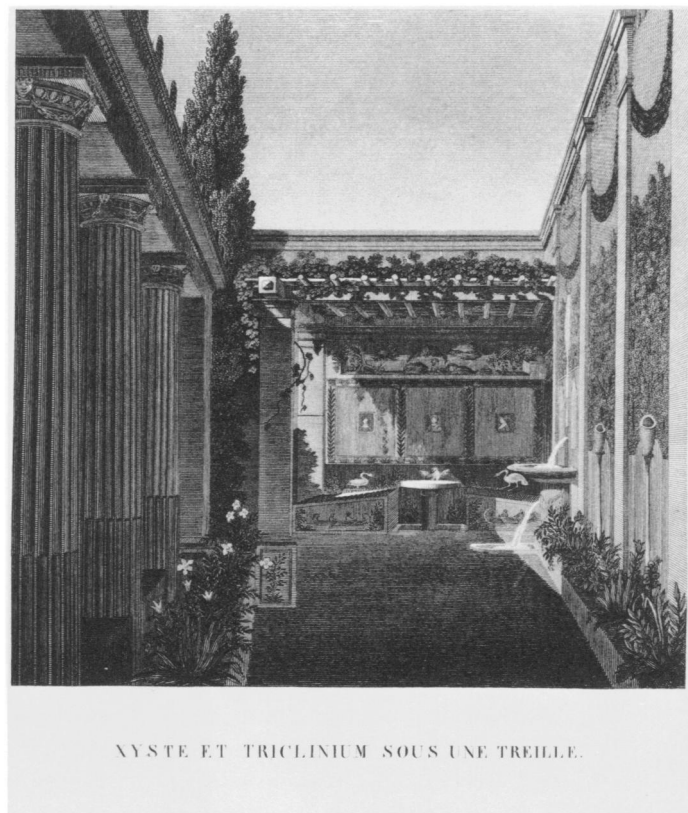
2. For biographical data on Mazois see especially the "Notice" by the chevalier Artaud in *Ruines* IV (1838) pp. 1–vi, and A. Lance, *Dictionnaire des architectes français* (Paris, 1872) II, pp. 125–128.



1. *Open Triclinium in the So-called House of Actaeon in Pompeii.* Ink and watercolor on paper, image: 14.2 × 14.0 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Harry G. Sperling, 1971, 1975.131.95

reaping honors, designing houses and arcades in Paris as well as a screen for the cathedral of Reims, and continuing to prepare his Pompeian material for publication. The second part of the *Ruines* appeared in 1824. After Mazois's death in 1826, the undertaking was continued by the architect François Chrétien Gau, who brought out a third volume in 1829 and a fourth in 1838.

For an understanding of the Museum's drawing, it is important to begin by noting that Mazois was working in Pompeii just at the time when excavation of the House of Actaeon was being completed. He therefore saw features like the wall paintings in their freshest possible condition. In 1819, the year of his return to France, Mazois published *Le Palais de Scaurus, ou des-*



2. *Xystus and Triclinium Beneath a Vine Arbor.* Engraving from François Mazois, *Les Ruines de Pompéi* ... (Paris, 1824) II, pl. xxxviii, fig. 1. Image: 14.2 × 14.0 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

cription d'une maison romaine, fragment d'un voyage fait à Rome vers la fin de la République par Mérovir, prince des Suèves. Dedicated to Charles Percier and presented as the travel account of a young Gaul sent to Rome by Caesar, the book treats of the parts of a Roman villa and their respective functions. In 1822 it appeared in a second edition, revised as well as illustrated with twelve engravings. The footnotes to the text refer repeatedly to the *Ruines*, both the first volume and the second that would only appear in two years' time. Several of the plates, moreover, have direct counterparts in the larger work. Of interest to us is the last one entitled PETIT TRICLINIUM SOUS UNE TREILLE À POMPEI, and inscribed *Dormier Sculpt!* (Figure 3). The representation is limited to the triclinium itself, from the pilaster at its left side to the fountain at the right. The trunk of the vine rises, rather implausibly, from behind the left bench, while the foliage above the ar-

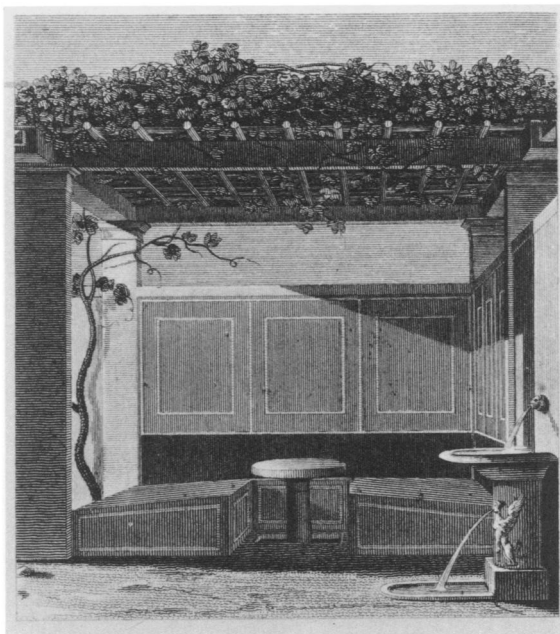
bor is full and dense. Sunlight, rather than shadow, falls across most of the rear wall. Particularly striking is the absence of any decoration on the rear wall or on the benches flanking the table. Mazois knew that these surfaces had originally been painted, for in volume II of the *Ruines* he would describe details that had paled since he first noted them. This plate for the *Palais de Scaurus*, therefore, seems to be the first version of the triclinium image consisting of the structural essentials, as yet unembellished.

The addition of the garden to the view of the triclinium occurs in the preliminary drawing for the 1824 engraving (Figure 4), preserved in the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The sheet is interesting in several respects. First, despite the pictorial qualities contributed by the use of watercolor, it is primarily a draughtsman's work, executed with a sure, clear line that carefully defines every solid, structural feature. Secondly, it retains a direct connection to the *Palais de Scaurus* illustration in the square that is drawn around the triclinium, isolating the area that had been featured in the earlier publication. Thirdly, while the drawing does not, for instance, show the columns or the flower beds articulated with the details that appear in the engraving, it does now include the painted decoration of the triclinium and adjacent, pilastered wall. The work in the Bibliothèque Nationale thus represents a second stage, in which Mazois arrived at both his reconstruction of the garden and the rendering of the triclinium.

In 1824, as already noted, the second volume of the *Ruines de Pompéi* appeared with the engraving (Figure 2) entitled *XYSTE ET TRICLINIUM SOUS UNE TREILLE* and the plate inscribed *Mazois del., Previle Sculps!* It is worth mentioning also that the Salon of 1824 included "gravures de l'ouvrage intitulé: les Ruines de Pompéi" presented by "Mazois, rue du Bac, n. 34."³ Compared with the drawing in Paris, the image now shows its full complement of detail as well as small changes like the suppression of the cloud and the direction of the sunlight from left to right rather than from right to left.

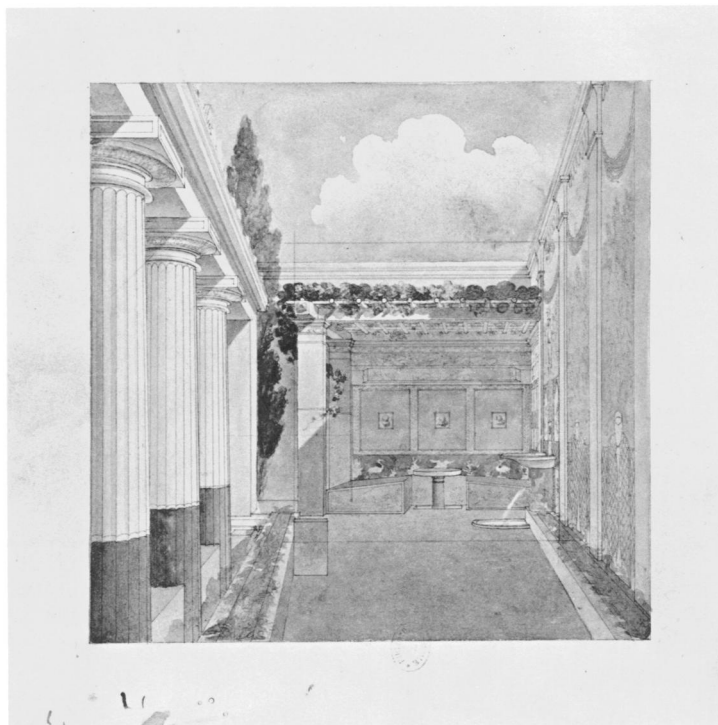
The foregoing summary of the evolution of the triclinium scene provides the background against which

3. *Explication des ouvrages . . . des artistes vivans, exposés au Musée Royal des Arts, le 25 août 1824* (Paris, 1824) p. 230, no. 2175.



3. *Small Triclinium Beneath a Vine Arbor in Pompeii*. Engraving from François Mazois, *Le Palais de Scaurus* . . . , 2nd ed. (Paris, 1822) pl. xii. Image: 12.3 × 7.0 cm. New York, Columbia University, Avery Library (photo: Avery Library)

4. Preliminary drawing for Figure 2. Ink and watercolor on paper, image: 14.3 × 14.2 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)



to consider the Metropolitan Museum's drawing, its authorship, and relation to Mazois's *Ruines*. There can be little doubt about its exceedingly close connection with the 1824 engraving. The two not only correspond almost to every shadow and bit of foliage but they are also identical in the size of the actual image. The New York drawing, moreover, includes masks and swags on the capitals of the portico, a detail not present in the Paris version. The correspondences virtually presuppose some contact or proximity between the respective artists. In 1824, Théodore Chassériau was five years old; if the drawing is his, he could not have done it until at least a decade later. If this were an exercise by a young artist, even of acknowledged precocity, copying from a book, one would nonetheless wonder at his having followed his model down to the exact size of the sheet and at the slavishness with which he rendered the tonalities in the cypress tree, the placement of the flowers in the left flower bed, or the angle of the sunlight falling across the triclinium.

A possible alternative to Théodore appears in the person of his cousin Frédéric Chassériau (1802–96), who in 1824 was twenty-two years old and actually working on the *Ruines*.⁴ Born in Port-au-Prince in 1802, orphaned by the death of his father at the battle of Waterloo, beset by difficulties in choosing a career, Frédéric Chassériau had finally decided for that of architect. He had begun his training in 1821 and in 1823 entered the office of Mazois, to whom he was related. According to Léonce Bénédict's fundamental biography of Théodore Chassériau, Frédéric assisted Mazois with the publication of the *Ruines*,⁵ for which the engravings were also exhibited in 1824. Under such circumstances, the consistency—stylistic as well as iconographical—among our three images may be attributed to Mazois; he will have left his mark on the Museum's drawing by virtue of having made his own preliminary studies available to the young man in addition to supervising his work. If the artist was, in fact, Frédéric, he evidently felt entitled to sign the watercolor, and he may also have added the in-

scription which, interestingly, uses only "triclinium," as in the *Palais de Scaurus*, without "xyste," which appears in the *Ruines*, volume II.

If we now consider the order in which the works were executed, it seems justifiable to suppose that the Metropolitan Museum's drawing was the model for the published engraving, rather than a study after it. The latter alternative, though not impossible, seems implausible given the extent to which the two images correspond; the coincidence in secondary details is what one would expect of an engraver painstakingly transcribing a representation onto his metal plate. The fact that the drawn image does not appear reversed in the engraving need not affect our argument, for by the early nineteenth century a skilled artist could reverse his subject directly as he rendered it on the plate. As we have tried to show, moreover, the chronological priority of the drawing over the print is indicated by its consistency with the preceding versions: the illustration in the *Palais de Scaurus* and the sheet in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Although the hypotheses offered here are subject to revision, the interest of the Mazois–Chassériau drawing remains undiminished. The circumstances surrounding the work give us a direct glimpse into early nineteenth-century antiquarianism. Moreover, the success enjoyed by this particular image through the end of the century endows it with an independent existence. The triclinium in the House of Actaeon recurs in discussions of Roman villas and gardens, and occasionally it is reproduced,⁶ most notably in the classic compendium on Pompeii by Johannes Overbeck and August Mau.⁷

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I should like to thank Jacob Bean for allowing me to work on the drawing and for the improvements he made to this note. Michel Melot and Françoise Jestaz kindly helped with information about the drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

4. See especially L. Bénédict, *Théodore Chassériau* (Paris, 1932) I, pp. 77–80.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

6. E.g., E. Guhl and W. Koner, *The Life of the Greeks and Romans* (London, 1875–78) p. 367, fig. 390; H. von Rohden, "Pompeji," in A. Baumeister, ed., *Denkmäler des klassischen Alter-*

tums III (Munich, 1888) p. 1366, fig. 1515; G. Lafaye, "Hortus," in *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* III (Paris, 1900) p. 284; H. Graillot, "Xystos," in *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* V (Paris, 1911) p. 1027, n. 4.

7. *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümern und Kunstwerken* (Leipzig, 1884) p. 304, fig. 167.

Benjamin West and William Beckford: Some Projects for Fonthill

MARTHA HAMILTON-PHILLIPS

Department of Art History, University of Pennsylvania

WHEN WILLIAM BECKFORD (Figure 1) became the patron of Benjamin West, he was hiring a national institution. Probably the most influential artist of the English and American schools in the last decade of the eighteenth century, West was Historical Painter to George III and second president of the Royal Academy. He was the leading teacher in London and master of that city's largest studio, in addition to which he negotiated commercial transactions of commodities as diverse as old master pictures and American real estate. Although Beckford may have sought West as his pensioner in the 1790s because of the artist's popularity at court,¹ he had a sincere and progressive concern for the patronage of modern English artists; West for his part valued Beckford's support second only to the friendship of the king.² The bulk of Beckford's commissions from West were undertaken between 1797 and 1799, the most affluent period in the multidimensional career of a man known as "England's wealthiest son," and a gifted author, famous bibliophile, art collector, connoisseur, builder, and genealogist. This last occupation was certainly not the least among Beckford's priorities, and the following discussion of previously unpublished drawings for West's least-known commissions for Fonthill Abbey should provide new insight into the personal, genealogical orientation of Beckford's art patronage.

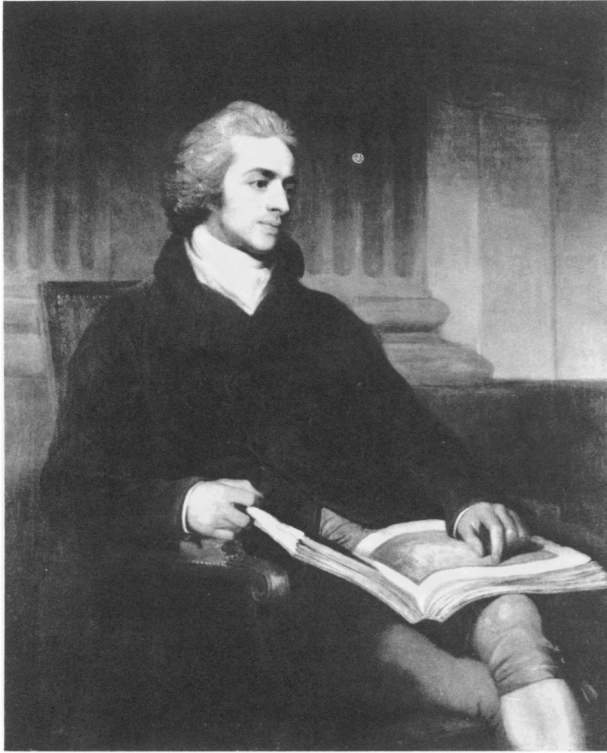
The vast West Indian fortunes that enabled Beckford to become a distinguished connoisseur and collector were founded by his great-great grandfather Peter Beckford, who left England in the 1660s to become a planter in Jamaica, where, as a contemporary of buccaneers like Henry Morgan, he established an empire of sugar plantations and slaves. His son, Colo-

nel Peter Beckford, served briefly as governor of Jamaica prior to his death in a brawl in 1710, leaving the expansion of the family's colonial interests to William Beckford's grandfather Peter Beckford. This third Peter, as violent and ruthless as his forebears (on one occasion he stabbed to death the Deputy Judge Advocate), served as Speaker of the Jamaican Assembly and married Bathshua Hering, daughter and heiress of Colonel Julines Hering, a wealthy landowner. Their son William, William Beckford's father, went to England for his education in 1723 and, as a London merchant with colonial manners but aristocratic means, became a Whig M.P., an alderman, and

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

1. This was the opinion of Beckford's architect James Wyatt, recorded by Joseph Farington in his diary, entry for Nov. 1, 1797 (Garlick and Macintyre, III, p. 912).

2. The annuity Beckford provided West was the same as the pension from the king—£1,000. For West's royal patronage, see John Galt, *The Life and Works of Benjamin West, Esq.* (London, pt. I, 1816; pt. II, 1820). Correspondence between Beckford and West is located in the Duke of Hamilton Papers, on deposit at both the Bodleian Library and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. West undoubtedly referred to Beckford's patronage when he commented in his Discourse to the Royal Academy in 1797 that "the means projected by other spirited individuals in opulent stations, for extending and perpetuating the works of British masters, fall short in no degree of the most fervid energies and examples, of which any country has been able to boast" (*ibid.*, II, pp. 145–146). Beckford's appreciation of West was considerable, even as late as 1808, when he concluded a letter of June 26 as follows: "ten thousand thanks for the friendly part you have acted . . . in everything . . . which concerns me, and receive the assurance of [my] invariable regard" (Philadelphia, *Letters of English Prose Writers Collected and Arranged and Presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* by Ferdinand J. Dreer [1890] I, p. 29).



1. John Hoppner (ca. 1758–1810), *William Beckford* (1759–1844), late 1790s or ca. 1800. Oil on canvas, 51 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 41 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Salford Art Gallery, Gift of Sir Thomas Agnew, 1868 (photo: City of Salford Art Galleries and Museums)

finally twice Lord Mayor of London before his untimely death in 1770. His marriage to Maria, daughter of the Hon. George Hamilton (second surviving son of James, sixth earl of Abercorn), joined the Beckford line with a family of distinguished ancestry and contemporary prominence. Young William Beckford was born at Fonthill in Wiltshire in 1759, the only legitimate son among many natural children fathered by the alderman. His childhood was spent in the seclusion of Splendens, the palatial mansion at Fonthill his father had had built between 1756 and 1765. His private education included music lessons from Mozart, literary admonitions from his godfather Lord Chatham, and visits to his cousin Sir William Hamilton, the famous diplomat and antiquarian collector in Naples. As a youth of intense intellectual precocity and imaginative sensibilities, William produced his literary masterpiece *Vathek*, an Arabian romance, in 1781–82, just after he had come of age. Although he was a member of the Church of En-

gland, and had been indoctrinated by his mother in her Calvinist concerns with fate and sin, Beckford, with his predilection for aesthetic magnificence, was attracted to the ceremonial pomp of the Roman Catholic Church and to the mystical saints whose splendid celebrations he attended during his travels through Portugal, Spain, and Italy in 1782–83. Shortly after his marriage in 1783 to Lady Margaret Gordon, daughter of the fourth earl of Aboyne, the hitherto brilliant course of Beckford's life abruptly changed: in 1784, charges of pederasty were brought against him in connection with his young friend William ("Kitty") Courtenay, whom he had frequently visited at Powderham Castle. Beckford's social status and moral respectability were permanently ruined, although the accusations were never proved. He became a recluse and nonconformist obsessed with restoring himself in society. His wealth enabled him to acquire both works of art and books, including Gibbon's library, and also to support the work of watercolorists and landscape painters such as Alexander and J. R. Cozens, Joseph Vernet, and the young J. M. W. Turner. Not inclined to pursue his father's parliamentary offices, he focused his ambitions upon the building of Fonthill Abbey, designed by James Wyatt in a magnificent neo-Gothic style, with an enormous but ill-fated 276-foot tower and extravagantly landscaped grounds. The near ruin of Beckford's West Indian plantations in the first two decades of the nineteenth century forced him to place the Fonthill property on the market in 1822. Having arranged a profitable sale to the gunpowder millionaire John Farquhar, instead of selling at public auction through Christie's as originally intended, Beckford moved his household to 20 Lansdown Crescent in Bath, where he built another great tower on Lansdown Hill. Upon his death in 1844, his estate passed to his younger daughter Susan Euphemia, duchess of Hamilton.³

Of the first twelve pictures commissioned by Beckford from Benjamin West, four were family portraits. They remained in the possession of Beckford's Hamilton descendants until 1919, when they were sold and brought to America to become part of two collec-

3. The chief authority for the life and correspondence of William Beckford remains Boyd Alexander. For Beckford's literary career, see also Guy Chapman, *A Bibliography of William Beckford of Fonthill* (London, 1930), and Robert J. Gemmett, *William Beckford* (Boston, 1977).

tions in the land of West's birth: the portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Peter Beckford, William's grandparents, are in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 2, 3); those of Beckford's paternal aunt, Elizabeth, countess of Effingham, and of his mother are in the National Gallery in Washington, D.C. (Figures 4, 5). The importance of these works has been overshadowed by the series of sketches West painted for Beckford illustrating the Book of Revelation—elaborate, apocalyptic compositions, many of which West submitted to the annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy, and to which West scholars have dedicated their attention in recent critical literature.⁴ But while the Revelation subjects are significant within West's oeuvre, the quartet of family portraits, when examined together with surviving preparatory drawings and in context with related commissions for "sacred portraits" in Fonthill Abbey windows and altarpieces, conveys much more information about the complex personality of the patron.

