

# METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL

Volume 17/1982





# METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL      Volume 17/1982

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

Included in this volume are a detailed postscript to the exhibition catalogue *France in the Golden Age* (1982), bringing its information up to date; an account of the collectors and connoisseurs who helped to form the Metropolitan Museum's extensive collection of Japanese prints; and a bibliography of the writings of Gisela M. A. Richter (1882–1972).

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JOAN R. MERTENS

#### ABBREVIATIONS

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

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 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



# Barsom or Staff?

## An Inscribed Urartian Plaque

GLENN MARKOE

*Curator of Collections, Robert Hull Fleming Museum, University of Vermont*

ACCORDING TO ANCIENT Zoroastrian practice, the Indo-Iranian priests traditionally held a bundle of twigs or rods while solemnizing certain sacred ceremonies. Known originally as the *baresman* and later as the *barsom*, this bundle, which had at first consisted of a handful of grasses that were strewn during sacrificial rites, became a common priestly attribute. Numerous attempts have been made to identify representations of it in Iranian art beginning with the Achaemenid period, most notably in plaques and statuettes from the Oxus treasure (Figures 1, 2).<sup>1</sup>

In a recent study, Peter Calmeyer has tried to demonstrate that the sticklike objects carried by a pair of helmeted figures in the upper and lower registers of an Urartian bronze plaque in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 3) are early depictions of barsom.<sup>2</sup> Mary Boyce has in turn cited this identification as possible evidence for the spread of Zoroastrian cult practice in pre-Achaemenid times.<sup>3</sup> In view of the importance of this assertion for the early history of Zoroastrianism, a reexamination of the Metropolitan Museum plaque is justified. In fact, a very different interpretation of the figures and the objects that they hold may be offered.

The Zoroastrian texts clearly indicate that the barsom was carried by the priest during religious ceremonies. By contrast, the scene illustrated twice on the Metropolitan Museum plaque, depicting paired soldiers marching before a chariot with two helmeted occupants, is of a purely military nature. The chariot with its occupants—a driver and a passenger with hands extended in a gesture of greeting—is virtually identical to representations found on a number of decorated sheet-metal objects (belts, plaques, and

helmets) of Urartian manufacture, all of which feature a military procession of chariots and horsemen.<sup>4</sup> In none of these representations is there any suggestion of a religious connotation.

The paired soldiers who precede the chariot carry in their upraised right hands a number of sticks notched or bound near the top. Although it is impossible to determine precisely how many sticks each figure was meant to hold, I would suggest that the “bundle” collectively represents two pairs of sticks

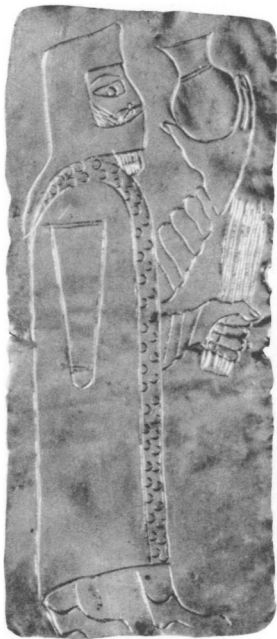
1. For a recent discussion of the barsom, see M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism* (Leiden, 1982) I, p. 167, II, pp. 38–39; and P. Thieme, “Vorzarathustrisches bei den Zarathustriern,” *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 108 (1957) pp. 72–75. For an identification of the barsom on objects from the Oxus treasure, see O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus* (London, 1926) p. xxvi and pls. II:1 (silver statuette); XIII:2 (gold statuette); XIV, XV (gold plaques; Figures 1, 2). See especially Dalton’s remarks (p. 19) concerning the difficulty of identifying barsom for figures that are clearly of a nonpriestly character.

2. P. Calmeyer, “Barsombündel im 8. und 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.,” *Wandlungen: Studien zur antiken und neueren Kunst. Festschrift E. Homann-Wedeking* (Waldsassen, 1975) pp. 11–15, pl. 1. For other publications of this plaque, see H.-J. Kellner, “Ein neuer Medallion-Typus aus Urartu,” *Situla* 14/15 (1974) p. 50, pl. 3; *Urartu: Ein wiederentdeckter Rivale Assyriens* (Munich, 1976) no. 145, pl. 7; T. Kendall, “Two Bronze Belts and a Mirror,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 75 (1977) p. 33, fig. 3; and O. White Muscarella, *Notable Acquisitions 1975–1979* (MMA, New York, 1979) p. 10, who rightly expresses his reservations about the identification of these rods as barsom, citing the absence of evidence, textual or otherwise, for their use in Urartu.

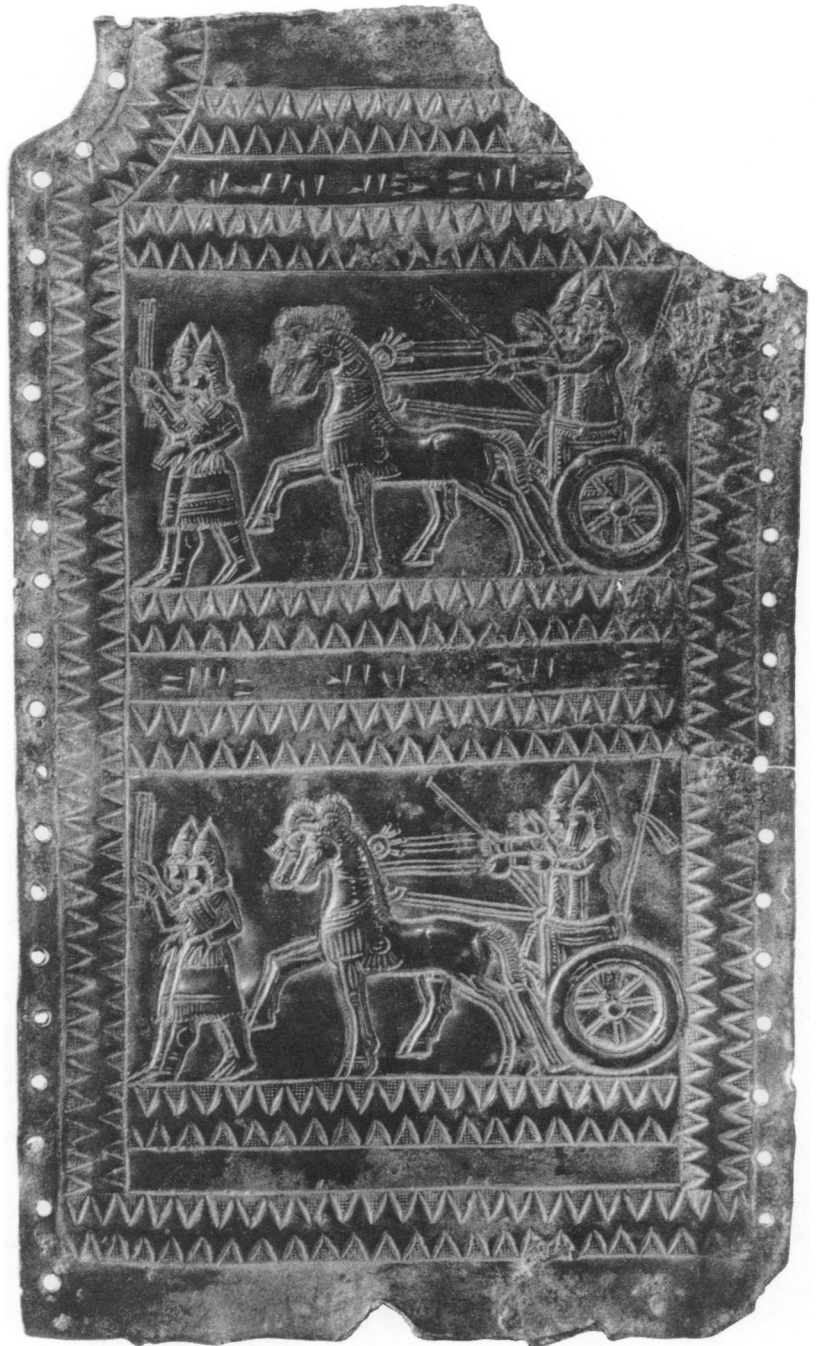
3. Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism*, II, pp. 38–39.

4. Helmet of Argishti I: G. Azarpay, *Urartian Art and Artifacts: A Chronological Study* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1968) pls. 10–13; helmet of Sarduri II: *ibid.*, pls. 16, 17; quiver of Sarduri II: *ibid.*, pl. 21; cf. also a belt in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts: Kendall, “Two Bronze Belts,” p. 33, fig. 4.

1. Plaque, Achaemenid, 5th–4th centuries B.C.; reportedly from the Oxus River Valley. Gold, H. 5.9 cm. London, British Museum, B.M. No. 123949 (photo: British Museum)



2. Plaque, Achaemenid, 5th–4th centuries B.C.; reportedly from the Oxus River Valley. Gold, H. 4.95 cm. London, British Museum, B.M. No. 123970 (photo: British Museum)



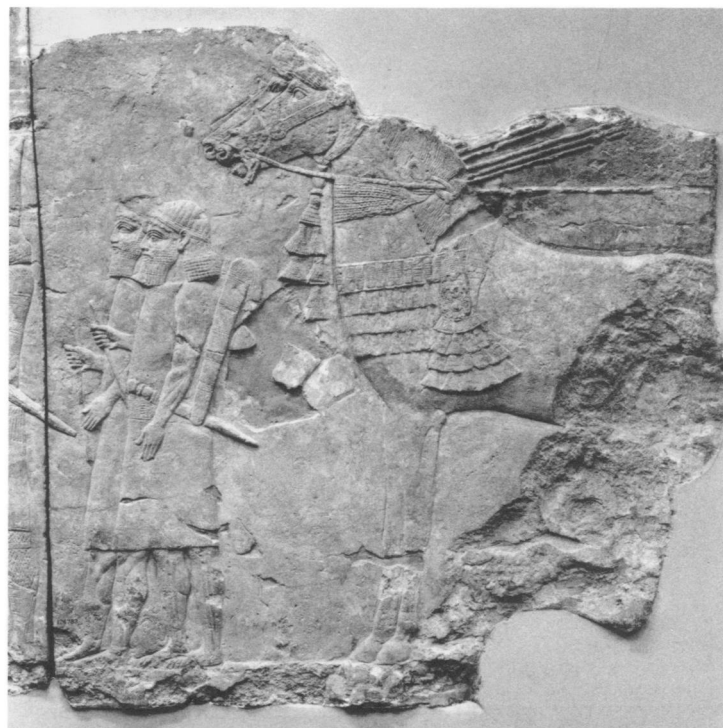
3. Plaque, Urartian, 8th or early 7th century B.C. Bronze, H. 15.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1976.5



rendered in rough perspective. The suggestion is supported by a detail visible in the upper composition: extending below the hand of the nearer figure are the ends of two sticks which are noticeably out of alignment with the three that appear above the hand of his companion. As Calmeyer points out, a seal impression from Toprak Kale illustrates a very similar scene, with the two advancing figures delineated in file rather than as an overlapping pair.<sup>5</sup> Although very cursorily rendered, the object held by each is denoted by a single or a double stroke;<sup>6</sup> there is certainly no indication that the artist meant to suggest a bundle of rods.

If they are not barsom, what other explanation can be offered regarding the significance of these multiple sticks? A comparison with Neo-Assyrian reliefs may provide a clue. A staff consisting of two sticks held together can be found in reliefs dating to the time of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) and after,<sup>7</sup> where it is carried by the last official (regularly a eunuch) in procession before the king; the official's function, as Julian Reade plausibly maintains, may correspond to that of royal usher, perhaps to be identified with the *ša pān ekalli* mentioned in Assyrian texts as controlling access to the king.<sup>8</sup> More important, a staff is regularly carried by each of the two grooms who march directly in front of the king's chariot in procession scenes from the time of Sennacherib, thus offering a direct parallel with the Urartian composition (Figure 4).<sup>9</sup> Two grooms, shown standing with double sticks in hand before a table supporting the king's saddle, can also be clearly identified on the banquet relief of Assurbanipal (Figure 5).<sup>10</sup>

A ceremonial, *secular* function is thus suggested for the marching figures on the Urartian plaque. The



4. Relief, Neo-Assyrian, Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.); from Nineveh. Limestone. London, British Museum, B.M. No. 124783 (photo: British Museum)

5. Relief, Neo-Assyrian, Assurbanipal (668–626 B.C.); from Nineveh. Limestone. Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, VA 969 (photo: after Meyer, *Altorientalischer Denkmäler*)



5. B. B. Piotrovskii, *Vanskovo Tsarstvo* (Moscow, 1959) p. 152, fig. 16; Calmeyer, "Barsombündel," p. 12, fig. 2.

6. Admittedly it is difficult to infer too much from the published sketch.

7. J. E. Reade, "The Neo-Assyrian Court and Army: Evidence from the Sculptures," *Iraq* 34:2 (1972) p. 95.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., pp. 98ff. These staves may be rendered individually as in Figure 4 or paired in close perspective so as to resemble a double staff (E. F. Weidner, *Die Reliefs der assyrischen Könige, Archiv für Orientforschung* supp. 4 [Berlin, 1939] p. 31, fig. 29 [here following the royal chariot], and p. 61, fig. 53).

10. G. R. Meyer, *Altorientalische Denkmäler im Vorderasiatischen Museum zu Berlin* (Leipzig, 1965) pl. 160.



6. Relief, Neo-Assyrian, Sargon II (722–705 B.C.); from Khorsabad. Limestone. London, British Museum, B.M. No. 118828 (photo: British Museum)

stafflike object that each holds aloft may be interpreted as an insignia or symbol of rank (perhaps associated with the monitoring of access to the king) rather than as a cult object, for which there is no support in the written records or in the iconography of the scene itself.

Concerning the date of the plaque, attention is drawn to the inscription written above each of the panels: "From the arsenal of Argishti." Since the name is presented here without patronymic, the possibilities are reduced to two kings of that name, Argishti I (786–764 B.C.) and Argishti II (714–685 B.C.). The obvious correspondences in style and subject matter with decorated belts and helmets bearing the inscriptions of Argishti I and his successor Sarduri II (764–730 B.C.) render an attribution to the former an attractive one.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, two details in the Neo-Assyrian reliefs (if such comparisons can be consistently relied upon for an indication of Urartian date)<sup>12</sup> may suggest a later dating. One of these details is the staff mentioned above, which, as already noted, first occurs in the reliefs of Sennacherib and which, as Reade points out, appears to be a seventh-century innovation.<sup>13</sup> The second detail is the plumed ornament adorning the headstalls of the two chariot horses. The ornament is an inverted lunate crest, a type that first occurs in Assyrian art in the palace reliefs of Sargon II (722–705 B.C.) and becomes particularly common in the reliefs of his successors (Figure 6).<sup>14</sup> Both of these details suggest a dating for the plaque in the late eighth or early seventh century B.C.; thus, an attribution to Argishti II would best conform to the chronological indications suggested by the Assyrian reliefs.

11. See note 4 above.

12. Here we may call attention to the eight-spoked wheel, which occurs in Urartian chariot representations beginning with Argishti I. In the Assyrian reliefs, however, it does not appear until the reign of Tiglath Pileser III (745–727 B.C.); see B. Hrouda, *Die Kulturgeschichte des assyrischen Flachbildes* (Bonn, 1965) p. 95.

13. Reade, "The Neo-Assyrian Court and Army," p. 99.

14. T. H. Madhlom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art* (London, 1970) p. 22, pl. VIII:2,3,9,10.

# About the Sequence of the Tapestries in *The Hunt of the Unicorn* and *The Lady with the Unicorn*

HELMUT NICKEL

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ALTHOUGH THE ICONOGRAPHICAL aspects of these two celebrated series, the first at The Cloisters and the second at the Musée de Cluny, have been covered in numerous publications, the sequence of the tapestries in *The Hunt of the Unicorn* has been the subject of some controversy, and that of *The Lady with the Unicorn* is a question that seems not to have been raised so far.<sup>1</sup>

Establishing a narrative sequence for *The Hunt of the Unicorn* is problematic, because among its seven tapestries there are two—*The Start of the Hunt* and *The Unicorn in Captivity*—that are in a style entirely different from the others. This fact has been variously interpreted as indicating that these two panels were designed by a different artist, woven in a different workshop, added to the series at a later date, or not part of the series at all.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the tale told in the *Hunt* is composed from two, possibly three, differing and even mutually exclusive versions of the same story.

According to unicorn lore the animal was so swift, wild, and strong that it could not be taken alive, and could be killed only after having succumbed to the attractions of a maiden, to whom it was drawn by the sweet smell peculiar to virgins; afterwards, “as the Physiologus says,” it was to be “brought to the palace of the king.”<sup>3</sup>

The reason for hunting this elusive animal was the desire to possess its horn, which allegedly had the power to neutralize poison. In its natural habitat the gentle unicorn was said to purify water by dipping its horn into streams and springs that had been

polluted by the venom of snakes, whose prior visits had made the water undrinkable for other animals.<sup>4</sup>

The sequence of the tapestries within the series as established in their publications by James Rorimer and Margaret Freeman is: *The Start of the Hunt*, *The Unicorn at the Fountain*, *The Unicorn Tries to Escape*, *The Unicorn Defends Himself*, *The Unicorn Is Tamed by the Maiden* (preserved only as a fragment), *The Unicorn Is Killed and Brought to the Castle*, and finally *The Unicorn in Captivity* (Figures 1–7). Geneviève Souchal, while separating *The Start of the Hunt* and *The Unicorn in*

1. James J. Rorimer, “The Unicorn Tapestries Were Made for Anne of Brittany,” *MMAB* n.s. 1 (1942) pp. 7–20, ill.; Pierre Verlet and Francis Salet, *La Dame à la Licorne* (Paris, 1960); James J. Rorimer, *The Unicorn Tapestries at The Cloisters* (MMA, New York, 1962); Dora Heinz, *Mittelalterliche Tapissereien, Zeit und Farbe* (Vienna, 1965) pl. 13, p. 40; Maria Gräfin Lanckorońska, *Wandteppiche für eine Fürstin: Die historische Persönlichkeit der “Dame mit dem Einhorn”* (Frankfurt am Main, 1965); Edith Holm, *Die Einhornjagdtapete der Anne de Bretagne, Die Jagd in der Kunst* (Hamburg/Berlin, 1967); Geneviève Souchal, “Un Grand Peintre français de la fin du XVe siècle: Le Maître de la Chasse à la Licorne,” *Revue de l’Art* 22 (1973) pp. 22–49, ill.; idem, *Masterpieces of Tapestry from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century*, exh. cat. (MMA, New York, 1974) nos. 18–24, *The Hunt of the Unicorn*, ill.; nos. 37–49, *The Lady with the Unicorn*, ill.; Margaret B. Freeman, *The Unicorn Tapestries* (MMA, New York, 1976); Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *La Dame à la Licorne* (Paris, 1978), Eng. trans., *The Lady and the Unicorn* (Paris, 1979).

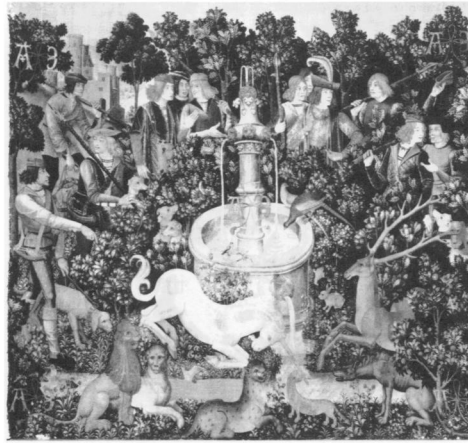
2. Discussed in Freeman, *Unicorn Tapestries*, p. 178.

3. Odell Shepard, *The Lore of the Unicorn* (Boston, 1930; Harper Colophon ed., New York, 1979) p. 47.

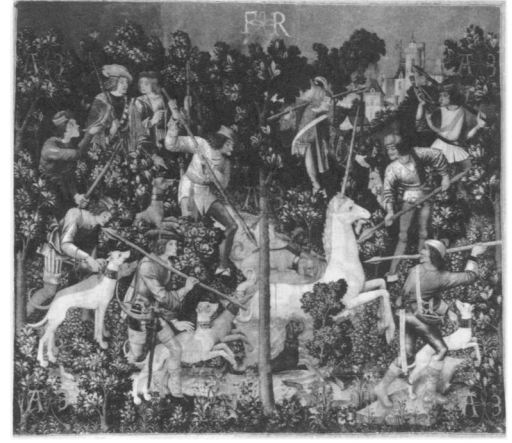
4. Shepard, *Lore of the Unicorn*; Rüdiger Robert Beer, *Einhorn: Fabelwelt und Wirklichkeit* (Munich, 1972); Nancy B. Hathaway, *The Unicorn* (New York, 1980).



1. *The Start of the Hunt*



2. *The Unicorn at the Fountain*



3. *The Unicorn Tries to Escape*

1–7. Traditional arrangement of *The Hunt of the Unicorn*. Tapestry (wool, silk, and metal thread), H. 12 ft. 1 in. (3.68 m.); Figure 5, 6 ft. 8 in. (2.03 m.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, Gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1937, 37.80.1–6, 38.51.1,2

*Captivity* from the others as the first and second pieces of a second series, lists what she calls the first series (Figures 2–6) in the same generally accepted order.<sup>5</sup>

This arrangement of the five tapestries in the “first series,” however, has a strangely unstructured appearance without a central focus. Moreover, its sequence is not easily compatible with the real-life equivalent of the mythical unicorn hunt, the stag hunt, from which all the technical details represented in the

tapestries are borrowed. The most authoritative medieval work on hunting, the *Livre de chasse* of Gaston Phébus, comte de Foix, of 1387,<sup>6</sup> describes how a

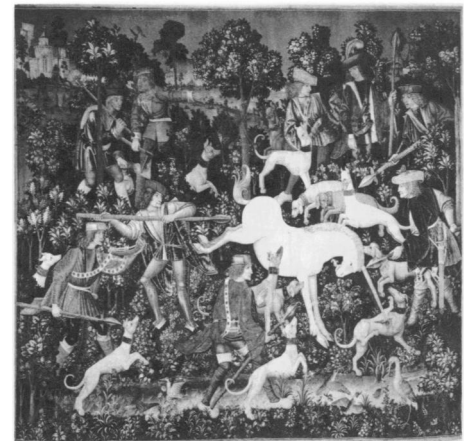
5. Though *The Start of the Hunt* and *The Unicorn in Captivity* are connected with *The Hunt of the Unicorn* series by the same enigmatic cypher A-E woven into their design, it is possible that *The Start of the Hunt* is the sole survivor of another hunting set, perhaps depicting a stag or boar hunt, and that *The Unicorn in Captivity* was a single emblematic piece and not part of a series at all. It certainly does not fit into the story told, though it has been interpreted as a symbol of the Resurrection after the killing of the Unicorn, if the Unicorn hunt is seen as a parable of the Annunciation and the Passion of Christ. Beer (*Einhorn*, fig. 135) tries to reconcile the divergent facts by captioning *The Unicorn Is Killed* as “Das Einhorn wird in den Hals getroffen und für tot ins Schloss gebracht” (The Unicorn is being wounded in the neck and brought to the castle presumed dead).

6. Gaston Phébus, comte de Foix, *Le Livre de chasse*, ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica XVIII* (Karlshamn, 1971) chaps. 1, 28–31, 36, 39.

8–12. Suggested arrangement of *The Hunt of the Unicorn*

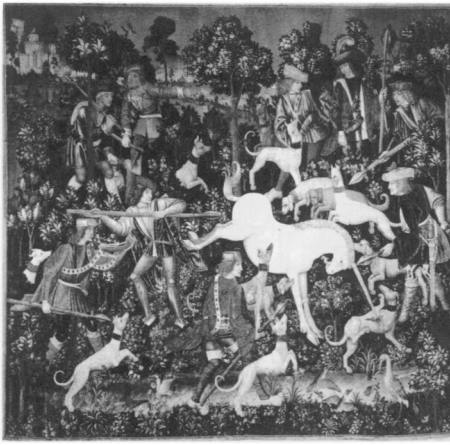


8. *The Unicorn at the Fountain*

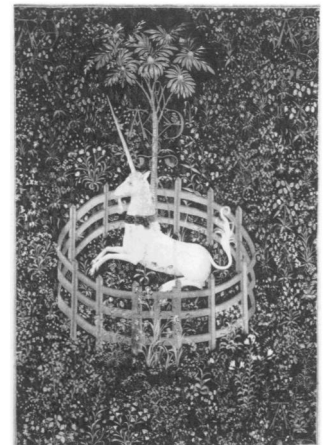


9. *The Unicorn Defends Himself*





5. *The Unicorn Is Tamed by the Maiden* (fragment)



4. *The Unicorn Defends Himself*

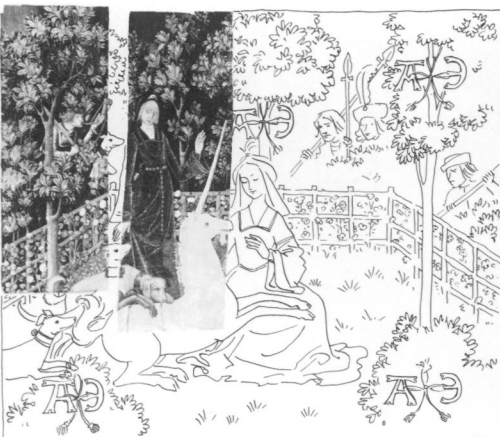
6. *The Unicorn Is Killed and Brought to the Castle*

7. *The Unicorn in Captivity*

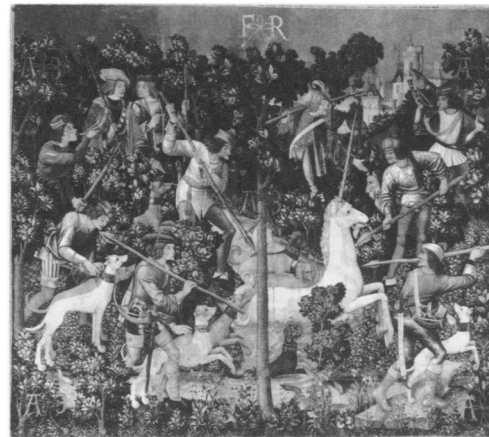
hunted stag might first turn at bay and defend itself valiantly, then might run and try to throw the hounds off its scent by crossing running water. Finally, according to the rules, it was the proper end of a good hunt to force the stag into a lake or some other deep water to slow it down, and even to let the shock of cold water bring about heart failure in its overheated body. This sequence of events suggests that *The Unicorn Tries to Escape* should follow rather than precede *The Unicorn Defends Himself*. Furthermore, the fact that there are six episodes of the story represented in five tapestries (in the fifth, two events—the killing of the Unicorn and the transport of his dead body to the castle—are shown simultaneously) indicates deliberate planning, perhaps to accommodate the hanging space in a given baronial hall.<sup>7</sup> In designing a set of tapestries an odd number would lend itself more nat-

urally to a symmetrical arrangement than an even one. Such a symmetrical arrangement, which also reflects a sequence compatible with the lore of the unicorn as well as with the rules of the stag hunt, can be achieved by making *The Unicorn Is Tamed by the Maiden* the third tapestry in the series. The sequence would then read *The Unicorn at the Fountain*, *The Unicorn Defends Himself*, *The Unicorn Is Tamed by the Maiden*, *The Unicorn Tries to Escape*, and *The Unicorn Is Killed and Brought to the Castle* (Figures 8–12). In this sequence not only does

7. A very similar composition with the spearing of a stag in the background, and a group of travelers with loaded pack-horses being met at a castle, is on the tapestry *Gypsies at the Châteaueau Gate*, in The Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester, New Hampshire; see Souchal, *Masterpieces of Tapestry*, no. 57, pp. 137–139, ill.



10. *The Unicorn Is Tamed by the Maiden* (reconstruction)



11. *The Unicorn Tries to Escape*



12. *The Unicorn Is Killed and Brought to the Castle*

a telling alternation between static and dynamic motifs in the panels become apparent, but there is also a symmetry in the arrangement of major architectural elements in the design: the fountain in the first tapestry, the rose bower of the *hortus conclusus* in the third, and the castle in the fifth. Even minor details, such as the buildings in the backgrounds, are thus symmetrically placed in the upper left corners of the first and second panels, and in the upper right corners of the fourth and fifth.

*The Hunt of the Unicorn* was designed to tell a story, and its sequence can be arranged accordingly. *The Lady with the Unicorn*, on the other hand, represents an allegory of the five senses, a much more elusive system. Fortunately, the heraldic iconography of this set is clear, in contrast to that of *The Hunt of the Unicorn*, which is still enigmatic, and it is this heraldry that offers a clue to the sequence of the panels.

The bends and crescents so generously displayed on banners, standards, shields, and armorial cloaks have long—at least since 1883—been recognized as the arms of the family Le Viste, a newly ennobled clan

of lawyers, high-ranking civil servants, and financiers, originally hailing from Lyons, but holding key government positions in Paris during the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>8</sup> The name Le Viste, an archaic form of *vite* (swift, fast), might have been the reason for choosing the swift unicorn as an emblem.<sup>9</sup> The Lion, which is the Unicorn's constant companion in the tapestries (though constantly ignored, as the very title of the series indicates), is probably a canting device for the Le Vistes' Lyonnais origins.<sup>10</sup> As a family of rather recent importance they had not received a properly granted coat of arms; the armorial bearings (gules, a bend azure charged with three crescents argent) are heraldically incorrect.<sup>11</sup> However, these *armes*

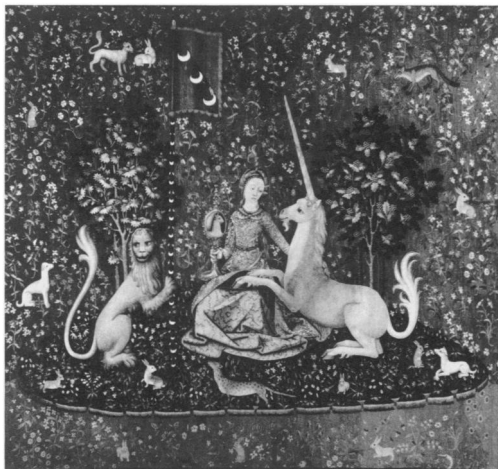
8. Lanckorońska, *Wandteppiche*, pp. 50–52; Erlande-Brandenburg, *Dame à la Licorne*, chap. 1.

9. The Unicorn as a chastity symbol has been the reason for the almost universal interpretation of these tapestries as a marriage present.

10. The arms of the city of Lyons are gules, a lion argent, a chief azure charged with three fleurs-de-lys or.

11. Jouglas de Morena, *Grand Armorial de France*, 6 vols. (Paris,

13. Sight



14. Hearing



15. A mon seul désir (Touch)



13–18. Suggested arrangement of *The Lady with the Unicorn*. Tapestry (wool and silk). Paris, Musée National des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny (photos: Musées Nationaux)

16. Touch



*à enquérir* seem to have been a matter of stubborn pride with this family of self-made men. In the tapestries heraldic custom is further violated by the use of the square banner, the prerogative of knights bannerets, in every one of the series of six; the far less offensive, because lower-ranking, double-tailed standard is used only four times.

Much has been written about the identity of the Lady and that of the original owner of the tapestries, sometimes with widely divergent results.<sup>12</sup> One question, though, whether the series has an intended sequence, seems not to have been considered. In previous publications the panels have been listed in practically every possible order.<sup>13</sup> There appears, however, to be a simple numerical code in the design of the tapestries themselves.

This code makes use of the ostentatiously displayed Le Viste arms. In the tapestry *Sight* they are shown only once, on the banner held by the Lion. In *Hearing* they appear twice, on the standard and on the banner. In *Touch* they are represented three times, on the square banner held up by the Lady herself,

and on the two targes the Lion and the Unicorn wear slung around their necks. In *Taste* the standard, the banner, and the two armorial capes of the animals display the arms four times, while in *Smell* they are to be found on the Lion's shield, on the targe of the Unicorn, on the banner held by the Unicorn, and,

1934–52) VI, nos. 35.103 and 35.104: Le Viste. A branch of the family, created comtes de Montbrian in 1756, bears heraldically correct arms: gules, a bend argent charged with three crescents azure.

12. In the 19th century the tapestries, by reason of the three crescents, were said to have been made for Prince Zizim, the exiled brother of Sultan Bajazet, and his French ladylove. Later, practically every bride who married into the Le Viste family between 1480 and 1515 has been suggested as the fortunate first owner. Lanckorońska (*Wandteppiche*), in a different approach, has proposed Margaret of York, duchess of Burgundy, who would have received the series as a present from one of the Le Vistes in high office. To this I would like to add that the fictitious arms of Queen Guinevere in the 15th century were gules, a bend argent charged with three crescents azure; see Michel Pastourneau, *Armorial des Chevaliers de la Table Ronde* (Paris, 1983) p. 83.

13. Verlet and Salet, *Dame à la Licorne: La Vue, L'Ouïe, L'Odorat, Le Goût, Le Toucher*; Heinz, *Mittelalterliche Tapisserien*:

17. *Taste*



18. *Smell*



whimsically but ingeniously, twice on the Lion's standard, which doubles back on itself, thus making a total of five (Figures 13, 14, 16–18).

The sixth tapestry, in which the Lady stands in front of a tent bearing the enigmatic inscription A.MON. SEVL.DESIR.V, surprisingly has the Le Viste arms on display thrice: on the standard held by the Lion, on the tent pennon, and on the banner held by the Unicorn (Figure 15). This tapestry has been regarded by most scholars as an emblematic piece, showing the Lady, for whom the series would have been woven as a marriage gift, in the act of choosing her bridal jewels, or, in the most recent interpretation by Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, putting her jewelry back into the casket as a symbolic renouncement of all passions excited by the senses.<sup>14</sup>

If, however, following the numerical code of the Le Viste arms this tapestry were put, instead of *Touch*, into the third place of the series, the arrangement of five tapestries would become a symmetrical one, with the tent as the centerpiece, flanked by two panels with major structures in their design, the table with the organ and the rose bower, and with two plainer groups on either end. The tapestry *A mon seul désir*, with the Lady handling her jewelry and the two heraldic beasts grasping the tent flaps, could easily be taken as an allegory of the sense of touch. The *Touch* panel, with the Lady holding the banner-shaft in her right hand and touching the Unicorn's horn with her left, might have been designed as an alternative piece, to be used depending on the wall space available. In that event the series could be divided into two groups of three: *Sight, Hearing, Touch*; and *Taste, A mon seul désir, Smell*.

*Touch*, in any case, appears to be from a different hand. Though its fleury background teeming with animals seems to be superficially the same as in the other tapestries, there are several beasts and birds, such as the lynx, the multicolored spotted panther, the pheasant, and the partridge, that are not to be

found elsewhere in the series. The genet this panel shares with *Sight* and *Taste*, its Lion, and particularly its shaggy-coated Unicorn look almost like different species. Another unusual feature is that the lynx, the panther, the genet, and both monkeys are collared, while in the other panels only some of the dogs (four out of nine) have collars. The Lady of *Touch*, furthermore, wears a dress markedly different in style from the others, and she is the only one with free-flowing, uncovered hair. The two targes worn by the Lion and the Unicorn are oddly repetitive compared with the carefully planned use of varied types of equipment in the other tapestries, such as the square banner opposed to the double-tailed standard (Figures 14, 15, 17, 18), or the Lion's triangular "shield for war" and the Unicorn's squarish targe as "shield for peace" in *Smell* (Figure 18);<sup>15</sup> even in the one case where two identical pieces of equipment are used—the armorial cloaks in *Taste*—the Lion's cloak has the bend in the arms reversed, as does the Lion's shield in *Smell* (Figures 17, 18).<sup>16</sup>

To strive for a well-balanced symmetrical composition for an entire set of tapestries would have been only natural for a designer working out his sketches on paper, unrestricted by the realities of hanging space. Even in their mutilated condition the five tapestries of the "first series" of *The Hunt of the Unicorn* give the impression of such a balance. *The Lady with the Unicorn* represents another, more flexible solution, with alternative panels adaptable to differing locations and wall spaces.

We shall probably never know which halls in which châteaux were first hung with *The Hunt of the Unicorn* or with *The Lady with the Unicorn*. For the sake of their designers, who spent so much thought and effort on their composition, we can only hope that there was once a time when these tapestries were shown in their intended sequence.

Gehör, Gesicht, Geruch, Geschmack, Gefühl; Lanckorońska, Wandteppiche: Gesicht, Gehör, Geruch, Geschmack, Gefühl; Souchal, Masterpieces: Sight, Hearing, Smell, Taste, Touch; Freeman, Unicorn Tapestries: Sight, Hearing, Taste, Smell, Touch; Erlande-Brandenburg, *Dame à la Licorne*: La Vue, L'Ouïe, Le Goût, L'Odorat, Le Toucher, but in the English edition of his *étude* they are listed as Taste, Sight, Smell, Touch, Hearing.

14. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Dame à la Licorne*, p. 12.

15. There is even a technical mistake in the representation of the targe carried by the Lion: the targe's *bouche*, the cutout de-

signed for fitting in the lance in couched position, is nonfunctionally closed. I do not know of any other example of such a closed *bouche*.

16. It is proper heraldic etiquette to reverse the charges of the dexter shield (from the viewer's point the one on the left) *pour courtoisie*, if two shields are shown side by side. In this way heraldic animals, such as lions, do not face away from the other shield. This *courtoisie* was the rule for marriage-alliance arms in Germany and adjacent parts of Western Europe; there it was the more important shield of the husband that was reversed.



# The Identification of a Plant in the Unicorn Tapestries

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IN 1938, Eleanor C. Marquand's now classic study of the flora of the Unicorn Tapestries at The Cloisters excited considerable interest.<sup>1</sup> Her careful investigation resulted in the identification of forty-six species of plants. Three years later, E. J. Alexander and Carol H. Woodward, in a similar study,<sup>2</sup> determined an additional thirty-eight of the 101 different plants represented in the seven tapestries. Their "Checklist of Plants in the Unicorn Tapestries"<sup>3</sup> has withstood the test of time and, to date, no new floral identifications have been published.

That so many species of plants in the seven late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Unicorn Tapestries could be accurately identified by twentieth-century plant scientists speaks volumes for the powers of observation of the designers (and weavers) of these works, and of so many other tapestries dating from the period just before the development of what has come to be called "science." In a very real sense, as I have observed elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> botanical depictions in tapestries involved more than just a touch of scientific investigation. It is clear that, in Northern Europe, botanical representation such as that in the Unicorn Tapestries was an important step toward the later scientific study of plant life.