The four Beckford portraits are as unconventional as their owner was eccentric: the dimensions of the canvases exceed the standard size for half-lengths (50 × 40 in.); the larger-than-life size of the figures is vaguely disquieting to a viewer at close range; and the colors, essentially primary, saturated hues dominated by crimson, are overlaid by sketchy, linear black brushstrokes, instead of being modeled according to West's theoretical methods.⁵ Furthermore, the perspective recession of the compositions and the foreshortening of the sitters' torsos are unusually pronounced. The likenesses do not address the spectator in the habitual, familiar sense, but appear rather as "fragments of a forgotten decorative scheme."⁶ The setting for which these icons were intended was not Splendens, where they were hung over the four doors to the "saloon" until at least 1801, but rather Fonthill Abbey, which Wyatt had already begun building for Beckford in 1796, and to which the portraits were eventually transferred upon the demolition of Splendens.⁷ The portraits of Peter Beckford and his wife are signed and dated 1797; that of Elizabeth, countess of Effingham, is signed, and, although undated, was most probably commissioned at the same time as the grandparents' portraits, given the similarity of execution. After the death of his mother in July 1798, Beckford left England to travel on the Continent from October until July of the following year. West was actively employed in 1799 during Beckford's ab-

sence, as he received an annuity of £1,000, and submitted six pictures destined for Fonthill Abbey to the annual exhibition at the Royal Academy.⁸ There is evidence to suggest that West painted the portrait of Mrs. Beckford posthumously, late in 1798 or in 1799, to accompany the other three imaginary portraits of Beckford's deceased relatives.⁹

To explain the peculiarities of these portraits, it is necessary to understand not only why Beckford chose West to design them, but how this historical painter

4. See John Dillenberger, *Benjamin West: The Context of His Life's Work with Particular Attention to Paintings with Religious Subject Matter* (San Antonio, 1977), and Jerry D. Meyer, "The Religious Paintings of Benjamin West: A Study in Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century Moral Sentiment," Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University (1973). It is interesting to note that while West charged Beckford between 300 and 400 guineas for each Revelation canvas, his invoice for a portrait of Mrs. William Beckford was only £84 (letter of Sept. 30, 1799, Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

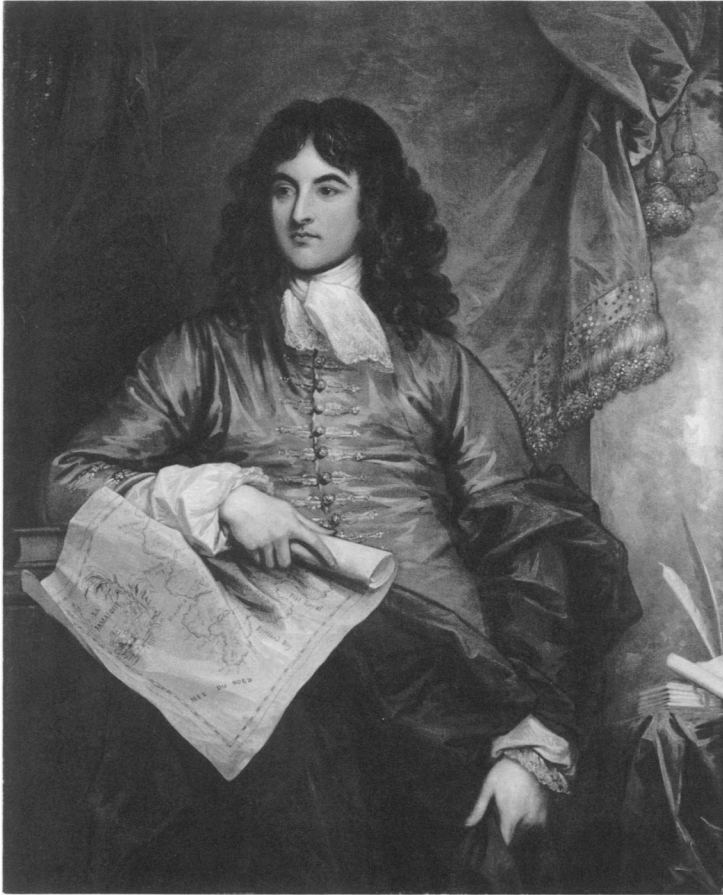
5. West's color theory was Venetian in inspiration; his models were predominantly Baroque. Early in his career, he hit on the notion of painting with pure, primary colors, and his philosophy concerning the "prismatic colours" is set down in his Discourse of 1797 as well as in later addresses to the Royal Academy. See Grose Evans, *Benjamin West and the Taste of His Times* (Carbondale, Ill., 1959) app., pp. 105–107.

6. Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, "Beckford's Gothic Wests," *MMAB*, n.s. 13 (Oct. 1954) pp. 41–49.

7. In 1796, Beckford returned from his travels on the Continent and launched Wyatt's plans for a new abbey. By Nov. 1797, he had already decided to demolish Splendens and enlarge the abbey to serve as his residence (Farington Diary, entry for Nov. 6, 1797; Garlick and Macintyre, III, p. 916). His income from the family plantations in the West Indies had been spectacular in 1796 and 1797, and he purchased additional land, planted over a million trees, and employed hundreds of people in the construction of the abbey and the landscaping of his grounds (described in a letter to his mother, quoted in Melville, pp. 221–223).

8. West's annuity is given in the Farington Diary, entry for Dec. 8, 1798 (Greig, p. 251; Garlick and Macintyre, III, p. 1106). The exhibited pictures are recorded in the Royal Academy catalogue of 1799 and in Dillenberger, *Benjamin West*, pp. 150–151.

9. The portrait of Mrs. Beckford differs stylistically from the other three. Although the painting bears no date, the letter of Sept. 30, 1799 (see note 4 above), presenting Beckford's agent Nicholas Williams with a statement of account, mentions a portrait—probably this one—of Beckford's mother. Mrs. Beckford lived in seclusion at Westend, Hampstead, and there is no evidence that she ever sat to West for a portrait. It would have been quite characteristic of Beckford to order a fourth commemorative portrait, of his mother, to join the other three "ancestral" worthies; he had a habit of ordering household decorations in quantities of four.



2. Benjamin West (1738–1820), *Peter Beckford* (d. 1735), signed and dated 1797. Oil on canvas, 57 × 45½ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of John R. Morron, 50.232.1



3. West, *Mrs. Peter Beckford* (d. ca. 1750), signed and dated 1797. Oil on canvas, 57 × 45½ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of John R. Morron, 50.232.2

developed the images through his preliminary drawings. West did not solicit portrait commissions; in fact, he is quoted as having said to Archibald Robinson, a prospective student whom he sent to Sir Joshua Reynolds, “I seldom paint portraits, and when I do I neither please myself nor my employers.”¹⁰ Although West’s first success as an artist was in the field of portraiture,¹¹ his fame was established by his paintings of historical narrative. He was amenable to portraying eminent persons such as members of the royal family, whose portraits he exhibited at the Academy from 1777 to 1783, but from 1784 to 1794, he submitted no portraiture whatsoever, and from 1795 to 1800, he was very selective in the subjects he chose—his adored sons, for example, and the military hero Gen-

eral Kosciuszko. The qualities that Beckford admired in West’s paintings—their grandeur, solemnity, harmony—are embodied in the artist’s illustrations of biblical themes and early English history, rather than in his portraits.¹² Beckford never commissioned West

10. William T. Whitley, *Gilbert Stuart* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932) p. 42. West’s alleged statement may reflect the negative reception of his portrait of the king in 1783.

11. According to Galt (*Life and Works*, I, pp. 119–121), West initially won recognition in Rome not through the customary medium of drawings after the antique, but by painting a successful portrait of Thomas Robinson—a likeness considered worthy of Mengs, the leading painter in Rome at mid-century.

12. Beckford himself cited these qualities in arguing for a high commercial evaluation of West’s *Abraham and Isaac* (letter of May 16, 1817, quoted in Alexander 1957, p. 207).



4. West, *Elizabeth, Countess of Effingham* (1725–91). Oil on canvas, 57 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 45 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Andrew Mellon Collection, 1947, no. 1009 (photo: National Gallery of Art)



5. West, *Mrs. William Beckford* (1724/5–98). Oil on canvas, 57 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 45 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Andrew Mellon Collection, 1947, no. 931 (photo: National Gallery of Art)

to paint his own portrait or those of living members of his family. For these likenesses, he hired the most fashionable face-painters of the period, among them, Reynolds, Romney, and Hoppner.¹³ But to obtain dignified and historically convincing images of his progenitors, Beckford needed an artist with West's documentary approach and professional reputation—in short, a history painter. That West derived some success from painting commemorative portraits is proved by the existence of a few other memorial portraits comparable in style and sentiment to those of Beckford's ancestors.¹⁴

There are two detailed preliminary drawings for the portraits of Peter and Bathshua Beckford in a collection of some two hundred scarcely known and vir-

tually unpublished West drawings in the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College (Figures 6,

13. When he came of age, Beckford sat to Sir Joshua Reynolds (bust-length, last known collection Mrs. S. P. Rotan, Chestnut Hill, Pa.); in 1782, he posed for a full-length by George Romney (National Trust, Bearsted Collection, Upton House, Warwickshire) and also ordered a full-length portrait of his cousin Louisa Beckford from Reynolds (Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight). Romney painted a full-length of his two daughters (Huntington Art Gallery, San Marino, Calif.), and John Hoppner, who by 1793 had been appointed portrait painter to the Prince of Wales, received Beckford's commission for his own portrait (Figure 1). This last likeness probably owes much to the composition of West's four Beckford portraits.

14. *General Wolfe as a Young Man*, a retrospective portrait (Collection of the Duke of Westminster), shows the youth with

7).¹⁵ This pair of drawings, closely corresponding in dimensions and technique, suggests inventiveness in West's preparatory method rather than simple copying after older family portraits.¹⁶ In the drawing for Peter, the subject is clad in a Van Dyck costume and holds a glove in his right hand like a dandy from the Restoration court. In the oil portrait, West has revised the hieroglyphic shorthand of the drawing to present a more readable vocabulary of forms in the pose and attributes of the subject: Peter holds his French map of Jamaica according to a formula probably derived from portraits of merchants and architects painted by Kneller, Hysing, and others a century earlier.¹⁷ West has placed writing materials and documents on the table at right, added a heavy gold fringe to the red

plans for the battle of Blenheim and books on the history of England. *General Kosciuszko* (Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Ohio), exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1797, honors the Polish revolutionary hero who was then thought to be dying of his injuries. Still another example is the portrait of Bishop Shute Barrington's wife (Cummer Art Gallery, Jacksonville, Fla.), completed by West in 1807, the year following her death.

15. The Swarthmore College collection, housed in the Friends Historical Library near the site of West's birthplace, was acquired in the last fifty years through alumni gifts. The drawings were partially authenticated by Helmut von Erffa in the 1940s, and it is evident from some of his surviving notes on file at the library that he recognized the drawings of Peter and Bathshua Beckford as studies for the Metropolitan Museum portraits. A catalogue raisonné of West's paintings, begun by von Erffa, is being prepared for publication by Allen Staley at Columbia University.

16. It has been speculated that West's portraits are copies made after older family portraits painted just before or during the decade of the 1760s. Beckford's half-sister Elizabeth Marsh (Mrs. Beckford's daughter by her first husband, Francis Marsh) recorded the portraits hanging in the dining room of Splendens in 1768–69 as portraits of her mother by Casali, Peter Beckford by Hoare, and Mrs. Peter Beckford and the countess of Efingham by artists unspecified. Her account is known from extracts quoted in a letter written by Robert Drysdale, Beckford's tutor, to Robert Nairne; the letter, believed lost, was known to Beckford biographer John Oliver and to Boyd Alexander, who conveyed the information to William Campbell at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Britton's description (p. 230) of Splendens just prior to its demolition refers to West's portraits as having been "copied . . . from originals in a gallery on the chamber floor."

17. Representative examples West might easily have known through prints are Kneller's portrait (1718) of Dudley Woodbridge, Judge Advocate and agent of the South Sea Company at Barbados (engraved by John Smith in 1718), or Hysing's portrait of the architect James Gibbs (engraved before 1726 by Peter Pelham).



6. West, Study for *Peter Beckford*. Black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, $11\frac{1}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ in. Swarthmore, Pa., Swarthmore College, Friends Historical Library (photo: author)

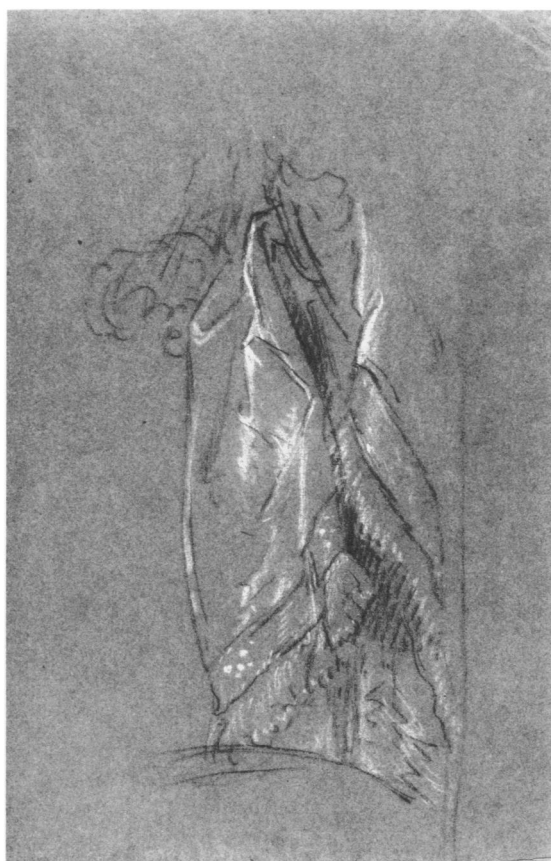
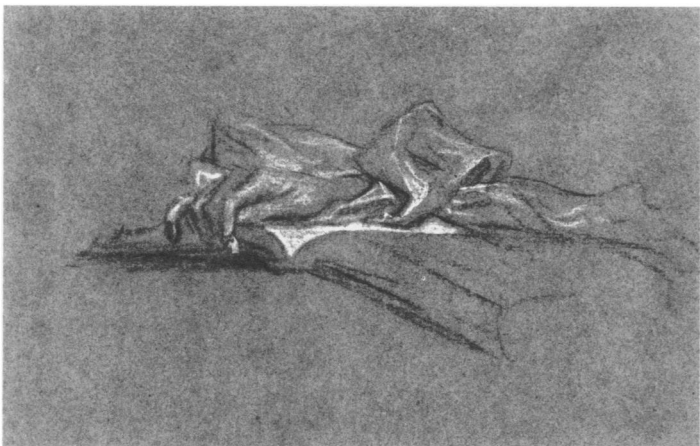
velvet drapery behind, and, in keeping with the fashion of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, has given the subject a longer hairstyle. The costume, consisting of a cravat trimmed with French lace, a red coat buttoned up to the neck with gold braid, and lace cuffs, is a compromise—not quite right for the seventeenth century, but not quite the "layered look" of the early eighteenth-century frock coat, either.¹⁸ Peter's handsome face, with its intelligent brow, distinctive Beckford nose, and haughty mouth, may be a flattering allusion to that of William Beckford, or perhaps West simply repeated here the physiognomic

18. There were costume handbooks West could have consulted for the "correct" male dress of the period from 1700 to 1735—for example, Thomas Jefferys, *Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations, Antient and Modern, Particularly Old English Dresses* . . . (London, 1757) II, pp. 226, 227.



7. West, Study for *Mrs. Peter Beckford*. Black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 11 × 9 in. Swarthmore, Pa., Swarthmore College, Friends Historical Library (photo: author)

8. West, *Hand in a Sleeve Holding Open Book*. Black chalk heightened with white on blue-gray paper, 5¹⁵/₁₆ × 8¹/₁₆ in. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1970.11:165 (photo: Pierpont Morgan Library)



9. West, Drapery study. Black chalk heightened with white on blue-gray paper, 15¹/₁₆ × 9³/₄ in. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1970.11:100 (photo: Pierpont Morgan Library)

type familiar from his previous portraits of the Drummond brothers, John Custance, or Arthur Middleton.¹⁹ The map of Jamaica becomes, in the final oil portrait, the most detailed and legible element of the composition; it is, after all, the symbol of Peter's legacy of land and riches in the West Indies.²⁰

19. West might have consulted miniatures, if Beckford had any in his possession. The close physiognomic resemblance between the portrait of Peter Beckford and West's patron is best demonstrated by comparing the former to Reynolds's portrait (1781) of William Beckford (Ellis Waterhouse, *Reynolds* [London, 1941] pl. 233). One of the distinctive traits of the Beckford family was a prominent nose—something West seems to have emphasized in the portraits.

20. Peter Beckford was described in a Jamaican history book published in 1740 as "The richest Subject in Europe," with "22 Plantations, and upwards of 1,200 slaves. His money in the banks and on mortgage is reckoned at a million and a half"

The marriage of Peter Beckford to Bathshua Her-
ing united new wealth with old, and a questionable
character with one utterly respectable. Mrs. Beckford
survived her husband for fifteen years, and died only
a decade before the birth of her grandson William in
England. West's oil portrait of Bathshua follows his
preparatory drawing quite closely, resolving indistinct
passages in the costume and chair: the thicket of lines
under the sitter's attenuated right arm has become a
treatise;²¹ the square-backed chair has been rounded
into a velvet-upholstered reading chair not unlike the
one used by West for his own self-portraits of the
1790s; the costume is that of a dowager—a veil is
worn over the crown of the head and cascades down
the shoulder, a mobcap conceals the subject's hair,
and the lappets are tied under her chin to fall in ruf-
fles over the fichu of her mid-century-style bodice.²²
The image on canvas appears older than the figure in
the drawing, perhaps because West lowered the
breast knot and expanded the fichu to create a more
matronly torso, and both the ruffles and the face ap-
pear broader. One might easily identify this portrait
as a study of Beckford's mother within a few years of
her death in 1798, and it may be that West had an
image of her in mind when he recreated the appear-
ance of Beckford's grandmother. That West made
careful studies from a model is suggested by two
drawings in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Figures 8,
9): *Hand in a Sleeve Holding Open Book* is a study for
Mrs. Peter Beckford's right hand, and the drapery
study, though not precisely copied in the painting, is
blocked off at the right and bordered beneath by the
arch of the chairback in accordance with the portrait;
in addition, the embroidered border and fringe of
the background drapery is of the same pattern and
texture as the Morgan drawing. With these two me-
ticulous studies, West resolved two areas that are par-

ticularly ambiguous in the full compositional drawing
at Swarthmore.²³

West's painting of his patron's "Aunt Effingham"—
as Beckford called her—appears to have been a
straightforward and less complicated endeavor.²⁴ The
costume dominates the portrait, since Elizabeth is
dressed in her coronation robes—the white satin
gown and ermine-trimmed red cape that she was en-
titled to wear after her marriage to the earl of Ef-
fingham in 1744. The earl's coronet is placed beside
the countess's right arm, on a draped pedestal. A
drawing in the British Museum has been identified by
Helmut von Erffa as a preparatory costume study for

23. The model for West's study of the hand might simply
have been his wife, who was said habitually to read in the parlor
while West was painting in his studio nearby (Leigh Hunt, *Auto-
biography* [Oxford, 1928] pp. 111–115).

24. Elizabeth Beckford was the ninth child of Peter and
Bathshua Beckford. She married first, in 1744, Thomas, second
earl of Effingham, who died in 1763. She married her second
husband, Field-Marshal Sir George Howard, in 1776.

10. West, Study for *Elizabeth, Countess of Effingham*. Black
chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 17 $\frac{3}{8}$ ×
11 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. London, British Museum (photo: British
Museum)



(quoted by Alexander 1962, p. 200, from Charles Leslie, *New History of Jamaica* [1740] p. 267). Peter's reputation as the "richest Subject in Europe" was maintained within his grandson's life by, for example, James Storer's account of 1812, "A Description of Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire" (Melville, app., pp. 355–366). For the financial affairs of the Beckfords, see Alexander 1962, chap. 16 and p. 289, n. 6.

21. The text of the book is not decipherable, but the presence of summary lines in the margin suggests that this is a biblical commentary or scholarly treatise.

22. The bodice is comparable to that of William Hogarth's *Miss Mary Edwards*, 1742 (Frick Collection, New York).

this portrait (Figure 10).²⁵ West's drawing may have been copied from an earlier portrait of the countess at Splendens, or modeled after one of the royal portraits the artist would have known well at Windsor.²⁶ In the painted version, he has eliminated the drapery at the upper left corner, and simplified the ermine cape. West may have been able to study the countess's actual gown and robes, and, had he been sufficiently acquainted with Beckford's aunt before her death in 1791, he could have painted her face from memory. West's representation of the countess of Effingham appears, however, to have less in common with the

25. Correspondence of June 27, 1958, and Aug. 17, 1961, from Von Erffa to William P. Campbell, Department of American Paintings, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. The paper and chalk used for the drawing appear to be of the very same type West used in the two Morgan Library drawings for the portrait of Mrs. Peter Beckford. The hand and coronet at the left side of the British Museum drawing may have been trimmed off the sheet; the section of clouds was originally sketched in with white chalk at the upper right corner. Pentimenti in the oil portrait indicate that West first painted the background drapery and sky according to the scheme of his drawing, and then reversed the arrangement—perhaps to balance the composition of the countess of Effingham with that of Beckford's mother.

reality of a woman recently deceased than with the pomp of court portraits a century earlier.

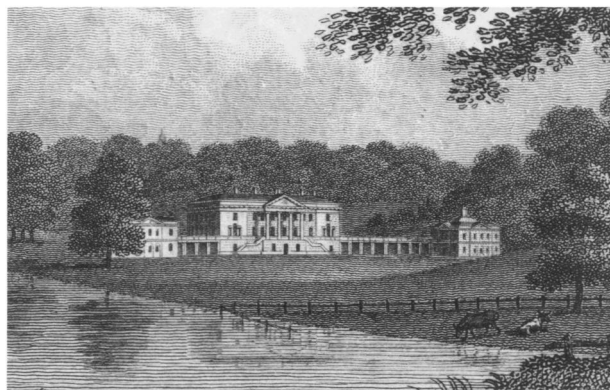
The portrait of Beckford's mother, both more original in composition and more finished in execution than West's other three Beckford portraits, provides the most information about its subject. That West considered a variety of poses for the figure is suggested by a sheet with two preliminary drawings in the Morgan Library.²⁷ The painting follows the composition of the more finished drawing (Figure 11), wherein Mrs. Beckford is seated in front of Splendens, a large book half-open on her lap, her

26. For example: Kneller's *Queen Mary II*, 1690, at Windsor; or Kneller's and Jervas's early 18th-century portraits of Queen Caroline; or Enoch Seeman's *Caroline of Ansbach*, ca. 1730, now at Kensington Palace (Oliver Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* [London, 1963] pls. 150, 180, cat. nos. 338, 511). West had painted a portrait of Queen Charlotte in 1779 (Buckingham Palace), using a similar pose with a table and crown.

27. On the verso of the sheet, West drew the seated figure with a variety of arm gestures indicative of arranging the bouquet of flowers formerly placed at the right side of the composition. See Ruth Kraemer, *Drawings by Benjamin West and His Son Raphael Lamar West* (New York, 1975) pp. 71–72.



11. West, *Seated Woman with a Musical Instrument*. Black chalk heightened with white, reinforced with pen and black ink, 10⁹/₁₆ × 8¹/₂ in. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1970.11:188 (photo: Pierpont Morgan Library)



12. James Storer after John Britton, *Fonthill*, detail. Engraving, from Britton, *Beauties of Wiltshire* (London, 1801) I. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

body flanked by a vase of flowers at the left and a gamba (or cello) at the right. The tentative configuration of chalk lines that suggest the mass of the sitter's form has been selectively reinforced with bold pen lines along the neck and jaw contours, the shoulders, forearms, and hands. The assertiveness of these lines, echoed in the neck of the musical instrument, is less bold in the final painting: here, the accessories of the setting provide an environment supportive to Mrs. Beckford. Various descriptions by Beckford's biographers as scheming, domineering, autocratic, protective, and retiring, Mrs. Beckford was a wealthy aristocrat whose primary concerns appear to have been the cultivation of the Fonthill grounds and the discipline of her wayward son. West presents her in a dress of mid-century style in a somber shade of dark blue, which is set off by the rich crimson tone of the drapery at the left and the upholstered sofa at the right. He may have taken her head from a miniature or from an earlier portrait by Casali; the modeled contours are not unlike the faces by William Hoare, who is supposed to have painted family portraits for Alderman Beckford.²⁸ The youthful facial features in the drawing, which represents the face at the same angle as that of the countess of Effingham, are rendered more mature, imperious, and even implacable in the oil portrait. Mrs. Beckford's expression tells the viewer little about this doting mother, whom her son treated with conciliatory deference and dubbed "The Begum" in his correspondence. The text of the tome she holds is not legible, but the fine, gilded morocco binding of the book is elegantly displayed against the gold of the oriental scarf draped across her knees. The musical instrument, originally painted as a gamba according to the preparatory drawing, has been painted over as a cetra, or English guitar, the profile of which effectively reiterates Mrs. Beckford's posture. The architectural panorama in the background can be identified from engravings as the facade of Splendens (Figure 12)²⁹: the "grand style" portico of the central body of the house is visible at the left, and one of the elliptical Doric colonnades connecting one of the two square symmetrical wings of the mansion extends horizontally toward the right. Rising in the central distance is a verdant knoll, its sides and summit "thickly mantled with lofty groves, of ancient growth and luxuriant foliage."³⁰ A flock of pheasants is included in this glimpse of the estate, where Beckford ardently cultivated wildfowl such as

partridges and swans, and was even reported to have kept a flock of tame hares.³¹

The portraits of both the countess of Effingham and Mrs. Beckford present flattering retrospective images of the ladies in their prime—as middle-aged matrons rather than as the septuagenarians they would have been in the 1790s. West's intention was probably to confer an ageless, timeless dignity upon these eminent persons, and perhaps also to recall for his patron the memories of his halcyon childhood. On the basis of costume and setting, the portraits would be datable to the period between 1765, by which time the building of Splendens had been completed, and 1770, when Beckford's father died. Mrs. Beckford's jewelry as well as her dress are of the style worn by the most fashionable women in the middle of the decade;³² the English guitar that West painted over the traditional gamba had just been introduced into aristocratic music rooms at mid-century.³³ By including Splendens as a backdrop, West celebrated the house that was not only Mrs. Beckford's marital home, but also Beckford's birthplace. The state robes worn by Beckford's aunt symbolize the social rank she acquired through her marriage to the second earl of

28. Alexander 1962 (p. 299, n. 1) says that William Hoare (ca. 1707–92) "painted B's godfather Chatham and did posthumous portraits of earlier Beckfords for the Alderman." One surviving portrait of William Beckford as a boy (ca. 1764–65, private collection) is attributed to Hoare (*ibid.*, frontispiece).

29. Alderman Beckford built this stately mansion on the site of the previous Fonthill House, which had burned down in 1755. Descriptive accounts and illustrations of Splendens include *Vitruvius Britannicus* (London, 1767) IV, pls. 82–87; W. Angus, *Seats of the Nobility and Gentry in Great Britain and Wales* . . . (Islington, 1787) pl. 50, which was presumably engraved after a drawing by the young J. M. W. Turner; and Britton, pl. facing p. 208 (Figure 12).

30. Britton, p. 210.

31. Anecdotes on the fauna of Fonthill are recounted in a letter of Oct. 28, 1817, from Lady Bessborough to Lord Granville Leveson-Gower, relating secondhand the experiences of Samuel Rogers on a visit he made to the estate. Quoted in John Oliver, *William Beckford* (London, 1932) p. 276.

32. Pearls similar to Mrs. Beckford's could be found on the most stylish throats and coiffures of the mid-1760s; for example, *Nelly O'Brien*, as portrayed by Reynolds in 1763 (Wallace Collection, London).

33. West had featured the popular English guitar in his portrait of Mary Hopkinson, ca. 1764–65 (Smithsonian, Washington, D.C.), and this instrument also figured prominently in court portraits such as Francis Cotes's *Princess Louisa and Queen Caroline Matilda of Denmark*, 1767 (H. M. The Queen, Buckingham Palace).

Effingham. Although the earl died in 1763, Elizabeth's status was sustained through her second marriage to Field-Marshal Sir George Howard, who later presented young Beckford at court. Although William Beckford pretended an indifference to royal favor,³⁴ he was undoubtedly much impressed by his aunt's standing with George III. These portraits reflect one of the obsessive themes in William Beckford's life—his fascination with family lineage coupled with his frustrated desire for acknowledgment of his heritage in a formal peerage.

Unlike the Prince Regent, for example, Beckford was not simply assembling an ancestral portrait gallery. From his early childhood, he had investigated his genealogy.³⁵ Perhaps because "his father's descent did not satisfy him," he studied his mother's pedigree, tracing the Abercorn and ducal branches of his maternal Hamilton forebears, and developing a "pride of race that nothing ever eradicated."³⁶ It was said that the very erection of the abbey was intended to commemorate the "ancient Family of Mervin, who possessed Fonthill for a long Series of Generations, and from whom Mr. Beckford is lineally descended."³⁷ Claiming descent from Edward III and from all the barons who signed the Magna Carta, he ordered Wyatt to design a splendid King Edward Gallery for his abbey, and generously emblazoned it with coats of arms of the Knights of the Garter. A statue of his father as Lord Mayor, holding a scroll of the Magna Carta in his left hand, was displayed in a position of honor.³⁸ His ambition for a title led to his having a patent made out in 1784 to provide him with a barony and the title of Lord Beckford of Fonthill. His plans were never approved, however, owing to the Powderham scandal, which ruined his aspirations for the peerage.³⁹ The condescension of the English gentry embittered Beckford and only sharpened his desire for a title: "As soon as he was *en rapport* with anyone with supposed Court influence, the demand was sure to arise."⁴⁰ Beckford developed an attitude of "consummate pride to people of higher stations,"⁴¹ and surrounded himself in the seclusion of his abbey hermitage with lineal emblemata and baronial opulence. His calculated ostentation took many forms—the liberal use of crimson (the Hamilton family color) in his domestic decor, prolonged and costly negotiations to marry his younger daughter to the duke of Hamilton, and commissions for stained-glass windows in the abbey to glorify various among Beck-

ford's historical forebears and selected patron saints.

West was the principal artist commissioned by Beckford to make designs for the Fonthill windows. He had had considerable experience preparing religious compositions and "sacred portraits" for stained-glass windows, the most important of his projects having been St. George's Chapel at Windsor.⁴² Although the windows executed by Francis Eginton were largely destroyed when the Scotch fir and stone casing of the Fonthill tower collapsed,⁴³ drawings and

34. "Royal praise," he wrote to Fanny Burney on Sept. 22, 1780, "is an ornament of which I am far from being ambitious" (Melville, p. 91). This was his view in 1780, but later, when he suffered moral condemnation and social exclusion even from the artists of the Royal Academy, his desire for noble rank and court recognition became acute.

35. His earliest heraldic studies may have been kindled by his father's ownership of Eaton Bray in Bedfordshire, a residence of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, from whom Mrs. Beckford could claim descent.

36. Melville, p. 20.

37. Angus, *Seats of the Nobility*, commentary adjacent to pl. 50.

38. The statue of Alderman Beckford was carved "after the life" by J. F. Moore, and was "esteemed a striking likeness" (Britton, pp. 219–220). Formerly set into a niche at the center of the great gallery in Splendens, the statue was the focal point of the great western hall of the abbey (illustrated in James Lees-Milne, *William Beckford* [London, 1976] p. 60).

39. For the fairest account of Beckford's homosexuality and his alleged pederasty with Lord William Courtenay, see Alexander 1962, chaps. 5 and 8.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 245.

41. Farington Diary, entry for June 4, 1794 (Greig, p. 51; Garlick and Macintyre, I, p. 196).

42. West probably received more commissions for religious paintings than any of his English contemporaries. As a result in part of Reynolds's famous windows for New College Chapel at Oxford (1777–81), West received commissions for window designs for St. George's Chapel at Windsor and for the church of St. Paul in Birmingham. The Birmingham design, dated 1786, is now at Smith College, Northampton, Mass. For the history of West's unfinished work for the Royal Chapel at Windsor, see Jerry D. Meyer, "Benjamin West's Chapel of Revealed Religion: A Study in Eighteenth Century Protestant Religious Art," *Art Bulletin* 57 (1975) pp. 247–265.

43. The tower of the abbey collapsed Dec. 21, 1825. Eginton, who is credited with reviving the manufacture of stained glass in England, received £1,000 in April 1799 for his windows executed from West's cartoons. Eginton also made windows at Fonthill from the designs of William Hamilton—saints and fathers of the Church such as St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustine. The window of St. Thomas à Becket, originally installed in the east transept of the abbey, survived the collapse of the tower and is now in the church of St. Mark's in Bristol (illustrated in Lees-Milne, *William Beckford*, p. 62).



some preparatory oil sketches and cartoons have survived to document West's contribution to the decorative glazing of the abbey. That West was proud of his designs is suggested by his having exhibited a number of them at the Royal Academy in 1797, 1798, and 1799.⁴⁴ Best known of the sketches are the studies for *St. Thomas à Becket* and *St. Michael Casteth Out the Dragon*, in the Toledo Museum of Art.⁴⁵ Over life-size cartoons for *St. Thomas à Becket* and for *St. Margaret*,

44. He exhibited *St. Michael Casteth Out the Dragon and His Angels* in 1797, no. 242; *St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland* in 1799, no. 136; *St. Thomas à Becket* in 1799, no. 170, probably the same as no. 267, exhibited in 1798. He also exhibited his designs for the *Conversion of St. Paul* at the Academy exhibitions of 1791 and 1801.

45. See Millard F. Rogers, Jr., "Benjamin West and the Caliph: Two Paintings for Fonthill Abbey," *Apollo* 83 (1966) pp. 420–425 (including a color reproduction of *St. Thomas à Becket*, pl. III), and Dillenberger, *Context*, figs. 74, 75.



Queen of Scotland (Figure 13) have been preserved in the Fulham Palace collection. Information concerning the latter subject has not come forth in past scholarship, but the *St. Margaret* merits some examination in connection with Beckford's genealogical approach to the decoration of his abbey.

Two drawings in the collection of Swarthmore College appear to have been early studies for the figure of St. Margaret. Executed in the same technique and materials as the two portrait studies of Peter and Bathshua Beckford, one sheet (Figure 14) is marked with a grid for transfer and is unmistakably related to the Fulham Palace cartoon (Figure 13). A smaller figure drawn in the upper right corner of the *St. Margaret* sheet may possibly be an early stage in West's design for *St. Thomas à Becket*. Although this subsidiary drawing (Figure 16) presents the saint in a shorter military dress with a sword in addition to ecclesiastical

miter, his pose and the placement of the light source reiterate those of West's other known designs for *St. Thomas à Becket*.⁴⁶ The other drawing from Swarthmore, identified here as a study for *St. Margaret* (Figure 15), is on different paper and is less clearly defined; the placement of the arms, with the hands holding the Bible and crown, closely resembles the pose in the cartoon, and the ecclesiastical mantle tucked up under the saint's right arm falls in similar folds. Yet this figure has the dignity of an abbess rather than a queen. West's painted "sacred portrait" for the stained-glass window suggests a compromise between the character of a maidenly queen and that of a pious reformer.

Beckford's reasons for honoring St. Margaret were,

46. For example, the drawing from a private collection illustrated in Rogers, "Benjamin West and the Caliph," fig. 1.



13. West, *St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland*. Oil on canvas, cartoon for a stained-glass window at Fonthill Abbey, exhibited Royal Academy, 1799, no. 136. London, Fulham Palace (photo: Courtauld Institute)

14. West, Studies for *St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland* and two male saints. Black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 12 × 9 in. Swarthmore, Pa., Swarthmore College, Friends Historical Library (photo: author)

15. West, Study for *St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland*. Brown chalk with crayon on buff paper, 10½ × 3½ in. Swarthmore, Pa., Swarthmore College, Friends Historical Library (photo: author)

16. West, Study for figure of a male saint, detail of Figure 14 (photo: author)



17. West, Study for *The Vision of St. Anthony of Padua*. Black crayon heightened with white chalk on brown paper, 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Swarthmore, Pa., Swarthmore College, Friends Historical Library (photo: author)

like the sentiments that attracted him to St. Thomas à Becket and St. Michael, probably personal and introspective.⁴⁷ Not commonly illustrated or well-known, St. Margaret of Scotland (about 1045–93) was the granddaughter of the English king Edmund Ironside; following the battle of Hastings, she fled to the court of Scotland, where in 1070 she married Malcolm III. Deeply religious, she engendered reform in ecclesiastical ritual and dedicated herself to benefactions and charity. She was canonized in 1250 by In-

nocent IV, and, in response to a request in 1693 from the deposed James II of Scotland, her feast day was established for June 10 by Innocent XII.⁴⁸ Beckford could trace the noble lineage in his maternal Hamilton ancestry back to the Plantagenet kings and from James I of Scotland. Beckford's wife, Margaret Gordon, could trace her descent from the earls of Lancaster, whose royal English and Scottish roots were the same. The name Margaret was given to Beckford's firstborn. Perhaps Beckford conceived a parallel between the exile of St. Margaret to the Scottish highlands and the apparent exile of himself and his bride Margaret to Switzerland after the Powderham scandal.⁴⁹ Certainly the figure of the pious and charitable Scottish queen in his Fonthill window symbolized the "high blood" and moral fiber of his maternal and marital heritage dating back to the saint's own century. This allusion would surely have pleased Beckford's son-in-law, the duke of Hamilton, who flattered himself the "true heir to the throne of Scotland."⁵⁰

William Beckford's selection of St. Anthony of Padua (1195–1231), native and patron saint of Lisbon, as his personal patron saint may also have been influenced by his fascination for genealogy—he claimed royal Portuguese ancestry through his maternal lineage. His veneration for St. Anthony as his special protector may reflect, too, Beckford's psychological sympathy with the legendary character of the aristocratic orator, miracle worker, and visionary.⁵¹ His interest was aroused in 1782, when he visited Padua and witnessed magnificent services honoring

47. See Rogers (*ibid.*, p. 422) and Meyer ("Religious Paintings," pp. 176–177) for parallels that Beckford might have seen in his life and Becket's, and for his identification with St. Michael, whose feast day, Sept. 29, was Beckford's birthday.

48. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross (London, 1974) p. 872.

49. Beckford's wife died in Switzerland in 1786, after giving birth to their second daughter.

50. The marquis of Douglas, later duke of Hamilton and husband of Susan Euphemia Beckford, was—like his father-in-law—obsessed with the study of his lineage. "He held it as an article of faith that as the descendant of the Regent Arran he was the true heir to the throne of Scotland" (Melville, p. 287).

51. The literature devoted to St. Anthony is second only to that on St. Francis of Assisi; see Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, ed. Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater (New York, 1956) II, p. 536. St. Anthony is shown with the Holy Child according to a legend which dates back at least to the 17th century and which claims that the saint was seen "gazing in rapture" upon the Christ Child.

the Franciscan saint on his feast day. By 1794, Beckford had informed Wyatt of his intention to build a new oratory at Fonthill to honor St. Anthony,⁵² and, early in 1797, Beckford proudly wrote to his cousin Sir William Hamilton in Naples about the imminent completion of a great chapel.⁵³ He intended the abbey itself to be a monument to the glory and inspiration of the saint.⁵⁴ Throughout his life, he treasured a statue of St. Anthony carved by Rossi, and he commissioned West to paint the *Vision of St. Anthony of Padua*. A sketch was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1799 (no. 546). Praised by a visitor to Fonthill as a picture having "the tone and expression of some of the best productions of the Venetian and Bolognese schools,"⁵⁵ the painting was probably the one installed in the abbey as the altarpiece to which Beckford is supposed to have made nocturnal devotional visits.⁵⁶

Although West's painting has apparently been lost, preparatory drawings for the *Vision of St. Anthony* have survived. A drawing in the Friends Historical Library (Figure 17) suggests that West conceived a traditional, Baroque composition for this subject, showing the saint in his Franciscan habit, kneeling before an altar with his arms raised in reverential astonishment at the apparition of the Christ Child. It is a more intense, theatrical scene than the standard representations of the saint holding the Christ Child, such as the images painted by Zurbarán;⁵⁷ the mystical subject is dramatized in the drawing by the effect of the stark black and brilliant white chalk against warm brown paper. West has imbued the composition with both energy and sobriety, and the painted version would undoubtedly have been a fitting complement to his *Pietà*, which is supposed to have hung with it in a room just west of the octagon in Fonthill Abbey.⁵⁸ One can well imagine the emotional power of such paintings, exhibited in conjunction with West's visions from Revelation, and illuminated in the great Gothic galleries "where lights were kept burning the whole night."⁵⁹ The artist William Hamilton, describing the effect of the building and its furnishings, said, "It fills the mind with a sentiment which is almost too much to support, certainly of too melancholy a cast to be long dwelt upon."⁶⁰

Beckford's household at Fonthill was, for all its magnificence and melancholy, not without humor or hospitality for the entertainment of rare visitors such as West. Among the drawings at Swarthmore College, there are informal sketches West made of the abbey

and of a singular member of Beckford's entourage. Customarily greeting visitors at the great sixty-foot west doors of the abbey was Pierre Colas de Grailly, a dwarf from Evian called Piero and referred to by Beckford in his correspondence as Nanibus, Pierrot, or Perro (Figure 18). Beckford had discovered him during his travels on the Continent and had become his defender and protector. The small but self-important servant, a sort of Giaour from *Vathek*, fond of finery and dressed in gold and embroidery,⁶¹ was described by Beckford as "of all dwarfs . . . the most honest, adroit and useful."⁶² Piero served his master faithfully for some forty years, both at Fonthill and at Lansdown House in Bath. Although he evidently took his responsibilities very seriously, he amused Beckford and provided a human foil for the colossal scale of the abbey.

On the verso of West's rendering of the dwarf is a spare drawing of the abbey from the northeast, the tower of the "holy Sepulchre" rising remote and

52. Letter of April 10, 1794, sent from Lisbon to Wyatt (Melville, p. 214).

53. In a letter to Hamilton dated Feb. 2, 1797, Beckford describes the chapel as being "66 ft. diameter and 72 high" (Morrison MSS., Hamilton and Nelson Papers, I, pp. 227–228, no. 292; published in Oliver, *William Beckford*, pp. 235–236).

54. Writing to his son-in-law Sept. 2, 1822, Beckford remarked that "The Saint who inspired me with the Abbey will also arm me with supernatural courage to do without it, and perhaps even to erect yet another monument to his glory" (Alexander 1957, p. 338).

55. Britton, p. 225.

56. Dyce's *Recollections of the Table Talk of Samuel Rogers* (New York, 1856) pp. 214–215, contains an account of Rogers's three-day visit to Fonthill in 1818. Rogers mentions a "picture of St. Antonio, to which it was said that Beckford would sometimes steal and pay his devotions."

57. A representative *St. Anthony of Padua* by Zurbarán is in the Kresge Art Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing.

58. This location is given in James Storer's account (Melville, app., p. 365).

59. See note 56 above.

60. Farington Diary, entry for Nov. 8, 1800, quoted in Alexander 1962, p. 167; Garlick and Macintyre, IV, p. 1452.

61. The dwarf is described in Lady Bessborough's letter of Oct. 28, 1817 (see note 31 above). The recto of the Swarthmore drawing is illustrated in Alexander 1962, facing p. 150, and a lithograph of the dwarf, shown striding past the abbey, is reproduced in Alexander 1957, p. 214, and in Lees-Milne, *William Beckford*, p. 71.

62. Quoted by Alexander 1957, p. 41. Even if Piero reminded Beckford physically of the Giaour in *Vathek*, his character was surely more salubrious.

brooding above the Wiltshire downs, not quite invading the swirling clouds above (Figure 19). The sketch records the same view of the tower as J. M. W. Turner's watercolor *View of Fonthill Abbey from a Stone Quarry* (Figure 20), at Brodick Castle.⁶³ Following a visit to the abbey, West remarked to Beckford's agent Nicholas Williams that the "elegant edifice" seemed "a place raised more by majick, or inspiration, than the labours of the human hand. . . ."⁶⁴ Seen at such a distance in West's drawing, the abbey suggests an architectural counterpart to its creator, called "the most isolated man of his day."⁶⁵ Ironically, it is not Beckford's vast stone monument that documents his social and genealogical ambitions, but his objects of vertu and private family pictures.

William Beckford let most of his West paintings go with Fonthill in the sale of 1822.⁶⁶ He did not, however, relinquish the most personal and private of these works; the formidable family portraits accompanied Beckford to Bath and were hung in one of the first rooms to be entered by visitors to Lansdown Tower.⁶⁷ Removed from the theatrical splendor of the abbey, West's portraits may provoke criticism akin to Horace Walpole's appraisal of early works in the artist's career—"All four hard and gaudy and little

63. This may be the view of the abbey that Turner exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1800 (John Rothenstein and Martin Butlin, *Turner* [New York, 1964] p. 90, no. 16b). Turner made a series of sketches at Fonthill during three weeks in 1799; Beckford commissioned seven watercolor landscapes of Fonthill for thirty-five guineas each. These and the drawings in Turner's sketchbooks provide the most vivid visual record of the abbey.

64. Letter of Jan. 5, 1801 (Melville, p. 238).

65. Alexander 1962, p. 168.

66. For a detailed account of the plans to auction the abbey through Christie's and the subsequent sale to Farquhar, see Alexander 1962, chap. 15.

67. Cyrus Redding, Beckford's earliest biographer, visited his subject in Bath, where he saw the portraits hanging in the "back room," which he described as "the first we entered" (*Memoirs of William Beckford of Fonthill, Author of Vathek* [London, 1859] p. 370).

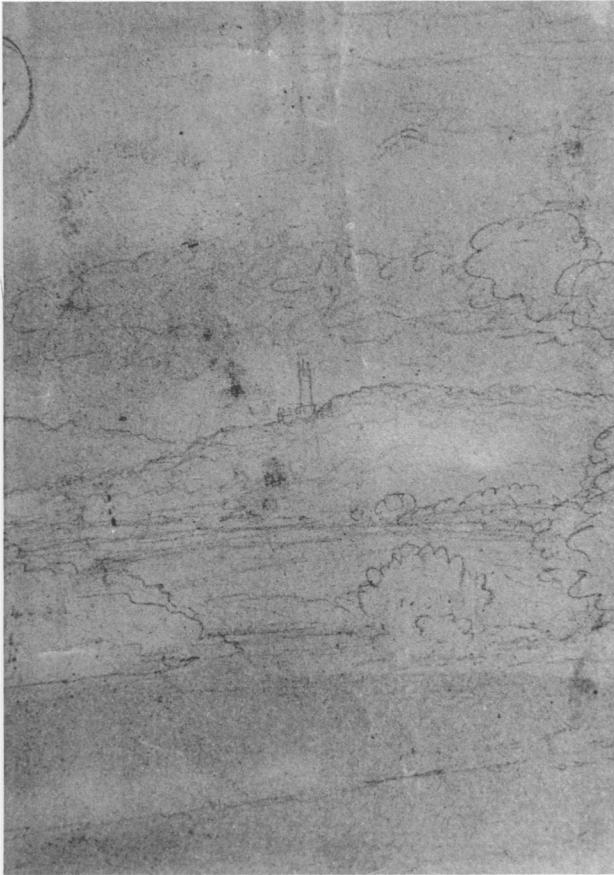
68. This was Walpole's impression of West's exhibited pictures in 1766 (quoted in William T. Whitley, *Artists and Their Friends in England 1700–1799* [London, 1928] II, p. 373).

69. Farington noted in his diary (entry for Nov. 1, 1797) that Beckford liked West's sketches but not his pictures, "and wishes him to make them as much like his sketches as he can" (Garlick and Macintyre, III, p. 912). West may have added the thinly sketched black lines over the surface of the portraits to achieve a sketchlike texture and more spontaneity in accordance with Beckford's preference.