There were a number of herbalists at the time these tapestries were woven, but by no means all of their botanical depictions were as accurate as those in the Unicorn Tapestries. Many herbalists were still recopying works of the ancients rather than observing the plants themselves. It is plain, however, that the designers of the Unicorn Tapestries went directly to

the source for their inspiration, although they in no way allowed scientific accuracy to diminish the artistry of their creation.

Alexander and Woodward's attention was especially captured by an unusual plant that appears only in *The Start of the Hunt* (Figures 1, 3) and *The Unicorn in Captivity* (Figures 2, 4), the first and seventh tapestries in the series. Both were woven in the millefleurs style, which differentiates them from the other five tapestries, in which a more natural style was used. The plant was found once in the first tapestry and twice, in a different mode of design, in the seventh. Of this little-known plant, the authors wrote:

A unique flower (or fruit) in the seventh tapestry has proved annoyingly intriguing. It is a plant of rosette growth with stalks bearing peculiarly drooping structures, each like a saucer held on edge with battlemented borders, the "saucer" attached in one case near the center, in another near the top. This same thing appears in fragmentary form but different color in the first, but both are completely unidentifiable. It is one of several small plants to which no clue can be found.<sup>5</sup>

1. Eleanor C. Marquand, "Plant Symbolism in the Unicorn Tapestries," *Parnassus* 10, no. 5 (1938) pp. 3-8, 33, 40.

2. E. J. Alexander and Carol H. Woodward, "The Flora of the Unicorn Tapestries," *Journal of the New York Botanical Garden* 42 (1941) pp. 105-122.

3. Idem, "Checklist of Plants in the Unicorn Tapestries," *Journal of the New York Botanical Garden* 42 (1941) pp. 141-148.

4. Lawrence J. Crockett, "Art, Science, and the Unicorn Tapestries," *Connecticut Journal of Science Education* 20 (1982) pp. 2-8, ill.

5. Alexander and Woodward, "Flora," p. 111.



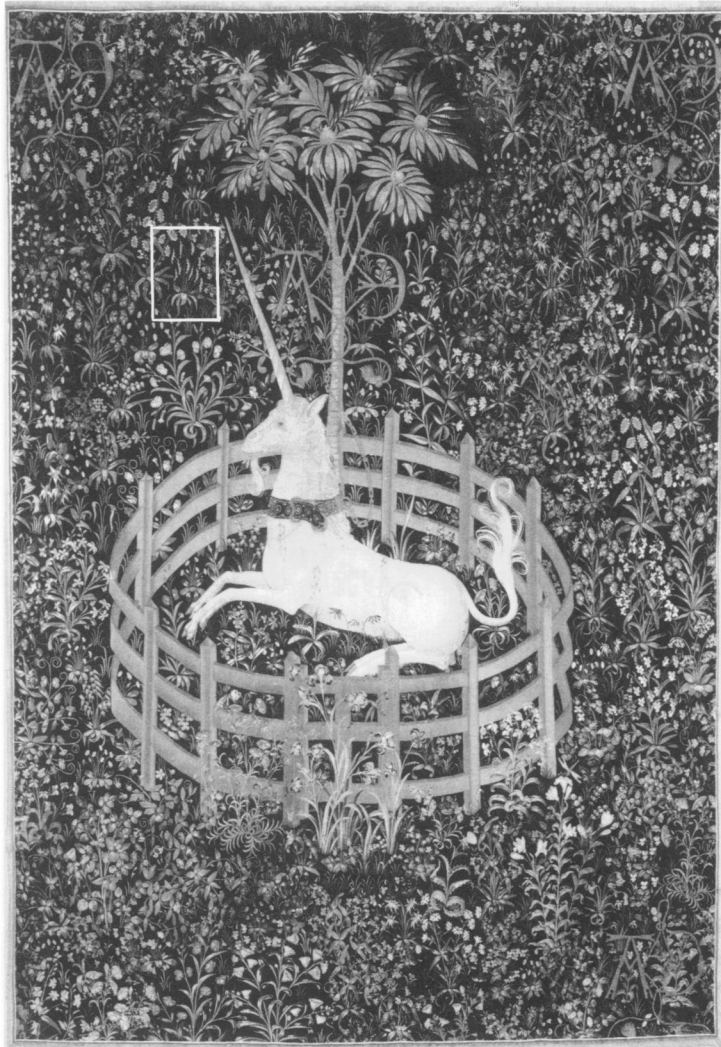
1. *The Start of the Hunt* (box shows detail reproduced in Figure 3). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, Gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 37.80.1

There is, however, another representation of this plant in the first tapestry, apparently overlooked by earlier investigators. What is especially interesting is that it is depicted in the style used for its representation in the seventh tapestry. The first tapestry thus contains two very different representations of this plant. The newly discovered plant has only two stalked structures, one attached at its end and, therefore, pendulous, and the other attached at its middle. That is all there is to be seen of it. When one faces the tapestry, it is to be found to the right of the earliest reported plant, shown in fragmentary form near the right edge of the tapestry, immediately above the red-flowered stock and below the blue-flowered violet (see Figure 3). In both tapestries and in both styles of design, the plant is intriguingly mysterious and invites further study.

That the unusual plant is not unique to the Unicorn Tapestries has been revealed by a study I undertook at the Metropolitan Museum and at The Cloisters of other tapestries of approximately the same age, design, and manufacture. A similar plant is to be found in *Falcon Hunt*, in the Robert Lehman Collection,<sup>6</sup> and in *The Instruments of Christ's Passion*<sup>7</sup> (Figures 5–8). *Falcon Hunt* is richly laden with plants in full flower or fruit, and the plant in question occurs not once or twice, but seventeen times. It is, indeed, the most frequently repeated species in this work. Four clear examples are to be found in *The Instruments of Christ's Passion*, although they are more primitively

6. In a personal communication, Dr. George Szabo, curator of the Robert Lehman Collection, wrote, "We do not know whether it [*Falcon Hunt*] is a single piece or part of a series. It is my feeling it was part of a series in which the others could have represented hunts of other kinds. I might add that some visiting tapestry scholars expressed the same opinion."

7. *The Instruments of Christ's Passion* was once owned by the duke of Valencia and is of late 15th-century manufacture, probably in Brussels. It was used as an altar cloth.



2. *The Unicorn in Captivity* (box shows detail reproduced in Figure 4). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, Gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 37.80.6

3. *The Start of the Hunt*, detail of Figure 1



4. *The Unicorn in Captivity*, detail of Figure 2

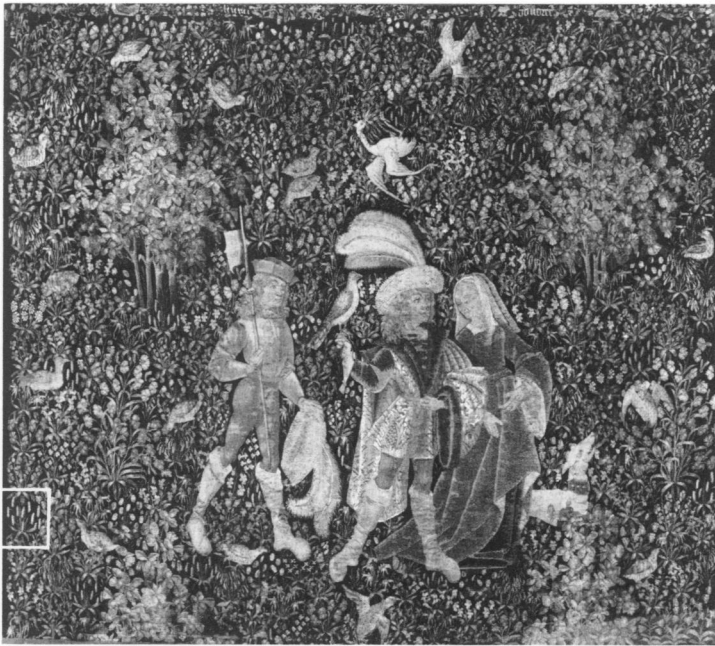
executed than those both in the Unicorn series and in *Falcon Hunt*. Thus we have a new and somewhat different version to provide additional visual confirmation of the existence of the plant and to assist in its botanical analysis.

In our effort to identify the still-unnamed plant, it must first be determined whether the pendulous structure on it is a fruit, a flower, or a flower cluster. To do this we must consider the botanical definition of a fruit. A fruit is a ripened or mature ovary, the lowest part of the female organ of floral reproduction at the center of the flower (Figure 9). Before pollination and fertilization, the ovary contains ovules that, following fertilization, mature as seeds. The ovary is attached at its base to the receptacle, which is part of the stem. The position of attachment of a fruit becomes crucial in analyzing the pendulous structures seen on the plants we are considering.

In all, there is a total of 190 examples of the pendulous structure in the four tapestries in which the plant appears (Table 1). Of the 190 pendulous structures, 183 are attached at their bases, seven equatorially; of the latter, one example appears in the first and six in the seventh tapestry of the Unicorn series. The central or equatorial attachment occurs only in the Unicorn Tapestries.

The presence of this plant in *Falcon Hunt* and the frequency of its use there help to remove some of the ambiguity engendered by its apparently less careful depiction in the Unicorn Tapestries, and permit more accurate determination of the botanical nature of the plant and the unusual pendulous structures. In the Unicorn Tapestries the pendulous structure is seen a total of nineteen times. In thirteen examples, the structure is bilaterally crenellated; in the other six, it is unilaterally crenellated. All thirty-seven structures in *The Instruments of Christ's Passion* are bilaterally crenellated and all are attached at their bases, while in *Falcon Hunt* only twenty-six of the 134 pendulous structures have unilaterally crenellated margins; the others are bilaterally crenellated. Both types, however, are attached only at their bases (Table 1, cols. 4-6).

Alexander and Woodward described the structures as "each like a saucer held on edge with battlemented borders"; that is, suggestive of a daisylike flower (or composite as it is known to botanists), which is found in the first tapestry—a hawkweed of the genus *Crepis* (Figure 10)—and which bears a similarity

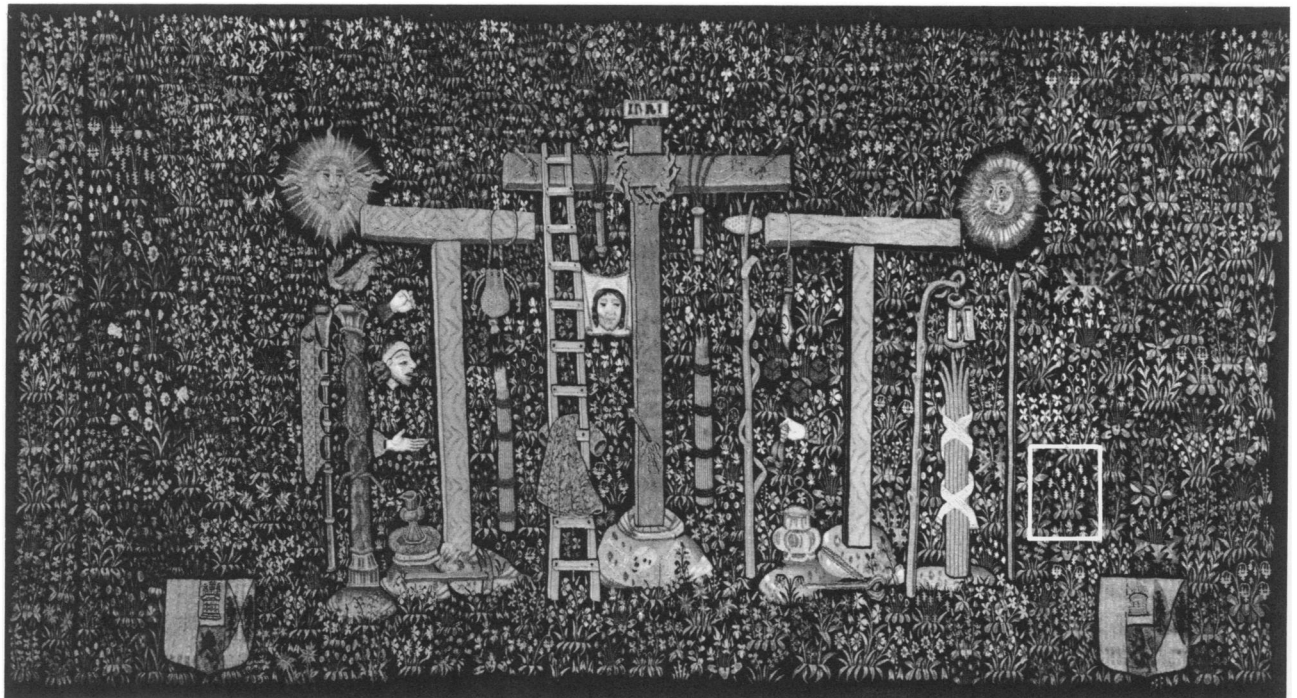


5. *Falcon Hunt* (box shows detail reproduced in Figure 7). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975

6. *The Instruments of Christ's Passion* (box shows detail reproduced in Figure 8). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, The Cloisters Fund, 52.34

to the plant in question. In the tapestry, the flowers are turned sideways but all of them show a smooth lower surface, with the familiar slight bulge where the flower is attached to the stem (similar to the shallow type of champagne glass). The petaled upper surfaces are shown precisely where they are to be expected. Combining this with the fact that most of the plants under discussion have their pendulous structures attached at their bases, one must conclude that our plant, whether with bilaterally or unilaterally crenellated borders, is not a flower.

Another possibility is that the pendulous structures represent the many-flowered inflorescence of a grass known as *Briza maxima*, or big quaking grass (Figure 11). In *Briza*, the flower cluster (known as a panicle) is relatively large and pendant, often 12 millimeters long and 10 millimeters broad, and the pedicel (attachment of the flower cluster) is slender and drooping. The flower clusters are purplish or brown-margined, much resembling in color those seen in the seventh tapestry of the Unicorn series and in *Falcon Hunt*. While this would appear to suggest a solution to the mystery, the overall composition of the pendulous objects in the tapestries differs from that of the living flower clusters. The floral cluster of *Briza* tapers and is sometimes as wide as it is long, neither of







7. *Falcon Hunt*, detail of Figure 5



8. *The Instruments of Christ's Passion*, detail of Figure 6

which conditions obtains in the tapestry plant. Nor do the crenellations in the latter match the overlapping or imbricated arrangement of the individual florets of the living plant. In many of the drooping objects, as represented in the tapestries, there is a distinct vertical central region or line (usually differing in color from the margins). This does not exist in *Briza's* inflorescence, in the center of which is a succession of horizontal lines caused by the imbrications of the individual florets. As a consequence of all

9. (LEFT) A longitudinal section of a generalized flower. Note the three parts of the pistil: *stigma* (uppermost) on which pollen lands, *style*, joining the stigma to the lower portion, the *ovary*. Within the ovarian cavity are *ovules* (the future seeds). The ovary will mature as the fruit after pollination; the style and stigma will wither. (RIGHT) Drawing of a legume, the mature ovary of the pea plant (*Pisum sativum*), with the seeds (matured ovules) lined up along one edge inside. At the top are seen the withered remnants of style and stigma (drawings: Ricki Cutler)

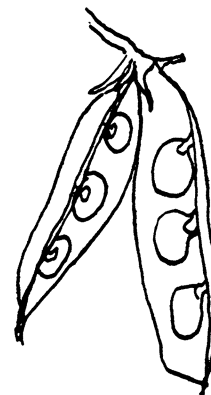
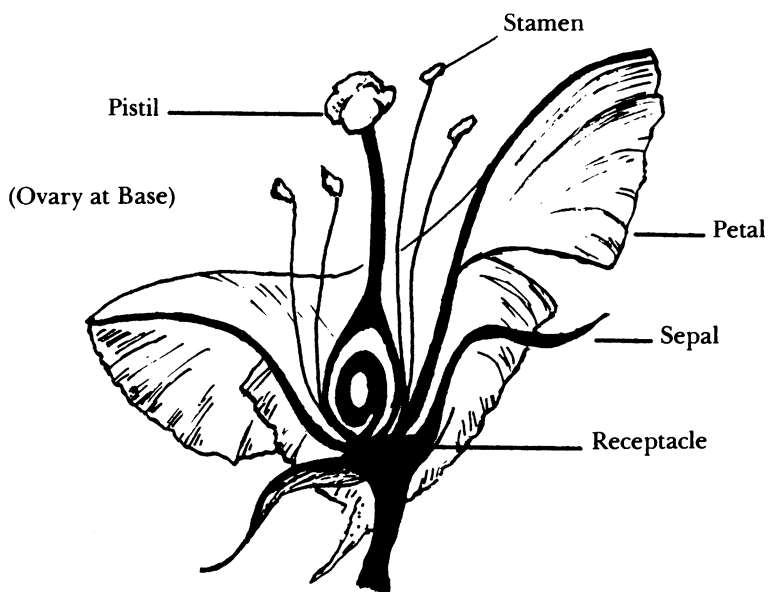




TABLE 1 Characteristics of the Plant

Tapestry	Number of Plants	Number of Pendulous Structures	Bilateral Crenellation	Unilateral Crenellation	Basal Attachment	Central Attachment
REPRESENTATION IN FRAGMENTARY STYLE						
<i>Unicorn First</i>	1	2	2	0	2	0
<i>Instruments of Christ's Passion</i>	4	37	37	0	37	0
Subtotal	(5)	(39)	(39)	(0)	(39)	(0)
REPRESENTATION IN MORE REALISTIC STYLE						
<i>Unicorn First</i>	1	2	1	1	1	1
<i>Unicorn Seventh</i>	2	15	10	5	9	6
<i>Falcon Hunt</i>	17	134	108	26	134	0
Subtotal	(20)	(153)	(119)	(32)	(144)	(7)
Grand Total	25	190	158	32	183	7

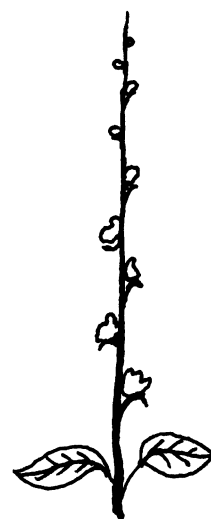
10. *The Start of the Hunt*, detail of Figure 1, showing hawkweed



11. The inflorescence of big quaking grass, *Briza maxima* (drawing: Ricki Cutler)



12. A generalized spike (drawing: Ricki Cutler)



these dissimilarities, one is led to the conclusion that the plant depicted in the tapestries is not *Briza maxima*.

This leads us to the next flower-related possibility. The structure in question may have been meant to represent a cluster of flowers known botanically as a spike. A spike is an inflorescence with an elongated axis (main stalk) that bears scattered single flowers that are sessile, or directly attached to the base (Figure 12). The flowers of a spike bloom from below and the blooming progresses toward the growing top of the spike. Thus this inflorescence tapers in width, from a wide base to a narrow top. Since none of the drooping structures in the tapestries shows tapering, we must eliminate spikes as a possibility.

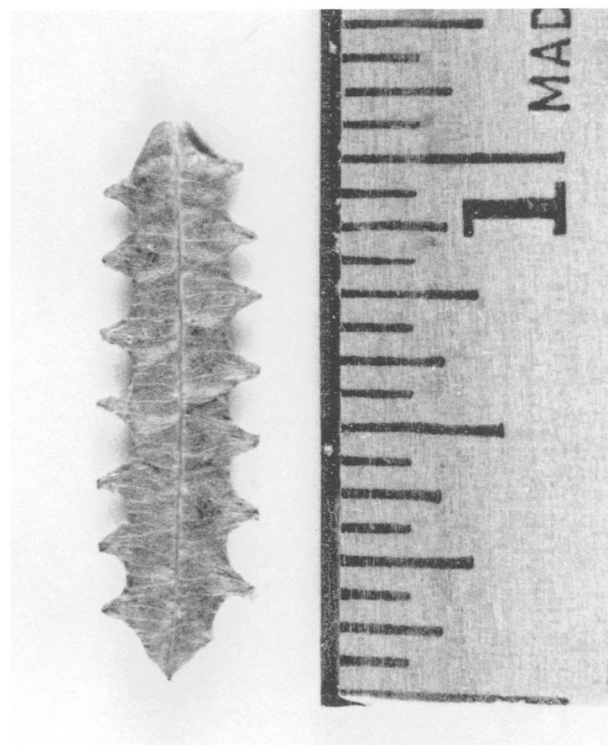
Having disposed of the alternatives, we are left to consider the proposition that the pendulous structures are, finally, fruits and, in particular, that they are a specific fruit known as a legume. A legume (see Figure 9, right) is a fruit that is dry when mature and, generally, though not always, dehiscent. Legumes, if they open at maturity, dehisce, or split, along two lines. A familiar example is the pea pod. Leguminous fruits are borne by a very large tribe of dicotyledonous flowering plants known as the Leguminosae (pea or bean tribe). This group embraces some 5,000 species, many of vast economic importance.

Having examined leguminous plants with drooping, bilaterally crenellated fruits, like those to be seen in the tapestries, I have concluded that the plant under discussion can, at least tentatively, be identified as the sawfruit plant, *Biserrula pelecinus*, which is, indeed, a member of the bean tribe (Figure 13). O. Polunin and B. E. Smithies have described it as follows:

*Biserrula pelecinus* L. A small plant with clusters of bluish or pale yellow flowers with blue tips that can be mistaken for no other species on account of its unique fruits which look like two-edged saws [emphasis added]. Leaves with 7–15 pairs of oblong, notched leaflets. Sandy, arid places. S. Portugal, Med. Region.<sup>8</sup>

The common name in English, sawfruit, is similar to that in Portuguese, *serradella larga*, long little saw.

In a recent botany textbook, the sawfruit was likened to a centipede in shape.<sup>9</sup> The authors suggested that the fruit may represent an example of plant mimicry. Certain species of birds that feast on centipedes mistake the fruit because of its shape and pluck it from a plant. Then, learning their error, they drop it some distance from the source, thus aiding in the



13. A single fruit of the sawfruit, *Biserrula pelecinus* (photo: Allen Rokach, The New York Botanical Garden)

spread and migration of the species. The woven fruits in the seventh Unicorn Tapestry and, even more so, in *Falcon Hunt* do indeed remind one of centipedes (or caterpillars).

It is obvious that only the fruit of the plant represented in the four tapestries is similar to the botanical description of *Biserrula pelecinus*, while the vegetative portions depicted do not even vaguely match it. This discrepancy may have occurred because the sawfruit plant does not grow in Northern Europe, the home of most of the plant species shown in the Unicorn Tapestries. The fruit, dry at maturity and hard to open, could well have been transported to the north, where, being striking in appearance, it would have caught the attention of anyone interested in plants. There would, however, have been no way of matching up the rest of the plant when trying to illustrate

8. O. Polunin and B. E. Smithies, *Flowers of South-West Europe* (New York, 1973).

9. R. C. McLean and W. R. Ivimey-Cook, *A Textbook of Theoretical Botany II* (New York, 1956).

it. It is also possible that Portuguese designers and/or weavers, familiar with *seradella larga*, migrated northwards, carrying with them their knowledge of the plant.

The conclusion that the plant is a sawfruit plant is not necessarily weakened by the faulty depiction of the foliage. This is not the only plant in the two millefleurs-style Unicorn tapestries of which the fruit is depicted correctly while the vegetative portions are quite inaccurate. At the center of the seventh tapestry, *The Unicorn in Captivity*, is a beautiful pomegranate tree. Its fruit is both superbly designed and accurately depicted, but the remainder of the tree is fanciful. This is particularly strange because another pomegranate tree, which appears in the third tapestry, *The Unicorn Tries to Escape*, is botanically accurate.

It is an established theory that the first and seventh tapestries were not part of an integrated series. Basing my opinion on the evidence provided by the plant disparities, I feel convinced, as a botanist, that this theory is indeed correct. Certainly, no sawfruit plant occurs in tapestries not woven in the millefleurs style, whereas it does occur in both tapestries of the Unicorn series done in this style, and in the other two tapestries as well. Floristically, the four millefleurs tapestries are similar, while the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth tapestries of the Unicorn series have an entirely different style of botanical treatment.

There is another example of a bean tribe plant to be found in the Unicorn Tapestries—a pea plant, *Pisum sativum*, which appears in the sixth tapestry, *The*

*Unicorn Is Killed*. John Williamson has described this plant as one of the “most significant plants in the tapestry series” from the viewpoint of symbolism.<sup>10</sup> However, since the pea plant appears in a section of the work (Figure 14) which has, for reasons not fully known, been repaired and added to the main body, its presence does not carry any significant weight in this discussion. The reworked portion of the tapestry is very interesting botanically and even zoologically. As such, it is a subject full of potential that must be explored in another paper.

In the final analysis, since the area containing the pea plant was reworked, it seems apparent that the legume-bearing plant with the intriguing and unusual pendulous structures was, indeed, the only member of the bean tribe depicted in a Unicorn tapestry in its original form.

The discovery that the sawfruit was used in other millefleurs-style tapestries of similar age and manufacture suggests that it may have been popular with the designers of this style of work. One can only speculate as to the symbolism which led to its inclusion in the Unicorn Tapestries. Scholars have clearly established the religious and secular symbolism of the plants used in the Unicorn Tapestries and have thus enriched our understanding not only of the tapestries but also of the minds that created them.<sup>11</sup> In the seventh tapestry the unicorn, symbolizing, in one interpretation, the Risen Christ, is seen triumphant in a millefleurs garden. Might not the sawfruit, reminding us of an important tool of the carpenter's trade, be one more symbol of Christ? By tradition, Christ's foster-father, St. Joseph, was a carpenter, and Christ was believed to have followed the trade in his youth. The sawfruit may have been placed in the first tapestry, *The Start of the Hunt*, to remind us, at the beginning, of Christ's suffering. It may have been included in the seventh and last tapestry, *The Unicorn in Captivity*, to remind us, at the moment of Christ's triumph over death, of his very human simplicity.

14. *The Unicorn Is Killed and Brought to the Castle*, detail showing repaired corner. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, Gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 37.80.5



10. John Williamson, "The Oak King, and the Holly King, and the Unicorn," *Horizon* (1979) pp. 29–39, ill.

11. Margaret B. Freeman, *The Unicorn Tapestries* (MMA, New York, 1976).

# France in the Golden Age: A Postscript

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TO CHARLES STERLING, whose exhibition “Les Peintres de la réalité en France au XVIIe siècle” took place fifty years ago

THE HISTORY OF exhibitions is an old one, often associated with the history of museums. But the history of exhibition catalogues<sup>1</sup>—scholarly catalogues, that is—is quite recent, certainly much more recent than that of scholarly catalogues of museum collections. Linked of course with the recent development of exhibitions themselves, the scholarly exhibition catalogue is a phenomenon that deserves careful study. While this is hardly the place to address the problem in detail, any number of questions come to mind: questions of definition and precedent,<sup>2</sup> of social and scholarly purpose, of practicality (the weight alone of some catalogues seems to preclude their being read at the exhibition), of differences of approach from country to country and cataloguer to cataloguer. Whatever the outcome, examination of the subject would in my view contribute to a better understanding of where art history as a discipline stands today, and to a clearer vision of its role, its special function, and its development.

Some of the speculations I have mentioned seem posed particularly acutely by the exhibition “France in the Golden Age” and its catalogue.<sup>3</sup> The exhibition had a very simple objective: to present to the French and American publics the finest seventeenth-century French paintings from collections in the United States. In Paris, furthermore, as a result of the installation, the accompanying orientation panels, and the grouping of the works—by theme (landscape, portraiture), artist (Poussin, La Tour), style (Caravaggism, Parisian Atticism), or region (Provence, Lorraine)—we were able to display French seventeenth-century painting in all its diversity and multiplicity of aspect, limited only of course by what was

available in the United States and with due allowance for the subjectivity and personal taste inherent in any selection.

The ambitions of the catalogue were somewhat different. Naturally, the 124 pictures chosen had to be studied as closely as possible (and I shall have a word to say about the difficulties encountered); their origins had to be researched and an opinion given on their attribution and dating. By means of the layout of the catalogue, I also wanted the less informed reader, who would do no more than leaf through the 124 reproductions, to be able to grasp pictorially the major trends in French painting of the period, and to understand its personality, greatness, and originality in relation to Spain as well as to Italy, to Flanders as well as to Holland. Finally, and this was a feature of the catalogue as distinct from the exhibition, I wished to draw up a list of all seventeenth-century

1. The earliest exhibition catalogues are the *livrets* of the Paris Salons, the first of which dates from 1673. They dealt, of course, only with contemporary works and cannot be regarded as more than the remote ancestors of today's catalogue.

2. The first scholarly catalogue, in the modern sense of the term, seems to be that of the exhibition “Les Peintres de la réalité en France au XVIIe siècle,” held at the Orangerie in Paris in 1934. Written for the most part by Charles Sterling, the catalogue is not only almost entirely illustrated, it also includes very full entries arranged alphabetically by artist.

3. Paris, Grand Palais, Jan. 29–Apr. 26, 1982; New York, MMA, May 26–Aug. 22, 1982; Chicago, Art Institute, Sept. 18–Nov. 28, 1982. The French title of the exhibition, “La Peinture française du XVIIe siècle dans les collections américaines,” better expressed its ambitions. In realizing the exhibition, I was generously aided by many people on both sides of the Atlantic; their names are acknowledged in the preface to the catalogue.

French pictures in American public collections;<sup>4</sup> arranged alphabetically by artist and completely illustrated, this was intended as an inventory of the American heritage in a field that had previously received scant specialist or popular attention. Marc Fumaroli's opening essay, a survey of French culture in the seventeenth century as stimulating as it was unconventional, constituted the best possible introduction to the art of a period that is still poorly known and poorly understood, little liked—along with its king, Louis XIII, and his ministers Richelieu and Mazarin—and little studied.<sup>5</sup>

It is evident at once that the aims of the exhibition and those of the catalogue did not always coincide. I knew, as does every catalogue author, that the catalogue would outlast the exhibition. I knew too that entries are written from more or less adequate photographs and from old memories, while the exhibition visitor can verify from the works themselves the statements made in the catalogue. Like every catalogue author, I was conscious of sometimes taking risks, knowing that juxtaposition of this and that work would confirm or invalidate this or that hypothesis. The special feature of this catalogue, it seems to me, was its dual role as a book on French painting of the "Grand Siècle" and as an inventory of the riches owned by American public collections in this domain. To my surprise the French responded particularly to the second aspect of the enterprise, whereas in the United States the first especially seems to have captured attention.

Mention has been made of the difficulties encountered. Some of these are self-evident.<sup>6</sup> At issue was the structuring of a coherent exhibition drawn from an important but limited heritage and one that was dispersed over a large number of more or less accessible museums.<sup>7</sup> For certain artists (such as Perrier<sup>8</sup> and Linard), it was necessary to request loans from private collections when museums did not possess works of comparable quality. Even so, and in spite of every effort, the panorama created was not without its gaps, as I mentioned in the preface to the catalogue: French still life is poorly represented in the United States, as are Le Brun and Mignard; Puget, van der Meulen, and Noël Coypel, and "provincials" like Le Blanc, Blanchet, or Sarrahat would ideally have been included. Since I had made it a rule not to borrow works on the market, I hoped that a museum would acquire the two paintings by Joseph Parro-

cel—an artist not represented in American public collections—that were on exhibit at the Segoura Gallery in New York in 1979;<sup>9</sup> in the event, these two superb *fêtes galantes* before their time went to the National Gallery in London. In certain cases, the absence of an essential aspect of an artist's activity led to a partial and inadequate view of his career: the Le Nain brothers did not confine themselves to peasant scenes, and Poussin's works after his Paris stay of 1640–42 are not less important—far from it, indeed—than those preceding it. In other cases, an *embarras de richesses* meant dropping a picture of exceptional quality that would otherwise have been entirely qualified for the exhibition: why show the Cleveland La Hyre rather than the one in Houston, the Malibu Le Sueur and not that in Boston?<sup>10</sup> It was sometimes difficult to renounce a picture by a favorite painter,

4. I was guided by the example of Burton B. Fredericksen and Federico Zeri, *Census of Pre-Nineteenth-Century Italian Paintings in North American Public Collections* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), which is, however, not illustrated.

5. In fact, the works exhibited were painted for the most part between 1620 and 1660, and the period covered was little more than half a century.

6. Certain museums in the United States, such as the Frick Collection in New York and the Frick Art Museum in Pittsburgh, are by constitution unable to lend from their collections. Loan requests were also denied because of a painting's fragility; this happened in the case of Philippe de Champaigne's *Landscape with the Healing of the Blind of Jericho*, owned by the Timken Art Museum, San Diego. Certain paintings included in the catalogue—those from Cleveland, the Claudes from Richmond and Williamstown, Mass., the Bourdon from Providence, R.I.—were for various reasons shown only in New York.

7. Approximately fifty, from Honolulu to Ponce in Puerto Rico, from Amherst to Williamstown.

8. The painting by Perrier, *The Deification of Aeneas* (No. 82), illustrated my paper "Longhi e il seicento francese" given at the symposium commemorating the 10th anniversary of the death of the great Italian art historian, held in Florence, Sept. 1980. The papers were subsequently published under the title *L'arte di scrivere sull'arte*, ed. Giovanni Previtali (Rome, 1982); for the Perrier see fig. 14. In the same article are reproductions (figs. 23, 25, and 28 respectively) of the Vignon at Wellesley (No. 113), the Vignon owned by the Hispanic Society of America (Inventory, p. 375, no. 2), and the Guy François in Hartford (No. 29). See also note 30 below.

9. [Maurice Segoura], *Eighteenth Century French Academic Art, Selected Works*, exh. cat. (New York, 1979) nos. 1, 2, ill.

10. The Boston picture (*Sacrifice to Diana*, Inventory, p. 357, no. 1) should perhaps have been exhibited beside known Le Sueurs of the same period, for the attribution is still rejected by many in favor of Simon Vouet. On the Le Sueur pictures in Boston and Malibu, see Elisabeth Foucart-Walter, *Le Mans, musée de Tessé: Peintures françaises du XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1982) no. 78.



sometimes a problem to discover among the hundreds of American museums a work that was absolutely indispensable to the balance of the exhibition—an exhibition, let me repeat, not only of the finest French seventeenth-century paintings in the United States but also one that illustrated the different tendencies and currents making up the art of the period.

There was, however, one unexpected difficulty. Once the selection had been made and the list of loans drawn up, the catalogue entries had to be written. The lending institutions kindly shared with me the information they had gathered about their works, information that was frequently lacunary, supplied in a fragmentary manner by dealers, and that often had to be completed and in every case checked. It was a surprise to find that for the most part the pictures, whether painted in Italy or France, had been in Great Britain sometimes for quite a long period, so that it became necessary to trace their history through guidebooks to English houses and through sales at Christie's and Sotheby's. In what was for me a new and delicate task it was encouraging to know that English amateurs and collectors had at all times shown a marked taste for French seventeenth-century painting,<sup>11</sup> and not only for Claude and the two Poussins, Gaspard and Nicolas—a taste which had not always been shared by my compatriots.

In conclusion, it remains for me to express a regret and a wish. Within the limitations described, I believe that we succeeded in the attempt to create as faithful an image as possible of French painting in the seventeenth century, as varied as it was comprehensive.<sup>12</sup> Yet in one respect the exhibition failed, creating a distorted view of its subject: I refer to the absence of works on a grand scale. The importance for French artists of the period of the altar painting, the large-scale decorative scheme, the monumental canvas is well known. Museums in the United States do not possess works of this size, and consequently they were missing from the exhibition. Without Baugin's or Vouet's great religious paintings, without the decorations of Le Sueur or Le Brun, one cannot claim to have done justice to seventeenth-century French art and to have presented it in its entirety. This is all the more regrettable in that such pictures exist in North America, not in the United States but in Canada. Since the French Revolution, the churches in Quebec have owned a marvelous collection of large paintings coming from churches in Paris. Often clumsily repainted

or badly damaged, rarely correctly attributed, these pictures would have supplied much that was lacking in the exhibition. Let us hope that in the near future they will be restored and studied, occasioning an exhibition that will redress the unavoidable imbalance of "France in the Golden Age."

My wish concerns young American art historians. As I explained in my preface to the catalogue, there is an area that I neglected, that of American collectors. How were the museum collections formed? Who in the United States liked seventeenth-century French paintings, and when? I was not always able to answer these questions. The field is one full of interest that awaits the attention of younger scholars.

The following notes are intended to amplify certain points mentioned in the catalogue, taking into account the reviews that the exhibition received,<sup>13</sup> as well

11. The Nov. 1982 issue of the *Burlington Magazine*, devoted to French painting of the 17th century, confirms this impression. It must be borne in mind, however, that many of the pictures included in the exhibition were attributed at one time—in some cases until quite recently—to Italian and Northern painters. Thus, Nos. 37 (La Tour), 42 (Leclerc?), 80 and 81 (Pensionnaire del Saraceni), 106 (Valentin), and 123 (anonymous, now Régnier?—see below) were attributed to Caravaggio; 29 (Guy François) to Saraceni; 67 (Mellin) to Guido Reni, Lanfranco, et al.; 69 (Pierre Mignard) to Cittadini (and to J. B. or Jan Weenix); 82 (Perrier) to Albani; and 112 (Vignon) to Feti. Northern attributions were: Nos. 7 (Bourdon) to Dujardin; 57 (Claude) to Swanevelt; 97 (Saint-Igny) to Van Dyck; and 113 (Vignon) to Judith Leyster. There has, of course, also been confusion among the French attributions, e.g.: Nos. 65 (Maître à la Chandelle/Candlelight Master) to La Tour; 27 (Dughet) to Francisque Millet; 4 and 5 (Blanchard) and 83 (Poerson) to La Hyre; 104 (Tassel) to Bourdon; 105 (Tournier) to Valentin. Not surprisingly, Nos. 13 (J.-B. de Champaigne), 19 (Chaperon), 72 (Millet), and 101 (Stella) have all at one time or another been attributed to Poussin.

12. The history of French painting in the 17th century is, however, far from fully explored. See *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1980 (1982) for careful studies on Georges Lallemant, Nicolas Prévost (esp. p. 69 n. 52, which completes the catalogue entry for No. 34, the La Hyre in Cleveland), Isaac Moillon, and Philippe Quantin—all artists missing from the exhibition and most probably from American collections. See also one of the last articles by Anthony Blunt: "French Seventeenth-Century Painting: The Literature of the Last Ten Years," *Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982) pp. 705–711.

13. Among the countless newspaper articles that appeared in 1982 were the following: Véronique Prat, "Ces Trésors français que les Américains nous prêtent," *Le Figaro Magazine*, Jan. 16; André Chastel, "Entre Rome et Paris," *Le Monde*, Feb. 2; Pierre Mazars, "Ensorcelant XVIIe siècle," *L'Express*, Mar. 12; Jeffery

as the observations that scholars have communicated in writing or by word of mouth.<sup>14</sup> I hope to have overlooked none of my informants and above all to have quoted their views correctly.