18. West, *Beckford's Dwarf, Piero*. Black crayon on brown paper, 9 × 7⁹/₁₆ in. Swarthmore, Pa., Swarthmore College, Friends Historical Library (photo: author)

expression"⁶⁸—but to Beckford, technical perfection in these commemorative images would have been secondary to symbolic utility. The artist applied his brushstrokes according to his patron's aesthetic tastes,⁶⁹ and satisfied Beckford's propagandistic intentions with a substantial infusion of his own moral conviction. West's manipulation of art as a moral influence served Beckford well, for the artist projected in the ancestral portraits and even in the sacred images the genealogical rank, social dignity, and virtue to which Beckford himself aspired. If West's subjects lack the intimacy and immediacy of likenesses taken from life, they are heavily endowed with material details affirming their accomplishments and respectability. The images seem to echo West's exhortation that "Virtue is



19. West, *Northeast View of Fonthill Abbey*, detail, verso of Figure 18 (photo: author)

the road to Honours, and the basis on which every refinement has been raised.”⁷⁰ Yet Beckford retained his wry sense of humor even with regard to West’s didactic canvases, for, writing to his friend the Abbé Macquin just before the sale of the abbey, he revealed an unexpected aspect of the pictures’ decorative function: the flood of presale visitors to the abbey

70. Excerpt from a letter with an allegorical sketch, dated Dec. 24, 1814 (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore).

20. J. M. W. Turner (1775–1851), *View of Fonthill Abbey from a Stone Quarry*. Watercolor, 27 × 40½ in. Brodick Castle, Isle of Arran, National Trust for Scotland (photo: National Trust for Scotland, Edinburgh)



would doubtless like to pause, mused Beckford, behind the wainscoting below “West’s great dauberries,” since there (so concealed) were the household water closets. The proximity of his stern ancestors to his privy, which must have “delighted Beckford’s sense of the incongruous,”⁷¹ added an ingenious Beckfordian twist to the elegant propriety of West’s paintings.

71. Letter in French, from Bath, Aug. 7, 1822 (Alexander 1957, p. 336, n. 2).

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A Wax Miniature of Joseph Boruwlaski

PRISCILLA GRACE

DURING THE EIGHTEENTH century as in earlier times, dwarfs were treated very much as collectors' items, objects of luxury and ostentation acquired by the rich and royal houses of Europe. Like the court jesters, they contributed to the amusement of society, bringing a carnival spirit to their surroundings. In addition, there was increased scientific interest in dwarfs as a phenomenon of nature, and with giants, their opposite number, they were studied closely by physicians as well as scholars in an attempt to learn the reasons for their unusual size.

Two of the most famous dwarfs of the period were Count Boruwlaski (1739–1837)¹ and Nicolas Ferry (1741–64). They appear in contemporary works of reference, memoirs, and medical journals,² paintings of them were commissioned by well-known artists for interested patrons, and their portraits circulated in engravings.³ In France they aroused so much interest that casts were molded of their entire figures from

life, then not an unknown practice, as this was the time of the automaton, the traveling show, and the wax museum. Philippe Curtius (1737–94), for one, exhibited in his famous Cabinet, which opened in 1785 on the boulevard du Temple in Paris, life-size figures of the dwarf Ferry and a giant called Butterbrodt who weighed 476 lbs.⁴

In 1950 The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired an unusual wax profile of Joseph Boruwlaski (Figure 1).⁵ This polychrome portrait is mounted on a glass support on which is inscribed in the lower left corner: *S. Percy / 1798*. The inscription on the frame—*Count Borowleski, the Polish dwarf*.—identifies the sitter, whose own memoirs, published in three languages and as many editions in English, have left us an account of his life.⁶ In spite of its evident appeal, this Percy miniature has never been exhibited and until now has remained unknown and unpublished.

Although Samuel Percy was one of the leading wax

1. There are a number of variations on the spelling of Boruwlaski. I follow the one he used in his memoirs (see note 6 below).

2. See, e.g., Denis Diderot's *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (Neuchâtel, 1765) XI, pp. 7–8; Claude-Joseph Geoffroi, *Histoire de l'Académie royale des Sciences* (Paris, 1746) pp. 44–45; Louis-Elisabeth de La Vergne, comte de Tressan, "Mémoire sur un nain, envoyé à l'Académie des Sciences par M. le comte de Tressan, associé" (Paris, 1760), cited by Jean Avalon, see below: Sauveur-François Morand, "Sur les nains," *Histoire de l'Académie royale des Sciences* (Paris, 1764) pp. 62–71; Jean Avalon, "Nicolas Ferry dit 'Bébé,' nain du roi Stanislas Leczinski, duc de Lorraine," *Aesculape* 29 (1939) pp. 107–113.

3. Paul Richer, *L'Art et la médecine* (Paris, 1903) p. 205, refers to an engraving of Boruwlaski by Van Assen, and portraits of Ferry in the museums of Versailles and Nancy, as well as a statuette of Ferry in wax in the Ecole de Médecine in Paris.

4. Jean Adhémar, "Les Musées de cire en France, Curtius, le 'Banquet Royal,' les têtes coupées," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 92 (1978) pp. 203–214.

5. Part of the bequest of Glenn Tilley Morse (1870–1950), clergyman, author, and scholar of Newburyport, Mass. Morse had a large collection of silhouettes, numerous wax portraits, seals, and medallions, a number of which he bequeathed to the Museum. The Samuel Percy portrait was "purchased from Miss Hannah Falcke, London, July 1927," as revealed by the Morse papers now in the Print Department of the Museum, kindly made available to me by Janet Byrne.

6. *The Memoirs of the Celebrated Dwarf Joseph Boruwlaski, A Polish Gentleman; Containing a Faithful and Curious Account of His Birth, Education, Marriage, Travels and Voyages; Written by Himself*, translated from the French by Mr. [Jean Thomas Hérissant] des Carrières, and dedicated to the duchess of Devonshire (London, 1788). English and French editions were published simultaneously, and a German translation appeared in Leipzig in 1789. A second English edition was printed at Birmingham in 1792. The third and last edition, *Memoirs of Count Boruwlaski: Containing a Sketch of His Travels with an Account of His Reception at the Different Courts of Europe, &c. &c. Written by Himself*, was printed at Durham in 1820. See also *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1908) II, pp. 872–873.



1. Samuel Percy (1750–1820), *Count Joseph Boruwlaski*, 1798. Colored wax, $7\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$ in. (18.7 × 16.2 cm.) with frame, actual size. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Glenn Tilley Morse, 50.187.30

modelers of his day and a number of his portraits have survived, surprisingly little is known about his life. He was born in Dublin, trained at the Dublin Societies' Schools, and first exhibited there in 1772. About 1785 he went to London where he remained (except for an occasional trip back to Ireland) for the rest of his life, exhibiting from time to time at the Royal Academy between 1786 and 1804.⁷

The ancient art of wax portraiture had flourished for more than two thousand years. Its fascinating history encompasses funerary ritual, belief in votive offerings, and magic, a direct link with heathen antiquity. The basic urge to recreate important subjects with vivid naturalism culminated in the use of wax for life and death masks, which were often ceremoniously displayed to the public. During the sixteenth century, such established artists as Jean Fouquet, Jean Perréal, and François Clouet were commissioned to paint the wax effigies or masks of the deceased French kings.⁸ Also in the sixteenth century, portraits in relief, busts, and genre scenes became popular, particularly in Italy and Germany. Antoine Benoist, a Frenchman, was commissioned to visit England to model a colored portrait in wax of James II in 1684. Wax portraiture in England reached its height in the following century in the work of such artists as Samuel Percy and his contemporaries Isaac Gosset, James Tassie, T. R. Poole, and Peter Rouw.

Most examples of wax sculpture are hidden away in museum storage owing to their fragility and their often imperfect condition, and to a general disregard for this so-called minor art.⁹ The Victoria and Albert Museum and the Wallace Collection in London are two exceptions, as they both have permanent displays. Percy is especially well represented in the Victoria and Albert as well as in the queen's collection at Windsor.

His portraits included members of the royal houses of England (Figure 2), France, and Russia, besides a varied assortment of celebrities, living and dead statesmen and poets among them. A typical advertisement reads: "Mr. Percy is now in town and will take likenesses in colored wax at 1 guinea and a half"; and in *Saunders' Newsletter* of August 2, 1780, he announced: "Masks taken from the dead face on the shortest notice, and likenesses finished from them."¹⁰

The material and texture of wax allowed a lifelike appearance, and wax miniatures cost far less than those in oil or enamel. Percy's technique, when mak-



2. Percy, *Princess Charlotte, Daughter of the Prince Regent*, 1817. Colored wax. London, Collection E. J. Pyke (photo: courtesy E. J. Pyke)

ing these small sculptures, was to carve a portrait in hard wax from which he made a plaster of Paris mold. Then thin sheets of various pigmented waxes representing flesh, hair, and so on were pressed one at a time into the mold, which was subsequently filled with liquid wax. When this had solidified the mold was removed, leaving the colored portrait ready for

7. Rupert Gunnis, *A Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660-1851* (London, 1968) pp. 299-300. See also E. J. Pyke, *A Biographical Dictionary of Wax Modellers* (London, 1973) pp. 103-105.

8. Julius von Schlosser, "Geschichte der Porträtbildnerei in Wachs; Ein Versuch," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 29, pt. 3 (1911) pp. 171-258. I am indebted to Dr. Peter Cannon Brooks for sending me a copy of his translation of this important article.

9. In the last decade, however, there have been two international congresses on wax modeling: the first at the Museo Zoologico "La Specola" of Florence University in 1975, and the second in London at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1978.

10. Walter George Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists* (Dublin/London, 1913) II, pp. 227-228.



3. Thomas Rowlandson (1756–1827), *The Polish Dwarf Performing Before the Grand Seignior*, 1786. Etching. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, 56.567.10

hand-finishing. The costume was added by building up and carving rather than casting. Some of Percy's portraits had tiny glass eyes as well as jeweled accessories.¹¹ This procedure enabled the artist to make any number of copies, or if he wished, he could use the mold at the finishing stage as the basic model for different portraits, the individual's characteristics simply being added.

Percy was a very prolific artist. After modeling his 800th profile in 1786, he switched to full-face work in high relief.¹² It has been said that his portraits were not as successful as his genre scenes, which consisted of figures modeled in the round, arranged in a landscape or interior done in the manner of Gaetano Zumbo.¹³ In the Boruwlaski portrait, however, the little man's character and alertness are conveyed with great sensitivity and skill, which shows that upon occasion Percy was able to catch the very essence of a sitter.

Joseph Boruwlaski (he had no legal right to the title of count) was born in 1739 in Chaliez, in Polish Russia, of genteel but impoverished parents. Joseph was the second of six children, three of whom were exceptionally short, while the others were above average size—one brother reached the height of 6 feet 4 inches. As was not unusual in those days, his parents, who were unable to provide for Joseph properly, entrusted him to the care of a widow, Lady de Caroliz.

When she remarried she passed him on to the Countess Humieska, a well-connected lady with the entrée to many of the great houses of Europe. According to Boruwlaski's memoirs, he was fifteen years old when he joined the countess's establishment at Rychty, her estate in Podovia.¹⁴ At this time he was 2 feet high and affectionately known to his intimates as Joujou. Endowed with natural intelligence, a regularly proportioned body (highly unusual in a dwarf), good looks, and excellent manners, this no doubt thoroughly delightful, diminutive young man was a good companion and a welcome addition to the countess's entourage. His new life gave Boruwlaski the opportunity to travel and also to acquire a basic education. As a result of learning the fundamentals of mathematics and history, as well as of speaking German and French, he became something of a scholar; on the lighter side he was "an excellent wit and humorist," thus able to entertain and amuse the countess and her friends.¹⁵

The description of their travels offers diverting reading. The first trip Boruwlaski records was at the invitation of a neighboring pasha of Hocim, a Turkish city near Rychty. Never oblivious to the charms of the opposite sex, he found the sight of a seraglio most entertaining, describing the ladies and observing that some were natives of Circassia, well-known for its

11. G. Bernard Hughes, "Wax Portraits by Samuel Percy," *Country Life* 117 (1955) pp. 1255 and 1257; idem, "Portraits Modelled in Wax," *Country Life* 131 (1962) pp. 658–659. For an excellent guide to the techniques of wax sculpture and problems of preservation, see Vernon J. Murrell, "Some Aspects of the Conservation of Wax Models," *Studies in Conservation* 16 (1971) pp. 95–109.

12. Hughes, "Portraits Modelled in Wax," p. 659. A number of Percy's works were auctioned by Christie's at two sales, the first in 1800 when more than 63 were sold, the second in 1857 at Alton Towers, family seat of the earls of Shrewsbury, where over 100 were sold. The 15th earl had been a particular patron of Percy's. See Hughes, "Wax Portraits," p. 1257 and Gunnis, *Dictionary*, p. 300.

13. E. G. Elwyn, "Samuel Percy's Rustic Scenes in Wax," *Connoisseur* 90 (1934) pp. 320–324. See also Henry Staples Marlowe, "Pictorial Panels in Wax," *Antiquarian* 10 (1928) pp. 37–42.

14. Probably Podolia, a province of southern Russia between Bessarabia and Volhynia. Podolia was annexed to Poland until 1793, when it was taken by Russia.

15. In Vienna he was taught dancing by Mr. Angelini, ballet master to the court, and later at Versailles learned from the celebrated Gaviniès to play the guitar, an invaluable asset for his future livelihood (Boruwlaski, *Memoirs* [1788]).

beauties. He must have recounted this incident to Thomas Rowlandson, inspiring an illustration done at a much later date when Boruwlaski had settled in England (Figure 3).¹⁶

Visits with the countess to the Austrian and German courts followed, and in 1755–56 he accompanied her to Lunéville, near Nancy in Lorraine, where Stanislas Leszczynski, former king of Poland, had his court. Stanislas, to whom the countess was related, was then an old man of about eighty years and after a turbulent career was content to devote the rest of his life to science and philanthropy. His court dwarf was the celebrated Nicolas Ferry, born in 1741 and nicknamed Bébé, whose deformity had been published by Geoffroi, the French chemist, in 1746.¹⁷ Bébé was one of three dwarf children born to peasant parents in the Vosges. At birth he was 9 inches long and weighed about 12 ounces. A sabot was his cradle. He had a “perfectly proportioned shape, and most pleasing features” (Figure 4) but, unlike Boruwlaski,

he was dull-witted and given to uncontrollable bursts of passion and temper.

On the arrival of the countess, it was inevitable that the two dwarfs should meet. Their contrasting personalities led to an alarming episode, which sets Boruwlaski’s wit and resourcefulness in relief. The king took a natural liking to Boruwlaski, whose intelligent conversation impressed him. So one day he said, not very kindly, to his dwarf Ferry, “Voyez Bébé, quelle différence il y a entre vous et Joujou; il est aimable, gai, amusant et instruit, tandis que vous, vous n’êtes qu’une petite machine.” This threw Bébé into a jealous rage. A few minutes later when the king left the room, he furtively approached his rival, grabbed him round the waist, and tried to throw him into the fire.

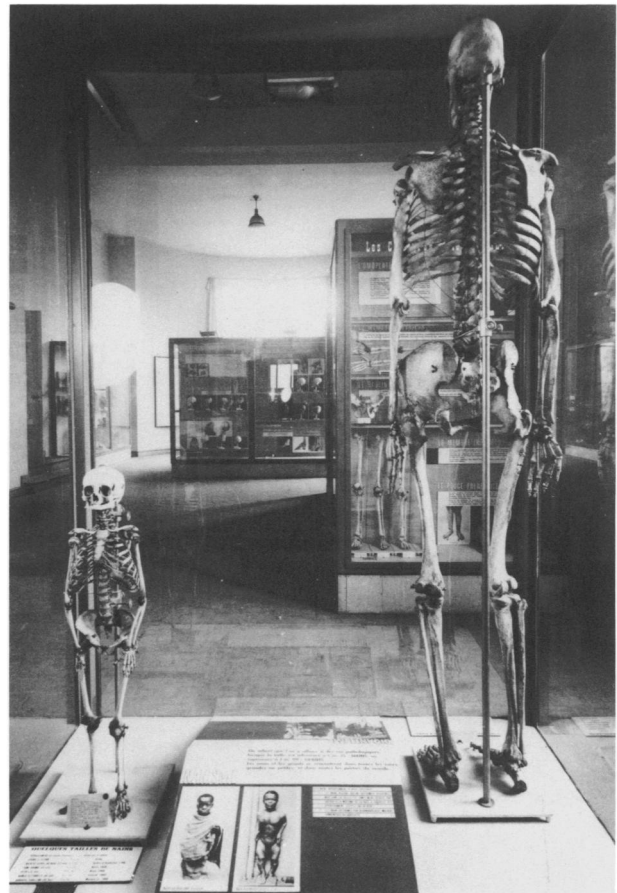
16. Joseph Grego, *Rowlandson the Caricaturist* (London, 1880) 1, pp. 186–187, ill. p. 187.

17. Geoffroi, *Histoire de l’Académie royale des Sciences*, pp. 44–45.

4. The figure of “Bébé,” Nicolas Ferry (1741–64). Colored wax in contemporary dress, H. 31½ in. (about 80 cm.). Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum (photo: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum)



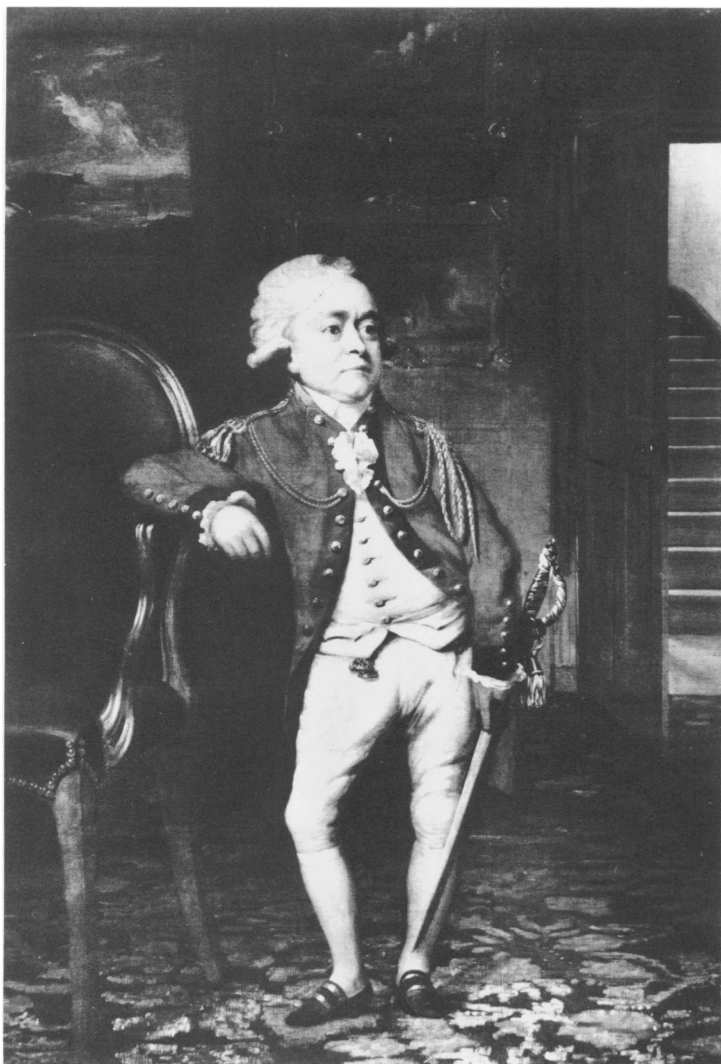
5. The skeleton of Nicolas Ferry beside that of a giant. Paris, Musée de l’Homme (photo: Musée de l’Homme)



Fortunately, Joseph was strong and fought back. At the sound of the scuffle, the king returned and seeing what had happened, separated the two combatants. He then called his servants, put Bébé in their hands, and bade them inflict a corporal punishment relative to his offense. Boruwlaski interceded and the king finally agreed to revoke the punishment but demanded that Bébé apologize in their presence. This humiliating experience no doubt made a lasting impression on the poor spoiled Bébé, for with his limited intelligence he was virtually incapable of controlling his feelings. In effect he fell sick and did not long outlive this event. When he died at the age of twenty-three, it was with the physical appearance of an old man.

About the time of this disastrous meeting the comte de Tressan, formerly in the armies of Louis

6. Philip Reinagle, R.A. (1749–1833), *Joseph Boruwlaski*, ca. 1785. Oil on canvas, 53 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 42 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (136 × 108 cm.). London, Royal College of Surgeons (photo: Royal College of Surgeons)



XV, was called to the court at Lunéville by King Stanislas and given the title of Grand-Maréchal. De Tressan was a scholar best known for adapting and publishing a unique collection of medieval romances which he discovered in the Vatican Library. He had a strong influence on literary and artistic taste in Lorraine and was instrumental in the establishment of an academy of science that King Stanislas founded at Nancy. His position at court gave him the opportunity of knowing and observing Bébé and he wrote a report which he addressed in 1760 to the Academy of Sciences in Paris,¹⁸ fourteen years after Geoffroi's paper. Four years later, a Dr. Sauveur Morand, who had attended Countess Humieska in Paris and had had an opportunity of studying Boruwlaski, wrote in conjunction with de Tressan's report on Bébé a comparison of the two, which he addressed to the Academy. The report was accompanied by a life-size statue of Ferry in wax that had been molded on his person by a surgeon Jeanet of Lunéville.¹⁹ Scientific interest in the anatomy and appearance of these famous dwarfs led to Bébé's skeleton being preserved after his death; it is today in the Musée de l'Homme, Paris (Figure 5).

In 1759 the countess and Boruwlaski, now aged twenty, continued their travels to Munich, where he was painted in a life-size portrait by Georg Desmarées.²⁰ From Munich they went to France. In an article dating from 1760 published in Diderot's *Encyclopédie* of 1765, the dwarf was described as measuring 28 *pouces* or inches. The countess and her entourage stayed in France a year, long enough to meet the royal family at Versailles, as well as Voltaire and the Abbé Raynal in Paris. Bouret, a *fermier général* famous for his great fortune and extravagances, gave Boruwlaski a dinner at which the guests dined on tiny game birds served on miniature platters. Everything at the party, including the porcelain and plate, was reduced in scale.

With the exception of a few incidental episodes before 1764, literally nothing is recorded in Boruwlaski's memoirs for the next twenty years. When the account resumes in 1780, Boruwlaski describes himself as forty-one years old, 10 inches taller and living in Poland. He fell in love with Isalina Barboutan, a young

18. Avalon, "Nicolas Ferry," p. 108.

19. Ibid., p. 109. Among the waxes in storage in the museum at Kassel, there is a figure that appears to me identical with the one in Brunswick (Figure 4).

“girl of beauty and merit” who had been taken into the household of the countess as a companion or lady-in-waiting. Her parents were French, long settled in Warsaw. Efforts were made to break up the romance and the countess demanded that Boruwlaski renounce his passion or leave her household immediately. Choosing the latter course, he married Isalina Barboutan in 1779 and was banished by the countess after twenty-five years of constant attendance.

In spite of the countess’s disapproval, Boruwlaski appealed to King Stanislas II of Poland, who sanctioned the marriage and granted the couple an annuity of 100 ducats.²¹ This was not enough to live on so Boruwlaski decided to support himself by giving concerts to friends and patrons in the houses where he had been so welcome before. To start him in his new life the king “ordered the master of the horse to supply [him] with a convenient coach” and provided letters of recommendation. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, he traveled all over Europe from Lapland to Damascus; his memoirs state that he left Warsaw for Cracow, and arrived in Vienna in 1781. There he resumed acquaintance with his former friends. One evening in the town house where Emperor Joseph II frequently held court, Boruwlaski met the British ambassador Sir Robert Murry Keith. He was promised letters of recommendation to the greatest personages at the British court and was persuaded to travel to England, where he arrived in 1782. Through his introductions, Boruwlaski became acquainted with the duke and duchess of Devonshire and other members of society, and was able to support himself by playing the violin and guitar. The duke of Marlborough even added his shoes to the cabinet of curiosities at Blenheim. In 1782 Boruwlaski met King George III and the royal family, and came under their patronage. Starting in Soho in 1783, his concerts took place all over the British Isles, where he was to spend the rest of his life except for a brief trip to France in 1790.

Boruwlaski was undoubtedly well known and sought after when he first arrived in his country of adoption. John Hunter (1728–93), the illustrious physiologist, surgeon, and anatomist, had the dwarf’s portrait painted by Philip Reinagle (Figure 6) for his anatomical museum. This was a mixed collection that included plants, fossils, paintings, drawings, abnormalities, and racial specimens, showing the variety of the surgeon’s scientific interests. It was designed “to illus-

trate the entire phenomena of life in all organisms, in health and disease,”²² and its most expensive specimen was a skeleton of O’Brien the Irish Giant, 7 feet 7 inches tall. The collection was acquired in 1800 by the Royal College of Surgeons, London—yet another example of the contemporary interest in rare physiognomies.²³

But adverse times set in for Boruwlaski. “His servant had eloped with trinkets and valuables to a large amount”²⁴ and the king of Poland cancelled his annuity under the misapprehension that he was making a fortune in Britain. His present way of life was inadequate to support him, so along with giving concerts he adopted “the resolution of exhibiting himself” for one guinea, then for five shillings, and afterwards for half-a-crown. A typical notice in an Edinburgh paper went as follows:

Dun’s Hotel, St. Andrew’s Square. On Saturday next, the 1st of August (1788), at twelve o’clock, there will be a public breakfast, for the benefit of Count Boruwlaski; in the course of which the Count will perform some select pieces on the guitar. Tickets (at 3s.6d each) may be had at the hotel, or at the Count’s lodging, No. 4 St. Andrew’s Street, where he continues to receive company every day from ten in the morning till three, and from five till nine.²⁵

When Samuel Percy modeled the Metropolitan Museum’s wax in 1798, he was faced with a task very different from the usual one in order to suggest the dwarf’s tiny stature (Figure 1). Boruwlaski, now fifty-eight years old, is dressed in a high-collared red coat and white waistcoat with gold buttons, the suggestion

20. Carl Hernmarck, *Georg Desmarées: Studien über die Rokomalerie in Schweden und Deutschland* (Uppsala, 1933) pp. 101–102, pl. 14, cat. no. 6, p. 181, inscribed on the portrait: “... peint a Munic dans la grandeur naturelle a l’age de 22 ans le 8 Novembre 1759.” The year does not jibe with Boruwlaski’s birth date. This portrait is said to be in Schloss Ansbach, Triesdorf, SW Germany.

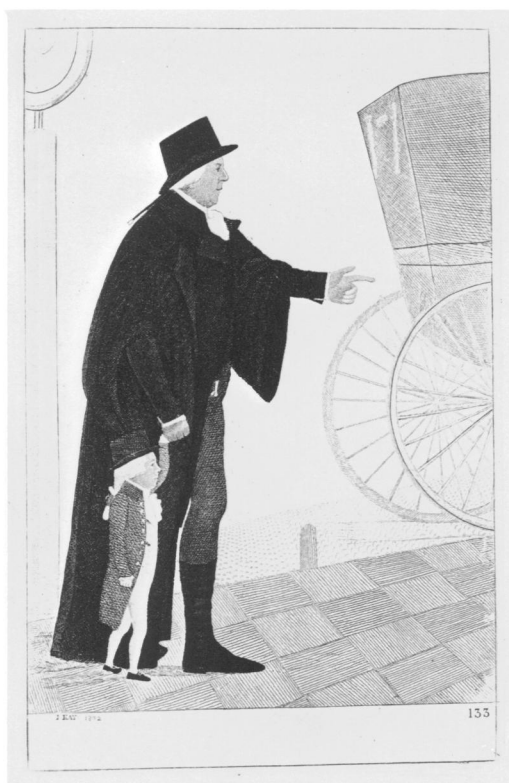
21. A daughter was born in Cracow in 1780. As the parents were unable to care for her, she was left with the margrave of Anspach. Other children of normal size were later born of this marriage, but what became of them is unrecorded.

22. *Dictionary of National Biography*, X, p. 292.

23. William Le Fanu, *A Catalogue of the Portraits, Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture in the Royal College of Surgeons of England* (London, 1960) cat. no. 248, p. 83, fig. 248.

24. John Kay, *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings* (Edinburgh, 1878) I, pt. II, p. 329.

25. *Ibid.*



7. John Kay (1742–1862), *Fergusson and Boruwlaski*, 1802. Etching, no. 133 in Kay's *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings* (Edinburgh, 1878) I, part II. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Prints and Photographs, Bequest of Glenn Tilley Morse, 50.602.1435(2)

of a pristine white cravat and ruffled shirt underlining his concern for his appearance. His face in left profile is pale, his wig is silvered white and has slipped far back on his head, which appears to be bald. These details are to Percy's credit, showing his effort to create an accurate, detailed portrait that does not flatter. The use of empty space surrounding the sitter successfully demonstrates his unusual size. The dwarf appears at the bottom of the oval frame, which is swathed along the right and lower edge by a dark green curtain.²⁶ Percy frequently used this device in his portraits (see Figure 2), not only to hide the truncation of the figure but also to give a theatrical emphasis. In this case Boruwlaski might be sitting in an opera box and observing the scene.

At the close of the eighteenth century the prebendaries of Durham Cathedral offered Boruwlaski a house for the rest of his life and he retired peacefully

to Banks Cottage on the river Wear. About this time he became friends with a Mr. Neil Fergusson, described as "a gentleman in considerable practice as a lawyer"²⁷ and the tallest man in Edinburgh. Fergusson is shown in a print by John Kay of 1802 (Figure 7) "returning to his carriage, in company with the little Polish count, from the Parliament House, where he had been showing him the court of Session, the Advocates' Library, and other objects of interest." Boruwlaski was jokingly known about Edinburgh as "Barrel of Whisky."²⁸

The last thirty years of his life are unrecorded, and his memoirs end in 1791 with no mention of what had become of his wife and children. A full cast (presumably of plaster or wax) of Boruwlaski was taken by Joseph Bonomi shortly before his death in 1837 at the extraordinary age of ninety-eight,²⁹ and he is buried in the chapel of the Nine Altars of Durham Cathedral.³⁰

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank James David Draper, associate curator of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, for suggesting I write about the wax miniature of Joseph Boruwlaski, and for his encouragement and support. I also wish to thank Dr. Johanna Lessmann, of the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick, for her introduction to Nicolas Ferry generously accompanied by a bibliography, which helped enormously in my research.

26. The draperies in Percy's portraits being so fragile are often broken. In this case the curtain has been partially repaired on the lower right and parts are missing. In May 1981 the portrait was disassembled by Richard Stone, Objects Conservation Department, for cleaning prior to new photography. At that time fragments of newspaper dated 1865 were found to have been used as backing during an earlier restoration. Mr. Stone repositioned the fourth gilt button of Boruwlaski's waistcoat, which had slipped out of place, provided a new cover glass, and replaced the paper behind the glass support on which the wax is mounted. The appearance of the original background is not known.

27. Kay, *Original Portraits*, I, pt. II, p. 326.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 330.

29. Obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (Oct. 1837) pp. 435–436: "Mr. Bonomi, the architect, recently took a full cast of him." As the famous neoclassical architect Joseph Bonomi died in 1808, this must have been his son, a sculptor of the same name (1796–1878).

30. James Wall, *Durham Cathedral* (London, 1930). The name derives from nine altars which stood against the east wall, in front of each of the lancet windows.

NOTES

A Set of Knife, Fork, and Spoon with Coral Handles

YVONNE HACKENBROCH

*Curator Emerita, Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

THE EXHIBITION "The Splendor of Dresden" included a set of knife, fork, and spoon with large coral-branch handles; the lower ends of the blade and prongs are enriched with a design in damascened gold and the ferrules are set with turquoises (Figure



1. Knife, fork, and spoon with coral handles, ca. 1579.
L. 31, 27.5, 24.5 cm. Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe, inv.
no. III 174d-f (photo: Deutsche Fotothek Dresden)

1). There is no indication in the catalogue of the fact that this set is only one, representative example of the largest-known collection of coral-handled cutlery, which was purchased by Elector Augustus of Saxony (1553–86) about 1579.¹ Admittedly, such sets must be rather uncomfortable to use, but practical considerations were unlikely to deter a passionate collector bent upon assembling rarities of nature, to be complemented with highly original and often precious settings. This attitude was typical of the founders of *Kunstkammern*—the Wittelsbachs in Munich and Landshut, the Hapsburgs in Ambras and Prague, and the Wettins in Dresden. A network of agents in foreign countries, usually in diplomatic or military service, assisted them in proposing purchases ranging from excavation pieces to precious stones from the New World; they conducted complicated negotiations in several languages and conveyed confidential papers and valuable acquisitions by diplomatic pouch.

The first of these collectors was Albrecht V of Wittelsbach, duke of Bavaria (1550–79), whose wife, Anna, was a Hapsburg. In 1568, a certain Prunmeyer from Marseilles offered him carved and uncarved corals, including knives, spoons, and a shaving set in its case, all decorated with damascene work.² We learn more about the duke's purchases of coral from 1572 onward, after Adrian von Sittinghausen, commander of the Austrian army of occupation in the republic of Genoa, who acted as the Hapsburg agent,

1. *The Splendor of Dresden: Five Centuries of Art Collecting*, exh. cat. (Washington/New York/San Francisco, 1978–79) no. 248; Jean Louis Sponsel, *Das Grüne Gewölbe: III. Kleinodien der Goldschmiedekunst* (Leipzig, 1929) p. 78.

2. J. Stockbauer, *Die Kunstbestrebungen am bayerischen Hofe* (Vienna, 1874) p. 110.

introduced the Genoese coral carver and dealer, Battista de Negrone Viale.³ Most of the coral in the Munich Schatzkammer seems to have also been acquired from him. Among the carved corals were a *Laocoön*, a *Triumph of Neptune*, and an *Adam and Eve* beneath the fruiting tree. Coral branches, or *Korallenzincken*, of the kind used for knife handles are repeatedly mentioned. From one of the last offers, a large selection of corals, received on May 2, 1578, near the end of his reign, Albrecht V merely acquired a chessboard, passing up a set of Turkish table knives, spoons, and forks all with coral ("Item ein Messerbesteck mit türkischen Messern, Löffeln und Peronen von lauter Corallen"). The duke considered the price too high; moreover, on October 8 of the same year he stated that as he already owned too many pieces of this kind, he was unable to find room for them and buy them ("habe er des Dings hiervon so viel, dass er schier nicht weiss, wohin er alles setzen soll. Er will es also nicht kaufen"). As an alternative, he suggested that Viale, represented by Battista Semino, approach the elector of Saxony, whose taste in collecting was known to be similar ("Jedenfalls aber wäre es besser, wenn der Korallenmann seine Waare dem Churfürsten von Sachsen anböte, welcher zu dergleichen Dingen auch Lust hat").⁴

These, then, are the circumstances surrounding the purchase of some or most of the coral-handled sets in the Dresden collections. But we still do not know where they were made. The trade in Sicilian coral went via Genoa, where it was polished, carved, or mounted for export.⁵ In this cosmopolitan port and city-state, artists and dealers knew how to cater to international taste and demand. They had traded in Sicilian coral since medieval times, especially in coral charms for children, thought to guarantee good health, stimulate the growth of first teeth, and protect against the evil eye.⁶ When in 1449 Petrus Christus painted the patron saint of goldsmiths, St. Eligius, in his workshop, he included a branch of coral.⁷

After the middle of the sixteenth century, Genoese coral dealers must have become aware of the anti-classical trends in German Mannerist art. Few natural shapes could manifest the dissolution of Renaissance form more strikingly than coral branches in the hands of an imaginative goldsmith. In Nuremberg, goldsmiths used coral for the antlers of silver or silver-gilt stag-shaped drinking vessels. An example by Andrea Rosa was included in the Dresden exhibi-

tion.⁸ Another, by Jeremias Ritter, took the shape of the unfortunate hunter Actaeon; his transformation is highlighted by the large coral antlers above his stag's head.⁹ Abraham Jamnitzer resorted to a similar device in his superb figure of Daphne, also in Dresden.¹⁰ Her metamorphosis into a laurel tree is dramatized by the large coral branch growing from her head, and by smaller branches that replace her already transformed hands. These figures, however, with their original use of *Korallenzincken*, shed no light upon the origins of the coral-handled table sets with damascene work.

The Genoese dealers who sent appropriate selections for sale to Germany may have secured the cooperation of Spanish artists conversant with the technique of damascening as practiced by the Moors in Spain, from whom the Christian conquerors had learned it. These sought-after Spanish specialists traveled widely: some settled in Spanish-occupied Antwerp, others might well have been attracted to the Genoese export trade.¹¹ The mention of "türkischen Messern" by the Bavarian documents, perhaps meaning damascened or Turkish ware, is more probably a reference to the turquoise stones set in the ferrules. Turquoises were imported from India and Turkey where they were used in combination with coral beads or cabochons, never with branches of coral. Moreover, the metal parts of the sets follow European shapes, as do the salts that were occasionally made to match.¹² Lastly, the fact that such sets are repeatedly mentioned among the Italian wares offered in Munich supports our belief that they were indeed made in Genoa for export to Germany.

3. Ibid., pp. 111–114; Berndt Ph. Baader, *Der bayerische Renaissancehof Herzog Wilhelm V (1568–1579)* (Leipzig/Strasbourg, 1943) pp. 101, 249–250, 300.

4. Stockbauer, *Die Kunstbestrebungen*, p. 113.

5. *Storia di Genova dalle origini al tempo nostro* (Milan, 1941).

6. E. Hoffman-Krayer, ed., *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Berlin/Leipzig, 1927–38) V, p. 239, *Koralle*; L. Hansmann and L. Kriss Rettenbeck, *Amulett und Talisman* (Munich, 1966).

7. New York, MMA, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975.1.110.

8. *Splendor of Dresden*, no. 266, ill.

9. Ibid., no. 263, ill.

10. Sponsel, *Das Grüne Gewölbe: II. Gefässe, Figuren und Uhren*, (Leipzig, 1928) p. 218, pl. 34.

11. Claude Blair, "A Royal Swordsmith and Damascener: Diego de Çaias," *MMJ* 3 (1970) pp. 149–198.

12. *Splendor of Dresden*, no. 249.

The Great Pendant with the Arms of Saxony

HELMUT NICKEL

Curator of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

A MAGNIFICENT ARMORIAL jewel from the Green Vaults was widely reproduced at the time of the exhibition "The Splendor of Dresden," appearing as a kind of leitmotif on posters and on the cover of the folder accompanying the exhibit. This gold and richly enameled pendant is almost the size of a hand and is lavishly set with more than a hundred diamonds, rubies, and emeralds (Figure 1). Aside, however, from the preciousness of its materials and the perfection of its workmanship, the special interest of the pendant lies in the ingenious treatment of the complex heraldic motifs in its design.

Arranged around an oval central medallion is an intricately wrought frame of openwork scrolls with jewel settings into which heraldic elements are integrated in such a way as to give the impression of an armorial shield with multiple quarterings, surmounted by three helmets with crests and mantlings. All the heraldic elements—with a single exception—can be found in the full electoral arms of Saxony during the second and third decades of the seventeenth century (Figures 2, 3).

The quarterings of the arms of the electors of Saxony at that time were: 1. Azure, a lion barry of argent and gules,² crowned or, for the landgravate of Thuringia; 2. Barry of ten, sable and or, with a *Rautenkranz* (wreath of rue) vert in bend over all, for the duchy of Saxony;³ 3. Or, a lion sable, for the margravate of Meissen; 4. Or, a lion sable, for the duchy of Jülich; 5. Gules, an escarbuncle or, overlaid with an escutcheon argent, for the duchy of Cleves; 6. Argent, a lion gules with a double-forked tail, for the duchy of Berg; 7. Azure, an eagle or, for the palatinate of Saxony; Inescutcheon: Per fess sable and argent, two swords gules in saltire over all, for the archmarshalship of the Holy Roman Empire; 8. Sable, an eagle or, for the palatinate of Thuringia; 9. Or, semé

with hearts gules, a lion sable, crowned gules, for the county of Orlamünde; 10. Or, two pales azure, for the county of Landsberg; 11. Azure, a lion per fess or and argent, for Pleissnerland; 12. Argent, a rose gules, for the county of Altenburg; 13. Divided per pale: (1) gules, a halved eagle argent; (2) barry of eight, argent and gules, for the burggravate of Magdeburg; 14. Argent, three *Seeblätter* (waterlily leaves) gules, for the county of Brehna; 15. Or, a fess chequy gules and argent, for the county of Marck; 16. Argent, three bars azure, for the county of Eisenberg; 17. Argent, three chevrons gules, for the county of Ravensberg; 18. Or, a hen sable on a mount vert, for the principality of Henneberg; 19. Plain gules, for the *Regalienschild*, a symbol of sovereignty in the Holy Roman Empire.

1. Grünes Gewölbe, inv. no. VIII, 271; Joachim Menzhausen, *Das Grüne Gewölbe*, Eng. ed. *The Green Vaults* (Leipzig, 1970) p. 89, pl. 66; *The Splendor of Dresden: Five Centuries of Art Collecting*, exh. cat. (Washington/New York/San Francisco, 1978–79) cat. no. 300, col. pl. p. 43. This pendant has been tentatively attributed (by Ulli Arnold, *Schmuckanhänger*, Schriftenreihe der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden [Dresden, 1965] cat. no. 31, fig. 33) to the Dresden goldsmith Gabriel Gipfel (active 1591–1617), but recently Joachim Menzhausen, director of the Grünes Gewölbe, has suggested—in private communication—that he is inclined to accept a South German origin for this piece.

2. The lion of Thuringia is normally barry of six, but the number of divisions can vary considerably.

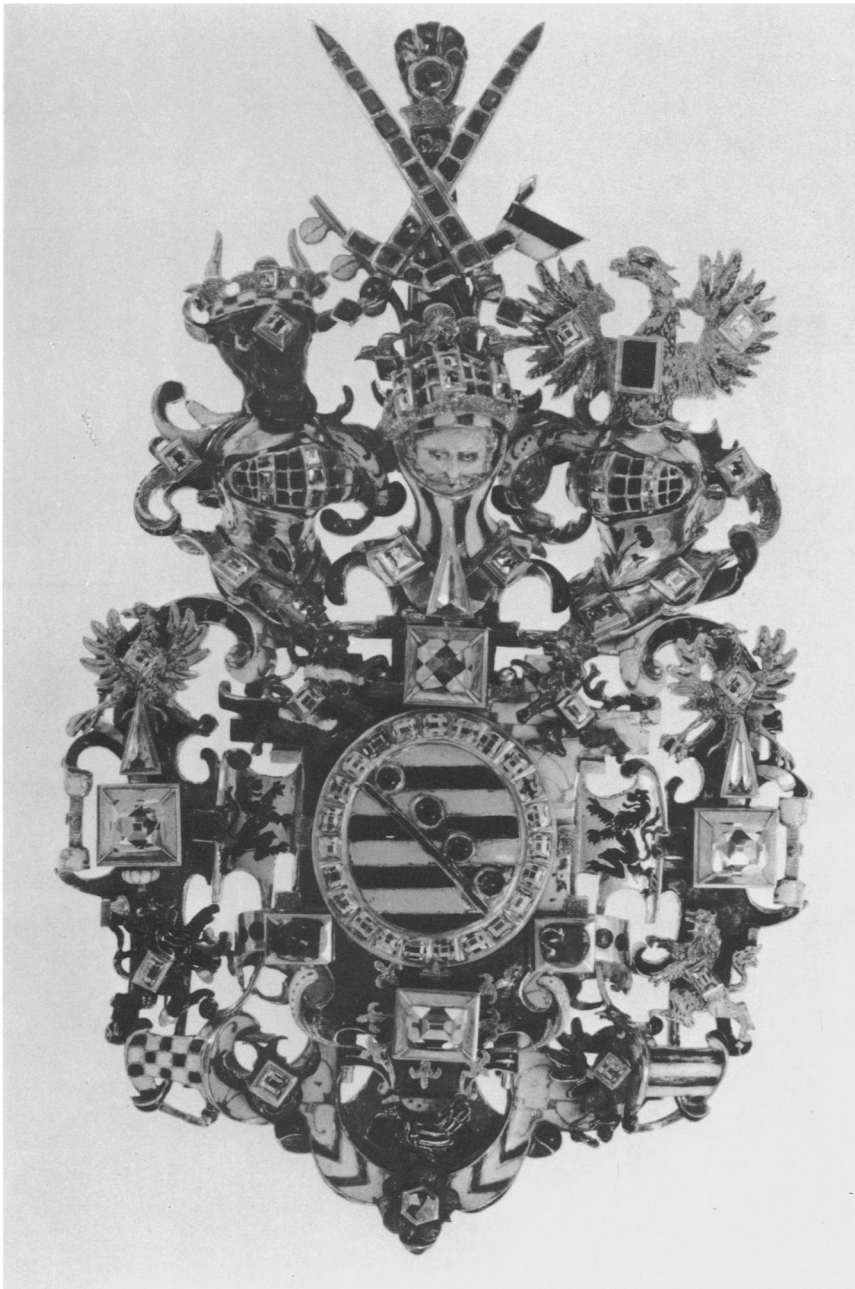
3. The arms of Saxony are usually given as: barry of ten, sable and or, a *Rautenkranz* vert in bend over all. However, the number of bars and the sequence of tinctures—whether or should come first or sable—have been handled very loosely over the centuries, because these arms, like those of Thuringia, are distinctive enough not to be easily mistaken. For heraldic information about the arms of Saxony, see *Siebmachers Wappenbuch*, ed. Otto Titan von Hefner (Nuremberg, 1856) I, 1. Abt.: "Die Wappen der Souveraine der deutschen Bundesstaaten," pp. 17–23, pls. 23–37.

The pendant has the ducal arms of Saxony, enameled barry yellow and black, with a *Rautenkrantz* enameled green and set with four cabochon emeralds, in the central medallion.