It should be said that the French and English editions of the catalogue are substantially the same and contain no major divergences. For the English edition, however, signatures and dates were checked, and a number of minor details and obvious misprints—to which I shall not return here—were rectified.<sup>15</sup>

I shall begin with the catalogue entries, to which the numbers below refer, and follow with the inventory of works in United States museums.

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Daniels, "Resplendent Homecoming," *The Times*, Feb. 11; Günter Metken, "Zurück zum Ursprung," *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, Feb. 17; Pierre Schneider, "L'Ombre du soleil," *L'Express*, Mar. 12; Marcel Roethlisberger, "Französische Malerei aus amerikanischen Sammlungen," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Mar. 22; Giulio Carlo Argan, "O Roma o corte," *L'Espresso*, May 2; Alvar González-Palacios, "C'erano molti fari nel secolo del Re Sole," *Il Giornale*, June 4; John Russell, "French Masters at the Met," *New York Times*, June 4; Cesare de Seta, "E rinata una Stella," *Il Mattino*, June 9; Maurizio Marini, "Il fulgido colore del Barocco," *Il Secolo XIX*, June 13; Robert Hughes, "A Feast from *Le Grand Siècle*," *Time*, June 28. See also my own articles: "Le Siècle d'Or," *Connaissance des Arts* 360 (Feb. 1982) pp. 76–83; and "L'arte s'impara a Roma," *Bolaffiarte* 116 (Feb. 1982) pp. 22–32 (the same issue of *Bolaffiarte* includes Marc Fumaroli, "Noi francesi tutti scrittori, voi italiani tutti pittori," pp. 32, 120).

The main scholarly reviews were by Hugh Brigstocke, "France in the Golden Age," *Apollo* 116 (1982) pp. 8–14; Jean-Pierre Cuzin, "New York: French Seventeenth-Century Paintings from American Collections," *Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982) pp. 526–530, followed by a note by A.F.B. [Anthony Blunt], p. 530; Carl Goldstein, "Seventeenth-Century French Paintings," *Art Journal* 42 (1982) pp. 328–331; and Erich Schleier, "La Peinture française du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les collections américaines/France in the Golden Age," *Kunstchronik* 36, nos. 4 and 5 (1983) pp. 184, 189–197; 227–235, 237.

14. A symposium, which I was unable to attend, was held at the Art Institute of Chicago, Oct. 29–30, 1982. The speakers were Marc Fumaroli, Michael Kitson, Konrad Oberhuber, Olan Rand, Simone Zurawsky, and Richard Spear; the latter was kind enough to let me have a copy of his paper, "Reflections on 'France in the Golden Age.'"

15. A number of errors were, however, introduced in the English edition: the illustration on p. 1 is wrongly identified and is, in fact, a portrait of the poet Giambattista Marino (1569–1625); p. 233, Philippe de Champaigne's *Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Colbert* in the Metropolitan Museum is dated 1655 (not 1665); p. 256, the illustration shows the Fort Worth La Tour (No. 38, *The Cheat with the Ace of Clubs*) before not after restoration (cf. the color repr. p. 81); p. 301, the *May* of 1642 by Poerson measures 325 × 260 cm. (not 32.5 × 26).

## CATALOGUE

2. Jacques-Samuel Bernard, *Still Life with Violin, Ewer, and Bouquet of Flowers* (private collection, New York)

The painting was in the sale of Marie-Thérèse, comtesse de la Béraudière, American Art Association-Anderson Galleries, New York, December 11–12, 1930, no. 312, ill.

For a complete list of the exhibitions in which this still life has been included, see the catalogue of *An Exhibition of Old Masters from the Collections of the Washington County Museum of Fine Arts, Hagerstown, Maryland, and the E. and A. Silberman Galleries* (New York, 1964) p. 31, no. 27, ill.

4. Jacques Blanchard, *Angelica and Medoro* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of George A. Hearn, 06.1268)

Another copy has appeared, in a private collection in Lebanon.

16. Philippe de Champaigne, *Portrait of Omer II Talon* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)

The smaller replica, which was formerly in Bologna in the collection of the sitter's descendants, is reproduced here (Figure 1).

The Washington picture was left by Marc-André de Buttet (1850–1914) to his nephew Louis de Buttet, baron du Bourget-du-Lac (1876–1915), whose widow, née Anne-Antoinette Richard (1879–1970), sold it in 1949–50. Jean Aubert, curator of the Musées d'Art et d'Histoire, Chambéry, to whom I owe this information, has also drawn my attention to two articles in the *Indicateur savoisien* of 1887 (June 25–July 2 and July 23–30) containing accounts of a fire at the Hôtel d'Allinges in Chambéry; it seems that the portrait of Talon, which had not long been in the house at the time of the fire, was miraculously rescued by a lodger, a certain M. Dénarié, architect. The picture was then transferred to the nearby château du Bourget, where it remained until it was sold. The date when it passed from the Talon family to the barons du Bourget-du-Lac is still not known.

21. Meiffren Conte, *Still Life with Hercules Candlestick, Ewer, and Silver Dish* (private collection, New York)

For the metalwork, which is probably Genoese, see Hugh Macandrew, "A Silver Basin Designed by Strozzi," *Burlington Magazine* 113 (1971) pp. 4–11, and idem, "Genoese Silver on Loan to the Ashmolean Museum," *Burlington Magazine* 114 (1972) pp. 611–620.

30. Laurent de La Hyre, *Two Nymphs Bathing* (Museo de Arte de Ponce, Ponce, Puerto Rico)

In his review (*Burlington Magazine* 124 [1982] p. 530), Jean-Pierre Cuzin mentions Sylvie Béguin's hypothesis that this painting may represent Jupiter in the guise of Diana attempting to seduce Callisto.

31. Laurent de La Hyre, *Cyrus Announcing to Araspas that Panthea Has Obtained His Pardon* (The Art Institute of Chicago)

One learned reader, J. de Vazelhes, has pointed out

1. After Philippe de Champaigne (1602–74), *Portrait of Omer II Talon*, ca. 1649. Oil on canvas, 72 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 51 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (185 × 130 cm.). Milan art market (photo: Studio Usellini)



that Panthea had inspired many authors since Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, and that no less than five tragedies devoted to the story of Panthea appeared in France between 1571 and 1639. In his opinion the painting represents Araspas trying to persuade Cyrus to visit the captive Panthea, whose extraordinary beauty he praises. Cyrus refuses, preferring war—he points towards the military camp—to love, which would distract him from his duty. If La Hyre was not inspired by Tristan L'Hermite's *Panthée* (staged in 1638 and published the following year), but rather by Xenophon or one of the French writers of the beginning of the seventeenth century, then on grounds of style the picture may be dated about 1636–37, rather than 1638 at the earliest.<sup>16</sup>

A mediocre engraving after the Montluçon painting, which is from the same series as the present work, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, in the volume of the work of Lepautre compiled by the abbé de Marolles.<sup>17</sup> Philippe de Chennevières must have known the engraving, from his description of one of the drawings in his famous collection (information kindly supplied by Louis-Antoine Prat):

Sujet inconnu, tiré sans doute d'un roman du temps: un roi d'Asie, coiffé du turban et assis sur son trône, montre du doigt une femme que les gardes lui amènent enchaînée; d'autres gardes, à droite au premier plan, déposent au pied du trône toutes sortes de vases précieux, conquis sans doute dans la même victoire qui leur a livré cette femme. J'ai trouvé ce dessin gravé dans l'oeuvre de J. Lepautre, sans nom de dessinateur ni de graveur, mais avec le nom de l'éditeur *L. Lagniet*. A la pierre noire, lavé de bistre.<sup>18</sup>

This drawing has evidently been lost. Reproduced here are the unpublished oil sketch for the Montluçon painting, and the engraving (Figures 2, 3).

16. Spear ("Reflections") rightly points out that before Claude Gillot (1673–1722) and Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684–1721) very few 17th-century artists illustrated specific scenes from plays. Robert Fohr, in his exemplary catalogue (*Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts; Richelieu, Musée Municipal; Azay-le-Ferron, Château* [Paris, 1982] no. 41), seeks to extend the number of scenes illustrating the story of Panthea by his identification of a painting in Tours as a copy after La Hyre.

17. Ed. 42, in fol. I am indebted to Maxime Préaud, curator of the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale, for the photograph of the engraving.

18. Ph[ilippe] de Chennevières, "Une Collection de dessins d'artistes français," *L'Artiste* n.s. 11 (1896) p. 261.



2. Laurent de La Hyre (1606–56), *The Prisoner Panthea Brought Before Cyrus*, ca. 1636–37. Oil on canvas, 19 $\frac{5}{8}$  × 16 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (50 × 43 cm.). Paris, private collection (photo: Galerie Bruno Meissner)

3. After La Hyre, *The Prisoner Panthea Brought Before Cyrus*. Engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)



32. Laurent de La Hyre, *Job Restored to Prosperity* (The Chrysler Museum, Norfolk)

Anthony Blunt (*Burlington Magazine* 124 [1982] p. 530) points out that the painting was sold at Sotheby's, London, March 23, 1949, no. 137.

33. Laurent de La Hyre, *Allegory of Music* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Charles B. Curtis Fund, 50.189)

The painting is here reproduced with the music-making angels from the Musée Magnin, Dijon, on either side (Figure 4). It is evident that the three canvases belong together, though originally they would have been separated by frames or, more probably, by the paneling that decorated the room. In 1937 Charles Sterling noted, in connection with the Dijon pictures, that three other paintings of children from the same series had been on the Paris art market in 1934.<sup>19</sup> Their present whereabouts is unfortunately unknown. Finally, Jacques Wilhelm has brought to my notice a very interesting document published in *Affiches, annonces et avis divers* (February 21, 1760, no. 15, p. 116): "Ventes de meubles et d'effets considérables . . . le 23 et jours suivans. Tableaux, entre autres les Arts libéraux originaux de *la Hire* de 1649 et 1650 . . . rue du Temple, vis à vis la rue Chapon." Unfortunately, the document does not indicate the number of paintings by La Hyre sold on this occasion.

34. Laurent de La Hyre, *The Kiss of Peace and Justice* (The Cleveland Museum of Art)

Célia Alégret has pointed out to me that a rather similar picture by La Hyre was in the Claude Tolozan sale, Paris, February 23, 1801, no. 44:

Dans un paysage encore d'un beau style, on voit sur la partie droite une masse d'arbres, et une fontaine décorée d'un vase de sculpture. Près de ce monument sont assises deux femmes bien drapées, caractérisant par leurs attributs la Paix et la Justice qui se tiennent embrassées. Plusieurs moutons sont répandus sur la gauche du sujet, ainsi que quelques débris de ruines.

The Tolozan painting measured 19 $\frac{1}{2}$  by 27 *pouces*, or roughly 61 by 68.5 cm., while the Cleveland picture measures 55 by 76 cm.

19. *Les Chefs d'oeuvre de l'art français*, exh. cat. (Paris: Palais National des Arts, 1937) pp. 43–44, no. 80.



4. La Hyre, *Allegory of Music with Music-Making Angels*, 1649. Oil on canvas (photo: Agaci). *Allegory*: 37 × 53¾ in. (94 × 136.5 cm.); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Charles B. Curtis Fund, 50.189. *Angels*: each 40½ × 21¼ in. (103 × 54 cm.); Dijon, Musée Magnin

37. Georges de La Tour, *The Musicians' Brawl* (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu)

Cuzin (*Burlington Magazine* 124 [1982] p. 529) records Jennifer Montagu's amusing suggestion concerning the gesture of the musician at the right center: in his right hand he holds a lemon, which he squeezes in the face of his grimacing adversary who, feigning blindness, is unmasked by this ruse.

38. Georges de La Tour, *The Cheat with the Ace of Clubs* (Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth)

Mention should be made of the divergent opinions of Cuzin (*Burlington Magazine* 124 [1982] p. 529) and Hugh Brigstocke (*Apollo* 116 [1982] p. 10) concerning the quality of this painting and the very similar version in the Louvre, *The Cheat with the Ace of Diamonds*. The latter is in course of restoration, which should confirm its exceptional quality, even though its state is by no means perfect; the passages that are well preserved show extraordinary technical mastery and leave no doubt as to the authenticity of the work. The two specialists differ, too, on the delicate problem of La Tour's chronology; see also Schleier, *Kunst-chronik* 36 (1983) pp. 196–197.

39. Georges de La Tour, *The Fortune Teller* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 60.30)

For the nineteenth-century history of this picture, see Jacques Cellier, "La Diseuse de bonne aventure," *Revue historique et archéologique du Maine*, 3rd ser., 2 (1982) pp. 159–178.

41. Charles Le Brun, *Venus Clipping Cupid's Wings* (Museo de Arte de Ponce, Ponce, Puerto Rico)

The painting was in the Beaujon sale, Paris, April 15, 1787, no. 87.

A good copy of approximately the same format, formerly in the collection of Lindesay Knox (sale, Christie's, London, December 17, 1981, no. 151 [as by A. F. Callet], and March 19, 1982, no. 45), is recorded in the English edition of the catalogue, although the second sale is there incorrectly dated February 17, 1982. In this copy, which is once again on the market in London, Venus has blond not brown hair.

Christian Valbert, who accepts the proposed interpretation of the painting as an allegory of conjugal love, wishes to date it in the year of Fouquet's marriage with Marie-Madeleine de Castille (1651), or to



see it as a wedding anniversary gift. In the latter event, the meeting between Fouquet and Le Brun could have taken place several years later.

42. Jean Leclerc(?), *St. Stephen Mourned by Gamaliel and Nicodemus*<sup>20</sup> (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

The attribution to Jean Leclerc, cautiously advanced, has been generally rejected, although no more convincing name has been suggested. Nor is there any unanimity as to the nationality of the artist of this fascinating painting, which Anna Ottani Cavina attributes to the Pensionante del Saraceni.<sup>21</sup>

51. Eustache Le Sueur, *Sleeping Venus* (The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco)

A very similar painting was in the Martin sale, Paris, December 13, 1773, no. 156: "Vénus couchée, un Amour qui la menace de sa flèche; tableau sur toile par *le même* [Le Sueur], hauteur 19 pouces; largeur 23 pouces." Gabriel de Saint-Aubin made a drawing of this work (Figure 5) on the last page of his copy of the Martin sale catalogue (the latter was sold at Christie's, London, April 7, 1970, no. 109). Despite the similarities of composition, however, the Martin painting, measuring approximately 48 by 58.5 cm., cannot be identified with the one in San Francisco, which is octagonal in shape and measures 122 by 117 cm.

52. Eustache Le Sueur, *Young Man with a Sword* (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford)

Blunt (*Burlington Magazine* 124 [1982] p. 530) has pointed out that the painting belonged to Tomás Harris of the Spanish Art Galleries in 1938, and that he published it in 1946 as a work by Simon Vouet, an attribution endorsed by William Crelly.<sup>22</sup> In spite of Sterling's attribution of the picture to Le Sueur, Blunt believes that it could have been painted by Vouet in France. While the hesitation of certain specialists over the name of Le Sueur is understandable, the attribution to Vouet must definitely be dismissed.

5. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724–80), Drawings in a catalogue of the Martin sale, Paris, December 13, 1773, showing (second register, right) a *Sleeping Venus Surprised by Cupid* by Le Sueur. Location unknown (photo: A. C. Cooper Ltd.)



20. In the French edition of the catalogue read Nicodème for Nicomède.

21. See her contribution to *Volume di studi in onore di Federico Zeri* (forthcoming).

22. Anthony Blunt, "Some Portraits by Simon Vouet," *Burlington Magazine* 88 (1946) pp. 268–271, and William R. Crelly, *The Paintings of Simon Vouet* (New Haven/London, 1962) p. 173, no. 55. On Vouet portraits see Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée, "Some New Pastels by Simon Vouet: Portraits of the Court of Louis XIII," *Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982) pp. 689–693.

53. Eustache Le Sueur, *The Annunciation* (The Toledo Museum of Art)

The painting was in two sales not mentioned in the catalogue (the first of these was brought to my attention by Célia Alégret): the Séguin sale, Paris, April 2, 1835, no. 8 (3,101 francs); and Christie's, London, December 12, 1947, no. 86, when it was sold by the earl of Normanton (294 guineas to "Wallraf").

I owe to Denis Laval the information that there is a copy of this picture in the church at Anneville, Seine-Maritime.

57. Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with an Artist Drawing in the Roman Campagna* (Helen F. Spencer Museum of Art, The University of Kansas, Lawrence)

A comparison in the Metropolitan Museum galleries of this painting and the version in New York amply confirms that the latter can only be an early copy.<sup>23</sup>

Marcel Roethlisberger, "Around a Landscape by Claude Lorrain," previously in press, has now appeared in *The Register of the Spencer Museum of Art, The University of Kansas, Lawrence* 5, no. 10 (1983) pp. 10–27.

59. Claude Lorrain, *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha)

The figures are closely derived from the Vienna *Holy Family* attributed to Raphael,<sup>24</sup> as John Spike has pointed out.

61. Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with the Battle of Constantine(?)* (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond)

I have not seen the version in Moscow for several years, but it seems likely that the Richmond painting is a good, early copy.<sup>25</sup>

66. [Du?] Mélezet(?), *Bowl of Strawberries* (Mrs. Francis Storza Collection, Atlanta, Georgia)

André Lacoude, professor at the university of Grenoble, and Jean Aubert, curator of the museum in Chambéry, have drawn my attention to the existence

of the commune of Mélezet, near Bardonnèche in Piedmont. This village was part of the Dauphiné until 1713. Was the painter of the charming still life in Atlanta a native of Mélezet?

67. Charles Mellin, *The Assumption of the Virgin* (Museo de Arte de Ponce, Ponce, Puerto Rico)

Mellin was evidently one of the most prolific draughtsmen of his generation. Since the close of the Rome–Nancy exhibition in 1982,<sup>26</sup> several sheets have been discovered that allow a better definition of the artist's graphic style and of its evolution.<sup>27</sup>

69. Pierre Mignard, *The Children of the Duc de Bouillon* (Honolulu Academy of Arts)

I think it useful to reproduce here the rather indifferent drawing in Orléans that has enabled me to

23. See also Michael Kitson, "Washington and Paris: Tercentenary of Claude Lorrain—II," *Burlington Magazine* 125 (1983) p. 187.

24. *Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien: Verzeichnis der Gemälde* (Vienna, 1973) pl. 26.

25. I have examined it carefully and must honestly say that were there not another version in Moscow this picture would not have been questioned. It was included in the tercentenary exhibition: see H. Diane Russell, *Claude Lorrain 1600–1682/Claude Gellée dit Le Lorrain 1600–1682*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1982/Paris: Grand Palais, 1983) no. 44. Kitson (*Burlington Magazine* 125 [1983] p. 187) agrees with Russell that it is a damaged but autograph replica of the picture in Moscow.

26. Jacques Thuillier, *Claude Lorrain e i pittori lorenese in Italia nel XVII secolo*, exh. cat. (Rome: Académie de France/Nancy: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1982).

27. Pierre Rosenberg, "Notes on Some French Seventeenth-Century Drawings: Saint-Igny, Vignon, Mellin, Millet and Others," *Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982) pp. 697–698, figs. 53, 54, 56. Since the publication of this article I have discovered several more drawings by Mellin; others have been brought to my attention by Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée, and one of great importance has been discovered by Jennifer Montagu (Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, 1901.39.1565). The sketch for the *Sacrifice of Abel* in Monte Cassino Abbey (see N. Spinosa, "Un Tableau de Charles Mellin retrouvé au Mont-Cassin," *Revue de l'Art* 57 [1982] p. 81, fig. 3) was recently sold in New York, William Doyle Galleries, Jan. 26, 1983, no. 49, "attributed to Francisco Albani"; it has been acquired from Didier Aaron, Inc. by the Musée Historique Lorrain, Nancy, and will be published in my forthcoming article, "Quelques Nouvelles Acquisitions françaises du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les musées de province," *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 33 (1983) p. 354, fig. 16.



6. After Pierre Mignard, *The Children of the Duc de Bouillon*. Red chalk, inscribed "Les enfants de Monsieur le duc de Bouillon . . .," 8 × 10<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (20.2 × 27.5 cm.). Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Bulloz)

identify the painter and his sitters (Figure 6). The attribution is not accepted by G. de Lastic, "Contributions à l'oeuvre de Pierre Mignard," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1980 (1982) p. 176 n. 7. Mignard is known to have painted the duc and duchesse de Bouillon in Rome; see M. Rambaud, *Documents du Minutier Central concernant l'histoire de l'art, 1700–1750* (Paris, 1964) I, p. 569.

72. Jean-François Millet, *Landscape with Mercury and Battus* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, 29.100.21)

A small copy (38 by 67.5 cm.) was recently sold (Finarte, Rome, March 30, 1982, no. 114, ill.) under an attribution to the school of Jan Frans van Bloemen.

75. P. Nichon, *The Carp* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

The Boston painting, which was acquired in 1963, cannot have belonged to R. Payelle, as the Payelle picture was sold in Paris on November 23, 1972 (no. 46, ill.). A (new?) version of this composition, attributed to Stoskopff, was sold recently (Christie's, London, July 9, 1982, no. 9, ill.; and Christie's, New York, January 18, 1983, no. 151, ill.).

In a letter to the *Burlington Magazine* (124 [1982] p. 704), Sylvain Laveissière identifies the artist with a certain Pierre Nichon, who is mentioned at Dijon between 1625 and 1655. The great *Calvary* at Notre Dame in Dijon, which Laveissière reproduces (fig. 63), confirms that the artist was a painter of some consequence.

- 80, 81. The Pensionante del Saraceni, *The Fruit Vendor* (The Detroit Institute of Arts) and *Still Life with Melons and Carafe* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)

It no longer seems open to doubt that the two works are by the same hand. They depict not melons, as previously stated, but watermelons.

I take this opportunity to reproduce the magnificent *Denial of St. Peter* by the Pensionante (Figure 7), which was sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York (May 30, 1979, no. 190, as *Job Mocked by His Wife*) and was recently acquired by the museum in Douai.<sup>28</sup>

82. François Perrier, *The Deification of Aeneas* (Mrs. J. Seward Johnson Collection, Princeton)

An eighteenth-century copy, measuring 27 by 37 cm., was recently shown to me in a private collection in Paris.

Schleier (*Kunstchronik* 36 [1983] p. 234, fig. 2) has published a fragment of a *Bacchic Sacrificial Scene* by Perrier in a New York private collection.

- 84–94. Nicolas Poussin

These paintings raised questions of two kinds. Were they indeed all by Poussin, and was it possible to date them more precisely?

28. Ibid., p. 355, fig. 19.



7. The Pensionante del Saraceni (active 1610–20?), *The Denial of St. Peter*. Oil on canvas,  $38\frac{3}{4} \times 50\frac{5}{8}$  in. ( $98.5 \times 128.5$  cm.). Douai, Musée de la Chartreuse (photo: Paul Rosenberg & Co.)

While the attribution to Poussin of No. 84, *Amor Vincit Omnia* (The Cleveland Museum of Art), has for the most part been accepted, opinions about No. 92, *The Nurture of Jupiter* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) were far from unanimous (see especially Brigstocke, *Apollo* 116 [1982] pp. 13 and 14, n. 6, and Blunt, *Burlington Magazine* 124 [1982] p. 530; see also *ibid.*, p. 707). More surprising were the reservations expressed by Cuzin (*Burlington Magazine* 124 [1982] p. 529) concerning the attribution of No. 88, *The Assumption of the Virgin* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.).

With regard to the chronology of these pictures, it

is impossible here to resume every point in the discussion. Suffice it to say that seeing the works together confirmed me in my opinion that up to 1630 Poussin was a rapid and prolific painter, before he arrived at the slow, painstaking technique and the intellectual formulations that were to assure his fame.

97. Jean de Saint-Igny, *The Triumphal Procession of Anne of Austria and the Young Louis XIV* (Vassar College Art Gallery, Poughkeepsie)

Reproduced here are two paintings representing Anne of Austria and Louis XIII on horseback (Figures 8, 9),



8, 9. (?) Jean de Saint-Igny (1595/1600?–after 1649), *Anne of Austria on Horseback* and *Louis XIII on Horseback*. Oil on wood, each  $16\frac{1}{8} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$  in. (41 × 31 cm.). Versailles, Musée National du Château de Versailles (photos: Musées Nationaux)

10. Saint-Igny, *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1636. Oil on canvas,  $112\frac{1}{4} \times 59$  in. (285 × 150 cm.). Fécamp, Church of the Trinity (photo: F. Coulon)



which have recently been acquired by the Musée de Versailles. They are by the same hand as the Vassar picture and form a group with a certain number of other works (Musée Condé, Chantilly; Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris; Nîmes). But is the hand indeed that of Saint-Igny? The known works of this artist for the moment comprise only the religious paintings in the museum in Rouen; the sketches for these paintings, which were recently acquired by the museum in Dunkirk; and the *Assumption of the Virgin* (Figure 10) of 1636 in the church of the Trinity at Fécamp, which is published here for the first time. The attribution



to him of *Air* in the Rouen museum—and by consequence *The Sense of Smell* in a private collection in Paris—is based on a suggestion of Jules Hédou, Saint-Igny's first biographer.<sup>29</sup> Research undertaken in connection with the acquisition of the Versailles pictures has not enabled me to confirm their attribution and that of related works. During the years preceding the death of Louis XIII, when the king was already very ill, an intense propaganda campaign was waged on his behalf and on behalf of his successor, the future Louis XIV. The existence of a considerable number of popular prints representing the king, the queen, and their young sons confirms this. The engravers must have been supplied with models by a number of painters, some of whom were northerners. Was Saint-Igny among them? Only in the context of a broader study of the paintings and engravings of royal subjects dating from this period will the problem of the attribution of the Vassar picture be resolved.

101. Jacques Stella, *The Rape of the Sabine Women* (The Art Museum, Princeton University)

The attribution has been questioned, groundlessly in my opinion, by both Blunt (*Burlington Magazine* 124 [1982] p. 530) and Richard Spear ("Reflections"). Could this picture be the one listed in the Lebreton sale (Paris, March 17–18, 1840, no. 129)? The work is described as follows:

Stella Jacques. Fête publique de l'ancienne Rome. Ce tableau, le plus capital de Stella, ami et élève de Poussin, fut exécuté pour le cardinal Richelieu. Il joint au mérite d'une composition élégante et gracieuse, celui d'avoir appliqué aux principaux personnages les traits du cardinal son protecteur, de Louis XIII, de Mesdames d'Hautefort, La Fayette, et autres beautés qui faisaient l'ornement de la cour. Ce tableau est gravé.

102. Jacques Stella, *The Judgment of Paris* (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford)

Cuzin (*Burlington Magazine* 124 [1982] p. 529) has noted the Raphaellesque origin of most of the motifs in this composition. This article offers an opportunity to reproduce Stella's *St. Peter Visiting St. Agatha in Prison* (Figure 11) from a private collection in Oberlin. This painting, brought to my attention by Spear ("Reflections"), is on slate. With the two works on

marble in the collection of David Rust (Nos. 98, 99, *Susannah and the Elders* and *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*), it is further evidence of the artist's interest in painting on stone, and confirms his taste for small, rather precious pictures destined for a refined clientele. Another work on slate by Stella, mentioned in the preface to the English edition of the catalogue (p. xiii), is *The Holy Family* (Figure 12), discovered in storage at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts and reattributed.

105. Nicolas Tournier, *Banquet Scene with Lute Player* (The St. Louis Art Museum)

The player's instrument was incorrectly described as a guitar in the French edition of the catalogue.

106. Valentin, *The Fortune Teller* (The Toledo Museum of Art)

On the provenance of this painting see Francis Russell, "Valentin's 'Fortune Teller,'" *Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982) p. 507.

107. Valentin, *Allegory of Virtuous Love* (private collection)

Cuzin (*Burlington Magazine* 124 [1982] p. 529) dates the painting after 1627. Spear ("Reflections") does not believe that it is by Valentin and attributes it instead to Jean Ducamps. A copy with variations, mentioned in the catalogue, is reproduced here (Figure 13).<sup>30</sup> Another copy, identical with the American painting except that the angel holds a sort of horn in his left hand, is in a private collection in Paris. See also John Michael Montias, "A Bramer Document About Jean Ducamps, Alias Giovanni del Campo," *Essays in Northern European Art Presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann on His Sixtieth Birthday* (Doornspijk, 1983) pp. 178–182 with illustration. John Spike rightly compares the painting with one in the City of York Art Gallery formerly attributed to Caracciolo (*Catalogue of Paintings* I [York, 1961] p. 12, no. 811, pl. 28);

29. Jules Hédou, *Jean de Saint-Igny, peintre, sculpteur et graveur rouennais* (Rouen, 1887) esp. pp. 23–24.

30. Nos. 107 and 109 (*David with the Head of Goliath*) are reproduced in my article "Longhi e il seicento francese," figs. 21, 22 (see note 8 above).

11. Jacques Stella (1596–1657), *St. Peter Visiting St. Agatha in Prison*, ca. 1635. Oil on slate,  $9\frac{5}{8} \times 12\frac{1}{8}$  in. ( $24.5 \times 31.5$  cm.). Oberlin, Ohio, private collection (photo: courtesy Richard E. Spear)



12. Stella, *The Holy Family*, ca. 1645–50. Oil on slate,  $12 \times 9$  in. ( $30.5 \times 23$  cm.). The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (photo: Montreal Museum)



13. After Valentin, *Allegory of Virtuous Love*. Oil on canvas. Location unknown (photo: courtesy Maurizio Marini)





14, 15. (?)Simon Vouet (1590–1649), *St. Catherine* and *St. Agnes*, the latter dated 1626. Oil on canvas, each  $37 \times 29\frac{3}{4}$  in. ( $94 \times 75.5$  cm.). New York art market (photos: Bruce C. Jones)

see also Benedict Nicolson, *The International Caravaggesque Movement* (Oxford, 1979) p. 31, "Remote follower of Manfredi."

111. François Verdier, *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Mr. and Mrs. William J. Julien Collection, Nahant, Massachusetts)

This canvas should be compared to the painting of the same subject by Charles Le Brun, which is on the London market (see [Heim Gallery], *Recent Acquisitions: French Paintings and Sculptures of the 17th and 18th Century*, exh. cat. [London, 1979] no. 8, ill.).

114. Claude Vignon, *Esther Before Ahasuerus* (Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina)

The painting was sold at Christie's, London, June 22, 1956, no. 40, as "Ricci" (Blunt, *Burlington Magazine* 124 [1982] p. 530).

- 115, 116. Simon Vouet, *St. Margaret* and *St. Ursula*(?) (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford)

- 118, 119. Simon Vouet, *Angels with the Attributes of the Passion* (The Minneapolis Institute of Arts)

The attribution to Vouet is not accepted by Cuzin (*Burlington Magazine* 124 [1982] p. 529); see also Schleier, *Kunstchronik* 36 (1983) pp. 194–195. In connection with these works, I mentioned the two canvases in the Museo di Capodimonte that are probably the ones seen by Charles-Nicolas Cochin in the collection of Prince della Rocca, Naples; I should add that these paintings had earlier been in the famous collection of Cardinal Filomarino, as Renato Ruotolo has pointed out.<sup>31</sup>

Reproduced here are two very beautiful paintings, *St. Catherine* and *St. Agnes* (Figures 14, 15), previously

31. "Aspetti del collezionismo napoletano: il Cardinale Filomarino," *Antologia di Belle Arti* 1, no. 1 (1977) pp. 74–75, n. 29.

16–19. Anonymous, *The Four Evangelists*. Oil on canvas. Location unknown (photos: courtesy Giuliano Briganti)



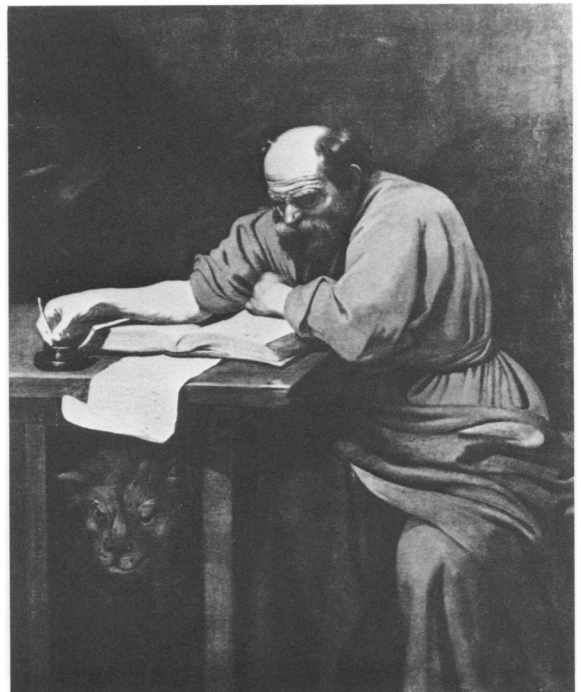
16. *St. Matthew and the Angel*



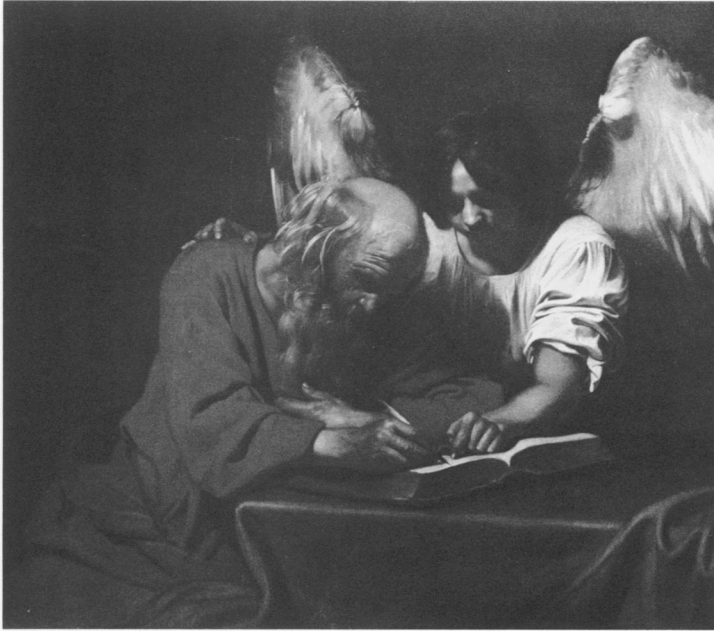
17. *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*



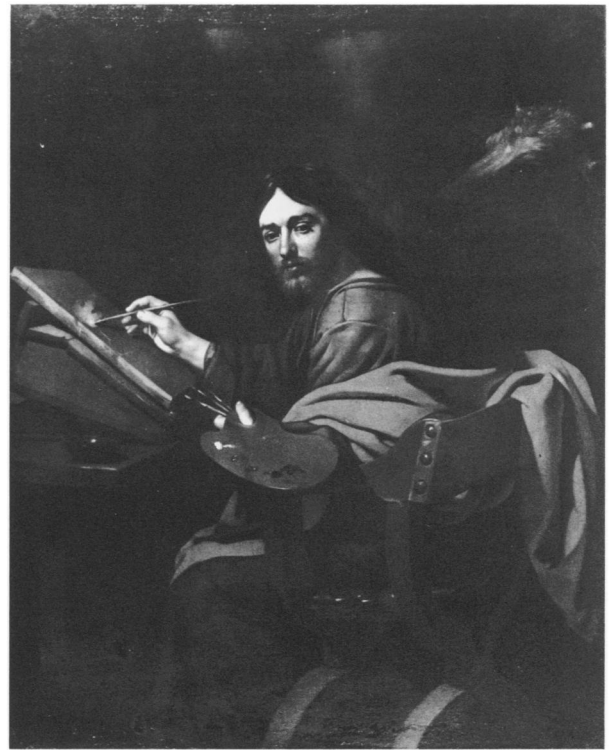
18. *St. John the Evangelist*



19. *St. Mark and the Lion*



20. Anonymous (Nicolas Régnier?), *St. Matthew and the Angel*, ca. 1620–30. Oil on canvas, 42½ × 48⅞ in. (108 × 124 cm.). Sarasota, Florida, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art (photo: Ringling Museum)



21. Nicolas Régnier (1591–1667), *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*. Oil on canvas, 58½ × 47¼ in. (148.5 × 120 cm.). Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts)

unknown and currently on the New York art market. They open up a number of questions: are they by the same hand, is the hand that of Vouet, was Vouet in Italy a prolific painter or had he a studio?

120. Simon Vouet, *The Holy Family with the Infant St. John* (The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco)

A good, early copy is in a private collection in Rome. This will be reproduced in my forthcoming catalogue of French paintings in San Francisco.

123. Anonymous, *St. Matthew and the Angel* (John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota)

I have received from Giuliano Briganti photographs of four paintings representing the evangelists (Figures 16–19), which were formerly on the art market in Florence. One of these is a copy, though in a different format, of the Sarasota picture (Figure 20).

More fascinating still is the fact that one of the others is a faithful copy of Régnier's *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen (Figure 21).<sup>32</sup> Might the Sarasota painting have been cut at the bottom? More important, is it also by Régnier? The possibility, which would give Régnier's work a new dimension, cannot be excluded.

124. Anonymous, *Death Comes to the Table* (New Orleans Museum of Art)

The painting is certainly Florentine, and very probably the work of Giovanni Martinelli (ca. 1600–68); see Giuseppe Cantelli, *Repertorio della pittura fiorentina del seicento* (Florence, 1983) pl. 543.

32. Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée, "Caravagesques français," *Etudes de la Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France: I. La Donation Suzanne et Henri Baderou au musée de Rouen. Peintures et dessins de l'école française* (Paris, 1980) pp. 31–36.



## INVENTORY

### of Seventeenth-Century French Paintings in Public Collections in the United States

#### SEBASTIEN BOURDON

*The Meeting of Jacob and Rachel at the Well* (Urbana-Champaign). See M.B.C.[Muriel B. Christison], "Addition to the Collections," *Bulletin of the Krannert Art Museum* 7, no. 2 (1982) pp. 11–14, fig. 1 and cover (color).