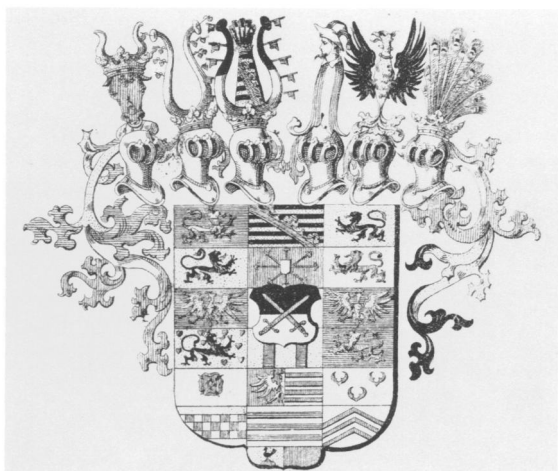
The medallion is surrounded by six lions: the red and white barry lion of Thuringia on blue-enameled scrollwork in the upper dexter, the red lion of Berg on a white-enameled background in the upper sinister (in heraldry a shield is described in terms of the bearer's right and left). The black lions of Meissen and Jülich are enameled into gold scrollwork, flanking the medallion on either side.⁴ To the lower dexter is the black lion of Orlamünde, surrounded by tiny

hearts and set against gold scrollwork, while on the lower sinister the gold and white lion of Pleissnerland is set against a blue background.

4. It is a basic heraldic rule that no two arms should be alike. Understandably enough, this was to avoid potentially lethal confusion on a battlefield. However, arms in places that were geographically far apart might happen to be identical. Because the black-lion-in-gold of Meissen at the Upper Elbe and the black-lion-in-gold of Jülich at the Lower Rhine were separated by almost the entire width of the Holy Roman Empire, the repetition was not considered objectionable; it is ironic that they should turn up in the same many-quartered shield of Saxony. The designer of the pendant permitted himself a little heraldic joke, by putting the two black lions mirrorwise opposing each other.



1. Pendant with the arms of Saxony, ca. 1610. 12.2 × 7.3 cm. Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe inv. no. VIII, 271 (photo: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)



2. Full arms of the electorate of Saxony, 1610–35 (after Siebmacher)

Below the medallion is the escarbuncle of Cleves on red enamel. On top, to the right and left in the frame, are the two gold eagles of the palatinates of Saxony and Thuringia.⁵ At the bottom, worked into the scrollwork itself, are the fess chequy of Marck at the dexter and next to it the clustered waterlily leaves of Brehna.⁶ Similarly, on the sinister are the halved

3. Silver coin (*Taler*) of Elector Johann Georg I, 1629; reverse with arms of Saxony as used between 1610 and 1635. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Bashford Dean, 22.122.25



eagle and the barry field of the burggravate of Magdeburg; the bars are placed on the framework. Below the escarbuncle of Cleves the black hen of Henneberg⁷ perches above the red rose of Altenburg, set against a gold background with two blue-enamelled stripes (Landsberg) and encircled by a curved ribbon with a white and red chevron pattern, for Ravensberg.

To the right and left of the central medallion are two large rubies in square settings; they may represent the red *Regalienschild*.

This intricate arrangement in the shape of a shield leaves only the relatively unimportant county of Eisenberg (argent, three bars azure) unaccounted for.

Following German heraldic custom, whereby multiple helmets are to be displayed with many-quartered shields (much to the horror of English heraldists, who claim that more than one helmet could be borne only by a person with more than one head), the shield is surmounted by three helmets with crests.

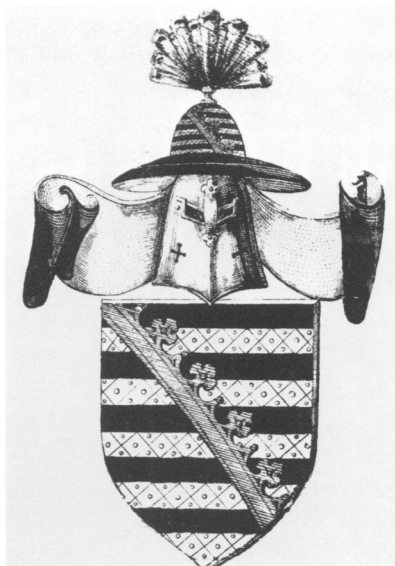
The dexter helmet bears the crest of the duchy of Cleves: a bull's head gules, its horns argent and its nose-ring or, crowned or, the crown encircled with a band chequy gules and argent (for the county of Marck). The sinister helmet bears the crest of the duchy of Jülich: an eagle or, wings sable (here left as gold), gorged argent.

In the center, there is a crested helmet of much more complex design. It combines, in fact, elements from four—possibly even five—different crests, which would have formed part of the full achievement of Saxony in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The tall conical column (rather obscured by the two crossed swords), topped by a small crown from which a plume of peacock feathers emerges, is the crest of the duchy of Saxony. In the fourteenth century it was a cap of maintenance patterned with the charges of the shield: barry of ten, sable and or, with a *Rautenkranz* vert over all and surmounted by a peacock

5. The heraldic beasts in the pendant are jeweled, the lions with oblong, the eagles with square diamonds. This is purely for decorative effect, without any heraldic significance.

6. The trefoil cutout of the *Seebblatt* indicates the water flowing over the depression at the stem of the waterlily leaf. This charge has been often misinterpreted—as hearts, sword chapes, and even stag-beetle mandibles (*Schröterhörner*).

7. An example of canting arms: *Henne* = hen, *Berg* = mountain.



4. Arms of the duchy of Saxony, after the seal of Duke Albrecht, 1329, showing the crest in its original shape as a broad-brimmed hat (after Siebmacher)
5. Arms of the elector of Saxony, according to Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch*, 1483, with the crest of its later "column" shape (after Siebmacher)
6. Arms of the archmarshalship of the Holy Roman Empire (after Siebmacher)
7. Arms of the electorate of Saxony, 1535, with the crests of the duchy of Saxony and the archmarshalship of the Holy Roman Empire combined in the central crest (after Siebmacher)

plume (Figure 4). In the fifteenth century, however, the cap—a broad-brimmed hat—changed its shape so as to become almost unrecognizable; its brim was turned up and transformed into a coronet, and the crown of the hat was elongated into a tapering "column" (Figure 5). Around 1535 this crest was combined with that of the archmarshalship of the Holy Roman Empire: a pair of horns, per fess sable and argent, edged with rows of small pennons.⁸ These horns were now placed to flank the "column" (Figures 6, 7).

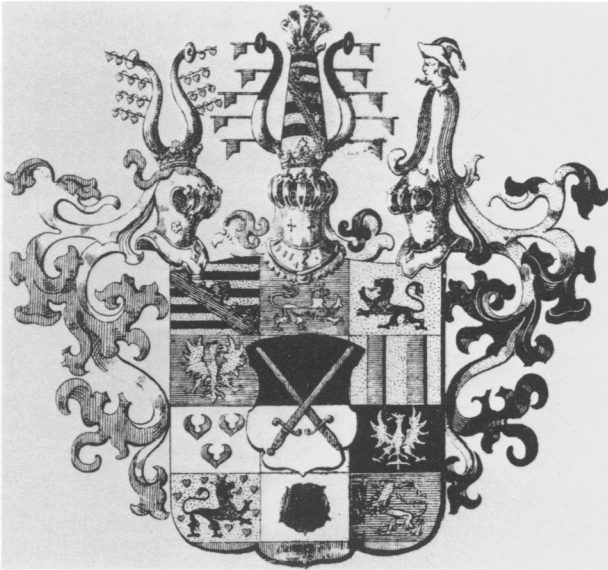
The sixteenth-century arms of Saxony bore two more crests, that of the landgravate of Thuringia (a pair of horns argent, edged with rods or, spangled with linden leaves argent, and that of the margravate of Meissen (a torso of a bearded man clad in a robe

striped argent and gules, with a pointed cap of the same).

In the composite crest on the central helmet of the pendant we find that on the dexter side of the "column" a rod with three linden leaves has been planted, and on the sinister a small black and white pennon; both rods are bent outward to approximate the shape of horns. These are clearly elements from the crests of Thuringia and the archmarshalship. In addition two crossed swords, encrusted with twenty-seven rubies to indicate their tincture gules, have been affixed to the front of the "column." These crossed swords are the main charge of the *Amtswappen* (arms of office) of the archmarshal: per fess sable and argent, two swords gules in saltire over all, normally displayed on the inescutcheon. The remaining crest, that of Meissen, has been transferred to the helmet itself. The bearded man's face now stares wistfully through the visor, which can be raised and lowered (the movable part was doubtless constructed to create a whimsical surprise), and the red and white stripes of his robe and cap cover the surface of the helmet.

The full armorial achievement of the electors of

8. The pennons in the crest of the archmarshalship are gules in most handbooks and rolls of arms, but armorial objects made for the elector himself, such as the jewel with Augustus's portrait on the reverse, dated 1586 (Grünes Gewölbe, inv. no. V 614; Figure 10), or the *Grosse Kursächsische Wappen*, before 1610 (inv. no. II 434; Figure 12), show these pennons as black and white; Joachim Menzhausen, *Dresdener Kunstkammer und Grünes Gewölbe* (Leipzig, 1977) figs. 2, 114.



Saxony contained still another, sixth helmet—that of the duchy of Berg: a plume of peacock feathers emerging from a gold crown. It seems, though, that the designer of the pendant thought this would be redundant, because the top of the “column” already consists of just such a plume and crown (duchy of Saxony).

The combination of elements found in this pendant suggests that it must have been designed between 1610 and 1635. The duchies of Cleves, Jülich, and Berg, together with the counties of Marck and Ravensberg, were granted as fiefs to Saxony by Em-

8. Silver coin (*Taler*) of Elector Johann Georg I, 1640; reverse with the arms of Saxony as used after 1635, with the addition of the quarterings of Oberlausitz and Niederlausitz. Private collection



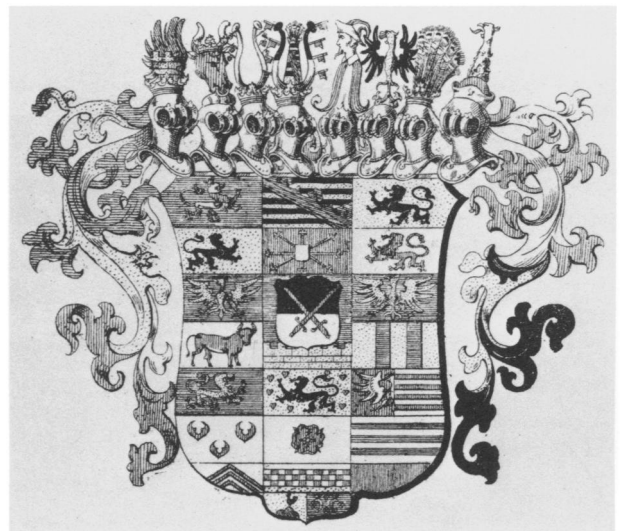
peror Rudolf II on July 10, 1610. It was only after that date that Saxony had a claim to these five quarterings.⁹ In 1635 the Saxon arms were enriched by two more quarterings, those of the newly acquired margravates of Upper Lusatia (Oberlausitz): azure, an embattled wall or; and Lower Lusatia (Niederlausitz): argent, a bull gules, armed or (Figures 8, 9).

There are several similar armorial pendants to be found among the jewels of the Grünes Gewölbe. The earliest is the circular portrait pendant, dated 1586, made for Elector Augustus (1553–86), with his arms in *Hinterglas* technique (Figure 10). His successor, Christian I (1586–91), created the Gesellschaft von der Gülden Kette (Order of the Golden Chain) for the inner circle of his court, and his son, Christian II, followed suit with a similar order for his boon companions (Figure 11).¹⁰ Their medallion shows the arms of the archmarshalship and of Saxony combined, surrounded by an openwork *Rautenkrantz* frame and surmounted by the *Kurhut*, the ermine-trimmed cap of state of an elector; the links of the chain bear the heraldic charges that made up the electoral arms before 1610, alternating with the enameled monogram C.

9. Though the electors of Saxony had a century-old contract of inheritance with the three duchies of Cleves, Jülich, and Berg, and in defiance of the official sanction by the imperial edict of July 10, 1610, these territories were annexed by Brandenburg; later they became provinces of Prussia. Saxony, however, continued until 1806 to display their arms as *Anspruchswappen* (arms of pretense) to mark its claim.

10. Woldemar von Seidlitz, *Die Kunst in Dresden vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit* (Dresden, 1921) I, pp. 309, 329–330.

9. Arms of the electorate of Saxony, 1635–97 (after Siebmacher)



It is worth noting that the arrangement of the heraldic elements in the pendant differs from that in official arms, such as those found on coins (Figure 3). This would indicate that it was designed at an early date, when the “official” version was not yet codified, probably immediately after the acquisition of the three duchies of Cleves, Jülich, and Berg in July 1610.

Furthermore, it is strange that the *Amtswappen* of the archmarshalship, which are not a crest but normally take pride of place on a central inescutcheon, are represented here only by the crossed swords affixed to the central crest. The combination looks suspiciously like an afterthought, and on examination of the object itself it was found that these swords are indeed a later addition. They are screwed into a hole drilled into the “column” after it had been enameled, damaging the enamel in that spot.¹³

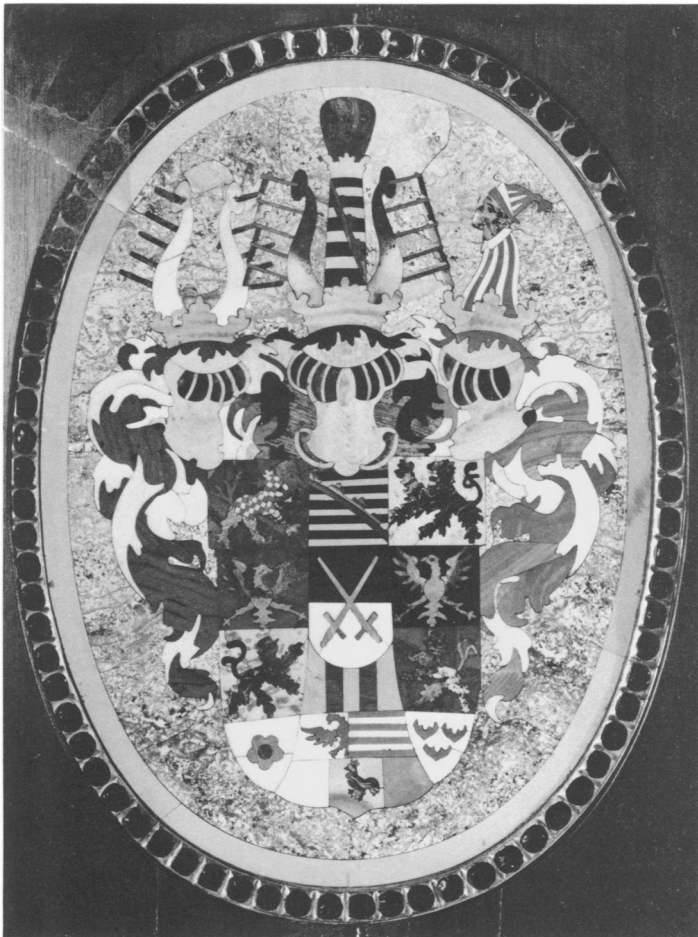
This would indicate that the pendant was not made originally for the elector himself, but for another

13. For this information I have to thank Joachim Menzhau-
sen, who at my suggestion checked and actually dismantled the
object.



14. Breastplate of the tournament (*Scharfrennen*) armor of Elector Augustus, showing the ducal arms of Saxony between 1547 and 1553, before Augustus succeeded to the archmarshalship; by Hans Rockenberger, court armorer in Dresden from 1532, d. before 1570. Dresden, Historisches Museum (photo: Historisches Museum)

15. Bevor (chin guard) of the tournament armor of Elector Augustus, showing the three crests of Saxony, Thuringia, and Meissen; by Hans Rockenberger. Dresden, Historisches Museum (photo: Historisches Museum)





16. Silver coin, known as the *Dreibrückertaler*, Saxony, 1608; obverse with portrait of Elector Christian II and arms of the archmarshalship of the Holy Roman Empire. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Bashford Dean, 22.122.20



17. Reverse of the *Dreibrückertaler*, with portraits of the two younger brothers of Elector Christian II, Duke Johann Georg and Duke Augustus, as coregents, and arms of the duchy of Saxony

member of the ducal family. The same combination of the *Rautenkrantz* arms in the central escutcheon with the crests of the archmarshalship and the duchy of Saxony is found in the arms etched on a set of jousting armor in the Historisches Museum, Dresden (M 14; Figures 14, 15). According to the inventory of the armory,¹⁴ this armor was made for the Elector Augustus, but it must have been at a time when he was not yet entitled to the *Amtswappen* of the archmarshal. He succeeded to this dignity in 1553 after the death of his brother Moritz, who had held it from 1547 to 1553.

Elector Christian II ruled from 1601 to 1611 (dying June 26 of that year), but he shared the administration of his dukedom with his two brothers, Johann Georg I (1585–1656; succeeded 1611) and Augustus (1589–1615). Presumably the pendant was made for one of these brothers, most likely Johann Georg, at some time between July 1610 and June 1611—perhaps as a Christmas present in 1610—and it would

have been brought up to date after he had become elector himself, in 1611.

The close relationship of the three brothers and the official use of these heraldic charges is indicated on the famous *Dreibrückertaler* of 1608 (Figures 16, 17). Elector Christian II is shown on the obverse, with the sword of state (*Kurschwert*) shouldered and the shield of the archmarshal in the border. On the reverse are Johann Georg and Augustus, with the shield of the duchy of Saxony. The many-quartered full arms, which would not have applied to all three brothers, were wisely omitted.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For advice and assistance in the preparation of this article I would like to thank my friends and colleagues Joachim Menzhausen, director of the Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden, and Yvonne Hackenbroch, curator emerita of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

14. Erich Haenel, *Kostbare Waffen aus der Dresdner Rüstammer* (Leipzig, 1923) p. 12, pl. 6, fig. b. The differences between the electoral and ducal arms of Saxony are not recognized by Haenel, and the armor is therefore dated between 1550 and 1560.

A Rock Crystal Watch with a Cross-Beat Escapement

BRUCE CHANDLER

*Professor of Mathematics, The College of Staten Island,
City University of New York*

CLARE VINCENT

*Associate Curator, Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

THE SUCCESS OF THE European clock depended upon the invention of a device which could control the release of power from its source, whether that source was a falling weight or a coiled spring. Such a device is called an escapement. Around the beginning of the fourteenth century, an escapement called the verge was invented.¹ During the next three centuries, great improvements were made both to the verge escapement itself and to the rest of the clock's mechanism. The only difficulty was that the verge escapement had mechanical limitations which made really accurate timekeeping impossible.² This problem was not a very serious one for the purposes of everyday life, but by the late sixteenth century European observational astronomy had advanced to a point which required much more accurate timekeeping than the verge escapement could provide. In the course of the seventeenth century, the advantage of using a pendulum for regulating a clock was discovered and rapidly perfected.³

Before the pendulum superseded earlier devices, the cross-beat escapement, with its significant advance in accuracy, was employed in clocks which were made to meet the increasingly exacting requirements of the astronomers of the period. In the history of Western technology, one solution of a problem is often followed by a rapid succession of improvements that render the previous ones obsolete. Sometimes in the process, older but nevertheless quite ingenious inventions are forgotten. The cross-beat escapement is one such long-forgotten device. Indeed, the place of

the cross-beat escapement in the development of the mechanical clock in the West provides an excellent example of this process.

The inventor and first maker of cross-beat escapements was the Swiss clockmaker Jost or Jobst Bürgi (1552–1632).⁴ Bürgi worked first for the landgrave of Hesse, Wilhelm IV, who was himself an enthusiastic

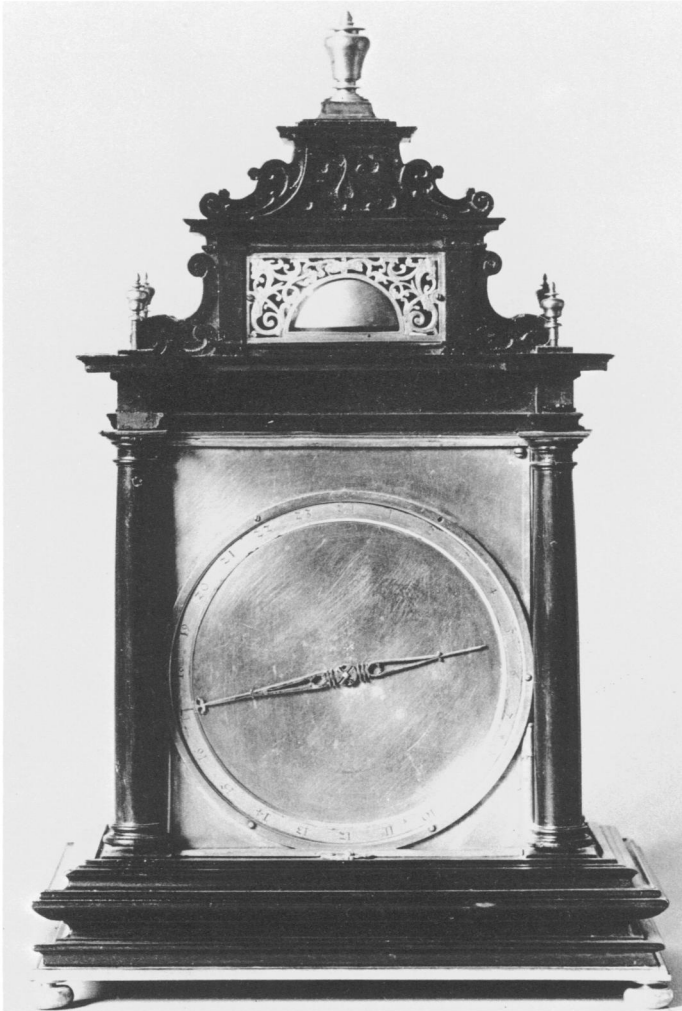
A list of frequently cited sources is given after the appendix to this article.

1. For a description of the verge escapement see G. H. Bailie, C. Clutton, and C. A. Ilbert, *Britten's Old Clocks and Watches and Their Makers*, 7th ed. (New York, 1956) pp. 4–5.

2. For a good technical discussion of the limitations of the verge escapement, as well as of other problems connected with the accuracy of verge escapement clocks, see von Berteles, "Timekeeping," pp. 9–18.

3. For the application of the pendulum to the clock see Bailie, Clutton, and Ilbert, *Britten's Old Clocks*, pp. 66–73; Lloyd, pp. 70–75; or Herbert Cescinsky and Malcolm R. Webster, *English Domestic Clocks* (London, 1913; new ed. 1969) pp. 14–29. For a good technical discussion of the pendulum see Defossez, pp. 86, 89, 95–108, and 121–152. For a recent summary of the dispute about the origins of the invention see S. G. Atwood, "The Development of the Pendulum as a Device for Regulating Clocks Prior to the 18th Century," in *The Study of Time II*, ed. J. T. Fraser and N. Lawrence (New York, 1975) pp. 417–450.

4. Maurice has suggested that Bürgi may have adapted the idea from a mechanical device for pumping water published by Jacques Besson in his *Theatrum instrumentum* as early as 1569 (Maurice and Mayr, p. 90, fig. 35, p. 92). For descriptions of the way in which the cross-beat escapement works see von Berteles, "Timekeeping," pp. 7–9, 22–23; Lloyd, pp. 64–67, figs. 8, 9; or von Mackensen, p. 50, fig. 5. For further information about Bürgi's life and work see the appendix.

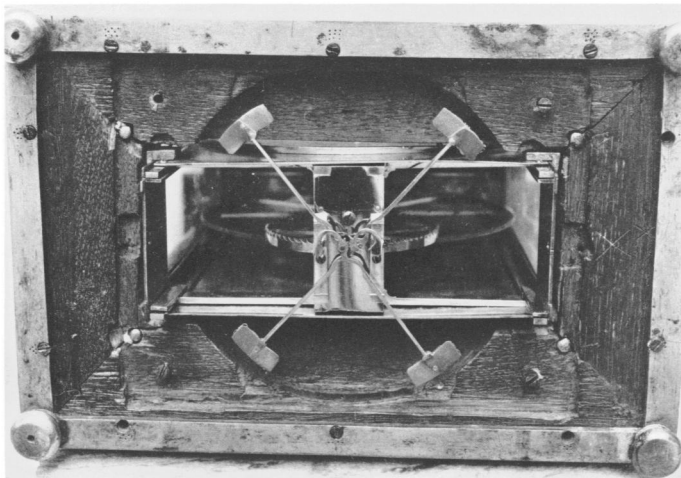


1. Experimental clock with a cross-beat escapement and with hour-striking and twelve-hour remontoire winding mechanisms, made by Jost Bürgi before 1600. H. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (32.1 cm.). Kassel, Staatliches Landesmuseum, Astronomisch-Physikalisches Kabinett (photo: Staatliches Landesmuseum)

2. Underside of clock in Figure 1, showing the cross-beat escapement (photo: Dr. L. von Mackensen)

3. Experimental clock with concentric hour and minute hands and with hour-striking and remontoire winding mechanisms, made by Jost Bürgi. H. 20 in. (50.8 cm.). Dresden, Staatlicher Mathematisch-Physikalischer Salon (photo: Staatlicher Mathematisch-Physikalischer Salon)

4. Brass movement of clock in Figure 3 removed from its wooden case to show the cross-beat escapement (photo: Staatlicher Mathematisch-Physikalischer Salon)



astronomer and patron of that science, and later for the Holy Roman Emperor, Rudolf II, in Prague. Besides being one of the great inventive clockmakers of history, B rger was also a mathematician and astronomer of no small accomplishment. He is believed by some to have made the clocks used by Tycho Brahe and Johannes Kepler for the astronomical observations upon which Kepler based his epoch-making discoveries about the true orbits of the planets.⁵ B rger invented the cross-beat some time shortly before 1590. Magnificent examples of his cross-beat survive in clocks now in the Staatliches Landesmuseum in Kassel (Figures 1, 2),⁶ the Staatlicher Mathematisch-Physikalischer Salon in Dresden (Figures 3–5),⁷ and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna,⁸ perhaps the most exquisite clock ever made (Figure 6). Although clocks and watches with cross-beat escapements were never made in quantity, the invention—

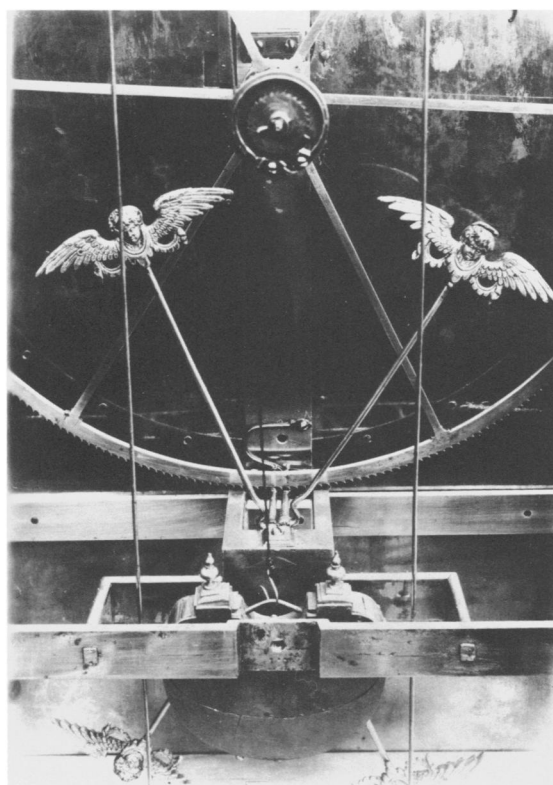
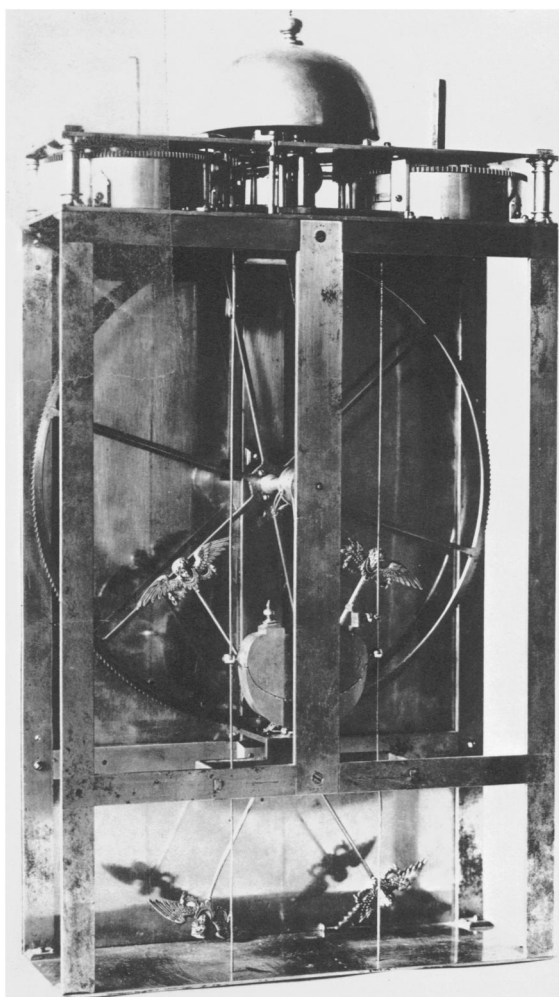
5. Lloyd, p. 63. See the appendix for a discussion of this question.

6. P. A. Kirchvogel, "Eine Standuhr aus dem 17. Jahrhundert," *Hessenland* 49 (1938) p. 167; von Bertele, "Timekeeping," pp. 20–21, figs. 24–28; idem, "B rger," p. 175, figs. 174–177; Lloyd, pp. 62–64, pls. 66–69; Maurice, I, p. 154, and II, p. 81, no. 637, figs. 637a,b; Giuseppi Brusa, *L'arte dell'orologeria in Europa* (Milan, 1978) figs. 167–170, p. 412; von Mackensen, pp. 51–52, 137, no. 20, and p. 47, fig. 2, p. 49, fig. 3.

7. Von Bertele, "B rger," pp. 182–184, 186, fig. 182; Lloyd, pp. 64–65, pls. 70–72; Helmut Gr t sch, "Die Kreuzschlaguhr und Globusuhr von Jost B rger—Wissenschaftliche Instrumente aus dem Arbeitsgebiet von Johannes Kepler," *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of the History of Science, 1971* (Moscow, 1974) VI, p. 248; Maurice, I, p. 154, and II, p. 81, no. 636, figs. 636a,b; Helmut Gr t sch and J rgen Karpinski, *Dresden Mathematisch-Physikalischer Salon* (Leipzig, 1978) pp. 21–28, figs. 60, 61; and von Mackensen, pp. 50–52, and p. 50, fig. 6, p. 51, fig. 7.

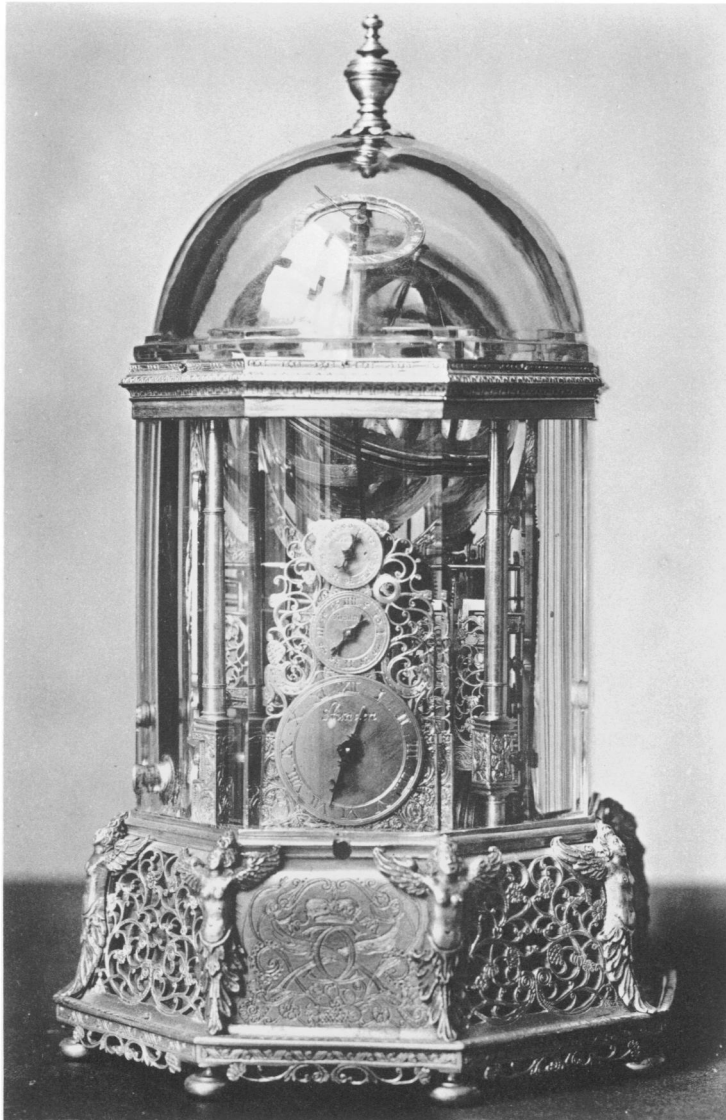
8. Von Bertele, "Timekeeping," pp. 3, 6–9, 21–22, figs. 6–8, 29, 30; idem, "B rger," pp. 181–182, figs. 161, 179–181; Lloyd, pp. 65–66, pls. 73–75, fig. 9; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Mu-

5. Detail of the movement in Figure 4 showing the two separately pivoting arms of the cross-beat escapement with weighted ends in the shape of winged angels' heads. The alternate and independent beating of the two arms controls the motion of the extraordinarily large and fine-toothed great wheel mounted above and behind the arms of the cross-beat (photo: Staatlicher Mathematisch-Physikalischer Salon)



to judge from the examples by other makers that have survived and from the references to modified versions of the escapement which appear in eighteenth-century treatises on clockmaking⁹—was known and used in a number of cities in continental Europe. However, during the nineteenth century and the first

6. Astronomical table clock with hour, minute, and seconds dials. The quarter-striking movement has a modified cross-beat escapement and quarter-hour remontoire winding mechanism. The clock also indicates the age and phases of the moon and is fitted with a moving celestial sphere of rock crystal with a blued-steel armillary sphere inside, both visible through the outer case of rock crystal, silver, and gilt bronze. Movement made by Jost Bürgi in Prague between 1622 and 1627. H. 7½ in. (19.1 cm.). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

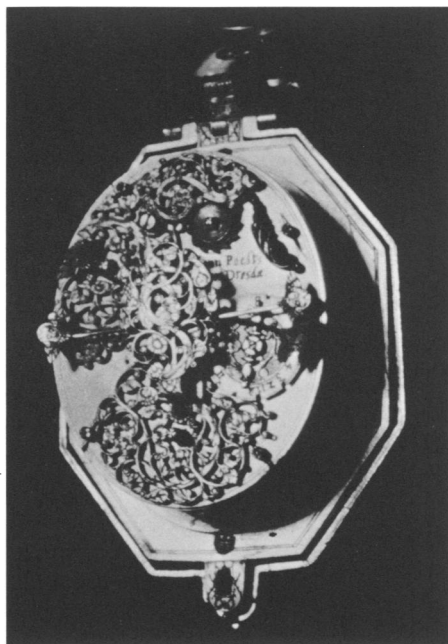


7. Watch with hour-striking mechanism and cross-beat escapement. Movement made by Johann Poestdorfer in Dresden probably during the second quarter of the 17th century. L. 3⅞ in. (9.1 cm.) Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe (photo: Vincent)
8. Detail of the watch in Figure 7 (photo: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco)
9. Backplate of the watch in Figure 7, showing arms of the cross-beat escapement projecting from behind the engraved and pierced scrolled cock (photo: Vincent)

half of the twentieth, Bürgi's invention seems to have been completely forgotten, and it was not until 1953, when Hans von Bertele studied the movements of some of Bürgi's surviving clocks, that the full signifi-

seum, *Katalog der Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe* (Vienna, 1966) II, pp. 79–80, no. 322, pl. 55; Maurice, I, pp. 153–154, 162, and II, p. 81, no. 638, figs. 638a,b; Brusa, *L'arte dell'orologeria*, figs. 234–237, p. 415; von Mackensen, pp. 54–55, 57–58, and p. 55, fig. 10, p. 57, fig. 11; and Maurice and Mayr, pp. 92–97, figs. 36–50. The Vienna clock is a modified version of the original invention in which two balance wheels have been substituted for the two characteristic arms beating independently of each other.

9. For a discussion of the modified cross-beat in the treatises of Antoine Thiout and Ferdinand Berthoud, see Maurice, I, p. 152, p. 203, figs. 59, 61, 62.



cance of the cross-beat escapement was recognized.¹⁰ Since that time, a number of clocks with cross-beat escapements have been discovered and published.¹¹

To this growing list can be added a watch made in Dresden by Johann Poestdorffer, or Possdorffer, which is in the collection of the Grünes Gewölbe in Dresden (Figures 7–9).¹² The movement, signed on the backplate *Johann Poest-dorffer Dresda.*, is a superb example of late-Renaissance watchmaking. In addition to indicating and striking the hours, it also shows the phases and age of the moon within its monthly cycle. The octagonal case is made of a single piece of rock crystal, faceted on the exterior and hollowed out to receive the movement. Thus, the highly decorative components of pierced, engraved, and gilded brass which make up the fittings or “furniture” of the backplate of the movement are clearly visible through the case, as is the motion of the two arms of the cross-beat.

The cover of the case is also of rock crystal, mounted in an octagonal frame of silver gilt with an openwork floral design. Beneath the hinged cover is the silver-gilt and enamel dial (Figure 8), the outer chapter ring for the hours, one through twelve, and the inner ring for the age of the moon. An aperture inside the inner ring reveals the day of the month. The moon’s phases are shown graphically at the center of the dial. The dial is raised on a pierced frame which creates space under the dial for mounting the

bell that strikes the hours. The openwork frames of the dial and cover are both functional and aesthetically pleasing—they allow the bell to be heard, and their pierced and engraved designs rival in quality those of the movement itself, demonstrating the very high order of skill of both the watchmaker and the casemaker. As is usual, the case is unmarked, and nothing is known of its maker.

The most unusual feature of the watch is the cross-beat escapement, apparently much more rarely employed in watches than in clocks; part of it can be seen in the photograph of the backplate of the movement

10. Von Berteles, “Timekeeping,” pp. 2–24.

11. Hans von Berteles, “Early Clocks in Denmark,” *Horological Journal* 96 (Dec. 1954) pp. 784–796; 97 (Mar. 1955) pp. 172–176; 97 (Apr. 1955) pp. 244–247; idem, “Bürgi,” pp. 169–188; idem, “Jost Bürgi’s Pupils and Followers,” *Connoisseur* 135 (Apr. 1955) pp. 98–105; and Maurice, I, p. 153, and II, p. 62, no. 460, figs. 460a,b; p. 63, no. 461, fig. 461; p. 72, no. 552, figs. 552a,b; p. 73, no. 558, fig. 558; p. 83, no. 657, fig. 657; p. 83, no. 658, figs. 658a,b; p. 87, no. 701, figs. 701a,b; and p. 89, no. 725, fig. 725.

12. Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe, inv. no. VI 7a. See Jean Louis Sponsel, *Das Grüne Gewölbe zu Dresden: II. Gefässe, Figuren und Uhren* (Leipzig, 1928) p. 206, pl. 28, lower left; Joachim Menzhhausen, *Dresdener Kunstkammer und Grünes Gewölbe* (Vienna, 1977) p. 99, pl. 45, upper right; and *The Splendor of Dresden: Five Centuries of Art Collecting*, exh. cat. (Washington/New York/San Francisco, 1978) p. 166, no. 315. Menzhhausen noted for the first time in 1977 the existence of the cross-beat escapement inside the watch.

(Figure 9). The escapement consists of two staffs which cross each other under the pierced cock. The ends of each staff carry tiny weights of gilded brass shaped like winged angels' heads. These staffs with their weights are the visible parts of the cross-beat (notice the similarity to the escapement of the Bürgi clock in Figures 4 and 5). This unusual arrangement replaces the balance wheel that one would expect to find in a watch like this.

The exact route of transmission of the invention from Bürgi to other European clockmakers has not been explored.¹³ There is evidence to connect Johann Poestdorffer with Prague, and perhaps at the time when Bürgi worked there.¹⁴ This is the inscription on another watch by Poestdorffer in the collection of the

Grünes Gewölbe, which reads: *Johan Poesdorffer Fecit, brag* [Prague].¹⁵ Both Poestdorffer watches appear to have been made in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. They may have been the watches mentioned in early seventeenth-century Dresden inventories, but

13. Von Bertele began the attempt in the April 1955 issue of *The Connoisseur* (see note 11).

14. The Bürgi clock with cross-beat escapement in the Dresden Staatlicher Mathematisch-Physikalischer Salon did not enter the electoral collections until 1660 and was, thus, probably not in Dresden at a time early enough to have provided a model for Poestdorffer. See Grötzsch and Karpinski, *Dresden Mathematisch-Physikalischer Salon*, p. 21.

15. Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe, inv. no. VI 7. See Sponsel, *Das Grüne Gewölbe*, p. 206 and pl. 28, lower right; and Menzhauzen, *Dresdener Kunstkammer*, p. 99 and pl. 45, upper left.



this cannot be established with any certainty.¹⁶ Neither is there any documentary information concerning their maker. However, there was another Possdorffer or Poestdorffer, named Peter, who is known to have been working as a watchmaker (*Kleinuhrmacher*) in Dresden between 1657 and 1668. Peter Possdorffer was a journeyman (*Geselle*) in 1657.¹⁷ It is possible, therefore, that he was either a son or a close relative of Johann. If Peter were a son, Johann would probably have been working in the first half of the century when we believe the watches to have been made, possibly at first in Prague and later in Dresden.

Although the Poestdorffer watch in Figure 7 is, to date, the only known example of an unmounted watch with a cross-beat escapement, at least two other watches (usually referred to as table clocks—*Tischuhren*—but actually watches set into mounts) also have cross-beat escapements. The two in question are strikingly similar to each other, and both were made in Augsburg in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. One, by Hans Buschmann, is in the Schatz-

kammer des Deutschen Ordens in Vienna (Figures 10 and 11),¹⁸ and the other, by Hans Christoph Kreitzer, is now in the Museum der Zeitmessung Beyer in Zurich (Figure 12).¹⁹ At present these two watches cannot be linked in any way with the Poestdorffer watch by document, by what is known of their makers, or by the evidence provided by the watches themselves. Yet the obvious similarities between them and the Poestdorffer watch suggest that there must have been some connection.

Although surviving clocks and watches with cross-beat escapements are extremely rare, the divergent locations of their makers indicate that the invention must have been fairly widely known in the seventeenth century. In the last third of the century, with the introduction of the pendulum for the clock and the spring balance for the watch, clockmakers abandoned Bürgi's device. The total eclipse of the cross-beat escapement in the latter part of the eighteenth century through the first half of the twentieth makes reconstruction of its history a challenge.

10. Table clock with cross-beat escapement. The clock has concentric hour and minute hands and a revolving sphere at the top which illustrates the phases of the moon. The case is made of rock crystal, silver (partly enameled), and gilt bronze. Movement signed by Hans Buschmann of Augsburg and probably made before 1632. H. 10¼ in. (26 cm.). Vienna, Schatzkammer des Deutschen Ordens (photo: Schatzkammer des Deutschen Ordens)

11. Table clock in Figure 10 seen from the back, with hinged rock-crystal door open to show the arms of the cross-beat escapement (photo: Schatzkammer des Deutschen Ordens)

12. Table clock with cross-beat escapement. The clock has concentric hour and minute hands and a revolving dial that indicates the age and phases of the moon. A quarter-striking mechanism lies behind the dial, while the separate hour-striking mechanism and a manually operated calendar are in the base. The case is made of rock crystal, silver (partly gilded), and gilt bronze. Movement made by Hans Christoph Kreitzer of Augsburg probably between 1630 and 1640. Zurich, Museum der Zeitmessung Beyer (photo: Theodore Beyer)

16. Inventories of the electoral collections in Dresden were made in 1595, 1610, 1619, and 1640. See Menzhausen, *Dresdener Kunstkammer*, p. 27. For the information concerning the entries for crystal watches in the electoral collections, the authors are indebted to Dr. Menzhausen.

17. Paul Pleissner, *Dresden in der Geschichte der Uhrmacherei* (Dresden, 1924) p. 8.

18. B. F. Dudik, *Kleinodien des deutschen Ritterordens* (Vienna, 1865) p. 165, lists this clock as first appearing among those mentioned in an inventory of the Deutschen Orden Kammer-schatz of 1632. Dudik noted that the clock had a double balance (*doppelte Unruhe*). See also Ernst von Basserman-Jordan, *The Book of Old Clocks and Watches*, 4th ed., rev. Hans von Bertele (New York, 1964) figs. 120a,b; Maximilian Bobinger, *Kunstuhmacher in Alt-Augsburg* (Augsburg, 1969) pp. 86–89, 109; and Maurice, I, pp. 153, 179, and II, p. 62, no. 460, figs. 460a,b. In the chapter by Eva Groiss in Maurice and Mayr (pp. 75–77), Hans Buschmann is documented as having been in Prague working for the Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinand III (1637–57), in the middle of the seventeenth century, when it is probable that he made the drawing of a clock with a cross-beat escapement shown on p. 76, fig. 30; but the drawing is believed to date from at least twenty years later than the clock in the collection of the Deutschen Orden.

19. Maurice, I, p. 153; II, p. 63, no. 461, fig. 461, and see also p. 53, no. 351. The authors are indebted to Theodore Beyer for a more detailed description of the clock.

Appendix

JOST BÜRGI, CLOCKMAKER

Jost Bürgi was appointed clockmaker to the landgrave of Hesse, Wilhelm IV (1567–92), on July 25, 1579, and worked at the landgrave's court in Kassel. In 1592, he escorted one of his works, a clockwork-driven celestial globe, from the court at Kassel to the court of the Holy Roman Emperor in Prague. While Bürgi was in Prague Wilhelm died, but Wilhelm's successor, Landgrave Moritz (1592–1627), reappointed him, and Bürgi returned to Kassel where he continued to make both clocks and instruments of remarkable originality and technical perfection. On December 23, 1604, he was appointed clockmaker (*Kammeruhrmacher*) to Emperor Rudolf II (1576–1612), and received a patent of nobility on February 3, 1611. Bürgi remained Imperial Clockmaker until 1631. He died in Kassel the following year. For Bürgi at the court of Wilhelm, see Defossez, pp. 54–55, 59–60; Lloyd, pp. 61–63; Leopold and Pechstein, pp. 15–17; Bruce T. Moran, "Princes, Machines and the Valuation of Precision in the 16th Century," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 61 (1977) pp. 214–217, 222–225; von Mackensen, pp. 21–41; and Maurice and Mayr, pp. 87–89. For the astronomical interests of Landgrave Wilhelm IV, see the bibliography included by von Mackensen, p. 40.