#### NICOLAS COLOMBEL

*Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (Los Angeles) and *The Adoration of the Magi* (New Orleans). The two illustrations in the catalogue were inadvertently

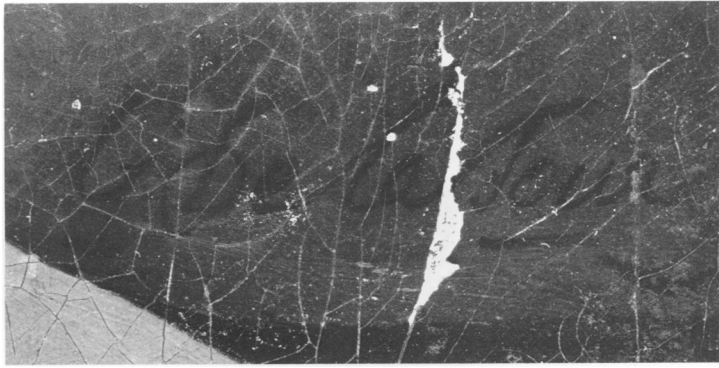
switched. *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, which was incorrectly listed as belonging to the Los Angeles County Museum, was privately owned. It has since been sold (Christie's, New York, January 18, 1983, no. 178) and is now on the art market in New York.

#### GUILLAUME COURTOIS

*Flight into Egypt*. The painting is in the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, and not at Princeton (see Schleier, *Kunstchronik* 36 [1983] p. 237).



22. Gaspard Dughet (1615–75), *Landscape with a Town on a Mountain*, ca. 1660. Oil on canvas, 29¼ × 39¼ in. (74.3 × 99.7 cm.). Columbus, Ohio, Columbus Museum of Art, Museum Purchase, Howald Fund II (photo: Columbus Museum)



23. Georges de La Tour (1593–1652), *The Magdalen with the Flickering Flame*, ca. 1640, detail of the signature. Oil on canvas, 46½ × 35⅞ in. (118 × 90 cm.). Los Angeles County Museum of Art (photo: LACMA)

#### GASPARD DUGHET

A beautiful *Landscape* (Figure 22) has recently been acquired by the Columbus Museum of Art, Ohio; the preparatory drawing for the painting is in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.<sup>33</sup>

#### LAURENT DE LA HYRE

The *Glaucus and Scylla* from the Joseph Bonaparte collection which, as mentioned in my preface to the catalogue, was sold at Bordentown, New Jersey, in 1845 (under the title “Palemon in the guise of a Triton expressing his love for a Nymph . . .”), has recently reappeared and is now in a New York private collection.

#### GEORGES LALLEMANT

*St. Sebastian Mourned by Two Angels*. The picture has been sold by Walter Chrysler, Jr.

#### GEORGES DE LA TOUR

*The Magdalen with the Flickering Flame* (Los Angeles). In the course of its recent restoration the painting was found to be signed at the right (Figure 23), though unfortunately not dated. (The photograph was supplied by Scott Schaefer.)

#### CHARLES LE BRUN

*The Purification* (Detroit). See A. Clapasson, *Description de la Ville de Lyon, 1741*, ed. Gilles Chomer and Marie-Félicie Pérez (Seyssel, 1982) pp. 68–70 with ill.

*The Holy Family*, studio (Houston) and *The Holy Family* (Minneapolis). The finest of the three known versions, which I have recently had occasion to see once again, is that in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



24. Eustache Le Sueur (1616–55), *The Wedding Night of Tobias*, ca. 1645. Oil on canvas, 34 × 45⅞ in. (86.5 × 114.5 cm.). Paris, private collection; formerly Charlottesville, Virginia, private collection (photo: Ed Roseberry)

#### EUSTACHE LE SUEUR

*Bacchus and Ariadne* (Boston). Spear (“Reflections”) mentions a painting of this subject, catalogued under the name of Le Sueur, in a sale in 1789.<sup>34</sup>

A previously unpublished painting by Le Sueur was until recently in a private collection in Charlottesville, Virginia (Figure 24).<sup>35</sup> This oval picture, *The Wedding Night of Tobias*, painted for Fieubet, has been lost since 1801 (for the engraving after it by J.-F. Ravenet see Alain Mérot, “La Renommée d’Eustache Le Sueur et l’estampe,” *Revue de l’Art* 55 [1982] p. 62, fig. 10).

#### EUSTACHE LE SUEUR(?)

*Decorative Allegorical Composition* (Lawrence). For my article on this painting see *The Register of the Spencer Museum of Art, The University of Kansas, Lawrence* 5, no. 10 (1983) pp. 5–9.

33. The painting is also reproduced by Schleier, *Kunstchronik* 36 (1983) p. 233, fig. 1a; for the drawing see Christian Klemm, *Gaspard Dughet und die ideale Landschaft: Kataloge des Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Handzeichnungen*, exh. cat. (Düsseldorf: Goethe-Museum, 1981) p. 44, no. 18, ill. on cover. I share the opinion of Marie-Nicole Boisclair, who believes that *Landscape with Shepherd and His Flock* (Muncie) is a copy of the painting of the same subject in the Hermitage, Leningrad.

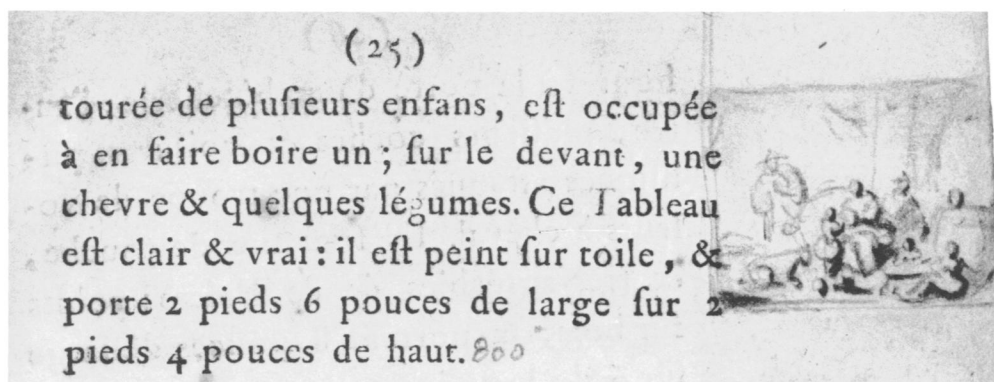
34. See also note 10 above.

35. The photograph was provided by Mrs. D. B. Lawall. The picture has recently been acquired by a French bank.



25. Master of the *Béguins* (active 1650–60?), *Peasant Family with Ram*. Oil on canvas,  $25\frac{5}{8} \times 31\frac{1}{8}$  in. ( $65 \times 79.2$  cm.). Princeton, New Jersey, The Art Museum, Princeton University (photo: The Art Museum)

26. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724–80), Drawing in the catalogue of an anonymous sale, February 17, 1774, showing *Peasant Family with Ram*. Philadelphia, The John G. Johnson Collection (photo: Philadelphia Museum of Art)



#### CLAUDE LORRAIN

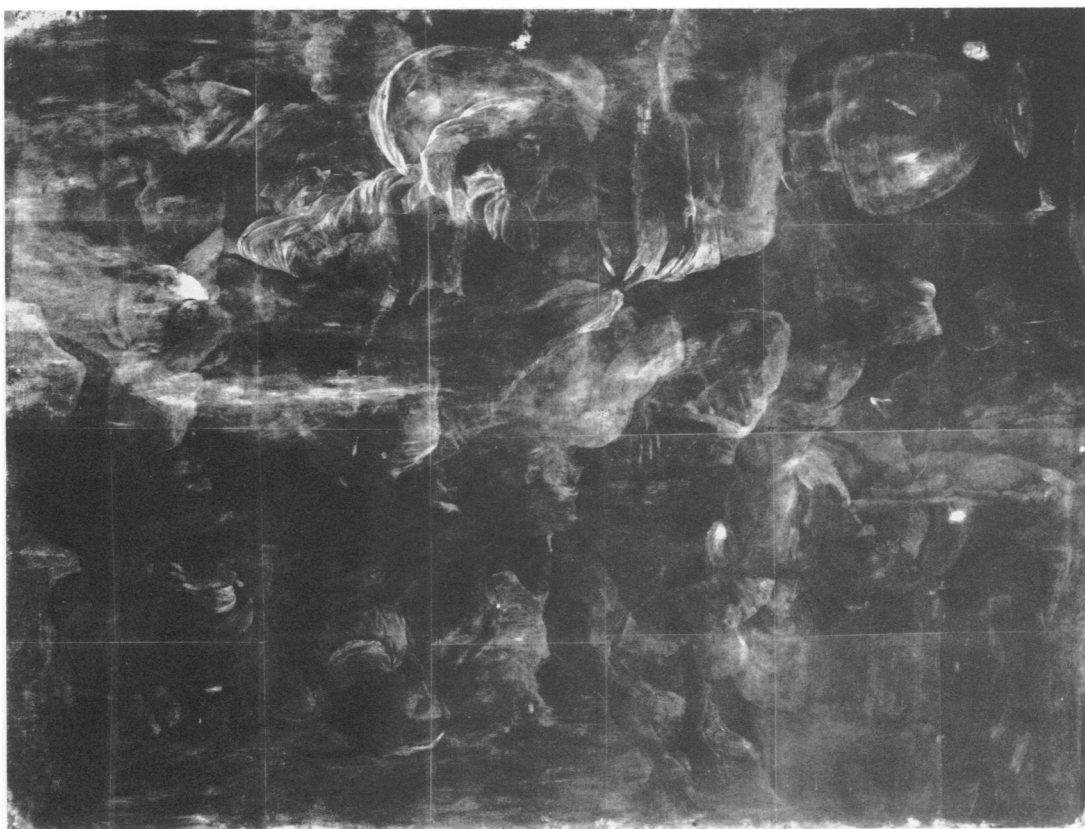
The exhibition held recently in Washington and in Paris has offered an opportunity to reconsider certain problems of attribution.<sup>36</sup> *The Rape of Europa* (Fort Worth), listed tentatively as a copy, is in fact an autograph work though not in good state. It is one of the earliest of Claude's paintings on a large scale, and he may not have felt at ease, which would explain the awkwardness of the composition and of the handling. The *St. George and the Dragon* (Hartford) has recently been restored and now looks very fine. The river scene in Norfolk (*Paysage avec chargement d'un navire*, rendered in the English catalogue as "Landscape with Ship Cargo") must be one of the earliest works by Claude;

36. See also note 25 above and comments on the paintings in Lawrence and Richmond.

still, the warm light suggests that it is later in date than *Landscape with Herd and Woman Milking a Cow* (Houston), an autograph work in poor state.

Unfortunately, the two versions of the *Landscape with Four Shepherds and Flock* (New Orleans and San Francisco) were not included in the exhibition; had they been shown together it would have been possible to decide which was by Claude. I still believe that *The Forum* (Springfield), which was not shown in Washington and Paris, is an early copy. The *Shepherd and His Flock* (Washington, D.C.), evidently an enlarged and modified original, would, in my opinion, merit restoration. Finally, a copy of the *Pastoral Landscape* belonging to the duke of Westminster was omitted from the list; it is in the collection of the University Art Galleries, University of Southern California at Los Angeles.

27. Nicolas Poussin,  
*Moses Sweetening the  
 Bitter Waters of  
 Marah*, ca. 1628,  
 X-radiograph (up-  
 side down). Oil on  
 canvas, 59 $\frac{7}{8}$  ×  
 82 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (152 ×  
 210 cm.). The Bal-  
 timore Museum of  
 Art (photo: Balti-  
 more Museum of  
 Art)



#### MAITRE AUX BEGUINS/MASTER OF THE *Béguins*

*Peasant Family with Ram* (Princeton). The painting (Figure 25) is listed, not surprisingly under the name of Le Nain, in the catalogue of an anonymous sale on February 17, 1774, no. 64. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin's drawing (Figure 26) in the margin of his copy of the catalogue renders this identification almost certain. (The artist was incorrectly described in the English catalogue, p. 362, as Master of the Béguines; the name is in fact derived from the cap or bonnet—*béguin*—worn by the girls in his paintings.)

#### PIERRE MIGNARD(?)

*The Virgin and Child* (Norfolk). Schleier (*Kunstchronik* 36 [1983] p. 233, fig. 1b) rejects this tentative attribution in favor of Alessandro Turchi (1578–1649).

#### JEAN-BAPTISTE MONNOYER

*A Vase of Flowers* belonging to the Flint Institute of Arts, Flint, Michigan, was omitted from the inventory. It is reproduced in a recent guide to the collection (*Highlights from the Collection*. [Flint, 1979] p. 22, ill.).

#### NICOLAS POUSSIN

*Moses Sweetening the Bitter Waters of Marah* (Baltimore). The painting, which has just been restored, is indeed by Poussin and should be dated about 1628. The X-radiograph is of particular interest:<sup>37</sup> seen upside down (Figure 27), it shows a God the Father very similar to the one in the *Sacrifice of Noah*, known through the engravings of Gantrel and Frey, and through the painted version at Tatton Park. (It should be remembered that the Baltimore picture was rejected by Thuillier, and the painting at Tatton Park by Blunt.<sup>38</sup>)

*Achilles Discovered Among the Daughters of Lycomedes* (Richmond). This picture, which I have seen again recently, is unfortunately a copy.

37. The X-radiograph, laboratory report, and other information about the treatment of the picture were generously provided by Gertrude Rosenthal, formerly chief curator of the Baltimore Museum of Art.

38. Jacques Thuillier, *Tout l'Oeuvre peint de Poussin* (Paris, 1974) no. B.23; Anthony Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin* (London, 1966) no. R.7.



28. Nicolas Régnier, *Self-Portrait at the Easel*. Oil on canvas,  $43\frac{3}{4} \times 54\frac{3}{8}$  in. (111 × 138 cm.). Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum, Gift of Mrs. Eric Schroeder, 1982.116 (photo: Fogg Art Museum)

#### NICOLAS RÉGNIER

A *Self-Portrait at the Easel* (Figure 28) has recently been given to the Fogg Art Museum by Mrs. Eric Schroeder.<sup>39</sup> This picture might well have been included in the exhibition.

The Los Angeles County Museum of Art has recently acquired a fascinating Régnier, *Allegory of Music* (see *Gazette des Beaux-Arts: La Chronique des Arts* 61 [March 1983] p. 33, no. 180, ill.).

#### JACQUES STELLA

Like the Poussin, *Hannibal Crossing the Alps* (Cambridge), a *Birth of the Virgin* by Stella has been offered to the Fogg Art Museum on extended loan by the Seiden and de Cuevas Foundation.

39. Last reproduced by Benedict Nicolson, *The International Caravaggesque Movement* (Oxford, 1979) p. 241, fig. 57, as on the New York art market in 1942.

#### NICOLAS TOURNIER

Is *The Drinker* (Kansas City), which Cuzin reproduces (*Burlington Magazine* 124 [1982] fig. 46), really by Tournier?

#### VALENTIN

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California, has recently acquired a superlative *Christ and the Adulteress* (Figure 29).

#### CLAUDE VIGNON

*Solomon Making Sacrifice to the Idols* (Norfolk). The picture has been sold by Walter Chrysler, Jr.

Omitted from the inventory was an *Adoration of the Magi* (Figure 30), acquired by the Birmingham Museum of Art, Alabama, in 1979.





29. Valentin (1591–1632), *Christ and the Adulteress*. Oil on canvas, 86½ × 66 in. (220 × 168 cm.). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum (photo: J. Paul Getty Museum)



30. Claude Vignon (1593–1670), *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1630. Oil on canvas, 32¼ × 37 in. (82 × 94 cm.). Birmingham, Alabama, Birmingham Museum of Art, Gift of Krewe Ball Members (photo: Birmingham Museum of Art)



31. Pupil of Simon Vouet (1590–1649), *Salome*. Oil on canvas. Naples, Soprintendenza, present location unknown (photo: Soprintendenza B.A.S., Naples)

#### SIMON VOUET (PUPIL)

*Christ on the Cross* (Chicago). According to Spear ("Reflections"), this painting is by Poerson.

*Salome* (Greenville). There is a better version in the collections of the Soprintendenza of Naples (Figure 31), whose existence was brought to my attention by Nicola Spinosa.

#### SIMON VOUET(?)

*The Flute Player*, copy (Los Angeles). See A. Brejon de Lavergnée, "Four New Paintings by Simon Vouet," *Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982) pp. 685–689, fig. 31, and Schleier, *Kunstchronik* 36 (1983) pp. 195–196.

#### SELECTED ANONYMOUS WORKS

*The Virgin and Child with St. Elizabeth* (Los Angeles). According to Scott Schaefer, the picture could be by Reynaud Levieux.

*Dido Abandoned(?)* (Los Angeles). This is surely a fragment of a larger composition by Jean Le Maire.

*Christ and the Woman from Canaan* (Norfolk). Jennifer Montagu has attributed the painting to Thomas Blanchet.

*The Adoration of the Magi* (Richmond). Gilles Chomer ascribes the picture to Baigneur, an opinion not shared by Charles Sterling.

#### NOTE

This article was completed in December 1983. It was translated from the French by Katharine Baetjer, Mary Laing, and Gretchen Wold.

# A Study by Greuze for Broken Eggs

JAMES THOMPSON

*Lecturer in the History of Art, Trinity College, Dublin*

A RED-CHALK DRAWING, heightened with white, in the collection of the Albertina in Vienna,<sup>1</sup> which has hitherto been attributed to Boucher, is, in fact, a finished study of one of the figures in Greuze's painting *Broken Eggs* in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 1). The drawing (Figure 2) shows the small boy at the right-hand side of the painting who completes the compositional triangle formed by the young maid of fallen virtue and her hapless paramour, himself held fast by the old crone who points to the eggs on the floor—the metaphorical image of lost virginity.<sup>2</sup>

I cannot but disagree with the most common view of this young fellow's role, which goes back to the original description of the painting in the Salon of 1757: "Une Mere [*sic*] grondant un jeune Homme pour avoir renversé un Panier d'Oeufs que sa Servante apportoit du Marché. Un Enfant tente de raccommoder un Oeuf cassé."<sup>3</sup> Louis Hautecoeur wrote "Chacun aussi rit de la naïveté de l'enfant que s'efforce, en réunissant deux coquilles, de réparer un malheur irréparable,"<sup>4</sup> and Edgar Munhall has said more recently "The boy trying to repair one of the eggs . . . is intended to suggest the uncomprehending innocence of childhood."<sup>5</sup> This child seems to me far from uncomprehending or innocent. His gaze, which directly engages the viewer (he does not even look at the two halves of the egg he holds together), is darkly clouded with comprehension. The small bow and arrow upon which the boy leans were understood by contemporaries to be a reference to the "danger of playing with Cupid's darts"<sup>6</sup> (the brazier and flagon alongside subtly adding to the sexual suggestion), and Cupid, even in mortal form, would hardly be naive.

This is no figure of fun but a solemn witness to the impossibility of repairing what is broken, of restoring innocence once lost. The boy's *déshabillé* parallels that of the young woman; and although I am not suggesting that he is about to shed his clothes for nude flight or that he may have been an accomplice in the deed, it seems to me that he demonstrates a greater understanding of its consequences than the oaf in the center who was responsible for it.

The drawing is executed with considerable care, particularly in the parallel hatchings that define the contours of the child's face, similar to those in Greuze's

1. The drawing (inv. no. 12.165, *Knabe mit zerbrochenem Ei*, as by Boucher) came to the museum, whose stamp it bears in the lower left, from the collection of Albert von Sachsen Teschen. I discovered it reproduced in an old French magazine ("Les Belles Sanguines," *Je Sais Tout* [Mar. 15, 1911] p. 153).

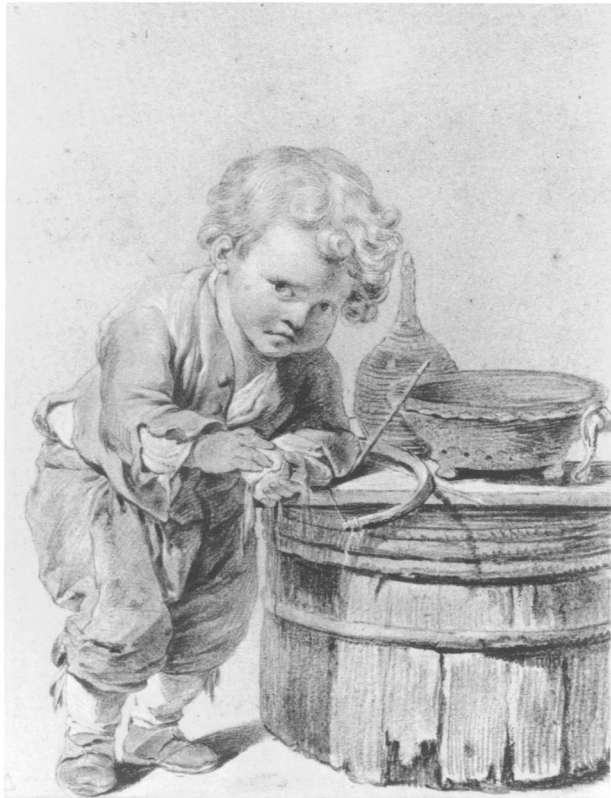
2. The same cast of characters (with an extra child added to restrain the barking dog) appears in the pendant painting *The Neapolitan Gesture*, now in the Worcester Art Museum. In this picture a similar golden-haired tot, though without mythological overtones, engages the eye of the viewer (Edgar Munhall, *Jean-Baptiste Greuze*, exh. cat. [Hartford, 1976] no. 14).

3. Paris, Salon catalogue (1757) no. 112, pp. 25–26. J. Martin and Ch. Masson, *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint et dessiné de Jean-Baptiste Greuze . . .*, issued in Camille Mauclair, *Jean-Baptiste Greuze* (Paris, n.d. [1905]) and reissued separately under J. Martin alone (Paris, 1908) no. 181, p. 14, transcribe the Salon entry incorrectly as "*la servante apportait au marché*," a reading followed in the translation by Charles Sterling, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: A Catalogue of French Paintings, XV–XVIII Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955) p. 174.

4. Louis Hautecoeur, *Greuze* (Paris, 1913) p. 22.

5. Munhall, *Greuze*, no. 9, p. 40.

6. Sterling, *French Paintings*, p. 174; see also Munhall, *Greuze*, p. 40.



1. Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725–1805), *Broken Eggs*, signed and dated 1756. Oil on canvas, 28¾ × 37 in. (73 × 94 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of William K. Vanderbilt, 20.155.8
2. Greuze, *Boy with a Broken Egg*. Red chalk heightened with white, 13⅜ × 10¾ in. (33.8 × 27.4 cm.). Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (photo: Albertina)

studies after antique statuary; the face in the painting is softened more in the manner of the artist's portraits. The extremely close kinship between the drawing and the finished picture may indicate that the drawing was done just before the painting, or even after, as a record.<sup>7</sup>

7. Two preparatory drawings were sold in Paris in the late 19th century: Hôtel Drouot, Mar. 19, 1890, no. 43—"Greuze: Etude du maître pour le tableau gravé par Moitte sous le titre les Oeufs cassés"; Hôtel Drouot, May 16–17, 1898, no. 143—"Les oeufs cassés, beau dessin aux trois crayons, rehaussé de pastel. Signé: Greuze, année 1756," measuring 41 × 53 cm. (information from the files of the Department of European Paintings, MMA). See Sterling, *French Paintings*, p. 174; Martin and Masson (*Catalogue raisonné*, p. 14), quoted by Munhall (*Greuze*, p. 40), date the sales slightly differently.

# Fuseli, Another Nightmare: The Night-Hag Visiting Lapland Witches

LAWRENCE FEINGOLD

IN 1980 the Metropolitan Museum acquired a curious, macabre painting by the Swiss-born artist Henry Fuseli, depicting the "night-hag" on her flight to the Lapland witches. There has been some confusion concerning the proper title of this work (Figure 1). Fuseli and his contemporaries called it "The Night-hag Visiting Lapland Witches,"<sup>1</sup> "The Night-Hag,"<sup>2</sup> or "Lapland Orgies."<sup>3</sup> Henceforth I shall refer to it simply as *The Night-Hag*.

The painting was put up for auction at Sotheby's of London on July 9, 1980, resurfacing after a long period during which it had been believed lost.<sup>4</sup> It had been consigned to obscurity roughly sixty years earlier when its former owner, Mrs. Boyd of Penkill Castle, Ayrshire, gave the work to her maid, Mrs. Smith, because she "couldn't stand it."<sup>5</sup>

Fuseli's own opinion of the work was apparently quite at variance with that of Mrs. Boyd. When he sold the painting in 1808 to John Knowles, his future biographer, he is said to have remarked: "Young man, the picture you have purchased is one of my very best—yet no one has asked its price till now—it requires a poetic mind to feel and love such a work."<sup>6</sup>

*The Night-Hag* attained a certain fame during Fuseli's lifetime and for several decades thereafter. Both Allan Cunningham in 1830 and G. Walter Thornbury in 1860 singled it out as one of the most noteworthy paintings of Fuseli's Milton Gallery. Cunningham thought that "in this picture Fuseli may almost be said to have equalled his author,"<sup>7</sup> and Thornbury wrote: "It was no common man that chose such scenes as . . . 'The Lapland Witches' Orgies.'"<sup>8</sup>

*The Night-Hag* was painted for Fuseli's Milton Gallery, a herculean project illustrating the works and life of the writer John Milton. It included forty-seven paintings, many monumental in scale, to which Fuseli

devoted most of his efforts during the decade 1790 to 1800. Forty paintings including *The Night-Hag* were exhibited in 1799, and seven additional paintings were included in the exhibition of the following year. The Milton Gallery was Fuseli's competitive response to the Shakespeare Gallery that the publisher Boydell had financed and organized beginning in 1789. At its conclusion in 1802, the Shakespeare Gallery contained roughly 170 pictures painted by fifty-three artists including Fuseli, whose paintings were certainly among the most successful.<sup>9</sup> Not satisfied with

1. Letter from Fuseli to William Roscoe of Apr. 30, 1794, quoted in Hugh H. Macandrew, "Selected Letters from the Correspondence of Henry Fuseli and William Roscoe of Liverpool," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 62 (1963) p. 212.

2. Allan Cunningham, *The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (London, 1830) II, p. 303.

3. Listed as such in Fuseli's catalogue entry for the painting in the Milton Gallery. See John Knowles, *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli, Esq. M.A. R.A.*, 3 vols. (London, 1831) I, p. 208. When the painting was sold at Christie's on April 22, 1842 (sale of the Knowles estate), the catalogue entry listed the work as "The night hag or Lapland orgies."

4. Gert Schiff included this work in the list of lost paintings in his definitive catalogue raisonné of the artist, *Johann Heinrich Füssli, 1741–1825*, 2 vols. (Zurich/Munich, 1973) I, p. 649, no. 35.

5. According to Andrew Festing of Sotheby's, as recorded in the archives of the Department of European Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum.

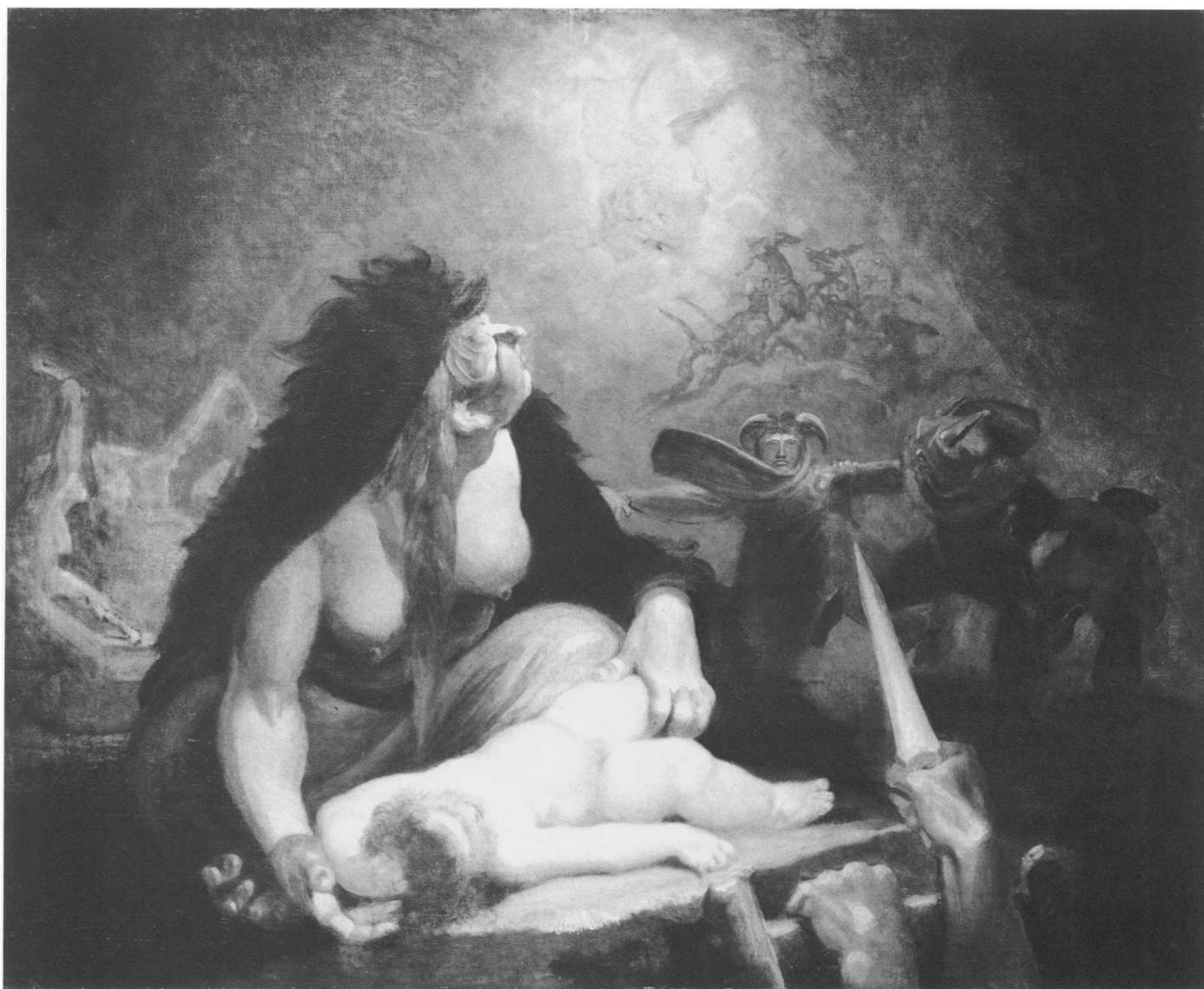
6. Cunningham, *Lives*, II, pp. 303–304.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 303.

8. G. Walter Thornbury, "Fuseli in Somerset House," *Art Journal* 22 (1860) p. 136.

9. For further information on the Shakespeare Gallery see Winifred Friedman, *Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery* (New York, 1976). For further information on the Milton Gallery see Gert Schiff, *Johann Heinrich Füssli's Milton-Galerie*, Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft 4 (Zurich/Stuttgart, 1963) and Schiff, *Füssli*, I, pp. 159–184, 189–223.





1. Henry Fuseli (1741–1825), *The Night-Hag Visiting Lapland Witches*, 1794–96. Oil on canvas, 40 × 48¾ in. (101.6 × 126.4 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Bequest of Lillian S. Timken, by exchange, Victor Wilbour Memorial Fund, The Alfred N. Punnett Endowment Fund, Marquand and Curtis Funds, 1980.411

this collaborative role, Fuseli aimed to rival the Shakespeare Gallery by single-handedly creating a monument to Milton (and by extension, to himself). In 1790 Fuseli wrote a letter to William Roscoe, the man who became his patron for the Milton Gallery: "I am determined to lay, hatch and crack an egg for myself . . . a series of pictures for Exhibition such as Boydell's."<sup>10</sup>

Most of the paintings in the Milton Gallery illus-

trate passages from *Paradise Lost*, one of the most popular and revered books in England during the eighteenth century. *The Night-Hag*, number 8 in Fuseli's catalogue of the Milton Gallery, is a depiction of a simile from lines 662–666 of Book II of *Paradise Lost*. Fuseli's catalogue entry for the painting reads:

LAPLAND ORGIES, the Hell-hounds round SIN compared to those that

———follow the night-hag, when call'd  
In secret, riding through the air she comes,  
Lur'd with the smell of infant blood, to dance  
With Lapland witches, while the lab'ring moon  
Eclipses at their charms.———

Book II. v. 662.<sup>11</sup>

10. Friedman, *Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery*, p. 209.

11. As recorded in Knowles, *Life and Writings*, I, p. 208.

In Milton's epic, Sin is the guard at the Gates of Hell. The Hell hounds surrounding Sin are compared with the hounds that "follow the night-hag."

The night-hag is the spectral apparition in the upper center of Fuseli's canvas. She is a demon mounted on horseback, raising her left arm to whip on the horse whose head has twisted wildly to the right, neighing, with bulging eyes. The night-hag is painted in golden ocher, surrounded by an aura of bluish-white that quickly fades into the murky greenish-brown tones of the sky, darkening to black in the upper corners. This upper portion of the canvas and the side margins are thinly painted and have unfortunately suffered somewhat from abrasion, so that many of the forms are difficult to discern, particularly the night-hag herself.

Circling the night-hag, below her and to the right, is a pack of nine infernal hounds with their tails erect, their forms outlined in dark green. These are the hounds that Milton has likened to those that surround Sin and kennel in her womb in *Paradise Lost*.

In the foreground, a witch is seated cross-legged on a platform, looking sharply up to the night-hag in the sky and touching a nude male child lying asleep or drugged in front of her, oblivious to the surrounding scene. The warm pink flesh tones of the child contrast sharply with the blue-white skin of the witch, set off against her encircling black fur cloak and the red accents of her bracelets and exposed nipples. The seated and hooded hag is a type that appears frequently in Fuseli's art, beginning with his drawing after a Roman painting, *The Selling of Cupids* of 1775–76.<sup>12</sup> Two other examples among many include *The Changeling* of 1780, depicting witches abducting an infant in exchange for a hideous changeling (Figure 2),<sup>13</sup> and an etching, *The Witch and the Mandrake*, from about 1812 (Figure 3), which illustrates the "Witches' Song" in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queenes*.<sup>14</sup>

Below and to the right of the sleeping baby are the

2. Fuseli, *The Changeling*, 1780. Pencil and watercolor, 48 × 53.5 cm. Zurich, Kunsthau (photo: Kunsthau)



3. Fuseli, *The Witch and the Mandrake*, ca. 1812. Etching on soft ground, 45.7 × 56 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 53.535.25

12. Schiff, *Füssli*, I, no. 655. See also Robert Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art* (Princeton, N.J., 1967) pp. 7–8.

13. Schiff, *Füssli*, I, no. 840.

14. Ibid., no. 1497. Another prominent example of a seated and hooded witch occurs in *Percival Delivering Belisane from the Enchantment of Urma* of 1783 in the Tate Gallery, *ibid.*, no. 718. Further examples include *ibid.*, nos. 479, 804, 829, 834, 1510, 1511, 1567, 1752.

hands of another figure climbing a ladder to the platform. One hand grips the top rung, the other raises a dagger that looms very large in the foreground, gleaming with a blue-white radiance. Clearly, this is the scene of an impending infant sacrifice, which has lured the night-hag "with the smell of infant blood."

In the right middle ground, the Lapland witches dance a strange round to the beating of drums, performed by the witches on the extreme left, who glow in infernal, fiery tones. The beating of drums to magic rites was apparently characteristic of the witches and sorcerers of Lapland. Witchcraft, paganism, and sacrificial rites in general were traditionally associated with the Far North, and particularly with Lapland, the last part of Europe to be Christianized. Shakespeare mentions "Lapland sorcerers,"<sup>15</sup> and contemporary travel accounts stress the occult practices of the Laplanders. Jean François Regnard, the French comic dramatist who published an account of his voyage to Lapland in 1681, wrote:

All the world knows, that the people who lived nearest to the north, have always been addicted to idolatry and to magic: the Finlanders, in this respect, surpassed all others; and we may say, that they were as well versed in that diabolical art, as if they had had for their teachers, Zoroaster or Circe. . . . If the Finlanders were so much addicted to magic formerly, their descendants, the Laplanders, are not less so, at the present day.<sup>16</sup>

Regnard and Knud Leems, who traveled to Lapland in 1767, both record that the Laplanders' chief instrument for the performance of magic and sacrificial rites was a drum, which they would heat with fire and then beat wildly with reindeer bones to transport themselves into a state of satanic possession.<sup>17</sup> Regnard vividly described this process:

They take care, first, to bend the skin of the tabor, in taking it near to the fire; then a Laplander, falling on his knees, . . . begins to strike his tabor all round, and redoubling the strokes with the words which he pronounces, as if he were possessed, his countenance becomes blue, his hair stands erect.<sup>18</sup>

Leems presented a similar description of "these ridiculous, and almost furious gestures and ceremonies."<sup>19</sup>

Leems also recorded the Lapland witches' habit of dancing to drums at their nocturnal gatherings.<sup>20</sup> The

notion of witches dancing by night is common in English literature as well: in Dryden we read,

Thus, to some desert plain, or old wood side,  
Dire night-hags come from far to dance their round:  
And o'r brode Rivers on their fiends they ride,  
Or sweep in clouds above the blasted ground.<sup>21</sup>

A scene from Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queenes* gives a more explicit description of the witches' dance:

At w<sup>ch</sup>, w<sup>th</sup> a strange and sodayne musique, they fell into a magicall Daunce full of preposterous change, and gesticulation, but most applying to theyr property: who, at theyr meetings, do all thinges contrary to the custome of men, dancing back to back, hip to hip, theyr handes joyn'd, and making theyr circles backward, to the left hand, with strange phantastique motions of theyr heads and bodies.<sup>22</sup>

Fuseli may well have had this passage in mind while painting *The Night-Hag*. The witches on the right dance with their backs to the middle and move in a circle to their left with hands joined, making motions that are indeed strange and fantastic.

Two of these dancing witches have an attribute that

15. *Comedy of Errors*, IV, iii, l. 11.

16. Translated in John Pinkerton, ed., *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World* (London, 1808) I, p. 178. Fuseli could have read Regnard's *Voyage de Laponie* in the original French. It was published in numerous editions throughout the 18th century.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 179–181, 473–478. The Leems account, also translated in Pinkerton, was originally published in Latin, which Fuseli could have read.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 478.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 473. The beating of drums by Fuseli's witches may also have to do with the moon's eclipse in ll. 665–666 of his Milton text. James Paterson, in his *Complete Commentary with Etymological, Explanatory, Critical and Classical Notes on Milton's Paradise Lost* (London, 1744) p. 227, says in reference to the "labouring moon" that "At this Time the Heathens beat Drums and Timbrels to relieve it."

21. John Dryden, "Annus Mirabilis," in *Works* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1956) I, p. 96, stanza 248.