Bürgi's work at the court of Emperor Rudolf II is discussed by C. Alhard von Drach, "Jost Bürgi, Kammeruhrmacher Kaisers Rudolf II," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 15 (1894) pp. 15–44; by Defossez, pp. 57–59; in the chapter by Joseph Fremersdorf in Leopold and Pechstein, pp. 101–105; and by von Mackensen, pp. 31–34. See also Alphons Lhotsky, *Geschichte der Sammlungen, Festschrift des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien, 1841–1941* (Vienna, 1941–45) II, pt. 1, pp. 257–258; R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolph II and His World: A Study in Intellectual History, 1576–1612* (Oxford, 1973) pp. 187–188; and Rotraud Bauer and Herbert Haupt, eds., "Die Kunstkammer Kaiser Rudolfs II in Prag, ein Inventar aus den Jahren 1607–1611," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 72 (1976), p. 110, no. 2138, pp. 111–112, no. 2163, p. 118, no. 2289, p. 130, no. 2569.

Documents concerning Bürgi's life were first collected and published by von Drach, "Jost Bürgi," pp. 15–44. See also the chapter by Armin Müller in Leopold and Pechstein, pp. 107–113. For discussions of Bürgi's work see also Defossez, pp. 52–71; Erwin Voellmy, *Jost Bürgi*

und die Logarithmen (Basel, 1948); Pierre Mesnage, "Un Chef-d'oeuvre de Jost Bürgi au Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers de Paris," *Journal Suisse d'Horlogerie et de Bijouterie* (May–June 1949) pp. 198–207; von Bertele, "Timekeeping," pp. 3–9 and 18–23; idem, "Bürgi," pp. 169–188; Lloyd, pp. 61–69; Hans von Bertele, *Globes and Spheres* (Lausanne, 1961) pp. 15–17, 40–45, and 54–55; Maurice, I, pp. 146–158, 161–163, and II, p. 44, nos. 253–255, p. 76, no. 581, p. 81, nos. 635–638, and figs. 253, 254a–c, 255a,b, 581a–c, 635a,b, 636a,b, 637a,b, 638a,b; Leopold and Pechstein, pp. 22–80; von Mackensen, pp. 32–33, 46–60, 105–110, 128–140, and the chapters by Hans von Bertele and John H. Leopold included in von Mackensen; and Maurice and Mayr, pp. 87–102. Defossez did not recognize the fact that Bürgi's escapement was not an early prototype of the pendulum.

The earliest known mention of Bürgi's newly invented escapement appears in a manuscript in the Landesbibliothek in Kassel by the astronomer Christoph Rothmann, who was working at Kassel between 1584 and 1590. The manuscript (Ms. astron. 5, no. 7) is undated, but von Bertele ("Timekeeping," p. 4) believes it to have been written about 1585. There is some disagreement, however, about the date of the earliest surviving clocks with cross-beat escapements made by Bürgi. One, now in the Staatliches Landesmuseum in Kassel, was dated not later than 1600 by von Bertele ("Timekeeping," p. 20) on the grounds that its location in Kassel would indicate that it was made before Bürgi went to Prague. So far as is known, however, Bürgi did not take up permanent residence in Prague until 1604. Maurice (I, p. 154) disagrees with the early dating of this clock and another, now in the Staatlicher Mathematisch-Physikalischer Salon in Dresden, on the grounds that both have especially large great wheels, a technical feature typical of clocks known to have been made in Prague. Maurice argues that they were, therefore, made in Prague when Bürgi settled there. It should be noted, however, that Tycho Brahe's Hven clocks were described in his *Astronomiae Instauratae Mechanica*, which was published in Wandsbek in 1598 but which recorded instruments in use at least as early as 1587. Brahe's clocks also had large great wheels, the largest, in fact, having 1,200 teeth, and Brahe's clocks are not known to have been made in Prague. For

further discussion see Lloyd, p. 63. The most recent dating of the experimental clock in Kassel shown in Figures 1 and 2 (about 1595–1600) and the experimental clock in Dresden shown in Figures 3–5 (about 1625) appears in von Mackensen, p. 137, no. 20, and pl. 50, fig. 6. No evidence is given for the dating of the Dresden clock.

Although admitting that it was unlikely that proof of their authorship would ever be found, Lloyd (p. 63) believed that the lost clocks illustrated in Brahe's *Astronomiae Instauratae Mechanica*, showing the astronomer in his observatory at Hven, had all the characteristics known to have been incorporated in Bürgi's clocks. Von Bertele, however, was very much more cautious in attributing these clocks to Bürgi ("Timekeeping," pp. 4–5). It is probably not true that Bürgi made the clocks at

Hven. On the other hand, in view of the fact that Brahe and Kepler were working for the emperor in Prague during the same period that Bürgi was there, first as a visitor and then as Imperial Clockmaker, it seems unlikely that Bürgi's extraordinary skills would have been ignored. See von Bertele, "Timekeeping," p. 4, and Ernest L. Edwardes, *Weight-driven Chamber Clocks of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Altrincham, 1965) pp. 90–91, n. 1. Such a supposition is certainly strengthened by the fact of Kepler's known admiration for Bürgi's work. See Rudolph Wolf, *Johannes Kepller und Jost Bürgi* (Zurich, 1872); Max Caspar, *Kepler*, trans. C. Doris Hellman (London, 1959) pp. 164–165; Grötzsch, "Die Kreuzschlaguhr und Globusuhr von Jost Bürgi," pp. 246–247; and Leopold and Pechstein, p. 102.

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The Graphic Sources for the Moor with the Emerald Cluster

HELMUT NICKEL

Curator of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

AMONG THE TREASURES from the Grünes Gewölbe brought to this country with the loan exhibition "The Splendor of Dresden," the *Mohr mit der Smaragdstufe—Moor with the Emerald Cluster*—was one of the more eye-catching pieces, even in that dazzling array (Figures 1, 2).¹

The Moor is represented as a muscular youth in swaggering stride; he is carved from pearwood, and lacquered a deep brown. His broadly smiling face with its wide, blunt nose and full lips is clearly meant to be that of a Negro; but his curly hair is—when seen from the front—almost entirely hidden by a jeweled gold "feather" crown of a type generally associated with romantic images of American Indians. The Moor's dark brown skin is covered on arms, legs, and body with intricate tattoos, meticulously produced by thousands of tiny dots of blue-black lacquer paint. In splendid contrast to this dark background stands forth the lavish assortment of gem-studded jewelry: necklace, pectoral, armlets, knee bands, cuffs, and greaves, and a belt heavily loaded with pendants to form a fringed skirt.²

The Moor carries a tray of tortoiseshell,³ containing a matrix of emeralds. This was presented to Elector Augustus (1553–86), the founder of the Dresden Kunstkammer (1560), by his friend Emperor Rudolf II in 1581, when Augustus paid him a visit in Prague, soon after Rudolf's recovery from a serious illness. The emeralds were kept "in a black box lined with crimson velvet," and were catalogued under the section "Precious Stones, Unicorn and Rhinoceros Horns." They were said to have come from the Indies of the West—probably Muzo in Colombia—and had presumably been sent to Europe by some Spanish conquistador.⁴ Elector Augustus treasured them so highly

that he decreed that "in memory eternally" they should remain with his house inalienably.⁵

The *Moor with the Emerald Cluster* must have been created shortly before 1725, when it first appears in an inventory.⁶ Its companion piece, carrying a composite cluster of crystals (Figures 3, 4), was delivered

1. *The Splendor of Dresden: Five Centuries of Art Collecting*, exh. cat. (Washington/New York/San Francisco, 1978–79) no. 291, "Blackamoor with matrix of emeralds," col. pl. p. 44.

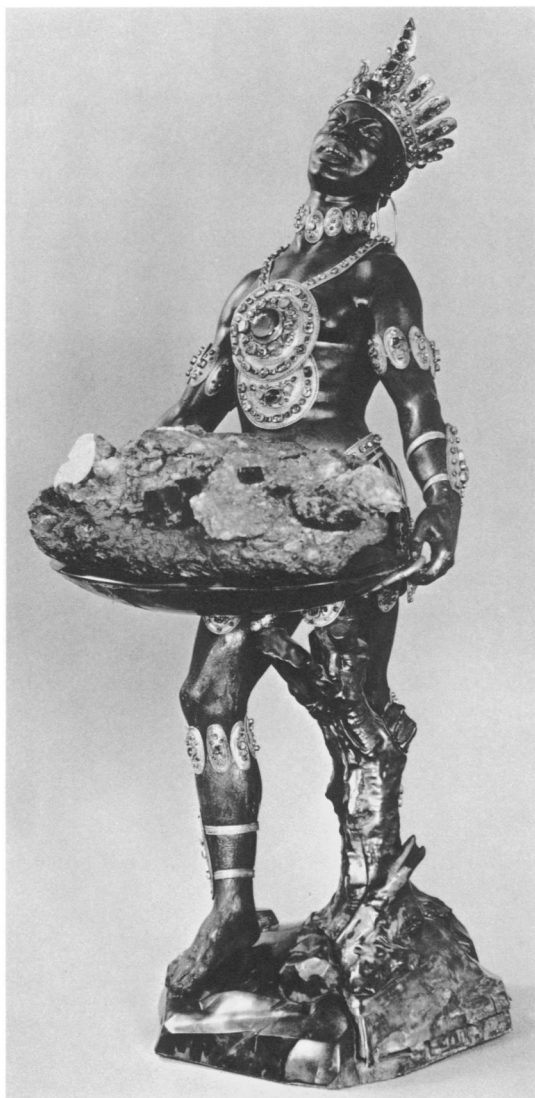
2. The jewelry—according to the catalogue—is silver gilt, densely set with a multicolored array of rubies, emeralds, topazes, and Ceylon sapphires; a large almandine and a ruby are the centerpieces of the pectoral discs.

3. The tray is decorated on its underside with three chinoiserie vignettes—pagodas and Chinese-style buildings in landscape settings—executed in a mosaic of silver nails.

4. According to information from Joachim Menzhausen, director of the Grünes Gewölbe, there are two clusters in existence. One remained in Prague, and is now in the Museum of Natural History in Vienna. They are supposed to have come to Europe in the 1570s.

5. Inventory Kunstkammer, 1587; fol. 8: "1 Schmarallen stoffe von 16. steinen gross und klein, wie dieselben an ihrem natürlichen gebirge gewachsen, so in den Occidentalischen Indien gebrochen werden, in einer schwartzen Schachtel mit roten Carmosin gefüttert, Hat Keyser Rudolphus dies nahmens der ander, herzogk Augustus Churfürsten, zu Sachsen als S. Churf. G. allerhöchstgedachte Ihre Kay. Mt. nach deroselben langwirigen Leibesschwachheit, aus treuen gemüthe unterthenigst im Monat Octobri Ao 81. besucht, zu anzeigung vnd wahren freundschaft gnedigst vnd dankbarlich verehret, welchen S. Churf. G. fürder bey diesen Churfürstlichen Hauße vnd Stamme zu ewigenn gedechtnüs zu bleiben verordnet vnd gewiedemet haben" (Erna von Watzdorf, *Johann Melchior Dinglinger: Der Goldschmied des deutschen Barock* [Berlin, 1962] n. 323). One of the decisive factors in the choice of a green gemstone as gift, and a reason for the elector's appreciation of it, must have been that the national color of Saxony was green, derived from the charge of the *Rautenkranz* (wreath of rue) in its coat of arms.

6. Watzdorf, *Dinglinger*, n. 328; Inv. Pretiosen, 1725, fol. 88.



1, 2. *Moor with the Emerald Cluster*, front and back views.
H. 63.8 cm. Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe, inv. no. VIII
303 (photos: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)

by the court jeweler, Johann Heinrich Köhler, in 1724.⁷ It was presumably on the occasion of the dissolution of the old *Kunstammer* in 1720 and the new installation of the *Grünes Gewölbe*, particularly the *Pretiosensaal*, in 1724, by order of Augustus the Strong (1694–1733), that this great connoisseur with his surpassing sense for the dramatic must have decided that a worthy setting was needed for the prized emeralds—a noble savage offering to the Old World the astounding riches of the New.⁸

In spite of its creation, however, relatively little attention was paid to the figure of the Moor. Throughout the eighteenth and the greater part of the nineteenth centuries the emerald matrix as a mineralogical rarity clearly took precedence, as indicated by the description “Die Smaragd Stufe mit dem Mohren” in the inventory of 1733.⁹

7. Joachim Menzhausen, *Das Grüne Gewölbe* (Leipzig, 1968) cat. no. 129; Watzdorf, *Dinglinger*, p. 212. According to Sigfried Asche, *Balthasar Permoser* (Berlin, 1978) fig. 315, the figure of this second moor might have been carved by Paul Heermann. In any case it is not by either Permoser or Köhler.

8. Watzdorf, *Dinglinger*, p. 216, n. 324.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 210. The glamor of the emerald cluster had its drawbacks too. The 1725 inventory states that there are only



3, 4. *Moor with the Crystal Cluster*, front and back views. Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe, inv. no. V 156 (photos: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)

The question of the authorship of this work, therefore, was not raised until 1879, when it suddenly appears as “un nègre, ouvrage de Dinglinger.”¹⁰ Thus, it seems that Johann Melchior Dinglinger, the celebrated court goldsmith of Augustus the Strong and the master of the most breathtaking *objets d’art* in the Grünes Gewölbe, was thought to have been the carver of the figure too. It was not until 1915 that Jean Louis Sponsel in his guide to the collections suggested Balthasar Permoser, the sculptor, who was a close friend

and collaborator of Dinglinger’s, as the author of the figure. Erna von Watzdorf in her monograph on Dinglinger (1962) attributes the Moor himself to Permoser, the tray and pedestal to Ephraim Benjamin Krüger, a worker in ivory and tortoiseshell, and the jeweled mountings to Dinglinger’s workshop.¹¹ Joachim Menzhausen, the present director of the Grünes

“four big and nine smaller” emeralds left from the original sixteen. The cluster had been sent to Warsaw with other pieces from the Kunstkammer, and on its return it was noticed that “one or another had been broken off.” Today there are four big and five small emeralds left (*ibid.*, n. 324).

10. *Ibid.*, n. 327.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 210–212; n. 324.



5, 6. *Moor with Pearl Cluster*, front and back views. Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe, inv. no. VI 99 (photos: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)

7, 8. *Moor with Pearl Cluster*, front and back views. Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe, inv. no. VI 195 (photos: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)



9. "How ceremonies are performed by Satouriona, when he wants to war against his enemies," from Théodore de Bry, *Historia Americae* (Frankfurt am Main, 1591). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library



Gewölbe, accepts the attribution to Permoser, but suggests Wilhelm Krüger, the father of Ephraim Benjamin, as the carver of the tray and pedestal. In his monograph *Das Grüne Gewölbe* (1962) the jewelry of the Moor is attributed to Dinglinger's workshop. In the exhibition catalogue *The Splendor of Dresden* Gerald Heres and Werner Kiontke, who jointly wrote the entries for nos. 241–306, attribute the mountings of the Moor (no. 291) to Dinglinger. Erna von Watzdorf claims that the workmanship of the jewelry is a little too coarse for Dinglinger's own hand, particularly in comparison with the trappings of two small ebony statuettes by Permoser—blackamoors carrying oyster shells with grown-in pearl clusters—which she takes to be the Moor's prototypes and models (Figures 5–8). In the *Inventar Pretiosen*, 1725, folio 88, however, it is stated that the small blackamoors were mounted "auf die facon" of the larger pair, with the emeralds and crystals respectively.¹²

In *The Splendor of Dresden* it is mentioned—following a suggestion I had made to Joachim Menzhaußen—that the Moor's tattoos and feather crown were

taken from contemporary illustrations of travel accounts, and that the figure is supposed to represent an American Indian. Indeed, almost every detail of the adornments of all four statuettes has a common source, a series of engravings of the New World by Théodore de Bry (1528–98).

Among de Bry's illustrations to René de Laudonnière's report about the abortive French settlement in Florida in 1564,¹³ we find the exact model for the Moor's tattoos in those of the "powerful king called Satouriona" (Figure 9). The statuettes' characteristic

12. Ibid., p. 212; n. 325. One of the small statuettes (inv. no. VI 195) was included in the Dresden exhibition (*Splendor of Dresden*, no. 288, "Blackamoors with pearl-filled tray," H. 20 cm.).

13. Théodore de Bry, *Historia Americae* [1590–1634] II (Frankfurt am Main: Siegmund Feyerabend, 1591). Recent editions: *Discovering the New World, Based on the Works of Théodore de Bry*, ed. Michael Alexander (New York, 1976) p. 30; Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land* (New York, 1975) p. 72; W. P. Cumming, R. A. Skelton, and D. B. Quinn, *The Discovery of North America* (New York, 1971) p. 161.



10. "How order of battle is kept by King Olata, when he goes to war," from Théodore de Bry, *Historia Americae* (Frankfurt am Main, 1591). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

pectorals of two overlapping discs, their armlets and knee bands composed of oval discs, their belts with skirtlike fringes of oval pendants hanging from straps, we see on braves in the opposing army, that of Olata Outina, "considered the king of kings" (Figure 10). The armlets and knee bands worn by the braves have also been used as models for necklaces, and for anklets and bracelets.

The rectangular wristguard worn by the archer marching in the van of Olata Outina's host, however, has been misunderstood by the goldsmith. In de Bry's engraving it is shown quite correctly on the inside of the left wrist as a protection against the snap of the bowstring. In the trappings of the Moor with the emeralds, though, this bracer has been taken for a peculiar "Indian" adornment; it appears on both forearms—turned outward to boot—as a bracelet, and even on the lower legs as a kind of greaves.

In a similar way the skirted breechclout of the war-

rior on the left, wearing the skin of a mountain lion, seems to have served as a model for the belts with pendants worn by the statuettes. They all have a large triangular flap in front (that of the Moor with the emeralds is hidden under the tray), and a small flap in back. This is an adaptation of the breechclout with its turnover in front; the rear flaps were added by the goldsmith, probably for symmetry, because the breechclouts in the de Bry prints are simply knotted in back. Another variant is that the pendants hanging from the belts of three of the statuettes (Figures 1, 2, and 5–8) are interspersed with looped bands. In the *Moor with the Crystal Cluster* (Figures 3, 4), however, the pendants are connected by a pair of parallel straps, exactly like those of de Bry's warrior.

The double-disc pectorals of the two great Moors—modeled after the breast ornament of de Bry's archer—are suspended by two jeweled straps over their shoulders. These straps cross each other in back, with discs at the crossing points, and are attached to the belts. The two small Moors have cross-straps running up from their belts in front and in the rear, with double discs in front and single discs in back. In the engravings no such harnesses appear;



11. *America*, from the tapestry series of the Four Continents, design by Ludwig van Schoor, active ca. 1700. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gift of James Hazen Hyde, C-526 (photo: National Gallery of Art)

12. Detail of Figure 11 (photo: National Gallery of Art)

13. Montezuma with his name-glyph. Codex Mendoza (after Prescott-Kutscher)



there the pectoral discs are simply hung from a band around the wearer's neck.

In the arrangement of the pectorals and particularly in the strapwork of the belt of the Moor with the crystals, the two great Moors are much closer to de Bry's illustration than the smaller pair with the pearl clusters. This can mean only that the great Moors were taken directly from the graphic sources, and that the small statuettes were made later *auf ihre façon*, as indicated in the Inventar Pretiosen, 1725.

However, there is no direct prototype among de Bry's engravings for the headdresses worn by the great Moors. At first glance their feather crowns look like the standard plumed ornaments associated with American Indians from the earliest woodcut illustrations on, but on closer observation it becomes clear that there is a curious tongue-shaped extension rising from the middle of the browband. This pointed projection is quite different from the other round-tipped "feathers." It is practically identical to the jeweled tongue that juts up from the feathered headdress of the allegorical figure of America in the tapestry series of the Four Continents (Figures 11, 12), designed by Ludwig van Schoor and woven by the Brussels workshop of Albert Auwerx at the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁴

The model for this peculiar headdress must have

been the diadem of the emperors of Mexico at the time of the conquest. Usually called *copilli*, the diadem's other name *xiuhuitzolli*—"the jewel-encrusted pointed peak"—offers a fair description of its shape and nature.¹⁵ The *xiuhuitzolli* was part of the name-glyph of Montezuma,¹⁶ and it is to be found in countless sixteenth-century illustrations identifying this monarch (Figure 13).

De Bry's engravings were based on original watercolor drawings by Jacques Le Moyne, who had accompanied Laudonnière on his ill-starred adventure,¹⁷ a point that is duly mentioned in the Feyerabend edition of de Bry's work (1591). This guarantee of authenticity must have been a decisive element in the choice of a Florida chieftain's trappings—augmented by the similarly authentic headdress of Montezuma and America herself—for the image of the Moor carrying emeralds from the Indies of the West.¹⁸

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14. The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., has two versions of this *America* tapestry, C-512 and C-526. The latter was published in James Hazen Hyde, "L'Iconographie des quatre parties du monde dans les tapisseries," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 5, 10 (1924) pp. 253–272.

15. Eduard Seler, "Altmexikanischer Schmuck und soziale und militärische Rangabzeichen," *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde* (Graz, 1960) II, pp. 509–619, esp. p. 544, fig. 54a and n. 1: "Tezozomoc Crónica mexicana cap. 59: '... salió el rey ... en la cabeza í frente llevaba el *xiuh-huitzolli*, que era la media mitra que servia de corona real, esmaltada de piedras de esmeraldas, diamantes, ámbar í sencillo muy menudo, muy subtilmente hecho y labrado que

relumbraba.' Id. cap. 82: '... y la corona que llamaban *xiuh-huitzolli*, que era una media mitra que se ponía desde la frente. ...'"

16. Gerdts Kutscher, ed. and trans., William H. Prescott, *Die Eroberung von Mexiko* (Berlin, 1956) p. 182, fig. 75; Kurt Ross, ed., *Codex Mendoza* (Fribourg, 1978) pt. I, pp. 18–33, esp. p. 33, fig. B.

17. The only surviving original drawing is now in the New York Public Library.

18. A German version of this article—"Über die graphischen Vorlagen des 'Mohren mit der Smaragdstufe' im Grünen Gewölbe zu Dresden"—has been published in *Dresdener Kunstblätter* 25 (1981) pp. 10–19, figs. 1–6.

continued from front flap

A Drawing by Chassériau
JOAN R. MERTENS

Benjamin West and William Beckford:
Some Projects for Fonthill
MARTHA HAMILTON-PHILLIPS

A Wax Miniature of Joseph Boruwlaski
PRISCILLA GRACE

NOTES: *Dresdensiana*

A Set of Knife, Fork, and Spoon with Coral
Handles
YVONNE HACKENBROCH

The Great Pendant with the Arms of Saxony
HELMUT NICKEL

A Rock Crystal Watch with a Cross-Beat
Escapement
BRUCE CHANDLER and CLARE VINCENT

The Graphic Sources for the *Moor with the
Emerald Cluster*
HELMUT NICKEL

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JACKET ILLUSTRATION
Cycladic marble sculpture of a male harper.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