22. Ben Jonson, *Masque of Queenes* (London: The King's Printers, 1930) p. 30. Fuseli certainly knew the *Masque of Queenes*, since he illustrated a passage from it in Figure 3 above. A dance in which everything was reversed was a common feature of the Devil's or Witches' Sabbath. See Ernest Jones, *On the Nightmare* (London, 1931) p. 185.

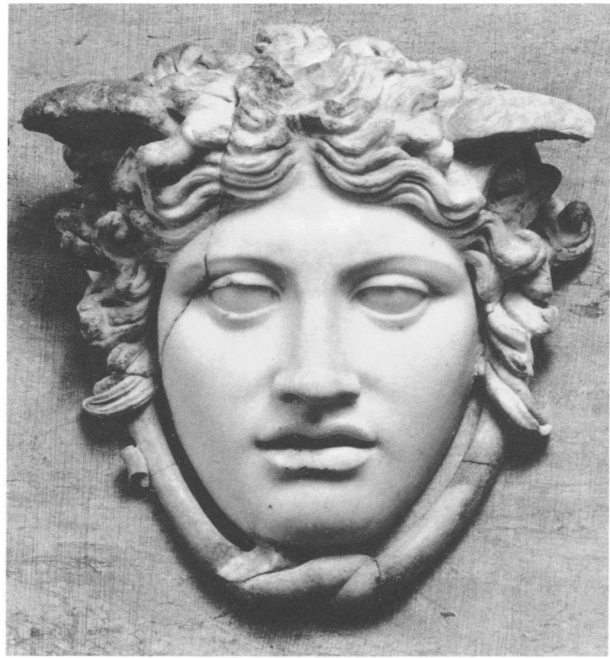
is neither mentioned by Milton or Ben Jonson nor related to Lapland sorcery. The two witches in the middle ground immediately to the right of the sacrificial scene bear wings on their heads, which is an attribute of Medusa.<sup>23</sup> According to ancient mythology, a glimpse of Medusa's head would turn the viewer into stone. Originally represented in demonic and grotesque form, Medusa was transformed by artists of the Classical and Hellenistic periods into a woman of cold and stony beauty with wings in her hair and a necklace of snakes.<sup>24</sup>

Fuseli seems to have used the most famous of these antique Gorgon heads, the Rondanini Medusa (Figure 4), as a model for the features of the dancing witch whose winged head faces us in a stony stare. Fuseli could have seen this work, then in the Palazzo Rondanini in Rome, during his Italian sojourn, which lasted from 1770 to 1778. A decade after Fuseli left Italy, Goethe was profoundly impressed by this Medusa during his Italian journey in 1788, and he described it as "a wondrous work, which expresses the discord between death and life, between pain and pleasure."<sup>25</sup> In Fuseli's *Night-Hag*, the Medusa's head becomes a symbol of death and the demonic in classical form, grafted onto the body of an outlandish Lapland witch.

*The Night-Hag* is painted with the lurid, diabolical garishness characteristic of Fuseli's illustrations of *Paradise Lost* for the Milton Gallery. Thornbury in 1860 singled out *The Night-Hag* together with *The Lazar House* from the Milton Gallery as sublime examples of Fuseli's "German genius for diablerie,"<sup>26</sup> a description not inappropriate for the painting now in the Metropolitan Museum.

Fuseli first mentioned this work in a letter written to William Roscoe on April 30, 1794, under a list of "pictures painted."<sup>27</sup> In another letter to Roscoe, on August 9, 1796, Fuseli included the work again in a list of the paintings as "The Similes of the Nighthag visiting the Lapland witches," and further identified it as a large half-length.<sup>28</sup> The standard half-length in England was generally about 50 by 40 inches, which is indeed the size of the painting in the Metropolitan Museum, although in horizontal rather than vertical format.

The inclusion of *The Night-Hag* in the list of "pictures painted" of 1794 seems to imply that it had been finished by April of that year. However, this is not necessarily true, since it was Fuseli's practice in those



4. The Rondanini Medusa, marble copy of Greek bronze original of the 5th century B.C. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek (photo: Hartwig Koppermann)

years to work simultaneously on a number of canvases at various stages of completion. In a letter to Roscoe on April 4, 1795, Fuseli wrote: "Of Milton I have now sixteen pictures partly finished, partly in that state of forwardness, that, if by the assistance of my friends . . . I am enabled to devote the greater part of this year to them, I may look forward to an exhibition by February or March next."<sup>29</sup>

*The Night-Hag* was probably among this group of sixteen pictures and we cannot tell if it was one of

23. I owe this observation to Gert Schiff.

24. Wilhelm Heinrich Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1884–90) I, pp. 1698, 1721–1724.

25. "Der Medusa Rondanini; ein wundersames Werk, das, den Zwiespalt zwischen Tod und Leben, zwischen Schmerz und Wollust ausdrückend, einen unnennbaren Reiz wie irgendein anderes Problem über uns ausübt." Goethe, *Italienische Reise*, ed. Herbert von Einem (Munich, 1978) p. 546.

26. Thornbury, "Fuseli in Somerset House," p. 135.

27. Macandrew, "Selected Letters," p. 212.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 214–215.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

those completed or of those in a state of “forwardness.” Similarly, after the list of pictures of August 1796, Fuseli appended: “to these, many finished, all, even the Largest, so far advanced, as to require no more than a fortnight’s work each, some not above a day or two.”<sup>30</sup> Thus, it is possible that the work was not completed until after August 1796. However, we can be sure that it had been conceived by 1794 and was completed or largely carried out by 1796. This date places the work in close connection with other depictions of witches and nocturnal demons painted by Fuseli in the first half of the 1790s, including the Frankfurt *Nightmare* of 1790–91 and *The Nightmare Leaving the Chamber of Two Women* of about 1793 (Figure 6).<sup>31</sup>

Fuseli’s choice of text for the eighth painting in his Milton Gallery, *The Night-Hag*, is rather surprising. The passage does not describe a significant or dramatic event in the narrative but is an elaborate simile, and it was one of Fuseli’s interesting innovations in the Milton Gallery to give a prominent place to Milton’s similes and metaphors; his other depictions of metaphors from *Paradise Lost* include *The Shepherd’s Dream* of 1793, and *A Griffon Pursuing an Arimasbian* and *Odysseus Between Scylla and Charybdis*, both of 1794–96.<sup>32</sup>

In Richard Bentley’s edition of *Paradise Lost* of 1732 (Alexander Pope called him “Slashing Bentley” because of his vociferous criticisms of the masterpiece),<sup>33</sup> lines 662–666 of Book II are annotated as follows: “But much rather let him take back his fabulous Night-Hag, his Dance of the Lapland Witches and his Smell of Infant Blood; and not contaminate this most majestic Poem with Trash, nor convey such idle but dangerous Stories to his young and credulous Female Readers.”<sup>34</sup> Of course, this kind of criticism would merely serve to make the passage more enticing to Fuseli, who relished the scandalous and the horrific.

Bentley did not explain what Milton might have meant by his “fabulous Night-Hag.” Most modern commentators on Milton agree in interpreting the night-hag as a reference to the classical goddess Hecate, who appears in *Macbeth* as the queen of the witches.<sup>35</sup> Hecate was heir to a rich and eclectic tradition, variously associated with the moon, the underworld, sacrificial rites, madness, nightmares, and witchcraft. A pack of howling Stygian dogs was often said to accompany her nocturnal flights, particularly

in her later connection with sorcery.<sup>36</sup>

However, it does not appear to be the goddess Hecate that we see flying toward the Lapland witches in Fuseli’s painting. Hecate was usually depicted with three heads and bodies, as in Blake’s *Triple Hecate* of 1794. Instead, we are faced with an ethereal demon mounted on a wildly twisting horse. The image is barely recognizable, shrouded in an aura of eerie light. The identification with Hecate seems to lead onto a false trail.

Another approach to the night-hag that better accords with the image in Fuseli’s painting is the definition of the word given in the *Oxford English Dictionary*: “A hag or female demon supposed to ride the air by night; the nightmare.”

This connection between the night-hag and the nightmare is, in fact, mentioned in one commentary on *Paradise Lost* that Fuseli may have known. In 1744 James Paterson wrote:

*Night-Hag* . . . i.e. A *Night Witch*: The *Latins* called it *Incubus* and *Succubus*; i.e. *Lying under and over*; We, the *Night-Mare*; . . . The *Antients* thought it was a *Devil*, or *Witch*, that haunted People in Bed in the Night; but now it’s found to be only an heavy Weight, rising from their depraved Imaginations. Horses are more subject to it than any Creatures else.<sup>37</sup>

This commentary has some relevance also to Fuseli’s more famous *Nightmare* of 1781 (Figure 5), which depicts an incubus weighing down upon the abdomen of a dreaming woman while the head of a horse peers through the curtains. The incubus, a devil, is the male form of the nightmare; the succubus, a witch or hag, is his female counterpart. The nightmare was

30. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

31. Schiff, *Füssli*, I, nos. 928, 929.

32. *Ibid.*, nos. 1762, 894; lost works, no. 37. See p. 197.

33. Raymond Dexter Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass., 1922) p. 29.

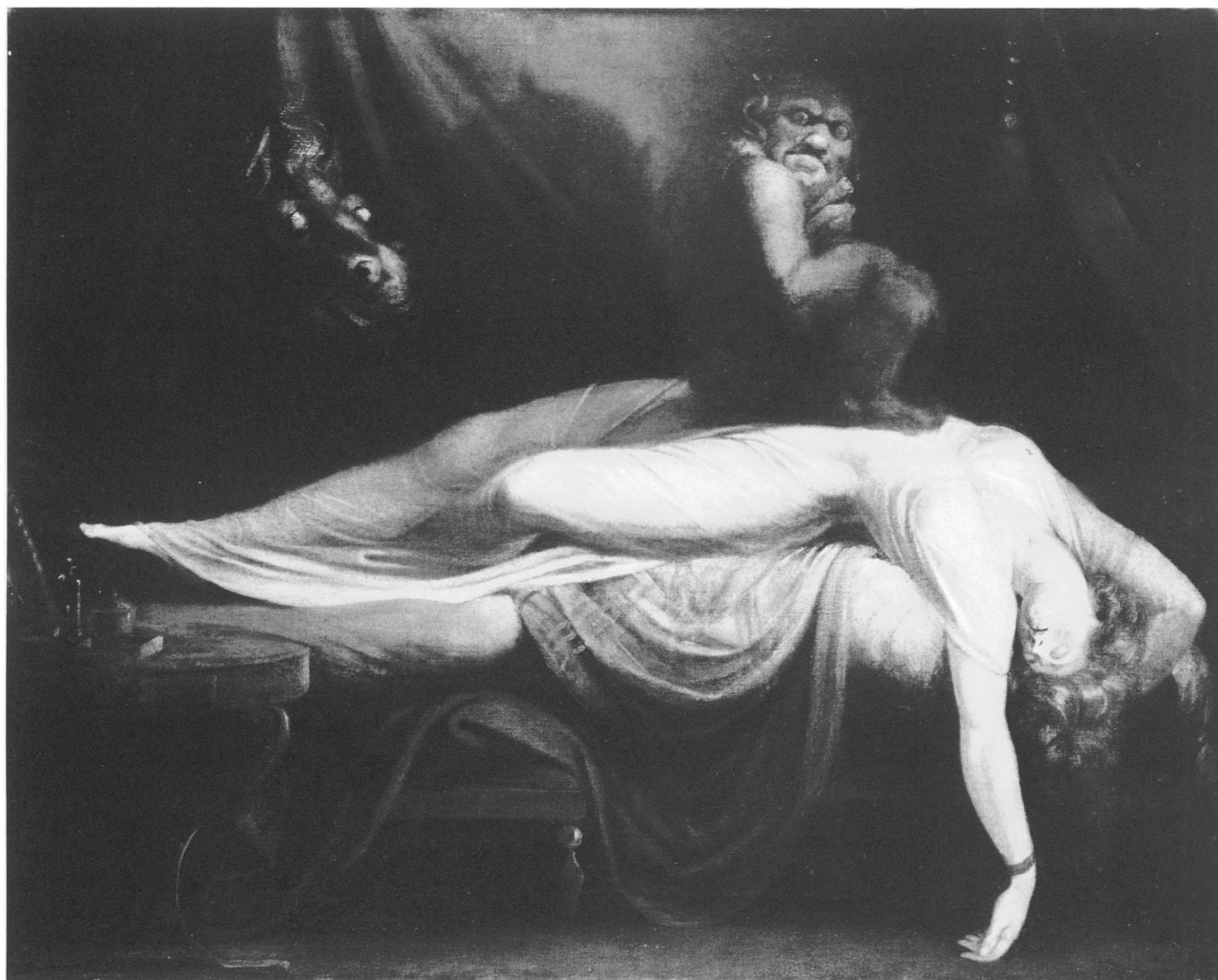
34. Richard Bentley, ed., *Paradise Lost* (London, 1732) p. 61.

35. See A. W. Verity, ed., *Paradise Lost, Books I & II* (Cambridge, 1924) p. 125. See also F. T. Prince, ed., *Paradise Lost, Books I & II* (London, 1962). Isaac Asimov appears to be the only modern annotator to mention the nightmare as another possible meaning for Milton’s “night-hag,” in *Asimov’s Annotated Paradise Lost* (New York, 1974) p. 92.

36. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon*, I, pp. 1885–1910.

37. Paterson, *Complete Commentary*, pp. 226–227.





5. Fuseli, *The Nightmare*, 1781. Oil on canvas, 101 × 127 cm. The Detroit Institute of Arts (photo: Detroit Institute of Arts)

generally conceived as being of the opposite sex to the dreamer. In his essay on Fuseli's *Nightmare*, H. W. Janson discussed the folklore of the succubus:

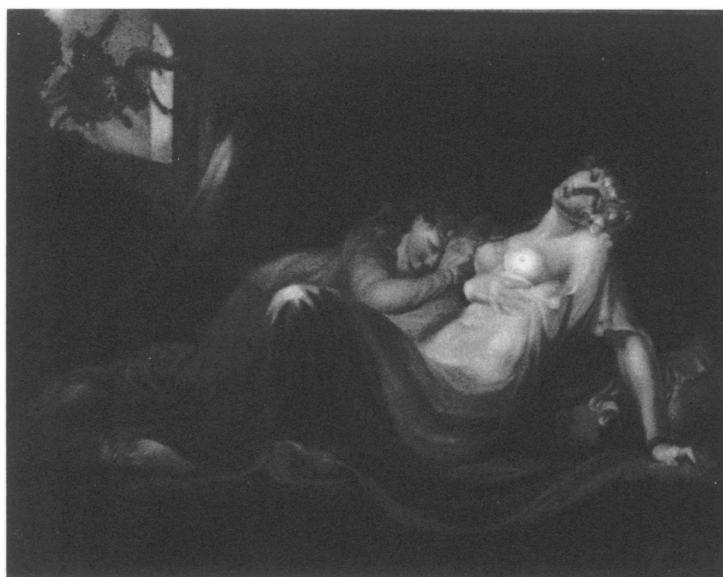
In England, the nightmare, i.e. the night demon that sits on the sleeper's chest and thus causes the feeling of suffocation characteristic of the pathology of nightmares, was often thought of as female, a *night-hag* [emphasis mine] or night-witch. . . . In either case, the incubus would "ride" his victim, or at times even assume the shape of a horse.<sup>38</sup>

Although there is apparently no direct etymological link between the nightmare and the mare, night-

mares are intimately connected with horses and the metaphor of "riding" in folk legend, probably because of the well-known sexual symbolism of the horse.<sup>39</sup> Another reason for this association may have been the tendency for horses themselves to be afflicted with nightly disturbances, as James Paterson mentioned in his *Commentary*, and as is testified to by earlier writers. John Aubrey, a seventeenth-century antiquary best known for his *Miscellanies* (1696), a collection of anecdotes on the supernatural, gave a

38. H. W. Janson, "Fuseli's Nightmare," *Arts and Sciences* 2 (Spring 1963) p. 26.

39. See Jones, *On the Nightmare*, pp. 243–339; Nicolas Powell, *Fuseli: The Nightmare* (New York, 1972) pp. 50, 56ff.; and John Moffit's review of Powell in *Burlington Magazine* 118 (July 1976) p. 537.



6. Fuseli, *The Nightmare Leaving the Chamber of Two Women*, ca. 1793. Oil on canvas, 100 × 124 cm. Zurich, Muraltengut (photo: Tresch + Wenger)



7. Fuseli, *The Nightmare Leaving the Chamber of Two Women*, 1810. Pencil and watercolor, 31.5 × 40.8 cm. Zurich, Kunsthaus (photo: Kunsthaus)

charm against the nightmare, “to prevent the Night Mare, viz. the Hag, from riding their Horses, who will sometimes sweat all Night.”<sup>40</sup> The seventeenth-century poet Robert Herrick suggested another remedy:

Hang up Hooks, and Sheers to scare  
Hence the Hag, that rides the Mare.<sup>41</sup>

The nightmare, the “hag,” and horses are connected in a more famous source: Mercutio’s speech on Queen Mab in *Romeo and Juliet*:

And in this state she gallops night by night  
Through lovers’ brains, and then they dream of love;  
. . . . .  
. . . This is that very Mab  
That plats the manes of horses in the night,  
And bakes the elf-locks in foul sluttish hairs,  
Which once untangled much misfortune bodes:  
This is the hag, when maids lie on their backs,  
That presses them and learns them first to bear,  
Making them women of good carriage:  
This is she . . . .

I, iv, ll. 70–95

Shakespeare, Aubrey, and Herrick all called the nightmare a hag, a commonly used synonym for the night-hag. Katherine Mary Briggs describes the hag or “hagge” as “one sixteenth century name for a Night-Mare, conceived of as a hideous succubus who sat on a man in his sleep, squeezing his stomach and caus-

ing horrible dreams,”<sup>42</sup> like Fuseli’s *Nightmare* with the sexes reversed.

As late as 1834 the night-hag was still employed in a sense related to this earlier usage. In Lietch Ritchie’s *Wanderings by the Seine*, there is a passage that recalls Fuseli’s *Nightmare*: “and they look around, quaking, in search of relief from the indefinite dread, which sits like the night-hag on their souls.”<sup>43</sup> As belief in witches dwindled, the term “night-hag” could be used only metaphorically—something vague and indefinitely horrific—before dropping out of speech altogether.

Fuseli’s *Night-Hag* could be described as belonging to a middle phase in this development. He does not choose to depict the night-hag with a naturalism that could convince us of her actual physical and material presence. She is rather an immaterial phantom, like a vision seen in a dream. But nevertheless, Fuseli’s

40. Quoted in Katharine Mary Briggs, *Pale Hecate’s Team: An Examination of the Beliefs on Witchcraft and Magic among Shakespeare’s Contemporaries and His Immediate Successors* (London, 1962) pp. 177–178.

41. “Another Charme for Stables,” originally published in *Hesperides*, 1648. Quoted in Briggs, *Pale Hecate’s Team*, p. 178.

42. Katharine Mary Briggs, *Encyclopedia of Fairies: Hobgoblins, Brownies, Bogies and Other Supernatural Creatures* (New York, 1976) p. 216.

43. Lietch Ritchie, *Wanderings by the Seine* (London, 1834) p. 59, a travel account with twenty engravings after drawings by J. M. W. Turner.

depiction closely follows sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English folk beliefs.

Briggs describes the primitive form of the nightmare as “a mounted supernatural hag, scouring the countryside with nine demons as her offspring, a kind of female Wild Hunt,”<sup>44</sup> a description that corresponds closely to Fuseli’s painting. In Milton’s text, a parallel is established between the nine demons that follow the night-hag or nightmare and the Hell hounds that surround Sin in *Paradise Lost* and live in her womb.

Shakespeare, in *King Lear*, also mentioned the nine offspring or familiars of the nightmare. Edgar, playing a madman, wards off the “foul fiend” with a charm:

Swihold footed thrice the old;  
He met the night-mare, and her nine-fold;  
Bid her alight,  
And her troth plight,  
And aroint thee, witch, aroint thee!

III, iv, ll. 125–129

Coincidentally, in the same year that Fuseli began his *Night-Hag*, Samuel Coleridge commented on this

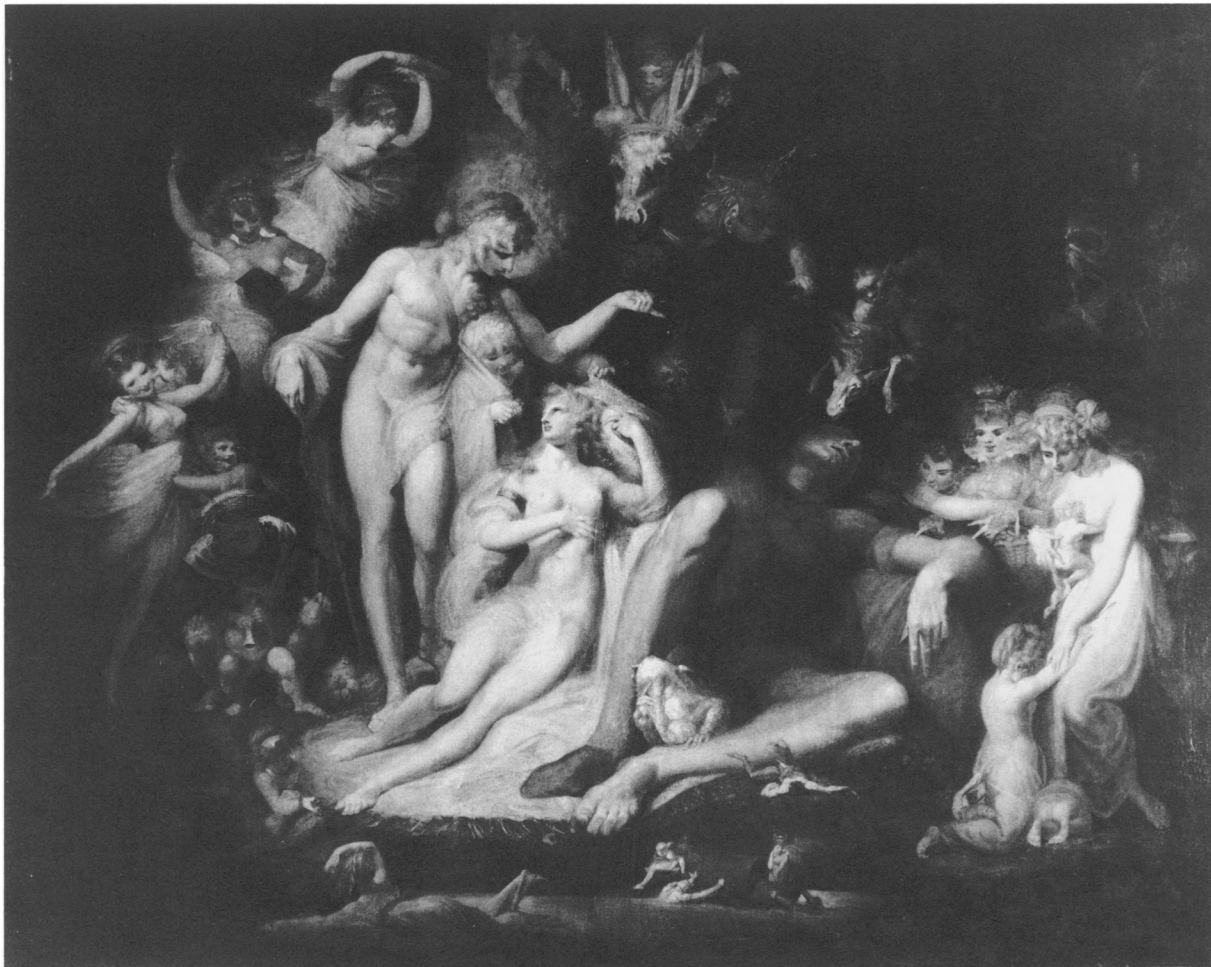
passage from *King Lear* in a letter to Southey on December 11, 1794: “Would not this be a fine subject for a *wild ode*. . . I shall set about one, when I am in a Humour to *abandon* myself to all the Diableries, that ever meet the Eye of a Fuseli!”<sup>45</sup>

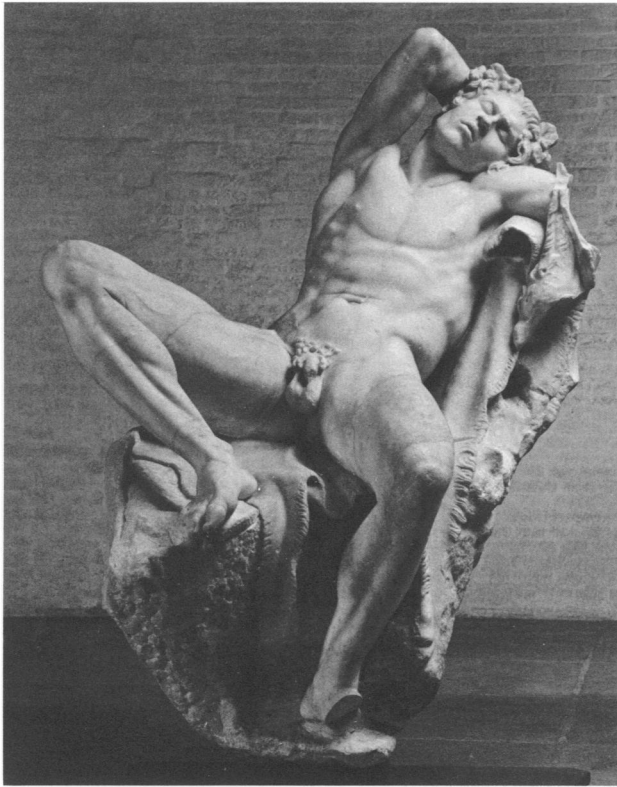
The identification of Fuseli’s night-hag with the nightmare is further strengthened by the close resemblance of Fuseli’s apparition to his earlier depictions of the nightmare, particularly *The Nightmare Leaving the Chamber of Two Women* of about 1793 (Figure 6). A drawing of 1810 based on this painting provides a clearer image of the departing night-fiend (Figure 7). In both works, the “nightmare” is flying

44. Briggs, *Pale Hecate’s Team*, p. 177.

45. E. L. Griggs, ed., *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (Oxford, 1956) I, p. 135. Alexander Runciman did a drawing on this passage in *King Lear* in ca. 1772–78; see Nancy L. Pressly, *The Fuseli Circle in Rome: Early Romantic Art of the 1770’s*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 1979) p. 16.

8. Fuseli, *Titania’s Awakening*, 1785–89. Oil on canvas, 222 × 280 cm. Winterthur, Kunstmuseum (photo: Schweiz. Institut für Kunstwissenschaft, Zurich)





9. The Barberini Faun, Greek, ca. 220 B.C. Marble. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek (photo: Hartwig Koppermann)

out of the window of a bedchamber after having already plagued one of the sleepers. The nightmare is depicted as an incubus mounted on a horse, his right arm raised to whip on his steed. The only major difference between this apparition and the night-hag in the painting in the Metropolitan Museum is that the nightmare leaving the bedchamber of two women is seen from the rear, after the fact, departing instead of arriving. The identity of the image (except for its sex) in both cases is surely the same. Furthermore, the head of the horse that the night-hag rides through the sky is patterned after the horse's head peering mysteriously through the curtains in the *Nightmare* of 1781 (Figure 5). Both animals have the same wild and hypnotic appearance with stony and demonic eyes.

An even closer parallel can be seen in the large work *Titania's Awakening*, painted in 1785–89 for Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery (Figure 8).<sup>46</sup> The sleeping Bottom in the right half of the canvas is surrounded by

witches and evil spirits, among whom is the nightmare: an incubus mounted on horseback who gallops over Bottom's forehead, raising back his left arm to whip on his wild steed, just as in *The Night-Hag* in the following decade.

While in Fuseli's earlier paintings of the nightmare there is no doubt as to who the dreamer is, the situation in *The Night-Hag* is more complicated. However, a sleeper can be identified: the sacrificial victim, the baby boy lying on his back in the foreground. Ironically, the rosy-cheeked child sleeps with innocent, untroubled ease, like a drowsy Cupid in the midst of Lapland witches and a host of demons. With his left arm raised over his head, his other arm hanging limply at his side, the child has been rendered in the pose traditional in Western art for the depiction of sleep and dreaming, often with sexual or erotic overtones. Antique statues of sleepers like the Barberini Faun in the Munich Glyptothek (Figure 9) or the Ariadne in the Vatican Museum are generally depicted in poses similar to that of Fuseli's child, with one arm bent back over their heads. A great many Renaissance and Baroque paintings use the same classical formula to indicate sleep, often with the connotation of sexual vulnerability. The child in Fuseli's *Night-Hag* and the woman in his *Nightmare* both descend from this tradition, the male child deriving from the drowsy abandon of the Barberini Faun, the female dreamer from the Vatican Ariadne.<sup>47</sup>

In Fuseli's *Nightmare*, the bad dream that disturbs the sleeping woman has an obvious sexual component. As Nicolas Powell has written, "there can be little doubt that the girl in Fuseli's painting is experiencing an imaginary sexual assault."<sup>48</sup> According to folk legend, the nightmare was believed to be just that, a devil or witch, an incubus or succubus, that sexually visited the dreamer in bed. In more modern terms, the psy-

46. Schiff, *Füssli*, I, no. 754.

47. Powell, *Fuseli: The Nightmare*, p. 70. It is interesting to note that the Barberini Faun was originally installed in the Palazzo Barberini lying on its back, and it was reproduced in this way in an engraving published in several books of the 17th and 18th centuries, as in Hieronymus Tetius, *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem* (Rome, 1642) p. 215. See A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwigs I. zu München* (Munich, 1900) pp. 199–206. The engraving depicted the sculpture (reversed) from an angle very similar to that of Fuseli's child in *The Night-Hag*.

48. Powell, *Fuseli: The Nightmare*, p. 60.

10. Fuseli, *Four Courtesans, Two Stitching on Boys' Bodies*, ca. 1815–20. Pencil and ink, 23 × 18.8 cm. Zurich, Kunsthhaus (photo: Kunsthhaus)

choanalyst Ernest Jones has stated: "All the beliefs about the Nightmare, in whatever guise, proceed from the idea of a sexual assault which is both wished for and dreaded."<sup>49</sup>

The sexual component of *The Night-Hag* is both more obscure and more perverse than in *The Nightmare*, but equally present. The sacrificial knife raised so threateningly in the foreground of the painting carries connotations of castration as well as death, and the seated witch could be construed as gently pulling apart the baby's legs with her hand to facilitate an impending gruesome deed. In addition, the braided hair of the seated witch hangs between her breasts in a phallic and fetishistic form, reversing the shape of the upraised knife.

The subject of women castrating a young child seems to have fascinated Fuseli. This theme appears in several late drawings (1815–20) depicting one or more courtesans—often with long, phallic needles—sadistically sewing up the genitals of a faintly sketched boy or boys (Figure 10). In a drawing of about 1800–10 (Figure 11), a woman with an exotic hairstyle holds a child by the leg while daintily cutting the body up from the crotch with a large knife.<sup>50</sup> While Fuseli's *Night-Hag* is not nearly so explicit—it was intended, after all, for public exhibition—the same sexual threat is intimated.

The connection between the nightmare and fears of death and castration has been well documented by modern psychoanalytic theory. According to Ernest Jones: "The original fear [concerning the nightmare and the Wild Hunt] . . . must have been that of being



49. Jones, *On the Nightmare*, p. 319.

50. Schiff, *Füssli*, I, nos. 1626, 1624. Other examples include nos. 1603 and 1625, the latter illustrated in *Burlington Magazine* 117 (Feb. 1975) p. 122, fig. 84. See Schiff, *Füssli*, I, p. 228, and Gert Schiff, "Fuseli, Lucifer and the Medusa," in *Henry Fuseli*, exh. cat. (London: Tate Gallery, 1975) pp. 15–19.

11. Fuseli, *Woman Cutting up the Body of a Child*, ca. 1800–10. Pencil and ink, 26 × 20.6 cm. Zurich, Kunsthhaus (photo: Kunsthhaus)



killed, *i.e.* castrated, by the dreaded nightly visitor.”<sup>51</sup> Fuseli’s *Night-Hag*, like his *Nightmare*, displays a pre-Freudian awareness of the role played by sexuality in the phenomenon of the nightmare and related beliefs in night-hags and witchcraft.

Fuseli was obsessed in his art by the theme of dominant women (either as witches or, more commonly, as seductive courtesans) sexually abusing men or young boys. One of Fuseli’s primary symbols for this image of the *femme fatale* was the head of Medusa, endowed with wings, whose cold but beautiful face turns men to stone.<sup>52</sup> Thus, it is unexpected but psychologically not inappropriate that, in *The Night-Hag*, the Medusa shows her face amid the Lapland witches.

The modern viewer may be surprised by the extent to which Fuseli’s canvas, which at first sight appears so outlandish, was firmly grounded on cultural knowledge, replete with classical allusions, and based on research and close attention to various literary texts. Werner Hofmann has characterized Fuseli’s works as “collages of quotations,”<sup>53</sup> a description perfectly appropriate to *The Night-Hag*, both on the visual and verbal levels. In general, what appears romantic, wild, and modern in Fuseli’s art is almost always based on earlier literature, supported by his interpretation of academic theory in the wake of Reynolds, and on the art of his idols: the “Ancients” and Michelangelo, Shakespeare and Milton.

The genius of *Paradise Lost* was almost invariably associated with the sublime, a central category in eighteenth-century aesthetics and taste. It denoted grandeur and magnificence, the wild and overwhelming, and was opposed to the domesticity and decorum of the beautiful. Burke’s *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, published in 1757, differentiated the sublime and the beautiful on the analogy of pain versus pleasure. The sublime is that which incites “delightful horror,” fear, and astonishment, terror being “in all cases whatsoever, either more openly or latently the ruling principle of the sublime.”<sup>54</sup> Not all the theorists on the sublime valued the “terrific” component quite so highly, but terrifying, horrific, satanic, and supernatural subjects were extremely fashionable in late eighteenth-century England, in both literature and art. This helps us to understand the special popularity enjoyed by *Paradise Lost*, *Macbeth*, and *Ossian*.<sup>55</sup>

The chief means of achieving terror (aside from

subject matter) in Burke’s view was “obscurity.” “Every one will be sensible of this,” he wrote, “who considers how greatly night adds to our dread, in all cases of danger, and how much the notions of ghosts and goblins, of which none can form clear ideas, affect minds.”<sup>56</sup> “And even in painting,” Burke admitted, “a judicious obscurity in some things contributes to the effect of the picture; because . . . in nature dark, confused, uncertain images have a greater power on the fancy.”<sup>57</sup> Milton, predictably, is Burke’s finest example for the terrible sublimity of obscurity, and the personification of Death in Book II of *Paradise Lost* is singled out as a passage in which “all is dark, uncertain, confused, terrible, and sublime to the last degree.”<sup>58</sup>

It is not insignificant that Fuseli chooses to illustrate the passage immediately preceding the famous description of Death for his painting of *The Night-Hag*, which follows directly from Burke’s precepts on the sublime. Terror is exploited in the depiction of the infant sacrifice, and obscurity is evoked to clothe the witches and the night-hag. Here all is indeed “dark, uncertain, confused, [and] terrible . . . to the last degree.”

Fuseli’s own writings on art corroborate and elaborate on Burke. As was usual, he accorded the highest place in the hierarchy of artistic categories to “sublime” history painting, whose aim is to astonish and to convey forcibly a general idea or “sentiment,” preferably related to terror and passion.<sup>59</sup> *The Night-*

51. Jones, *On the Nightmare*, p. 265. See also p. 255. It is interesting to note that Jones bases his psychoanalytic interpretation of the nightmare on the same European folk legends concerning incubi, night-hags, and witchcraft that had provided such fertile subject matter for Fuseli.

52. See Schiff, *Füssli*, I, pp. 233, 319, 345. Other drawings depicting the Medusa are *ibid.*, nos. 1442, 1443, and 1118, a portrait of 1799 of his wife, *Mrs. Fuseli Seated in Front of the Fire, Behind Her a Relief Medallion with Her Portrait as the Medusa*.

53. Werner Hofmann, “A Captive,” in *Henry Fuseli*, p. 35.

54. Edmund Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry . . .*, ed. James T. Boulton (London, 1958) p. 58.

55. For the “Neoclassic Horrific” see Rosenblum, *Transformations*, pp. 11ff. For the Ossian craze see *Ossian und die Kunst um 1800*, exh. cat. (Munich/Hamburg: Hamburger Kunsthalle, 1974).

56. Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, pp. 58–59.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

59. Knowles, *Life and Writings*, II, p. 157. See also Eudo Mason, *The Mind of Henry Fuseli* (London, 1951) pp. 208–209, 216.

*Hag* could serve as an example, although perhaps it is too fantastic for even Fuseli to have considered it to be a work in the sublime mode.

Fuseli's stress on generality in the sublime, inherited from Reynolds and a common feature of academic art theory, should not be taken lightly. The use of judicious obscurity and the generalizing avoidance of detail separated, in Fuseli's view, the grandiose or sublime from the grotesque. "All apparatus destroys terror, as all ornament grandeur," Fuseli wrote. "The minute catalogue of the cauldron's ingredients in *Macbeth* destroys the terror attendant on mysterious darkness."<sup>60</sup> Or again:

It is not by the accumulation of infernal or magic machinery, distinctly seen, by the introduction of Hecate and a chorus of female demons . . . that *Macbeth* can be made an object of terror,—to render him so you must . . . surround the horrid vision with darkness, exclude its limits, and shear its light to glimpses.<sup>61</sup>

This is exactly the strategy employed in *The Night-Hag*.

Fuseli even derided Salvator Rosa for giving too great emphasis to vulgar, grotesque details at the expense of generality: "His magic visions, less founded on principles of terror than on mythologic trash and caprice, are to the probable combinations of nature, what the paroxysms of a fever are to the flights of vigorous fancy."<sup>62</sup> The phrase, "principles of terror," is characteristic and revealing, and serves as a reminder that Fuseli was still a product of the Enlightenment. Even terror and the diabolical were to be handled in a rational, reasoned, and learned manner.

A passage from Fuseli's lecture on "Invention" given at the Royal Academy in 1801 illuminates this reasoned and generalizing attitude toward the mythological and supernatural. He is speaking of the sen-

sible limits on unbridled invention imposed by ancient writers like Horace:

Guarded by these [limits], their [ancient] mythology scattered its metamorphoses, made every element its tributary, and transmitted the privilege to us, on equal conditions: their Scylla and the Portress of Hell [Milton's Sin is meant], their daemons and our spectres, the shade of Patroclus and the ghost of Hamlet, their naiads, nymphs, and oreads, and our sylphs, gnomes, and fairies, their furies and our witches, differ less in essence, than in local, temporary, social modifications: their common origin was fancy, operating on the materials of nature, assisted by legendary tradition and the curiosity implanted in us of diving into the invisible.<sup>63</sup>

Fuseli's mythological subject matter "scattered its metamorphoses" as well, frequently mixing together classical motifs with English fairy superstitions and allusions to Shakespeare and Milton. *The Night-Hag* merges Milton, the nightmare and the Medusa, Lapland, and Ben Jonson in a single cauldron.

Fuseli was obsessed by supernatural, diabolical beings, dreams, visions, and the flights of vigorous fancy. However little he personally believed in the supernatural aspects of his favorite subject matter, it was the principle of the visionary and the nightmarish that interested him, as a symbol for the sublime but haunted imagination.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am greatly indebted to the very generous advice and guidance of Professor Gert Schiff of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and Professor Allen Staley of Columbia University.

60. Knowles, *Life and Writings*, III, p. 81.

61. Mason, *The Mind of Henry Fuseli*, p. 218.

62. Knowles, *Life and Writings*, II, p. 102.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

# The Oxbow by Thomas Cole: Iconography of an American Landscape Painting

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THOMAS COLE'S PAINTING of the oxbow-shaped bend formed by the Connecticut River just south of Northampton, Massachusetts, has long been recognized as one of the outstanding works in the American landscape tradition (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> Yet its seminal role in the history of that tradition has gone largely unnoticed. Only recently have the formal qualities of this painting been characterized as paradigmatic of "Hudson River School solutions."<sup>2</sup> Still unexplored, however, is its very significant iconographical content. That this should be so, however, is hardly surprising, since the surviving documents relating to the genesis of this picture would tend to persuade us that the work was at best a happy accident, at worst a pot-boiler.

During the fall and winter of 1835 and the early months of 1836, Thomas Cole was at work on *The Course of Empire*, now at the New-York Historical Society, a series of paintings commissioned by the prominent New York merchant and patron Luman Reed.<sup>3</sup> From the time of their first meeting in the winter of 1832, Reed and Cole maintained a friendship largely sustained by Reed's generosity in purchasing Cole's works. For the painter, Reed's latest commission for a sequence of no fewer than five history paintings was a prized opportunity to fulfill long-standing aspirations.<sup>4</sup> Yet towards the end of 1835 Cole began to have doubts about the success of this project. Work progressed slowly and not to his satisfaction. He encountered great difficulties in painting the figures. He felt lonely and depressed.<sup>5</sup>

In view of his friend's state of mind, Reed sug-

gested in January or early February 1836 that Cole suspend work on *The Course of Empire* and paint something in his "accustomed manner" for the National Academy of Design's annual exhibition opening in April of that year.<sup>6</sup> In a letter dated February 19, 1836, Cole responded to Reed's suggestion:

1. See A. T. Gardner and S. P. Feld, *American Paintings: A Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1965) I, p. 229. Purchased at the 1836 National Academy of Design exhibition by George H. Talbot of New York for \$500, it was shown in 1838 at the Dunlap Benefit exhibition at the Stuyvesant Institute. In 1848 it figured as no. 48 in the Cole Memorial exhibition at the American Art Union. In 1862 it was included in the third annual exhibition of the Artists' Fund Society. After coming to the Metropolitan Museum in 1908, the painting has been shown in many major exhibitions.

2. Barbara Novak, *American Painting of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1969) p. 80; for *The Oxbow* see pp. 75–77. Novak notes: "Light, atmosphere, space—attributes generally captured more in on-the-spot views than in the studio—and an awareness of the subtleties of climate and weather, make their appearance by the mid-1830's in *The Oxbow*."

3. See L. L. Noble, *The Course of Empire, Voyage of Life and Other Pictures of Thomas Cole*, N. A. (New York, 1853) pp. 175–179. *The Course of Empire* comprises: 1) *The Savage State*, 2) *The Arcadian or Pastoral State*, 3) *The Consummation of Empire*, 4) *Destruction*, and 5) *Desolation*. The largest of these paintings is *The Consummation of Empire* (51 × 76 in.). All the others are of equal, smaller size (36 × 63 in., with slight variations).

4. In a letter to Reed of Sept. 18, 1833, describing the proposed series Cole stated: "My desire [is] to undertake a work on which I may hope to establish a lasting reputation" (see Noble, *Course of Empire*, p. 178).

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 214–217.

6. The quoted phrase is from a letter of Feb. 26, 1836. See note 8 below.



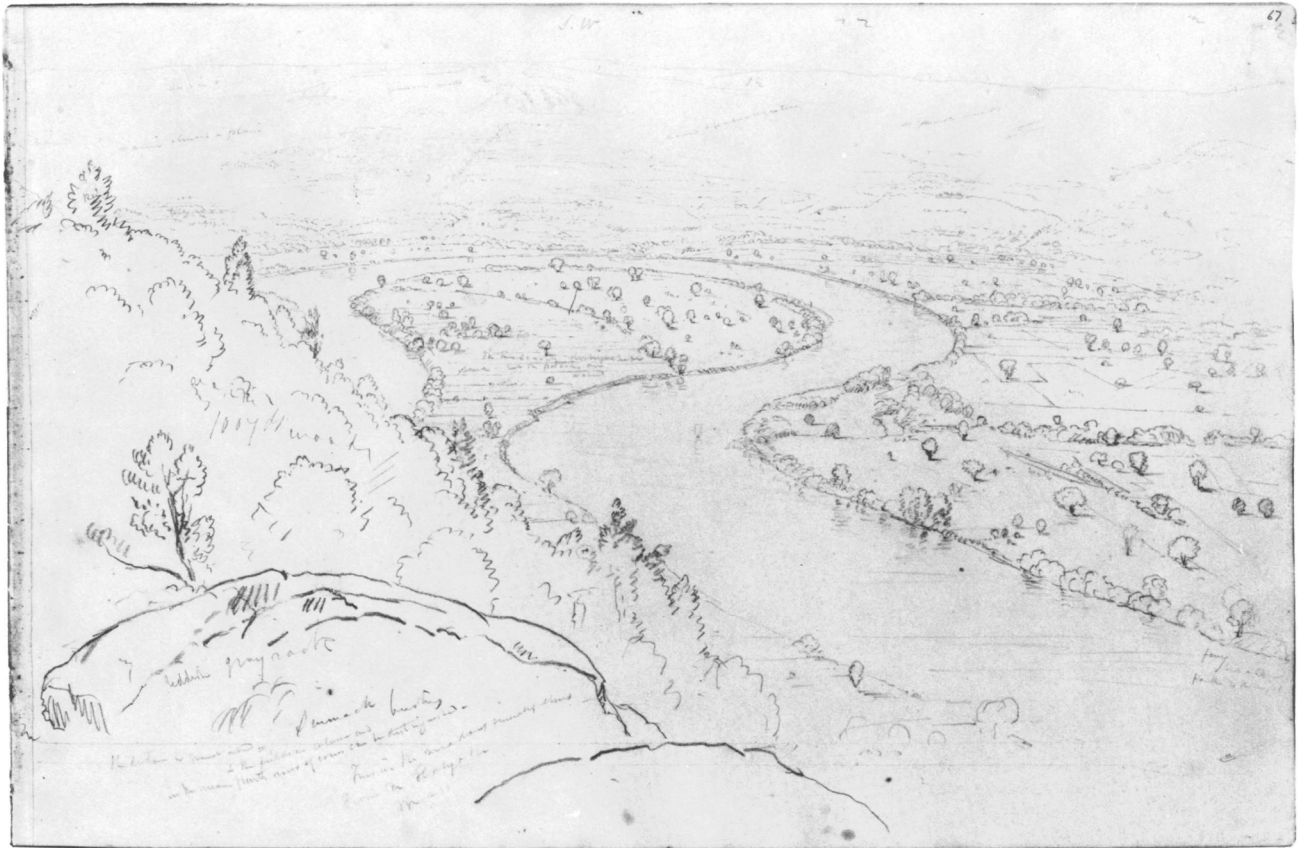
1. Thomas Cole (1801–48), *The Oxbow (The Connecticut River near Northampton)*, signed and dated: *T. Cole / 1836*. Oil on canvas, 51½ × 76 in. (130.8 × 193 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Russell Sage, 08.228.

I have been thinking of your obliging proposition of painting some Picture for Exhibition and leaving yours for a short term, but I dislike to do so—one reason is that I feel uneasy about it on account of having received so much money for them from you & I feel bound, I may say conscientiously, to execute the pictures as soon & as well as I can—and your repeated generosity makes stronger the obligation. One thing I have thought I might do—if it meets your approbation, that is, paint the last picture in the series. I have already made a drawing on the canvass—and I feel confident it will not take me long to execute it—this picture I would send to Exhibition with the title of “The Ruins of an Ancient City.” But I would have to prevail on our Council to break their rules in admitting it again when the whole series is exhibited.

I might paint this picture & even find time to paint one for Mr. C. King before exhibition—you will perhaps ask why I choose to paint the last of the series now. It is because it will take less time & I don’t know why except it is I am tired of the gaud and glitter of the large picture & not quite in the humour for the tumult of the fourth—I want to work a while on something quiet and somber.<sup>7</sup>

Reed felt unable to approve Cole’s plan. He did not think the council of the National Academy of Design should be prevailed upon to make an exception, and furthermore he feared that the “grand effect” to be achieved by the unveiling of the completed series would be spoiled by a previous showing of one of its component pictures. Instead, Reed advised Cole to

7. Cole MSS, New York State Library (NYSL), Albany, New York.



2. Cole, Sketch for *The Oxbow*, from sketchbook no. 8, p. 67. Pencil,  $8\frac{7}{8} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$  in. ( $22.5 \times 34.9$  cm.).  
The Detroit Institute of Arts, William H. Murphy Fund, 39.566 (photo: Detroit Institute of Arts)

In this drawing executed at the site, Cole, as was his habit, noted in words aspects of the scene that he could not visually capture in a pencil sketch. In the left foreground are the following notations: "reddish gray rock"; "Sumack bushes"; "the distance in general around = / & the fields in colour / in the main parts rows of corn can be distinguished."; "Trees in the meadows generally elms." Below the last comment the entire scene is identified as "From M Holyoke / Mass."

At the top of the sheet, Cole indicates the direction of the view with the letters "S.W." The points farthest away he labels with the numeral 1, those closer to the artist but still far away are numbered  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and 2; still closer, the farthest stretch of the winding river is numbered 4. In the distant hills the notes "generally woods,"

"in general woods," "varied," and "woods" indicate the type of vegetation, while in the area just beyond the river, more topographic descriptions are written: to the left, "varied almost a plain"; in the center, "gradually rising" and "varied & gradually. . ." In the center of the drawing, the area bounded by the meandering river is identified to the right as a "meadow"; in the lower part of the area the notation "the lines barely [sic] distinguishable . . ." refers to the plowed furrows. On the right bank of the river the area where the bank commences is called a "sand bar"; farther upstream to the right the artist notes the presence of a "ferry / but a little / farther to the right." On top of the hill to the left one tree is marked "pine," while the area in general is identified as "100 yds woods" and termed "varied."



paint a canvas for sale like the already-completed second picture of the series. This work, entitled *The Pastoral State*, had been conceived by Cole as an arcadian scene in the manner of Claude Lorrain, and Reed thought that “no man ever produced a more pleasing landscape in a more pleasing season.”<sup>8</sup>

Cole replied to Reed in a letter of March 2, 1836. It is here that the first mention of *The Oxbow* occurs:

I should take advantage of your kind advice (and Mr. Durand's) and paint a picture expressly for the exhibition and for sale. The only thing that I doubt in the matter is that I may be able to sell the picture.—I think I never sold but two pictures in Exhibition in my life.—It is running a risk of which I should think nothing if my circumstances did not require that everything I do now should be productive.—but you encourage me and I will do my best—I have revolved in my mind what subject to take & have found it difficult to select such as will be speedy of execution & popular—Fancy pictures seldom sell & they generally take more time than views so I have determined to paint one of the latter. I have already commenced a view from Mt. Holyoke—it is about the finest scene I have in my sketchbook & is well known—it will be novel and I think effective—I could not find a subject very similar to your second picture & time would not allow me to invent one. You will perhaps think I have acted injudiciously in painting the scene as large as the largest picture of the series on account of selling—but I had not altogether my choice for the only canvass I had was the one on which I made the first sketch of your large picture—To get another smaller frame made & to cut the canvass and stretch it would have taken some of the time of which I have none too much before Exhibition. This reason decided me on the size but inclination if not judgment urged me to paint the larger, for having but one picture in the exhibition, & that painted expressly for it & understanding there will be some dashing landscapes there, I thought I should do something that would tell a tale. The execution will scarcely take more time than in the smaller and as I shall run some risk it shall be to some purpose—but you must not be surprised if you find the picture hanging in my room next year.<sup>9</sup>

There appears to be little in this statement of purpose that expresses a serious artistic intent in the painting of *The Oxbow*. Cole's motives seem to be profit and easy work; he is in a hurry and cannot afford to produce something that will not please the public. Yet he refers to the size of the canvas as appropriate to his ends and avows that the painting is to “tell a tale.”

The contradictory character of many of Cole's statements in this letter, however, is best understood if we assume that they were intended more for Reed's consumption than as a relation of the actual state of affairs.<sup>10</sup> Even if Reed had been the first to suggest that Cole suspend work on *The Course of Empire*, the painter, as previously indicated in his letter of February 19, wanted Reed to believe that he felt guilty about following Reed's advice. Accordingly, the artist attempted to convince his patron that *The Oxbow* was really a minor endeavor and not a project of consequence. At the same time, Cole could not prevent himself from expressing enthusiasm for the work in progress. Thus, he let Reed know that *The Oxbow* would measure up to the other “dashing landscapes” to be shown at the exhibition and, as a closing statement, hinted again that if the painting did not sell, Reed might perhaps buy it.

Cole's letter, then, appears to be a manipulative statement with somewhat ambivalent and contradictory goals; whatever impression regarding the genesis of *The Oxbow* we derive from it should be appropriately interpreted in the light of other events.

8. Reed to Cole, Feb. 26, 1836, Cole MSS, NYSL.

9. Cole MSS, NYSL. “Mr. Durand” is the painter Asher B. Durand. The contents of this letter have usually been taken at face value and have probably discouraged serious examination of the painting's history and meaning. Thus Novak (*American Painting*, p. 76) quotes the letter and concludes that “in this case, it was definitely a concession to public opinion that induced Cole to paint a view.” Similarly, Howard Merritt (*Thomas Cole* [Rochester, 1969] p. 30, no. 31) confines his comments on *The Oxbow* to noting that the painting was undertaken “as a relief and change of pace from the series *The Course of Empire*.”

10. Cole's letter, in fact, is full of contradictions and statements that strain credibility. For instance, “I should take advantage of your kind advice” followed by “I have already commenced a view”; or: “The execution will scarcely take more time than in the smaller”; or again: “I had not altogether my choice for the only canvass I had was the one on which I made the first sketch for your large picture.” With regard to this last statement recent X-ray shadowgraphs have conclusively established that, if there is a sketch for *The Consummation of Empire* underneath *The Oxbow*, it can only be a chalk sketch. Not even the faintest trace of an oil sketch was revealed by the X-rays. Cole does mention a chalk sketch in a letter to Reed of Feb. 18, 1836, but this was not the “first sketch” for *The Consummation of Empire*, which he was working on at the time and which he completed. Rather, it was a “first sketch” for an alternate conception of the painting, which evidently did not advance very far. This letter was published in Noble, *Course of Empire*, p. 214.

Heretofore it has been assumed that Cole drew his inspiration for *The Oxbow* from a visit to the site and that the final appearance of the canvas was determined by what he saw, as recorded in a sketch, now in Detroit, done on the spot (Figure 2). This sketch, mentioned in Cole's letter to Reed of March 2, was probably executed in the summer of 1833, when Cole traveled to Boston to draw a view of that city for a painting commissioned by Joshua Bates, a Boston art dealer he had met in London.<sup>11</sup>

It now appears likely, however, that Cole's consideration of a view of the Connecticut River from Mount Holyoke as a subject for a painting antedates this sketch by some years. Another drawing, which was once taken to be a compositional sketch for *The Oxbow*, may be dated as far back as 1829, that is, to the time of Cole's stay in London on the first leg of his European tour of 1829–32.<sup>12</sup> Identified in Cole's hand as *Mount Holyoke*, this drawing is not an original creation by Cole but rather an exact tracing of a plate published in Captain Basil Hall's *Forty Etchings Made with the Camera Lucida in North America in 1827 and 1828* (Figures 3, 4). This book appeared in London in 1829 as a companion to Hall's *Travels in North America*, published the same year both in London and Philadelphia. Cole is likely to have traced Hall's view at that time.<sup>13</sup>

If this supposition is correct, then *The Oxbow* would have been in the making as long as *The Course of Empire*.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, the association of *The Oxbow* with Hall's view would have presented Cole with momentous intellectual and aesthetic issues that the artist would sooner or later have had to confront.<sup>15</sup>

Though now a neglected chapter in the history of Anglo-American relations, the publication of Hall's book caused a major uproar. That Cole could have remained impervious to the storm unleashed on both sides of the Atlantic by the captain's *Travels* is inconceivable. No literate American at that time would have been ignorant of the Englishman Basil Hall or what his name stood for.

Had Hall not already attained a wide reputation as a seasoned traveler and raconteur before his appearance in America in 1827, his views might have passed unnoticed.<sup>16</sup> As it was, the captain's negative opinions regarding the American national character, the country's constitutional system, its leaders, and its educational establishment struck a painful blow to

American self-esteem at a time when a truly national consciousness was both emergent and ascendant.

Outraged citizens blasted the captain in the pages of national magazines and journals. In its issue of October 1829, the *North American Review* published a painstaking dissection of Hall's book.<sup>17</sup> One month later, the *Southern Review* gave over forty-eight pages to a similar exercise in criticism.<sup>18</sup> In Philadelphia, the lengthy article published in *Littell's Museum of Foreign Literature* was followed by the publication in 1830 of Richard Biddle's *Captain Hall in America*, a book-size riposte which also appeared in London.<sup>19</sup> As late as

11. Bates was also Cole's agent in London. The sketchbook in which this drawing appears contains others executed in the same manner, including a view of Boston near Roxbury and one of Pontoosuck Lake near Pittsfield. The order of these drawings in the sketchbook suggests that Cole stopped at Northampton on the way to Boston.

12. This drawing, also in Detroit, is on architects' yellow tracing paper.

13. Hall himself described the view from Mount Holyoke as one of the most beautiful in America (*Forty Etchings*, commentary to pl. xi). Of course, there remains the possibility that the tracing was carried out *after* Cole made his detailed sketch or even the painting, although it would be difficult to apprehend his motives for doing so.

14. Howard Merritt believes that the themes of *The Course of Empire* were conceived by Cole no later than the fall of 1829 ("A Wild Scene: Genesis of a Painting," *Baltimore Museum Annual* 2 [1967] p. 25).

15. Merritt (*Thomas Cole*, p. 13) notes: "The close relationship of Cole's thoughts on art to those of Archibald Alison must be emphasized . . . there is no question that Cole, like most of his contemporaries, was deeply sympathetic with an aesthetic that linked so closely beauty and morality, that saw art as a vehicle for the expression of thought, imagination and sentiment, that placed primary emphasis on the association of ideas." For a fuller exposition of these ideas see Ralph N. Miller, "Thomas Cole and Alison's *Essay on Taste*," *New York History* 37 (1956) p. 281.

16. Hall had a distinguished career in the British Navy and had written an *Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo Islands* (London, 1818), which went through several editions and established his reputation as a travel writer. His *Extracts from a Journal Written on the Coasts of Chili, Peru and Mexico in the Years 1820, 1821, 1822* (London, 1823), largely dealing with the revolutionary events in those countries, also had a remarkable success. For a short account of his life see *Dictionary of National Biography* (rev. ed. 1908) VIII, pp. 942–943.

17. *North American Review* 29 (1829) pp. 522ff.

18. *Southern Review* 4, no. 8 (1829) pp. 321ff.

19. *Littell's Museum of Foreign Literature* 16 (1829) p. 233. [Richard Biddle], *Captain Hall in America, by an American* (Philadelphia, 1830).

1833, Calvin Colton's book *The Americans, by an American in London* devoted 389 pages to an exhaustive examination of Hall's *Travels*, although now Colton was also compelled to deal with the hardly more acceptable Mrs. Trollope.<sup>20</sup>

Perhaps the best description of what the Hall affair involved was written by Mrs. Trollope herself. In her *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, she devoted an entire chapter to the "Reception of Captain Basil Hall's Book in the United States." She assures us that Hall's publication produced "a sort of moral earthquake . . . the vibration it occasioned through the nerves of the Republic, from one corner of the Union to the other, was by no means over when I left the country in July, 1831, a couple of years after the shock."<sup>21</sup>

It is almost a certainty, then, that Cole became aware of Hall's *Travels* and its companion volume of etchings about this time. As an American in London, he would, like Colton, have been called upon by friends and acquaintances to respond to Hall's assertions. Whether Cole shared the general sense of national outrage indicated by Mrs. Trollope is difficult to determine. For the most part, the captain directed his remarks to the American social and political system, criticisms that might have elicited an indifferent response from a struggling painter whose family circumstances had been ones of privation and hardship. On not infrequent occasions, however, Hall registered opinions on matters that had long preoccupied Cole as an artist. Thus Hall, who had remained unimpressed by American scenery in general, noted early in his account that:

All the world over, I suspect the great mass of people care mighty little about scenery, and visit such places merely for the sake of saying they have been there. I own, however, that I was at first rather taken in with respect to this matter in America; and really fancied, from the flaming descriptions we had given us of the beauties and wonders of the country, that the persons describing it were more than usually sensible to its charms. But we now began to suspect, most grievously, that our friends of whom we were striving with all our might to think well in every point, were like most folks elsewhere, nearly as insensible to the beauties of nature, as we had reason to fear, from their public exhibitions, they were to the graces of art.<sup>22</sup>

For a painter whose artistic goals in the years prior to his departure for Europe have been characterized

3. Cole, *Mount Holyoke, Mass.* Pencil on tracing paper, sight: 4½ × 8⅞ in. (11.4 × 21.3 cm.). The Detroit Institute of Arts, William H. Murphy Fund, 39.70 (photo: Detroit Institute of Arts)

by his biographer as to "seize the true character of our scenery and to identify his pencil with it,"<sup>23</sup> such a statement constituted both an affront and a challenge. For here Hall linked the American public's indifference to nature with its indifference to art and with the incompetence of American artists. Cole could perhaps be certain of the rightness of attempting to forge a national aesthetic based on the appreciation of nature, but he had experienced enough difficulties to be far less certain not only of his ultimate success, but also of his talent.<sup>24</sup> To be told by a foreign, and supposedly impartial, observer that Americans cared no more for nature than they did for his art required either capitulation or rebuttal.

20. [Reverend Calvin Colton], *The Americans, by an American in London* (London, 1833). The book was also published in the United States.

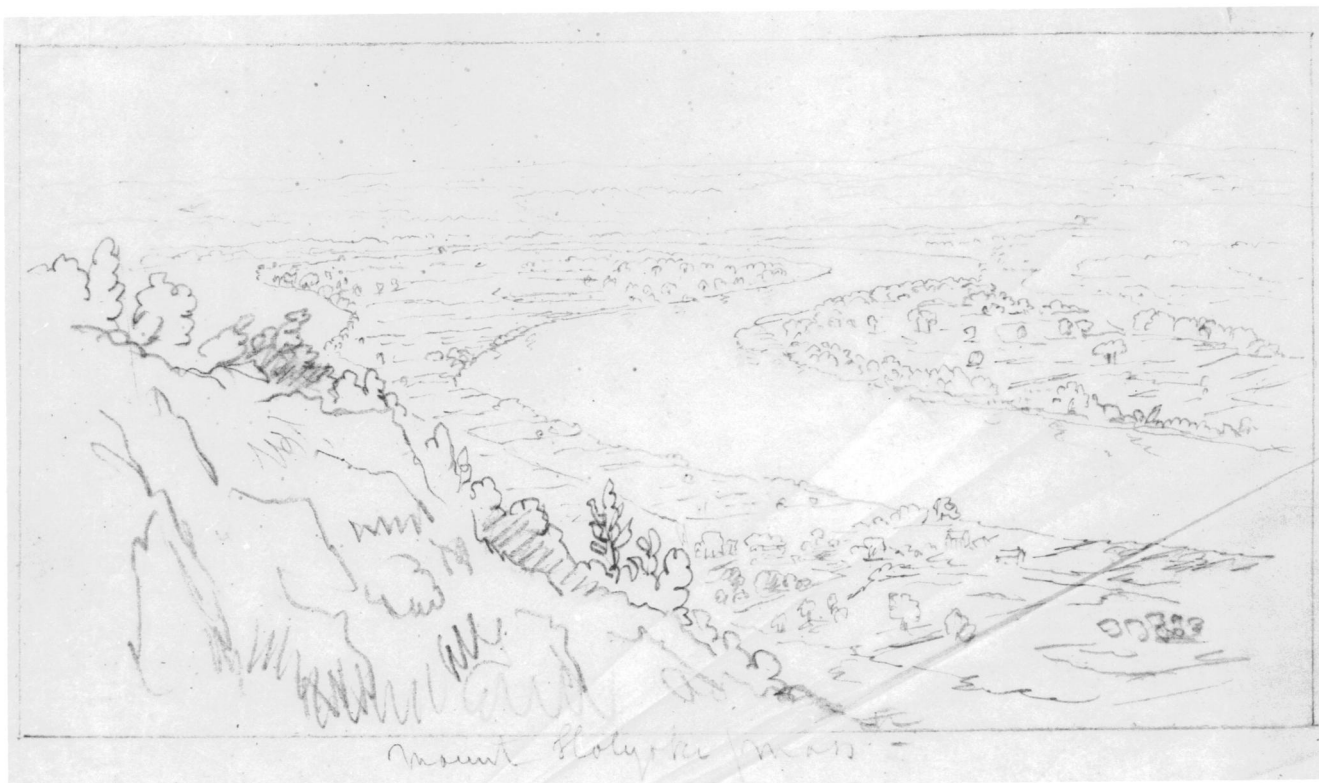
21. Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832; reprint London, 1927) p. 313. Mrs. Trollope recounts the following revealing incident (*ibid.*): "I was in Cincinnati when these volumes came out, but it was not till July, 1830, that I procured a copy of them. One bookseller to whom I applied, told me that he had had a few copies before he understood the nature of the work, but that after becoming acquainted with it, nothing should induce him to sell another. Other persons of his profession must, however, have been less scrupulous, for the book was read in city, town, village, and hamlet, steam-boat, and stage-coach, and a sort of war-whoop was sent forth perfectly unprecedented in my recollection upon any occasion whatever."

22. Hall, *Travels*, I, p. 68.

23. Noble, *Course of Empire*, p. 86.

24. Cole's partner in this cultural enterprise was the poet William Cullen Bryant. See Charles L. Sanford, "The Concept of the Sublime in the Works of Thomas Cole and William Cullen Bryant," *American Literature* 28 (1957) p. 434. On p. 435 Sanford states: "American poets and painters turned to the sublime for emotional intensification of American scenery both to assert their personal freedom as romantic artists and to assert their cultural independence of Europe as Americans."

4. Basil Hall, *View from Mount Holyoke in Massachusetts, from Forty Etchings Made with the Camera Lucida in North America . . .*, London, 1829, pl. xi. Etching, 4½ × 8⅞ in. (11.4 × 21.3 cm.). New Haven, Yale University, Sterling Memorial Library (photo: Sterling Memorial Library)



Later in the *Travels*, commenting upon a visit to Lake George, Hall repeated his assertion that American indifference to scenery was the result of indifference to art:

It is difficult, I must confess, to discover precisely what people feel with respect to scenery, and I may be wrong in supposing so many of my transatlantic friends insensible to its influence. But certainly, during our stay in the country, while we heard many spots lauded to the utmost length that words could go, we had often occasion to fancy there was no genuine sentiment at the bottom of all this praise. At the time I speak of, this was a great puzzle to me; and I could not understand the apparent indifference shown to the scenery of this beautiful lake by most of our companions. Subsequent experience, however, led me to see, that where the fine arts are not steadily cultivated, where in fact there is little taste for that description of excellence and not very much is known about it, there cannot possibly be much hearty admiration of the beauties of nature.<sup>25</sup>

If Cole did indeed come upon Hall's books shortly after their publication in 1829, this particular contention would have proved especially troubling. On the eve of his departure for Europe, the painter had attempted to raise adequate funds by raffling off two of his pictures.<sup>26</sup> Failing in that enterprise, he wrote to his patron Robert Gilmor: "When I know that not one Landscape painter in New York has received from a gentleman of New York a single commission for the past two years, I am inclined to attribute my want of success in this instance to that apathy which certainly exists in this wholly commercial city."<sup>27</sup>

In view of this, it is not surprising that during his three-and-a-half years in Europe from 1829 to 1832, and later in America up to 1834, Cole devoted the larger share of his efforts to European scenery and to representations of biblical themes and literary allegories.<sup>28</sup> Yet the realities of the New York art market would not, of themselves, have pushed Cole to what, on the surface, appears as a rejection of American landscape painting during those years. Two additional motives must be taken into account: Cole wished to put all the drawings and sketches of European scenery he had gathered to profitable use and, more important, he desperately aspired to the status of history painter.<sup>29</sup>

Still, to view this shift in Cole's career as an abandonment of his previous commitment to the Ameri-

can land and landscape would be a serious error. If he produced few paintings of American scenery after his return from Europe, this does not mean that he gave no thought to the nature of American landscape painting, or that the issues raised by Hall had not been turned over in his mind. On the contrary, subsequent events in the painter's career suggest not only that Cole was profoundly aware of those issues, but also that this awareness was an integral part of the singular pictorial statement that is *The Oxbow*.

Cole's continued allegiance to the cause of American landscape painting and his answer to the criticisms voiced by Hall and others were clearly spelled out in his *Essay on American Scenery*, delivered as a lecture before the New York Lyceum on May 16, 1835, and published in pamphlet form the same year.<sup>30</sup> According to Cole, many had unfavorably compared the sublimity of the Catskills with that of the Swiss Alps, or the picturesqueness of the Hudson with that of the Roman Campagna. His argument, however, did not proceed along such lines. He declared at the outset that native scenery ought to have a surpassing interest for every American, for "it is his own land; its beauty, its magnificence, its sublimity—all are his; and how undeserving of such a birthright, if he can turn towards it an unobserving eye, an unaffected heart!"<sup>31</sup>

25. Hall, *Travels*, I, p. 220.

26. Cole to Robert Gilmor, Apr. 20, 1829. See Howard Merritt, ed., "Correspondence Between Thomas Cole and Robert Gilmor, Jr.," *Baltimore Museum Annual* 2 (1967) p. 65.

27. Ibid.

28. Sometime around 1834 Cole compiled a "list of pictures painted by me" since his arrival in New York in 1825 (Cole MSS, NYSL). Of 35 pictures painted before his departure for Europe, all but 4 featured subjects drawn from American scenery. Of the 15 executed between his return and the time of the list's compilation, 6 were Italian views, 5 depicted religious themes or allegorical subjects taken from literature, and 4 featured American scenery. At the 1835 National Academy of Design exhibition Cole was represented by 4 American subjects: *View of Sleepy Hollow*, *View on the Catskill* (in an engraving by James Smillie), *Summer Twilight*, and *Autumn Twilight*. The last two were purchased by Luman Reed and are now part of the Reed Collection at the New-York Historical Society.

29. Thus Novak (*American Painting*, p. 65) rightly refers to Cole as a "Reynoldsian disciple in landscape toga." Later on, Cole would complain about the market's inflexible demand for American views, which would prevent him from undertaking historical series like *The Course of Empire*.

30. Reprinted in John McCoubrey, *American Art: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965) pp. 98–110.

31. Ibid., p. 98.



Cole took due notice of the common criticisms leveled against the American landscape:

There are those who through ignorance or prejudice strive to maintain that American scenery possesses little that is interesting or truly beautiful—that it is rude without picturesqueness, and monotonous without sublimity—that being destitute of those vestiges of antiquity, whose associations so strongly affect the mind, it may not be compared with European scenery. . . . Let such persons shut themselves up in their narrow shell of prejudice—I hope they are few—and the community increasing in intelligence will know better how to appreciate the treasures of their own country.<sup>32</sup>

Thus, to the indifference of many Americans Cole opposed the interest of “that community increasing in intelligence” of which he and his circle were part, and to the criticisms based on concepts of the picturesque and the sublime, he opposed his own characterization of the American land.

So Cole examined the different features of American scenery—mountains, water, skies—and discovered the uniqueness of certain spots where “there is a union of the picturesque, the sublime and the magnificent,” where “the traveller . . . cannot but acknowledge that although in some regions of the globe nature has wrought on a more stupendous scale, yet she has nowhere so completely married together *grandeur* and *loveliness*”; where the observer sees “the sublime melting into the beautiful, the savage tempered by the magnificent.”<sup>33</sup>

According to Cole, then, the singularity of the American landscape resides in its ability to vary and combine the established typology of late eighteenth-century aesthetic theory: Niagara possesses “both the sublime and the beautiful in an indissoluble chain,” American skies display “the blue, unsearchable depths of the northern sky, the upheaped thunderclouds of the Torrid Zone, the silver haze of England, the golden atmosphere of Italy.”<sup>34</sup> The wilderness exists side by side with fledgling arcadian settlements. “The wild Salvator Rosa” takes his place alongside “the aerial Claude Lorrain.”

Having thus defined the distinctive character of the American landscape, Cole turned his attention to answering another common criticism—“the want of associations such as arise amid the scenes of the old world.”<sup>35</sup> What had often been considered a grand defect in American scenery Cole countered with an

innovative argument. American views, he concluded, did not reveal the hand of the past but the hope of the future. He visualized this inspirational message by means of the following image:

Seated on a pleasant knoll, look down into the bosom of that secluded valley, begirt with wooded hills through enamelled meadows and wide waving fields of grain; a silver stream winds lingeringly along—here seeking the green shade of trees—there glancing in the sunshine; on its banks are rural dwellings shaded by elms and garlanded by flowers—from yonder dark mass of foliage the village spire beams like a star. You see no ruined tower to tell of outrage—no gorgeous temple to speak of ostentation; but freedom’s offspring—peace, security and happiness dwell there, the spirits of the scene. . . . And in looking over the yet uncultivated scene, the mind’s eye may see far into futurity—mighty deeds shall be done in the now pathless wilderness; and poets yet unborn shall sanctify the soil.<sup>36</sup>

This almost literal description of the iconography of *The Oxbow* was Cole’s response to the beauties of American scenery. Whatever doubts and uncertainties Hall’s description of American indifference to the beauty of the land may have evoked in the past were here swept away in a moving affirmation of the land’s significance. The captain’s devastating assertion that “take it all in all, a more unpicturesque country is hardly to be found anywhere” was here laid to rest.<sup>37</sup>

This new formulation of the virtues of American landscape appears to have gained general acceptance. Writing five years after Cole’s *Essay*, Nathaniel Parker Willis could confidently announce to a foreign audience that America possessed a “lavish and large-featured sublimity, quite dissimilar to the picturesque of all other countries.”<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, Willis would emphasize how “the objects and habits of reflection in both traveller and artist undergo in America a direct revolution. He who journeys here . . . must feed his imagination on the *future*. The American does so.”<sup>39</sup>

32. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*: “But American associations are not so much of the past as of the present and future.”

37. Hall, *Travels*, I, p. 134.

38. N. P. Willis and W. H. Bartlett, *American Scenery* (London/Paris, 1840) p. iii.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 2.



5. Cole, *The Oxbow*, detail of Figure 1

It comes as no surprise, then, that *The Oxbow*, Cole's first American landscape executed after the delivery of his *Essay on American Scenery*, embodies in paint the themes, ideas, and images that the artist had previously put into words. The painting, as one reviewer of the National Academy of Design exhibition in 1836 put it, "wants to be studied."<sup>40</sup>

The division of *The Oxbow* into two clearly discernible areas, the left featuring elements of Salvator Rosa's romantic sublime and the right emphasizing the Claudian beautiful, is strictly in keeping with the tenets of Cole's new synthesis. The contorted tree trunks, the receding storm, and the wild mountains are effectively juxtaposed with the "silver stream that winds lingeringly along," on whose banks are "rural dwellings shaded by elms." The different topographic features and atmospheric conditions—mountains, plains, wild forests, cultivated farmlands, a dark storm opposed to a translucent sky, shadow contrasted with

light—are all part of the variety Cole identified with American scenery.

In his *Essay*, Cole redefined that scenery not with limiting conditions but with all-inclusive ones. Moreover, with this synthesis of the individual features of foreign scenery, Cole associated the future prospects of the American nation. The size of the canvas, which "inclination if not judgment" decided him upon, reflects these concerns, as does the deployment of the landscape features in a manner that creates the illusion of infinite recession and allows the eye to roam over vast vistas.

This arrangement of the landscape features is not a strictly topographical one, as was Hall's view executed with the aid of the camera lucida. In a compar-

40. *Knickerbocker Magazine* 8 (1836) pp. 112–115: "This is really a fine landscape, although at first it does not appear so. It wants to be studied."

ison of the two works, it should be immediately apparent that if Cole relied on Hall's precedent in the painting of *The Oxbow*, it was only in the most elementary way, that, in fact, what the American painter did was transform a commonplace piece of topographic journalism into a boldly composed, vividly colored, and heroically conceived picture that "transcends the mere view to become art."<sup>41</sup> Thus, *The Oxbow* is not a derivation but a counterstatement.

To call attention unequivocally to the nature of his painting, Cole included the figure of an artist at work, recording the vast panorama stretching before him. Alone with nature, the artist bears perpetual witness to the picture-worthiness of the scenery and relays this vital message to the viewer. That Cole chose to sign the canvas in the artist's satchel, its position signaled by the protruding umbrella, suggests that we are here dealing with a self-portrait (Figure 5).<sup>42</sup> In response

to Basil Hall and to other critics of American scenery, Cole has put himself forward as an American producing American art in communion with American scenery for an appreciative American audience.

We now perceive in *The Oxbow* a conceptual and metaphorical approach to the representation of landscape features. Though overall, general faithfulness to the scenery represented is maintained, the picture is fundamentally the product of Cole's transforming vision. Here land, water, and sky, lovingly depicted, become the voices of philosophy and feeling. This expansion of the language of landscape painting to embrace so much more than topographic realism, while simultaneously remaining true to nature, was Cole's legacy to his followers of the Hudson River School. In the painter's own career, it was *The Oxbow* that first achieved this masterful synthesis.

41. Novak, *American Painting*, p. 77.

42. The figure of the painter bears a striking resemblance to Cole himself. With regard to the umbrella, the following note from George H. Talbot, the first purchaser of *The Oxbow*, is of interest. Dated July 11, 1836, it reads: "I would be pleased to have you call at 41 Bleeker Street and alter the painting as regards the umbrella—when it is convenient for you to do so" (Cole MSS, NYSL). Recent X-rays confirm that Cole never obliged him. The panoramic qualities of *The Oxbow* are noted in Lee Parry, "Landscape Theater in America," *Art in America* 59, 6 (1971) p. 58.

# Lorenzo Bartolini's Demidoff Table

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LORENZO BARTOLINI'S Demidoff Table of 1845, *Allegory of Love, Vice, and Wisdom* (Figures 1–3), is described as “lost” in Mario Tinti’s catalogue raisonné of 1936, and as “whereabouts unknown” in the catalogue of the Bartolini exhibition held at Prato in 1978.<sup>1</sup> The sculpture is in fact located in The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, where it has languished in storage for many years. It was given to the Museum in 1903 by the duc de Loubat, who had purchased it at the sale of Count Anatole Nikolai Demidoff’s property held in Paris on March 4, 1870.<sup>2</sup> In a letter dated September 1, 1903, to the then-director of the Museum, General Cesnola, the duke describes the sculpture as depicting “three children personifying the loves of wisdom, of study, and of drink.”<sup>3</sup>

Also entitled *The Dream of Unhappy Virtue and Wan-*

*ton Opulence*, the Table is an allegorical group whose meaning has been misinterpreted, and whose significance is not fully revealed even by the artist’s explanation of the work or by a study of his literary source.

Lorenzo Bartolini (1777–1850) emerged from humble beginnings to become the most highly esteemed Italian sculptor of the generation after Canova. Born to a family of blacksmiths, Bartolini was trained as an artisan of decorative metal ornaments. In adolescence he traveled to Florence, and in 1797 he made his way across war-torn territory to Paris, where he managed to enter the most famous atelier of the day—the studio of Jacques-Louis David. There he immersed himself in the Neoclassical training of the time, perhaps introducing John Flaxman’s Homeric illustrations (which he had discovered a few

1. Mario Tinti, *Lorenzo Bartolini* (Rome, 1936) II, p. 13; and *Lorenzo Bartolini*, exh. cat. (Prato: Palazzo Pretorio, 1978) p. 58, no. 18. The Prato exhibition, which did so much to restore Bartolini’s reputation, included the plaster model of the Table.

The Demidoff Table is referred to by a number of titles. Tinti describes it as “L’amor il vizio et la saggezza” or “Il Sonno della virtù sventurata e della opulenza Lussuriosa,” as well as “La Tavola degli amori” and “la Tavola dei Genj” (Tinti, *Bartolini*, II, p. 75). In a list of his works compiled at the request of Enrico Montazio in 1846 Bartolini mentions it as “Una Tavola con tre Amori significante La Vita e la ricompensa che ha nel mondo L’uomo da bene” (ibid., p. 13, no. 24). Two other lists compiled by Bartolini’s studio assistant, Eliso Schianta, describe the work as “Tre figure di bambini che posano sopra una tavola—rotonda che indica il Mondo—In altro foglio sarà descritto il soggetto” (ibid., p. 23, no. 43). The Table is mentioned again in a list of works commissioned by Prince Demidoff; Schianta notes, “La Tavola detta degli Amori, ossia il Mondo. Questo è tutto lavoro di Bartolini” (ibid., p. 23). We thus learn from Schianta the important fact that no other hand than Bartolini’s carved the Demidoff Table.

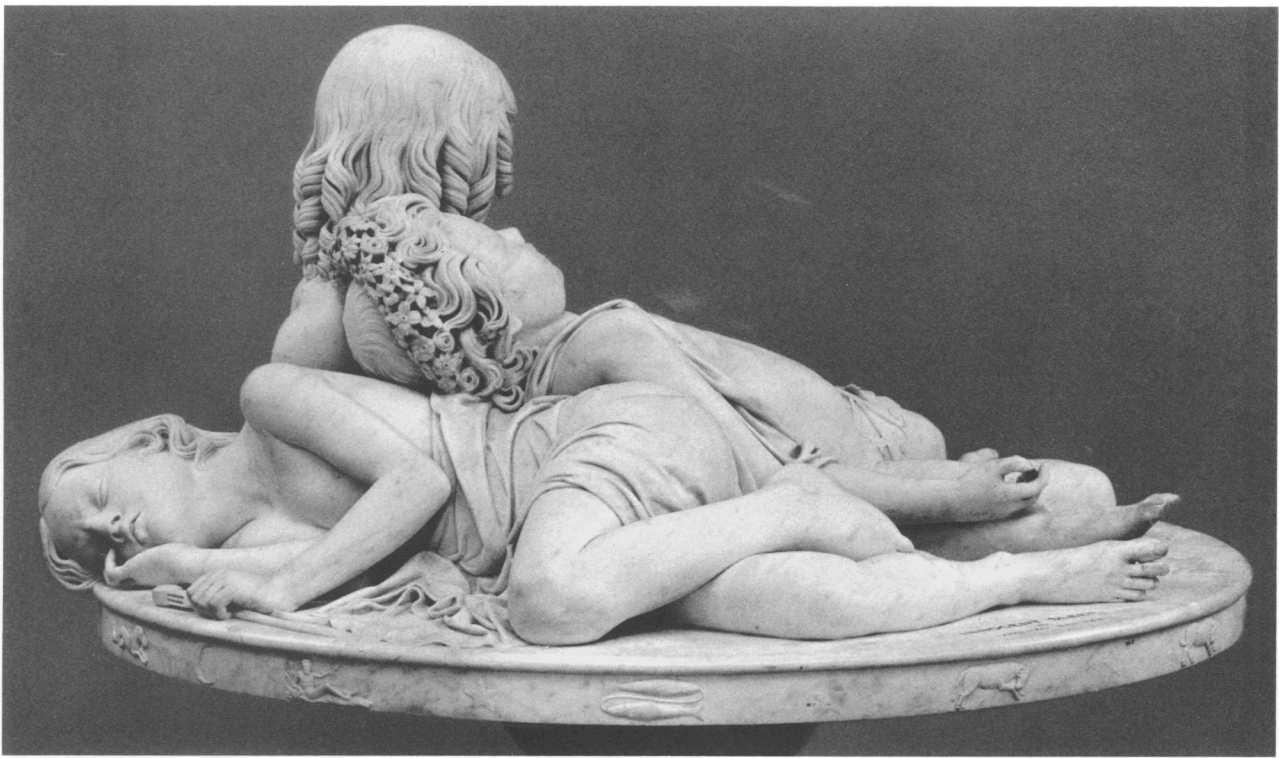
2. *Collection de San Donato: Tableaux, marbres, dessins, aquarelles*

*et miniatures* (Paris, 1870) p. 155, no. 228. The group was sold for 3,400 francs.

3. Written on stationery embossed with the address 53, rue Dumont d’Urville, the letter reads: “My dear General, I have yours of the [?] and the memorial to the Countess di Cesnola, for which please accept my best thanks. I bought, years ago, at the Demidoff sale, a very handsome marble table of Bartholoni [*sic*] who made the Demidoff monument erected at Florence. On the upper part are three children personifying the loves of wisdom, of study, and of drink. I shall be happy to present this to the Museum, provided it is willing to pay the boxing, transport and freight from Paris to New York. Please answer by return of mail. Yours Sincerely, J. F. Loubat” (MMA Archives). Joseph Florimond Loubat was born in New York, Jan. 21, 1831. His titles were papal; he was created count by Pope Leo XVIII in 1888, and duke by the same in 1893. Ruigny (1914) calls him the 1st Duke Loubat, and he was evidently still alive at the time. He was a member of the Institut de France and the academies of Madrid, Lisbon, Stockholm, Berlin, etc. The *Libro d’oro* lists the family under “de Loubat,” noting that they were French in origin.







1, 2. Lorenzo Bartolini (1777–1850), *The Demidoff Table: Allegory of Love, Vice, and Wisdom*, inscribed: *di commissione del Principe / Anatolio Demidoff / Bartolini fece 1845 Firenze*. Marble, H. 64 in. (162.6 cm.), Diam. approx. 54 in. (137 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Le Duc de Loubat, 03.11a–d

years earlier in Italy) to his friend and classmate, J.-A.-D. Ingres.<sup>4</sup>

In 1801, the year Ingres won the Grand Prix de Rome in painting, Bartolini was awarded second prize for his relief of *Kleobis and Biton*.<sup>5</sup> With this his career was launched and soon he was charged by Napoleon's powerful cultural minister, Vivant-Denon, with the execution of a bust of the emperor for the Vendôme Column as well as with a relief of the battle of Austerlitz. In 1808 Napoleon sent Bartolini to Carrara to establish a school of sculpture, which he ad-

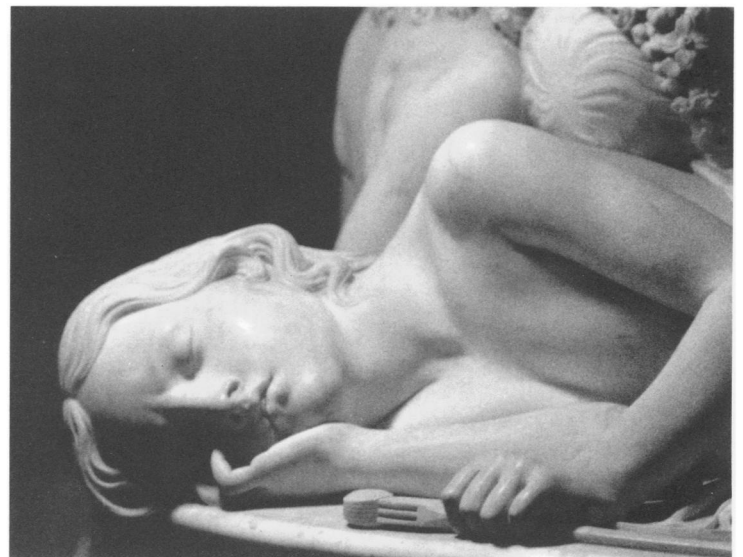
4. Agnes Mongan speculates on this in "Ingres and the Antique," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 10 (1947) p. 5. As a youth Bartolini had a passion for Flaxman's etchings and went to great lengths to study them (*ibid.*, pp. 3–4).

5. See Tinti, *Bartolini*, I, p. 6, for the surviving fragment of the bas-relief.

ministered until Bonaparte's abdication in 1814. Bartolini then settled in Florence where he enjoyed the wide patronage of a foreign, largely British, clientele and where in 1839 he was named professor of sculpture at the academy. Once his position was secure, he became a vocal opponent of academic Neoclassical training, renouncing the style of his youth in favor of direct study from nature.

The Demidoff Table is a product of Bartolini's maturity. It depicts three children reclining upon a round

3. Sleeping boy with calipers, detail of the Demidoff Table (photo: Menaker)





4. Bartolini, Bust of Count Anatole Demidoff, ca. 1840. Marble, H. 24¼ in. (61.6 cm.). Prato, Cassa di Risparmi e Depositi (photo: Cassa di Risparmi . . . di Prato)

tabletop, which is dotted along the rim with reliefs of the twelve signs of the zodiac and the sun and moon. Designated as a “piano del mondo,” or “plan of the world,” the Table revolves on a pivot, a particularly clever device considering the work’s global theme, and one that undoubtedly delighted nineteenth-century viewers.<sup>6</sup>

Two of the figures lie sleeping. One child reclines supine, his wreathed head tilted back and a half-smile upon his lips. With an arm extended at either side and his body exposed save for a vine leaf, he is the image of secure and relaxed sleep. The clue to his sound rest is an overturned cup which has fallen from his right hand. This, as well as the scattered grape bunches and the floral wreath that crowns his tousled hair, clearly identifies him as a young Bacchus.

Awake and supporting this “child of nature” is another young boy who, in a pose reminiscent of Leonardo’s pointing angels and saints, raises a finger heavenward as if indicating the sleeping child’s blessed state.<sup>7</sup> There is a Renaissance air about this beatific boy, particularly in his shoulder-length hair, serene bearing, and androgynous beauty, and one is reminded that as a Florentine Bartolini was particularly susceptible to the renewed interest in the quattrocento that was spreading throughout Europe in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Set behind this figure are the attributes of Eros (a bow and a quiver filled with arrows and embellished with a moth carved in low relief) and Wisdom (a torch)—perhaps to be read literally as “love of wisdom.”<sup>9</sup>

6. Comparable are Canova’s colossi of Ajax and Hector in the Palazzo Treves in Venice, which can be made to roll about the marble floor with minimal effort.

7. See, e.g., the pointing angel in the *Madonna of the Rocks* (1486–90, Louvre), St. Anne in *The Virgin and Child with St. Anne* (1499–1501, National Gallery, London), *St. John the Baptist* (1513–16, Louvre), and *Bacchus* (formerly *St. John in the Desert*, 1511–15, Louvre). The figure who points—a preacher or “commentator”—was developed from images of John the Baptist, who “announces one greater than himself,” in the late Middle Ages. It was given verbal definition by Leon Battista Alberti in his *Treatise on Painting* of 1435: “In an epic painting I like to see someone who admonishes and points out to us what is happening there” (quoted by Jack Wasserman, *Leonardo* [New York, 1975] p. 116). That Bartolini looked not only to other sculpture but also to painting for inspiration is evident from his statue of Venus, a marble translation of Titian’s famous *Venus of Urbino*. Ingres made a copy of Titian’s Venus as a favor to Bartolini so that he would have an image to sculpt from (see Richard H. Randall, “Ingres and Titian,” *Apollo* 82 [1965] pp. 366–369).

8. For more on the Neo-Florentine movement see entries under Paul Dubois and Antonin Mercié in H. W. Janson and Peter Fusco, eds., *The Romantics to Rodin: French Nineteenth Century Sculpture from North American Collections*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles, 1980) pp. 242–245, 303–304.

9. Described by the duc de Loubat as “love of wisdom” (see note 3 above), and by Bartolini as “Cupid, God of generation” (see below, note 18), the child’s spiritual bearing and his gesture pointing heavenward have also led him to be called “Divine Love” (see below, and notes 16, 17). In fact, the figure seems suggestive of a conflation of pagan Eros and the Christ Child that developed in late 16th- and early 17th-century emblem books. See, e.g., Herman Hugo, *Pia Desideria*, introductory note by Hester M. Black (Antwerp, 1624; Menston, Yorks.: Scolar Press, 1971). Rudolf Berliner in “God is Love,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 42 (1953) p. 19, notes that there are embodiments of Divine Love as classical Cupid as early as the 14th century. (Thoughts on the unification of images of Eros with the Christ Child were provoked by the late H. W. Janson’s lecture, “The Image of the Human Soul,” Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass., Oct. 29, 1981.)

The third boy (Figures 2, 3), sleeping in a fetal position on his side, turns away from the two other children. His draped body is tense and angular. In one hand he holds a calibrating instrument, with the other he cradles his cheek. His head extends outside the “plan of the world,” a metaphor, as we shall see, to emphasize his existence outside of nature.

The Table was commissioned by the Russian-born Count Anatoly Nicolayevich Demidoff (1812–70, prince of San Donato from 1840), Bartolini’s greatest patron (Figure 4).<sup>10</sup> Possessing enormous wealth, yet not accepted in all social circles because his titles and riches were newly acquired (his forebears, like Bartolini’s, were blacksmiths), the count strove throughout his life to improve his education and better his social status. He surrounded himself with literary friends and in 1843 was elected to the Institut de France for his book on travels through Southern Russia.<sup>11</sup> In 1838 the novelist and drama critic Jules Janin introduced Demidoff to Princess Mathilde Bonaparte, Napoleon’s niece and the daughter of Jérôme, former king of Westphalia, and Catherine of Württemberg. Mathilde’s pedigree, not to mention her beauty and wit, made her an attractive prize, and the two were married in November 1840. Unfortunately, Demidoff behaved scandalously from the moment they were wed. He paraded his infidelities before his wife, overindulged in drink, provoked violent arguments, and even slapped her in public. This last incident, which took place at a fancy-dress ball at the prince’s San Donato estate, was the final outrage. Mathilde petitioned Czar Nicolas for a divorce, which was promptly granted in 1846.<sup>12</sup>

Various described as “fiercely handsome like the hero of a romantic novel” and as “ugly, with brusque unattractive manners,” Demidoff was by all accounts a quintessentially romantic figure, who alternated like a maniac between acts of great generosity and expressions of touching tenderness, and extreme cruelty and violence.<sup>13</sup> One cannot help but speculate on the degree to which he defined the subject of the Table, commissioned at the time of his turbulent marriage. It is indeed tempting to see the sleeping boys as reflections of two salient aspects of the count’s tormented personality, his intellectual aspirations and his profoundly dissolute nature. On the other hand, it is doubtful that Demidoff would have wanted to immortalize the latter, especially since by 1844 his debauchery had caused him considerable regret.<sup>14</sup>

Repeatedly misread, the group is described in Bartolini’s own manuscript list of his works as “A Table with three Loves signifying Life and the rewards that the good man has in the world. Sent to S. Donato.”<sup>15</sup> The 1870 sale catalogue of the Demidoff estate describes the group as follows: “L’Amour divin est couché sur un plateau figurant le monde et soutient l’Amour profane dormant sur lui, d’un sommeil agité, au milieu des raisins et des roses. L’Amour du travail, abandonné à lui-même, repose dans le calme.”<sup>16</sup> Paraphrasing this, the Metropolitan Museum’s catalogue card reads: “Divine Love supports Profane Love who sleeps a restless sleep amidst grapes and roses, while Love of Work left to herself [*sic*] sleeps calmly.”<sup>17</sup>

10. Demidoff commissioned Bartolini to execute the famous monument to Niccolò [Nicolay Nikitich] Demidoff, his father, which stands in the Lungarno Serristori, Florence. On the bust of Demidoff (Figure 4) see Giuseppe Marchini, *La Galleria di Palazzo degli Alberti: Opere d'arte della Cassa di Risparmio e Depositi di Prato* (Milan, 1981) pp. 106–109, no. 44; Marchini suggests that it was executed to commemorate the count’s marriage in 1840. The plaster cast is in the Gipsoteca Bartoliniana, Florence. Bartolini had made a bust earlier, in 1831, but the count was dissatisfied with the likeness; see Prato cat., *Bartolini*, p. 84, no. 15, ill.

11. *Voyage dans la Russie méridionale et la Crimée par la Hongrie, la Valachie et la Moldavie* (Paris, 1839–42). The work comprised eight volumes and an atlas. Doubt has been cast on Count Demidoff’s authorship by Mrs. Bearne, *Four Fascinating French Women* (London, 1910) p. 390: “Demidoff succeeded in being elected member of the French Institute on the strength of being the author of a learned book he had paid someone else to write in his name.”

12. Mathilde’s petition to the Czar is quoted in Joanna Richardson, *Princess Mathilde* (New York, 1969) pp. 51–52. Demidoff’s slap is recounted there (p. 50) as well as by Bearne, *French Women*, p. 393.

13. See Richardson, *Princess Mathilde*, p. 28, and Bearne, *French Women*, p. 390; both remark on the dual nature of the count’s personality. The sculptor Giovanni Dupré notes that though Demidoff was said to be extravagant and brutal he remembers witnessing the count’s tenderness to the princess, the tears he shed over Bartolini’s death, and the charity he displayed in founding and maintaining the asylum of S. Niccolò (Giovanni Dupré, *Thoughts on Art and Autobiographical Memoirs* [Boston, 1886] p. 318).

14. Demidoff was apparently a victim of venereal disease (Richardson, *Princess Mathilde*, pp. 47–48).

15. Cited by Tinti (*Bartolini*, II, p. 13, no. 24) and in Prato cat., *Bartolini*, p. 58: “Una Tavola con tre Amori significante La Vita e la ricompensa che ha nel mondo L’uomo da bene. Posta a S’ Donato.”

16. *Collection de San Donato*, p. 155.

17. The work has been catalogued under the general title “Table aux Amours.”

Neither of the two last descriptions takes into account the appearance of the sculpture or Bartolini's explanation of it. The bacchic figure of "Profane Love" is not agitated, but is sleeping deeply and contentedly under the protection of "Divine Love." By the same token, it is actually "Love of Work" who, with furrowed brow and clenched hands, sleeps uneasily.

In a manuscript dedicated to his main studio assistant, Eliso Schianta, Bartolini poetically, if obscurely, explains his group:

Stretched out upon the plan of the world is Cupid, God of generation, sustaining and watching over the symbolic genius of dissolute wealth without virtue, who snores in his sleep, released from feasting and love, his head rumpled, the cup with the excess from his belly overturned, and covered for the rest by remains of the bacchanale, dreaming of past diversions in pleasure. Left to himself, the Genius of ambitious rectitude in work sleeps the agitated sleep of misfortune and glory, and serves as a cushion to the Destiny which oppresses him, covered by the respectability conferred by knowledge, his head extending beyond the periphery of the world: indicating thereby that he had no other happiness than in the other life. In the circle that indicates the celestial vault is the opulent sun that heats it; the Moon is warmth for the unfortunate.<sup>18</sup>

Bartolini indicated that the subject of the Table was taken from the *Satires* of Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636–1711). In a letter dated February 3, 1845, to his friend Giovanni Benericetti-Talenti, inspector of the Academy of Fine Arts, Bartolini writes: "Send me the Boileau because I have to make a description of the theme of the table. I need to decipher the subject which I have extracted from the *Satires*."<sup>19</sup>

The rather scatterbrained impression this letter creates, that Bartolini carved the group with only a dim recollection of Boileau, is confirmed by a careful reading of the *Satires*. Boileau's twelve satires do not contain either a literal reference to a "table of Amours" with its respective personifications, or a general description of Wisdom, Divine Love, Unfortunate Virtue, or the vices of Lust and Ambition. Rather, Boileau's barbs are usually aimed at specific people and are written in a cynical, lighthearted vein which does not accord with the serious tone of Bartolini's writing or his sculpture.

Nonetheless, many of Boileau's satires do deal with moral subjects. A constant theme is the folly not only of profligate vice, such as carnal lust and drunken-

ness, but also intellectual vice such as ambition and narrow-mindedness.<sup>20</sup> In fact, Boileau has a definite preference for the hedonist over the civilized man, whom he regards as having strayed from nature and primitive simplicity.<sup>21</sup> This is a preference Bartolini shared, and it is entirely likely that he had only a general notion of Boileau's anti-intellectual philosophy, rather than a specific satire in mind, when he began the Table in 1843.

Combining various elements, the group is clearly readable as representing a nude Bacchus who, overcome by drink, has let a cup fall from his hand as he sleeps soundly in the arms of Divine Love. In the meantime, the draped genius, symbolizing the qualities of ambition, correct behavior, and love of work, grasps the tool of reason—a pair of compasses—as he furrows his brow in isolated, troubled sleep. Bartolini's message is clear: it is not eroticism and dissoluteness, but rather ambition, exactness, and misguided adherence to rules that are the more tormenting sins. In the end, the sensual, natural man is blessed, while the civilized, educated, and ambitious one is condemned to think, plan, and measure.

This reading, however, does not tell all, for the key to unraveling another level of meaning within the

18. Tinti, *Bartolini*, II, p. 76: "Sopra al piano del mondo ovunque posa sta sdraiato [*sic*] l'Amore Dio della generazione, sostenendo e vegliando al simbolico genio della ricchezza scostumata senza virtù, russando il sonno rilasciato dei conviti e degli amori, arruffata la testa, rovesciata la coppa del rigurgito del suo stomaco, e coperto dal resto del bacchanale, sogna i passati divertimenti dei piaceri.

"Abbandonato a sè stesso dorme il sonno agitato della sfortuna e della gloria il Genio dell'ambiziosa giustezza di operare, e serve di guanciale al Destino che l'opprime, coperto dalla decenza che dà il sapere, sortendo la testa dalla periferia del mondo: indicando con ciò che non aveva altra felicità che nell'altra vita. Nel cerchio che indica la volta celeste, l'opulento sole che lo riscalda; la Luna è il calore per gli sfortunati."

19. Ibid: "Mandami il Boileau, perchè dovendo fare la descrizione del tema della tavola, ho bisogno di decifrare il soggetto quale ho estratto dalle *Satire* del suddetto."

20. See *Satires* IV, V, and VIII as well as chap. 35 of "Traité du sublime" in Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1835). Boileau was supposedly despised by the Romantics. Mme de Staël did in fact denounce him. Chateaubriand and Stendhal, however, respected Boileau, and Stendhal recommended him repeatedly to his sister Pauline while overseeing her education. See John Richardson Miller, *Boileau en France au dix-huitième siècle* (Baltimore, 1942) chap. 5.

21. Boileau-Despréaux, *Oeuvres*, p. 195. As in *Satire* V: "Que maudit soit le jour où cette vanité/Vint ici de nos moeurs souiller la pureté."



5. Joseph Nollekens (1737–1823), *Boy on a Dolphin*, 1764. Marble. Burghley House, Northamptonshire (photo: Courtauld Institute of Art)

group comes not from Boileau but from Bartolini's personal philosophy of art.

Although to modern eyes Bartolini's figures may appear blandly Neoclassical in their smooth, pearly finish and antique coiffure and garb, a closer look reveals an individuality of facial type and expression, an instinctive naturalism in hand and leg positions, and a detailed specificity in the rendering of objects that are at variance with our received notions of Neoclassical tenets. Indeed, we know Bartolini spearheaded the group of artists who renounced the *Bello Ideale* of the Winckelmann school in favor of the *Bello Naturale*.<sup>22</sup> Bartolini rebelled against the dogmatic aspect of Neoclassicism, regarding its academic method as mired in theory and formulas. He felt that idealizing and systematizing the art of the ancients into measurable, teachable rules was contrary to the spirit of classical art, which itself was rooted in truth and

experience.<sup>23</sup> The *Bello Naturale* thus championed a return to living reality, which meant the artist must select his forms from nature.

Bartolini was, of course, very much the offspring of his Neoclassical times. He may have renounced academic methods but he retained allusions to past classical art, and references to Greco-Roman sleeping Cupids are present in the Demidoff Table. Dormant putti identified as Eros or Hypnos were plentiful in antiquity from the Hellenistic age on.<sup>24</sup> Sculptures of sleeping children were also commonly used as grave monuments in the ancient world. This usage was revived in late eighteenth-century England and later on the Continent.<sup>25</sup> Bartolini's strong English connections may have afforded him contact with this type of British sculpture. Joseph Nollekens's once-famous *Boy on a Dolphin* of 1764 (Figure 5), with his upturned head, swept-back hair, and dangling arms, strikingly resembles the unconscious bacchic figure in Bartolini's group.<sup>26</sup> It is also significant that Nollekens's sculpture, like Bartolini's, is mounted on a dowel so that it can be rotated and seen from all points of view.<sup>27</sup>

In something of a four-way dialogue the Demidoff Table speaks not only to a far classical and a near Neoclassical past, but also addresses earlier Italian sleeping putti by Michelangelo, Algardi, Duquesnoy,

22. See Tinti, *Bartolini*, I, pp. 257ff., and Prato cat., *Bartolini* 131–162. See also the review of the Prato exhibition in *Connoisseur* 198 (1978) p. 172.

23. On the rigors of academic training for sculptors see Ann Wagner, "Learning to Sculpt in the Nineteenth Century: An Introduction," in *Romantics to Rodin*, pp. 9–20.

24. Margarete Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1961) figs. 617–620. Note also the Barberini Faun (ibid., fig. 450), who sleeps in a drunken stupor, his body exposed. For more on sleeping Eros see *Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Wallmoden* (Göttingen, 1979) pp. 29–31.

25. See Margaret Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain 1530 to 1830* (Harmondsworth, 1964) figs. 141A, and 178B: Thomas Banks's monument to Penelope Boothby of 1793 (Ashborne, Derbyshire) and Sir Francis Chantrey's *Sleeping Children* of 1817 (Lichfield Cathedral). For a later, French example of the trend see James Pradier's tomb of Princess Françoise d'Orléans of 1847 (Royal Chapel, St. Louis, Dreux), on which Fred Licht writes: "There is an attempt . . . to avoid the suggestion of death and substitute an impression of sleep" ("Tomb Sculpture," in *Romantics to Rodin*, p. 99, fig. 102).

26. See Seymour Howard, "Boy on a Dolphin: Nollekens and Cavaceppi," *Art Bulletin* 46 (1964) pp. 177–189, figs. 1–5.

27. Ibid., p. 183.



and others, who in turn were consciously perpetuating antique traditions, superimpose themselves upon Bartolini's group.<sup>28</sup> Thus, the Table resonates with classical allusions reiterated over three centuries of antique revivals. And yet, though in form and subject the work is thoroughly classical, in details, contours, and shades of meaning it rejects its models in favor of close observation of nature.

In 1839 Bartolini was appointed professor of sculpture at the Florence Academy, replacing the strict academician Stefano Ricci, whose teaching was based solely on copying the antique. In a direct about-face Bartolini prohibited all study from statuary and restricted instruction to study from life. Promptly after his appointment Bartolini created a scandal by choosing a hunchback dwarf for a model.<sup>29</sup> This action provoked a lengthy debate on aesthetics in the Florentine press. Bartolini published three polemical tracts in the *Giornale del Commercio* from 1843 to 1846, arguing for acceptance of the *Bello Naturale*.<sup>30</sup> Thus the Demidoff Table, begun in 1843 and completed in 1845, was created precisely at the height of Bartolini's dispute with the Academy.

Given the primary meaning of the group as representing the isolated unrest of the rational, rule-bound being against the relaxed, carefree state of the uncivilized, "natural" one, it is logical to read a secondary, personal message—one that incorporates Bartolini's *Bello Naturale* philosophy—into the group as well.

Support for this notion is found in an eyewitness account of a statement Bartolini made between 1844 and 1846 at the salon of Signor Fenzi, reported by Giovanni Dupré in his autobiography.<sup>31</sup> Dupré writes that Bartolini expressed his belief that the arts were in a state of decadence: first, because of the lack of enthusiasm and faith among the public who were sleeping in a *dolce far niente*; second, because the artist had abandoned the right road of imitation of beautiful nature and was pursuing the chimera of the *Bello Ideale*; and last, "because the vices of both had usurped the place of the virtues of our ancestors, and luxury, apathy, and avarice had drawn out of our beautiful country activity, temperance, . . . and liberality."<sup>32</sup>

From Dupré's account a specific and personal reading of Bartolini's group emerges. The "God of generation" representing "the virtues of our ancestors" supports and points the way for Wanton Opulence, who represents the luxury and apathy of the contemporary public lulled into a sleep of "sweet

nothingness." Bartolini's severest criticism is reserved for Unhappy Virtue or Correct Behavior, that is, the artist who shuns nature and instead slavishly copies and measures the art of the classical past, as attested by the calipers in his grasp (see Figure 3). Viewed in this way, the sculpture has greater meaning, functioning not only on the remote, abstract plane of timeless allegory, but also in terms of Bartolini's personal reaction to the contemporary art scene.

Bartolini's use of the calipers as chief attribute of the rule-bound genius finds iconographic parallels in the past. Calipers or compasses have traditionally stood for rational philosophy and mathematical order. In medieval manuscripts they appear in representations of the second day of creation, used by God to delineate the firmament, thus indicating the imposition of order upon chaos.<sup>33</sup> By the sixteenth century com-

28. For Charles de Tolnay's candidate for Michelangelo's lost Cupid see "Alcune recenti scoperte e risultati negli studi Michelangioleschi," in *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura* 153 (1971) pp. 8–9. A more striking resemblance is to be found in the group of three sleeping putti in the Galleria Borghese, Rome, by an unknown sculptor, ca. 1600, attributed by Italo Faldi (*Galleria Borghese: Le sculture dal secolo XVI al XIX* [Rome, 1954] pp. 13–14, no. 6) to Stefano Maderno. See Irving Lavin, "Five New Youthful Sculptures by Gianlorenzo Bernini and a Revised Chronology of His Early Works," *Art Bulletin* 50 (1968) p. 229, n. 45, fig. 14; Lavin notes that the group is of "Hellenistic inspiration."

29. Dupré, *Thoughts on Art*, p. 117. See also Tinti, *Bartolini*, I, pp. 107–109, and John Kenworthy Browne, "Lorenzo Bartolini: Plaster Models and Drawings. Palazzo Pretorio, Prato," *Burlington Magazine* 120 (1978) pp. 340–341. Bartolini adopted the figure, known as the Gobbo (hunchback), as his emblem and made of it an allegory, showing the Gobbo holding the mirror of truth up to the head of the "serpent of deceit" whom he is strangling with the dictum: "Tutta la Natura è bella/Relativa al soggetto da trattarsi . . ." (Tinti, *Bartolini*, I, p. 109, n. 1). For images of the Gobbo see Prato cat., *Bartolini*, pp. 161–162, figs. 9–13. For classical precedents see Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, figs. 376, 377. Bartolini chose the hunchback dwarf for a projected sculpture of Aesop meditating on his fables (Tinti, *Bartolini*, I, p. 107).

30. Excerpts given in Prato cat., *Bartolini*, pp. 135–142. For more on the debate over aesthetics see essays by Sandra Pinto and Ettore Spalletti, *ibid.*, pp. 99ff.

31. Dupré, *Thoughts on Art*, pp. 157–158.

32. *Ibid.*

33. See, e.g., *The Creation*, Bible Moralisée, Oxford Bodl. 27ob, reproduced in Anthony Blunt, "Blake's 'Ancient of Days': The Symbolism of the Compasses," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2 (1938–39) fig. 9b; Blunt cites Prov. 8:27, "When He set a compass upon the face of the depth" (p. 53). See also *God the Father as Architect*, Bible Moralisée, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.



6. Giovanni Caccini (1556–1612), *Temperance*, 1583–84. Marble, H. 72 in. (182.9 cm.) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 67.207

passes were symbolic of measure, science, and philosophy in general.<sup>34</sup>

Bartolini could easily have encountered such a personification in the late sixteenth-century statue of *Temperance* by Giovanni Caccini, which stood in the garden of the palace of Giovanni Battista del Milanese, bishop of Marsica, (later owned by the Covoni family) on the via Larga (now via Cavour) in Florence (Figure 6). The classicizing allegorical figure holds a bit and bridle symbolizing restraint in one hand, and a pair of dividers standing for “measured reason” in the other.<sup>35</sup> Caccini’s sculpture represents the very tradition that Bartolini reacted against.

It was Albrecht Dürer who first associated melancholy with symbols of measurable creative endeavor, setting a precedent that eventually led to Bartolini’s dejected genius. In *Melencolia I* the female personification of melancholy holds a compass as she sits surrounded by geometrical instruments (Figure 7). Afterwards, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the compass served as the standard attribute of melancholy.<sup>36</sup> Just as Bartolini contrasts

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theek, Vienna, reproduced in Helen Gardner, *Art Through the Ages*, rev. Horst de la Croix and Richard G. Tansey (New York, 1970) pl. 65.

34. Blunt, “Blake’s ‘Ancient of Days,’” p. 53. See, e.g., the figure of Euclid in Raphael’s *School of Athens*, Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican, Rome.

35. Like Bartolini’s Table, Caccini’s *Temperance* has made its way from Florence to New York. It, too, resides in the Metropolitan Museum. See Olga Raggio, “Our Finest Hour,” in Thomas Hoving, *The Chase, The Capture: Collecting at the Metropolitan* (New York, 1975) pp. 160–164; and *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Notable Acquisitions 1965–1975* (New York, 1975) p. 237. I am grateful to Mary Laing for calling this work to my attention.

36. “The influence of Dürer’s *Melencolia I*—the first representation in which the concept of melancholy was transplanted from the plane of scientific and pseudo-scientific folklore to the level of art—extended all over the European continent and lasted for more than three centuries” (Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer* [Princeton, 1943] p. 170). For other examples of Melancholy associated with compasses see Jacob de Gheyn’s engraving *Melancholy* reproduced in Rudolf and Margot Wittkower, *Born Under Saturn* (New York, 1963) pl. 1; Georg Pencz’s *Melancholy* of 1545 (Collection Count von Schönborn, Weissenstein, Pommersfelden Castle; Frick Art Reference Library, study photo no. 609a); G. B. Castiglione’s 17th-century etching of Melancholy (Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia); and Mathias Gerung’s unusual *Melancholy* of 1558, which shows a bare-breasted brooding Melancholy in the middle register of the painting and in the lower a white-robed, bearded man holding a compass and a mirror reflecting a landscape (Collection Mrs. W. O. Burton, New York; Frick Art Reference Library, study photo).





9. Blake, *Newton*, 1795. Color monotype. Philadelphia, Glen Foerd at Torresdale, Lutheran Church in America (photo: Lutheran Church)

of a compass-wielding Creator imposing order on chaos, Blake's Urizen condemns man to a bound and restrained existence as opposed to the free life of the imagination. Later Blake cast Sir Isaac Newton as the pernicious exponent of Urizen's "religion of reason on Earth" (Figure 9). Again the compass appears, this time as Newton's chief attribute as he sits narrowly focused on the attempt "to define man within the laws of physics."<sup>40</sup>

Bartolini may have been familiar with Blake's etchings through his early interest in Flaxman,<sup>41</sup> but he is unlikely to have had insight into Blake's highly personal, antirational cosmology. Rather, both Blake and Bartolini should be viewed as fellow products of the Romantic epoch—an epoch that rebelled against the rules and systematized methods that characterized the Enlightenment and early Neoclassicism.<sup>42</sup> Their similar use of the compass to stand for the debilitating effects of reason upon creativity stems from an attitude that ranged internationally from German

*Sturm und Drang* to French Romanticism. From Charles Lamb and John Keats's famous toast cursing Newton, to Delacroix's avowal that there are "no rules whatsoever for the greatest minds," writers and artists in the

40. Peter Drucker, quoted in Jacques Barzun, *Romanticism and the Modern Ego* (Boston, 1943) p. 31. For a different view of Newton, typical of the Enlightenment, see Etienne-Louis Boullée's project for the *Cenotaph for Newton* dated 1784, whose accompanying text begins: "Sublime Mind! Prodigious and profound genius! Divine being! . . . With the range of your intelligence and the sublime nature of your Genius, you have defined the shape of the earth" (Helen Rosenau, *Boullée and Visionary Architecture* [London, 1976] p. 107, figs. pp. 70–73).

41. See above and note 4.

42. As Barzun (*Romanticism*, chap. 2) points out, the Enlightenment sowed the seeds for the Romantic rebellion. See also Marcel Brion, *The Art of the Romantic Era* (New York, 1966); Robert Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art* (Princeton, N.J., 1967); and Lorenz Eitner, *Neoclassicism and Romanticism 1750–1850: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1970) 2 vols.

first half of the nineteenth century continually declared their freedom from institutions, rules, and even reason itself.<sup>43</sup>

The irony of the Demidoff Table is that Bartolini, to modern eyes at least, appears to use a form and vocabulary scarcely distinguishable from academic Neoclassicism in order to proclaim a distinctly Romantic belief. Bartolini's departures from academic practice—such as his belief in individual expression and form, his interest in detail, and his insistence on the use of live models—which were radical at the time, now appear as minor infractions of Neoclassical dogma. In historical perspective we can see that not all art made with revolutionary intent remains revolutionary with the passage of time. The fact that the sculpture is repeatedly misread, whereby the figure embodying the Dionysiac principle is described as agitated and disconsolate when it is really the ambitious, rational worker who deserves that label, shows the difficulty viewers have in reconciling the style of the piece with its meaning.

It is only when we allow for the paradoxes of the style of Bartolini's formative years—ironically, some-

times labeled "Romantic Classicism"—that the contradictions within the Table are resolved. For, in effect, Neoclassicism was one manifestation of a pervasive romanticizing of less civilized and less corrupt times and places than those of Western Europe around 1800. Early antiquity was commonly equated with contemporary primitive societies in the Americas, Africa, and the Middle East.<sup>44</sup> Viewed in this light Bartolini's hedonistic little Bacchus is the fitting hero of a sculpture that attempts to capture what was thought to be the true, primitive spirit of antiquity—a time when man lived in harmony with nature instead of struggling against it.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to James David Draper, Curator in the Metropolitan Museum's Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, for numerous suggestions and points of information, and in general for his encouragement and support in the writing of this article. I would also like to thank Alice Wohl of Williamstown for her help in translations from Italian.

43. The toast was made at the "immortal dinner" given by the ill-fated artist Benjamin Robert Haydon, on Dec. 28, 1817, when they drank to "Newton's health and the confusion of Mathematics," adding that Newton had destroyed all the poetry of the rainbow by reducing it to its prismatic colors; see Willard Bissell Pope, ed., *The Diary of Benjamin Robert Haydon* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960) II, p. 173, and Douglas Bush, *John Keats, His Life and Writings* (New York, 1966) p. 158, n. 2. For Delacroix's words see Paul Flat, ed., *Journal d'Eugène Delacroix* (Paris, 1893) I, p. 82, entry for Tuesday, Apr. 27, 1824.

44. For primitivizing currents within Neoclassicism see: Hoxie Neale Fairchild, *The Noble Savage: A Study of Romantic Naturalism* (New York, 1928); Arthur Lovejoy, *Essays in the History of Ideas* (Baltimore, 1948); N. Pevsner and S. Lang, "Apollo or Baboon," *Architectural Review* 104 (1948) pp. 279ff.; Rosenblum, *Transformations*, chap. 4.



# An Interpretation of Rodin's Adam

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RODIN'S *Adam*, of which the Metropolitan Museum owns the first cast (Figure 1),<sup>1</sup> was given several titles from the time it was first exhibited in plaster in the Salon of 1881: *La Création de l'homme* (*The Creation of Man*), *Le Premier Homme* (*The First Man*), and finally *Adam*. According to a letter that Rodin wrote to the Ministry of Fine Arts on October 20, 1881,<sup>2</sup> he planned to have over life-size sculptures of Adam and Eve on either side of the *Gates of Hell* (commissioned in 1880 by the under secretary of Fine Arts, Edmund Turquet, for the Musée des Arts Décoratifs), and early sketches of the project show figures of Adam and Eve flanking the Gates. Although Rodin created *Adam* from life, using a model identified by Judith Cladel as a fairground athlete or strong man named Cailoux,<sup>3</sup> he found precedents for the pose in the work of an earlier master.

In 1875, when Florence celebrated the four-hundredth anniversary of Michelangelo's birth, Rodin went to Italy for two months with the intention of penetrating the secret of Michelangelo's creative genius, its sources of energy and movement. As he said to the American Truman Bartlett in 1889, "In looking at the Medici tomb I was more profoundly impressed than with anything I have ever seen . . . I like his works because they are living and I could find in them what I wanted."<sup>4</sup> He sketched figures from the Medici tomb,<sup>5</sup> *Moses*,<sup>6</sup> and a figure in the pose of *Apollo*.<sup>7</sup> In Rome he visited the Sistine Chapel and saw the ceiling frescoes and the *Last Judgment*. In Florence he could also have seen Michelangelo's *David*, *St. Matthew*, and *Bearded Slave*, and he told Judith Cladel of his impression of the *Pietà* in the cathedral: "A Florence, pendant la messe, j'ai admiré la *Descente de Croix* de Michel-Ange, par-dessus la foule en prière."<sup>8</sup> Writing to Bourdelle in 1906, Rodin described Michelangelo's role in freeing him from the conventions

of academic sculpture: "Ma libération de l'académisme a été par Michel-Ange qui m'ayant appris (par observation) des règles diamétralement opposées à ce que l'on m'avait appris (école d'Ingres), m'a libéré. . . . C'est celui qui m'a tendu sa main puissante."<sup>9</sup>

When Rodin returned to Paris in 1875 he worked on a figure of Adam, which he destroyed before making the final plaster in 1880. Between his first attempt and its realization he toured the cathedrals of France in 1877 and admired their Gothic sculptural programs. At the same time he became interested in literary as well as artistic sources. He owned a well-worn copy of Rivarol's translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, which he read frequently.<sup>10</sup> In 1878 he began reading Baudelaire, especially *Les Fleurs du mal*, which he illustrated for Gallimard in 1888.<sup>11</sup> However, the main source for the *Adam* planned in conjunction with the *Gates of Hell* was undoubtedly Michelangelo.

1. Clare Vincent, "Rodin at The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *MMAB* 38 (Spring 1981) p. 3.

2. Albert E. Elsen, *Rodin's Gates of Hell* (Minneapolis, 1960) p. 67, and John L. Tancock, *The Sculpture of Auguste Rodin* (Philadelphia, 1976) p. 126. The original document is in the Archives Nationales, Paris.

3. Judith Cladel, *Rodin: Sa Vie glorieuse et inconnue* (Paris, 1936) p. 143.

4. T. H. Bartlett, "Auguste Rodin," *American Architect and Building News* 25 (Feb. 9, 1889) p. 65.

5. Albert E. Elsen and J. Kirk T. Varnedoe, *The Drawings of Rodin* (New York/Washington, D.C., 1971) pp. 45–46.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

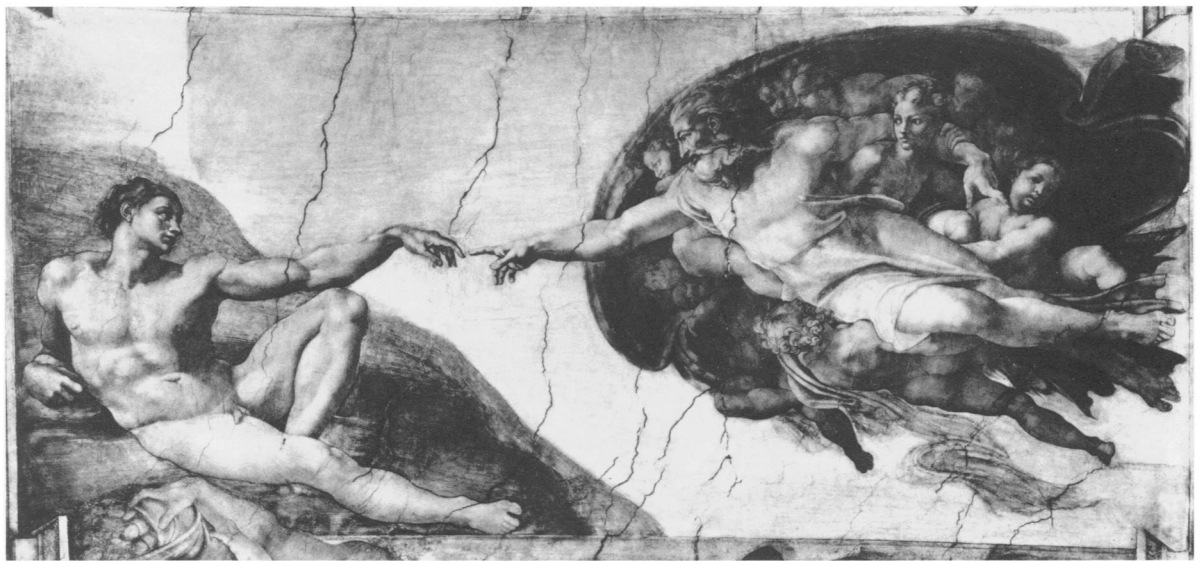
8. Judith Cladel, *Auguste Rodin: L'Oeuvre et l'homme* (Brussels, 1908) p. 132.

9. Cladel, *Rodin: Sa Vie glorieuse*, p. 113.

10. Bartlett, "Rodin," *American Architect and Building News* 25 (May 11, 1889) p. 224.

11. Elizabeth Chase Geissbuhler, *Rodin: Later Drawings* (Boston, 1963) p. 19.





1. Auguste Rodin (1840–1917), *Adam*, 1910 or 1911. Bronze, H. 76¼ in. (193.7 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Thomas F. Ryan, 1910, 11.173.1

2. Michelangelo (1475–1564), *The Creation of Man*, 1508–12. Fresco. Vatican, Sistine Chapel (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, Inc.)

3. Michelangelo, *Pietà*, ca. 1548–55. Marble, H. 89 in. (226 cm.). Florence Cathedral (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, Inc.)

It is interesting that one of the early titles given *Adam* by other sculptors was *L'Esclave* (*The Slave*), suggesting both Michelangelo's *Rebellious Slave* in the Louvre, in which the placement of the right foot on a raised support and the twisting stance of the torso resemble the pose of *Adam*,<sup>12</sup> and the *Bearded Slave* in Florence,<sup>13</sup> in which the angle of the head and the left arm held away from the body are very similar to those of *Adam*. However, it was recognized that the *Creation of Man* as a title referred to Michelangelo's fresco on the Sistine Ceiling in which God gives life to the recumbent figure of Adam (Figure 2).<sup>14</sup> More specifically, it was said that the right arm and hand of Rodin's *Adam* imitated the gesture of Michelangelo's Adam receiving the spark of life.<sup>15</sup> It has recently been suggested by Leo Steinberg<sup>16</sup> that the left arm of *Adam*

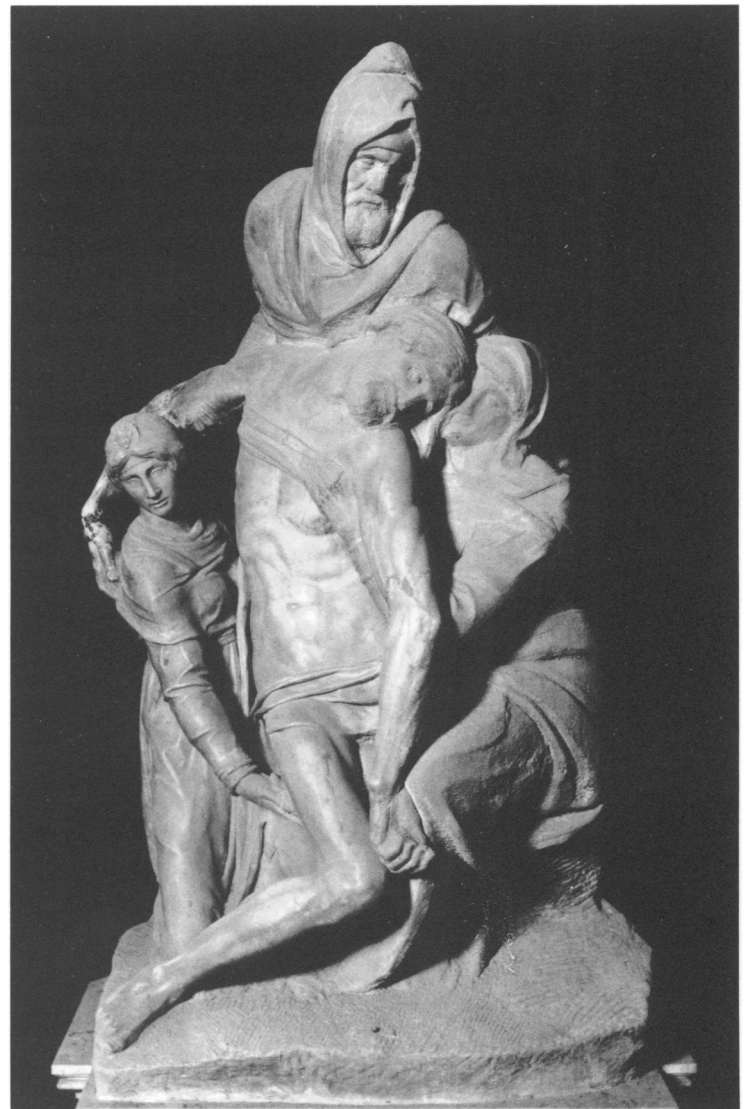
12. Elsen, *Gates*, p. 10.

13. Joseph Gantner, *Rodin und Michelangelo* (Vienna, 1953) p. 26.

14. Judith Cladel, *Rodin: The Man and His Art*, trans. S. K. Star (New York, 1917) p. 98. (For the original French publication see note 8 above.)

15. Albert E. Elsen, *Rodin* (New York, 1963) p. 49, and idem, *Gates*, p. 10.

16. Elsen, *Rodin*, p. 49; Leo Steinberg, *Other Criteria* (New York, 1972) p. 402.



is derived from that of the dead Christ in Michelangelo's Florentine *Pietà* (Figure 3), which, as we have seen, Rodin told Cladel that he had admired.

If the hands of Rodin's *Adam* are analyzed, it appears that the right is closer in form to the creating hand of God in the Sistine fresco; although the last three fingers are curled toward the palm in Rodin's *Adam*, the thumb and index finger are in a similar position. It is the left hand of Rodin's *Adam* that resembles that of Michelangelo's Adam in its limpness and in the placement of the fingers. It has been observed that Michelangelo's figures of Adam and God represent twin forms, one active, the other passive,<sup>17</sup> and both these principles are incorporated by Rodin in his *Adam*. The idea of the first man as both creature and creator is a corollary of this juxtaposition, and one to which Rodin as a sculptor would have been sensitive. As Albert Elsen has pointed out,<sup>18</sup> Rodin at this stage of his career was especially interested in the use of gesture by Michelangelo and other sculptors to convey meaning. This is exemplified not only in Rodin's appropriation of Michelangelo's hand of God and hand of Adam but also, even more significantly, in his borrowing from the Christ of the Florentine *Pietà*.

The interpretation of Christ as the second or last Adam is traditional in Christian theology. Thus Paul to the Corinthians, writing of the resurrection of the body:

So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption: It is sown in dishonour; it is raised in glory: it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power: It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. And so it is written, The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit. Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual. The first man is of the earth, earthy: the second man is the Lord from heaven. (1 Cor. 15:42–47)

References to 1 Corinthians 15 are found in the nineteenth-century French missal in the Mass for the Dead<sup>19</sup> and to Christ's saving man from Adam's sin in the Holy Saturday service or Easter Vigil.<sup>20</sup> The Mass for the Dead was particularly significant in Rodin's life as his beloved sister Maria, who was preparing to become a nun, died in the fall of 1862, and in his grief Rodin joined the order of the Pères du Très-Saint Sacrement on Christmas Day, 1862, as Brother

Augustine. This order, founded by Pierre-Julien Eymard (1811–68), was particularly devoted to the liturgy<sup>21</sup> and would certainly have familiarized Rodin with liturgical references to the relation of Adam and Christ. Later in his life, according to Rodin's secretary Anthony Ludovici, the Bible was one of Rodin's favorite *livres de chevet*, "and he delighted in expounding his own subtle interpretations to many of its passages."<sup>22</sup> If Rodin's *Adam* is seen to embody both the first Adam and the last Adam, that is, Christ, his gestures suggest not only the creation and fall of man but also his redemption through Christ's sacrifice of death on the cross.

The association of Adam with Christ is also consistent with Rodin's acknowledged source for the *Gates of Hell*, Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Although most critics identify the source specifically as the *Inferno*, Léonce Bénédict, the first director of the Musée Rodin, commented on Rodin's use of the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* as well.<sup>23</sup> Consistently throughout the *Divine Comedy*, when Adam is referred to, he is linked with Christ. In the *Inferno*, canto 4, lines 52–63, Virgil reveals to Dante that Adam is no longer in Hell because he was freed from Limbo by Christ as Savior.<sup>24</sup> In the *Purgatorio*, canto 32, lines 37–75, a comparison is made between the first Adam and Christ as the second Adam in a complicated analogy between the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross of Christ.<sup>25</sup> Finally, in the *Paradiso*, canto 7, lines 25–148, Adam appears to Dante and explains how he fell from grace and how Christ redeemed him and all humans from damnation by his sacrifice. The identification of Christ and Adam is made even closer in canto 13 of the *Paradiso*, lines 37–45, comparing Adam's breast and Christ's:

17. Howard Hibbard, *Michelangelo* (New York, 1974) p. 137.

18. Elsen, *Gates*, p. 8.

19. *Missale Romanum ex Decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridenti Restitutum, S. Pii V Pontificis Maximi* . . . (Paris, 1852) p. lxxix.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

21. Robert Descharnes and Jean-François Chabrun, *Auguste Rodin* (Paris, 1967) p. 29.

22. Anthony M. Ludovici, *Personal Reminiscences of Auguste Rodin* (London, 1926) p. 74.

23. Léonce Bénédict, *Rodin*, trans. Wilfred Jackson (New York, 1927) p. 31. (Original French edition, Paris, 1924.)

24. Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy: Cantica I. Hell*, trans. Dorothy L. Sayers (Harmondsworth, 1949) pp. 92–93.

25. Idem, *The Divine Comedy: Cantica II. Purgatory*, trans. Dorothy L. Sayers (Harmondsworth, 1955) pp. 323–324 and 326–327.

Into that breast, thou thinkest, whence was ta'en  
The rib from which the cheek was fashioned fair  
Whose palate brought about the whole world's bane,

And into that which felt the thrusting spear,  
And so for past and future paid the fine  
Which on those scales outweighs all sin soe'er

Such light as may in human nature shine  
Was all infused by Him that did create  
Both one and other with His power divine.<sup>26</sup>

Modern interpretations of *Adam* have tended to stress grief-stricken guilt and unalterable alienation from God. If, however, the gestures of *Adam* embody both the creation of man and his ultimate redemption and resurrection through Christ, this transforms the meaning of the figure and also, by extension, suggests a dimension of hope to the *Gates of Hell*.

Is it likely that Rodin would have consciously used these references in his work? Although Rodin never

illustrated an idea as such, he did employ literary and artistic prototypes to convey meaning, as in the figures of *Ugolino and His Children* and *Paolo and Francesca* from Dante. Speaking of religious symbolism in his art, Rodin said in an interview in July 1906: "I have always combined religious art with art; for when religion is lost, art is also lost."<sup>27</sup> In his conversations with Rodin, originally published in 1911, Paul Gsell asked if the public (or the critics) did not read meaning into sculptures that the artist had not intended. Rodin agreed that some interpretations might well be too ingenious. "But," he said, "you may rest assured that the masters are always conscious of what they do. . . . If the sceptics of whom you speak only knew what energy it takes for the artist to translate, even feebly, what he thinks and feels with the greatest strength, they would not doubt that all that appears shining forth from a picture or sculpture was intended."<sup>28</sup>

26. Idem, *The Divine Comedy: Cantica III. Paradise*, trans. Dorothy L. Sayers and Barbara Reynolds (Harmondsworth, 1962) p. 170.

27. Geissbuhler, *Rodin: Later Drawings*, p. 38.

28. Paul Gsell, *Rodin on Art*, trans. Mrs. Romilly Fedden (New York, 1971) p. 170. (Original English publication: Auguste Rodin, *Art* [London, 1912]; original French publication [Paris, 1911].)



# Early Collectors of Japanese Prints and The Metropolitan Museum of Art

JULIA MEECH-PEKARIK

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM acquired its first Japanese woodblock prints in 1894, when Mary L. Cassilly, a New Yorker with an interest in Oriental art, donated two albums (JP205, 206), and the subsequent rapid growth of this collection is closely tied to a handful of diverse personalities centered in New York City. By 1949, the year of the purchase of the Louis V. Ledoux collection, all but a few hundred of the present 3,600 prints had been accessioned. New York was not the only center of Japanese print collecting in America (Boston and Chicago were in the forefront), and the Metropolitan did not benefit from every local collection. Nonetheless, the magic lure of the colored woodblock print enhanced the lives of a fascinating cross-section of artists, scholars, and philanthropists. The story of how these collectors came to amass and treasure so many of these flimsy sheets of mulberry paper will be told in the following pages.

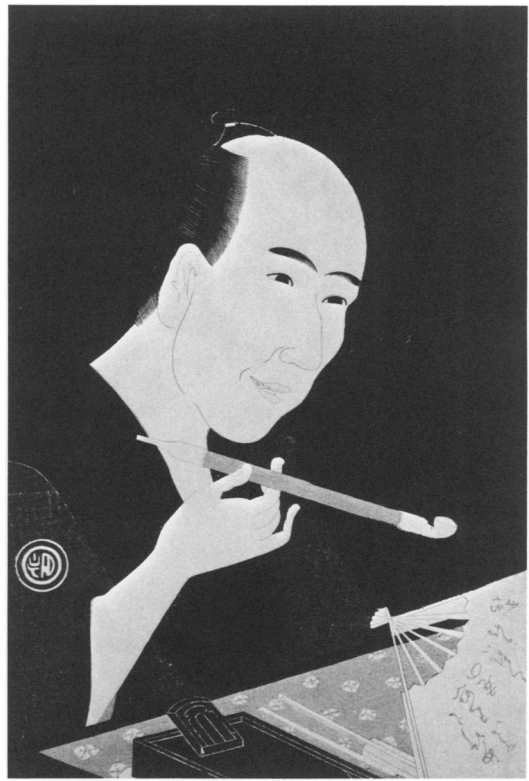
The Japanese print is a joint effort requiring the collaboration of an artist who creates the original design, an engraver who cuts the woodblocks, a printer who applies the colors to the blocks and rubs the handmade mulberry bark paper face down on the blocks with a *baren*, and a publisher who advertises and distributes the prints and finances the entire project. Printed images in black and white with Buddhist themes date from as early as the eighth century in the Far East, but the spread of printing in Japan on a large scale in the second half of the seventeenth century, a time of peace and prosperity, saw secular themes come into their own as well. These prints appealed to a broad-based audience of well-to-do townsmen whose favorite images were those of actors and courtesans in the entertainment quarters (the so-called *ukiyo* or “floating world”). In the nineteenth century, when avid Japanese travelers began to criss-cross the countryside, representations of famous

beauty spots were in demand as souvenirs. Prints were mass-produced in editions as large as ten thousand, and most were purchased for their topical, documentary interest, rather than as works of art. After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, when Japan was concentrating fully on modernization, the earlier woodblock prints were apparently viewed as cheap export items. As a result, the largest and best collections of *ukiyo-e* (“pictures of the floating world”) can today be found in the West.

Ukiyo-e prints and illustrated books arrived in Europe at a fortuitous moment, just as realism and naturalism had reached their peaks, and artists were searching for inspiration. French Impressionists were attracted by the genre themes, bright colors, flattened shapes, unconventional spatial effects, and asymmetrical compositions. Prints were circulating in Paris as early as the 1830s and 1840s and were abundant by the 1850s.<sup>1</sup> Paris remained the primary source of prints in the West throughout most of the nineteenth century.

Manet and Whistler were among the first generation of artists to be stimulated by ukiyo-e. Manet's 1868 portrait of Emile Zola, for example (Figure 1), includes not only a folding screen, but also a Japanese print of a sumo wrestler, presumably from Zola's own extensive collection. Even more revealing of Japanese influence, however, is Zola's three-quarter profile pose, and the way his head is silhouetted against a dark ground and his dark jacket flattened into a two-dimensional shape. The painting is very reminiscent

1. Deborah Johnson, “Japanese Prints in Europe Before 1840,” *Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982) pp. 343–348; John Sandberg, “The Discovery of Japanese Prints in the Nineteenth Century Before 1867,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 71 (May–June 1968) pp. 295–302.



1. Edouard Manet (1832–83), *Portrait of Emile Zola*, ca. 1868. Oil on canvas. Paris, Musée d'Orsay (Galerie du Jeu de Paume) (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)
2. Eiri (active 1790–1800), *Portrait of Santō Kyōden*, 1794. Woodblock print, 15 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (40 × 26 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Howard Mansfield Collection, Rogers Fund, 1936, JP2419

of Eiri's 1794 depiction of the fiction writer and ukiyo-e artist Santō Kyōden (1761–1816) (Figure 2). He, too, is seated by a table with the accouterments of his trade (writing brush, ink stone, and ink stick), and with some of his favorite possessions, a pipe and an open folding fan.

The expatriate American painter James McNeill Whistler, who went to Paris as a student in 1855, was

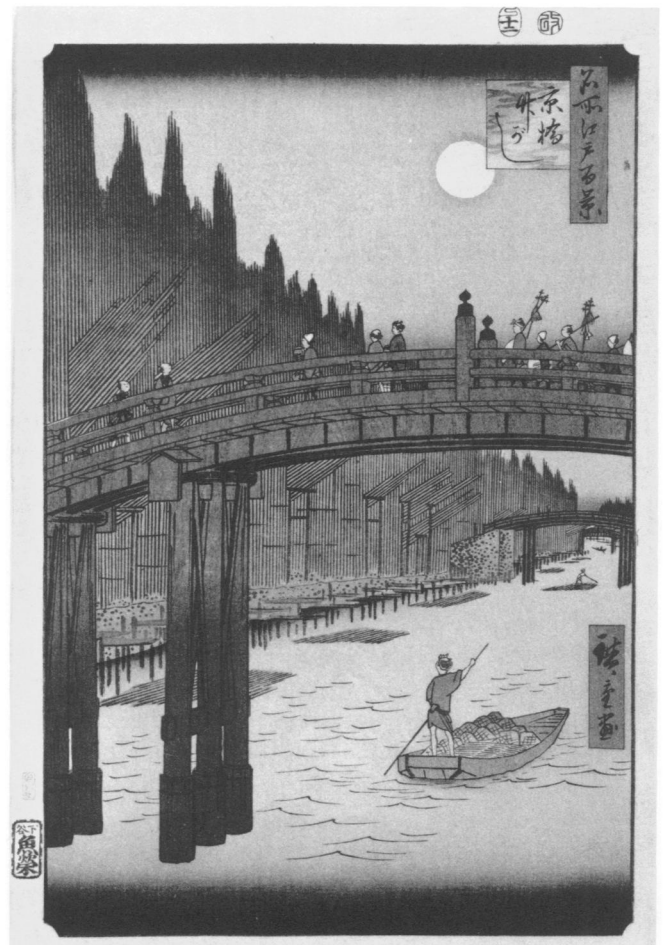
3. James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*, 1864. Oil on canvas. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution (photo: Freer Gallery of Art)
4. James McNeill Whistler, *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge*, ca. 1872–75. Oil on canvas. London, The Tate Gallery (photo: Tate Gallery)



in the vanguard of the early enthusiasts for *Japonisme*, and the development of his own style, under the influence of prints, is typical of the times. His *Golden Screen* (Figure 3), painted in London in 1864, attests to a fascination with Japanese art: he included a screen, a kimono, and a set of what appear to be single-sheet prints by Andō Hiroshige.

By the time of his *Old Battersea Bridge*, eight years later, he had fully ingested Hiroshige's principles of composition (Figure 4). His absorption with Oriental art in this period seems more intense and spontaneous than that of his contemporaries. Whistler's bridge was suggested by Hiroshige's series *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, printed in 1856–59 (Figure 5). The waterways of Tokyo inspired Hiroshige to monumentalize bridges by dramatic close-ups and exaggerated perspective. Whistler's own collection of ukiyo-e excited young British artists in the early 1860s, and

5. Andō Hiroshige (1797–1858), *The Bamboo Yard, Kyōbashi*, from the series *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, 1858. Woodblock print, 14 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (35.7 × 24.2 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Howard Mansfield Collection, Rogers Fund, 1936, JP2521



later impressed many of his American colleagues as well.<sup>2</sup>

By the end of the century the foremost proponent of Japanese art in Paris was the dealer Siegfried Bing (1838–1905), a German who had become a naturalized French citizen. Bing began building his business during the 1870s with the help of his acquisitive brother-in-law, the German consul in Tokyo. Bing himself spent a year in Japan around 1881. He reminisced about that trip: “Once arrived in Japan I beat the drum in order to procure from one end of this remarkable Island Kingdom to the other all the artifacts that money could possibly buy. I . . . let it be known everywhere that a wild man had come ashore to buy up everything.”<sup>3</sup> Bing performed a great service to print lovers when he published the influential illustrated journal *Le Japon artistique*, which ran for three years from 1888. Translated into English as *Artistic Japan*, it was a source of new imagery for artists and industrial designers in both America and Europe. Bing was a promoter of ukiyo-e; he mounted a number of important public sale exhibitions, and he always stocked several thousand Japanese prints in his shop, where Van Gogh, Degas, Lautrec, and Mary Cassatt browsed at leisure.<sup>4</sup> A year before his death he sent a representative to New York to open a shop for the sale of ukiyo-e prints.

Working in direct competition with Bing in Paris was the aggressive Japanese merchant Hayashi Tadamasa (Figure 6). More than simply a shopkeeper, Hayashi was regarded as one of the most knowledgeable connoisseurs of his day. He had arrived in France in 1878 as a foreign language interpreter for the Japanese corporation charged with managing its country's participation in the Paris Exposition Universelle that year. Determined to make a career for himself in Europe, he stayed on to dispose of the remaining stock, worked for several Japanese trading companies, and then in 1884 went into partnership with Wakai Kensaburō, his former employer and a man trained in the antique trade. During the next few years Hayashi traveled widely in China, Europe, and America cultivating clients for Chinese porcelains as well as for Japanese lacquer, bronzes, and prints. From about 1889, when he established himself in sole proprietorship as a merchant of prints, until 1900, when he ceased his commercial activities, he imported 160,000 prints and nearly 10,000 illustrated books. He did business from a handsome apartment on the rue



6. Hayashi Tadamasa (1853–1906) in 1896 at age forty-three (photo: courtesy Jōzuka Taketoshi)

de la Victoire. A French collector who knew both Bing and Hayashi in the 1890s described their separate establishments.

Hayashi, a little secretive in the Japanese fashion, distributed his clients in the numerous small rooms that made up the apartment; each had his nook where Hayashi came to join him, and he did not see the person Hayashi had shut up in the adjoining cubicle. This mysteriousness had its charm, and the master of the house excelled in giving you the impression that you were being treated as a fa-

2. Robin Spencer, “Whistler and Japan: Work in Progress,” in *Japonisme in Art*, ed. Society for the Study of Japonisme (Tokyo, 1980) pp. 57–81.

3. Gabriel Weisberg, “L’Art Nouveau Bing,” *Arts in Virginia* 20 (1979) p. 6. See also Peter van Dam, “Siegfried Bing 1838–1905,” *Andon* 10 (1983) pp. 10–14.

4. Siegfried Wichmann, *Japonisme: The Japanese Influence on Western Art in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York, 1980) p. 6. See also Fred Orton, “Vincent van Gogh and Japanese Prints: An Introductory Essay,” in *Japanese Prints Collected by Vincent van Gogh* (Amsterdam, 1978) p. 15.

vorite. Everything was just the reverse at Bing's, or seemed to be so; the clients came and went, opened cupboards, shuffled through folders, and in the little office under the roof that was reserved especially for prints there were often five or six elbowing each other.<sup>5</sup>

Hayashi's wife, Satoko, who remained in Tokyo, was responsible for acquiring prints there at highly favorable prices from dealers all over the country. Eventually, demand drove up prices in Europe to a level that few could afford, and many artists, including Degas, had to barter their own paintings in exchange for prints. Hayashi's Tokyo office employed about five specialists who were reportedly strict in their selection and attributions; it was, however, Mrs. Hayashi's idea to put her husband's stamp on every item that passed through their hands.<sup>6</sup> This round, red seal bearing his name appears on fine prints in many Western collections and is still regarded as a sign of quality and authenticity. Hayashi's reputation was such that he was appointed Commissioner General of the Japanese section of the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1900. (It is a curious fact that he excluded prints from this exhibition, favoring instead contemporary crafts designed for the export market as well as antique painting and sculptures.)

It has been said that almost all prints of quality left Japan in the 1880s and 1890s, and Hayashi is now often viewed by the Japanese as a plunderer of treasures. In other ways, too, his professional practices have been questioned. For example, it is said that he sometimes bleached prints in the sun in order to make them more attractive to those Europeans who preferred the soft colors of faded prints and who, out of ignorance, were prone to suspecting forgery if the colors were fresh.<sup>7</sup>

In the 1890s Bing and Hayashi both took note of the growing market for ukiyo-e in America. Among Hayashi's American clients were Louisine and Henry O. Havemeyer of New York (Figure 7). Havemeyer was founder and controller of the sugar trust, one of the largest monopolies of that era. At the time of his death, the American Sugar Refining Company, which he directed, manufactured approximately half the sugar consumed in the United States. The "Sugar King" was accustomed to thinking in terms of volume, and his first purchases of Japanese art at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition included dozens of lacquer boxes, brocades, and sword guards.

An incident that illustrates perfectly his attitude toward collecting occurred a year after his marriage to his second wife (his first wife's niece), Louisine Elder.

5. Raymond Koechlin, "Recollections of a Veteran Amateur of Far Eastern Art," H. Bartlett Wells, trans., in *Essays on Japanese Art Presented to Jack Hillier*, ed. Matthi Forrer (London, 1982) p. 179.

6. Jōzuka Taketoshi, *Gashō Hayashi Tadamasa* (Fukuyama, 1972) p. 49. The Hayashi collection of Japanese prints, paintings, sculpture, etc., was sold at auction in Paris in 1902 and 1903. See also *Japonisme in Art*, pp. 167–172, and Jōzuka, *Umi o Wataru Ukiyo-e* (Tokyo, 1981).

7. Harry G. C. Packard, "Nihon Bijutsu Shūshūki," *Geijutsu Shinchō* 314 (Feb. 1976) p. 140.



7. Louisine (1855–1929) and Henry O. Havemeyer (1847–1907) around 1898. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives





春西集後 明治三年四月 林忠正識  
江戸、招物ハ素新年大小始明和安永  
ノ間聊カ其美ヲ現然民未タ其美ヲ盡  
云フニ非リキ幸和四年 改元 甲子ニシテ  
萬飾北齋力ヲ振テ画巧ヲ示新春ノ招  
物最美極ハ蓋ニ未嘗有也亦東其門  
人魚屋北溪葵岡岳梅之居辰此徒  
競ラ蓋ニ入リ驚ク近世巴里好事家  
喜ラ之ヲ集メ觀ラ之ヲ愛ス皆ハ今存  
ニ其旧美ヲ全フル希ニル 長州萩人排  
名江戸花城ハ樹園ノ門ニ出テ文政中  
其名江ハ聞フ予昨年大坂ニ遊フ偶々  
山中氏ノ買手一夫下リ候リ振舞リ  
素葩散ハ属集云フ所言如不虛題シラ  
春西集ト云フ今分三冊ト爲シ更ニ百五十葉ヲ  
加ヘ修葺シ以テ後世ヲ傳フ云爾

8. A page from the Hayashi *surimono* album: Ryūryūkyō Shinsai (1764?–1820), *New Year's Ornaments*, early 19th century; Totoya Hokkei (1780–1850), *Hat, Deerhorn, and Plum Branch Representing Jurōjin*, early 19th century; Ryūryūkyō Shinsai, *Sake Ewer and Cup for New Year Ceremony*, early 19th century. Woodblock prints,  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$  in. (21 × 18.7 cm.);  $5\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$  in. (13.6 × 18.7 cm.);  $5\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  in. (15 × 19 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, JP2389, 2390, 2391
9. Hayashi's inscription in the *surimono* album from the H. O. Havemeyer Collection

The event was recorded by Mrs. Havemeyer in her delightful memoirs, *Sixteen to Sixty*:

How well I remember my first acquaintance with a tea jar! I think it was in 1884, and as usual, done in Mr. Havemeyer's grand style. My husband said to me one morning:

"A case of tea jars will arrive today. You'd better unpack them; make a selection; take out what you want and put the rest in the storeroom."

"But what is a tea jar?" I asked innocently.

Mr. Havemeyer looked at me curiously, as if amused that my question could puzzle him, and then said frankly:

"Well, I don't know much about them myself. They are little brown jars that hold tea. I guess that covers it, but they are very beautiful, so soft you want to hold them in your hand, and so lovely in color you cannot but admire them; just sober dark brown—but wait and see. I know you will enjoy them—and do as you please with

them." He left me for the excitement of Wall Street while I remained at home and did just as I was told. . . .

I opened the case and was surprised to find it contained innumerable small boxes. I opened these small boxes and found they contained each another box inside. Upon opening the second box I found it had a silk bag and upon undoing the silk bag my little "brownie" revealed himself to me. Like a child with a toy I soon had rows of brownies about me, while the little boxes were in a heap upon the floor beside me. What pretty, dainty things they appeared to me!<sup>8</sup>

Japan was surely only a peripheral interest for the Havemeyers, whose real passion was Old Master and nineteenth-century paintings. They were in the mainstream of contemporary Japonisme, however, when they hired two gifted designers, Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848–1933) and his associate Samuel Colman (1832–1920), to decorate the interior of their new house at 1 East Sixty-sixth Street in 1890. The library ceiling, for example, was a mosaic of colorful swatches of Nō robes, and the oak walls were stained to an olive green, imitating the color of a favorite lacquer panel by Ritsuō.<sup>9</sup> Like so many of his contemporaries, Colman, who was a New York landscape painter, had a romantic fascination with the exotic Orient. He gave his sizable collection of Japanese ceramics to the Metropolitan Museum in 1893.

The Havemeyer bequest, which so enriched the Metropolitan in 1929, is famous for its European paintings, although it also included Japanese ceramics, paintings, and lacquer. Especially remarkable, however, is the collection of 807 Japanese prints, more than half of which are small *surimono* (literally, "printed things"), limited, luxury-edition prints. They are mounted in three albums that today constitute one of the great treasures of the Museum's print collection (Figure 8). The previous owner, none other than Hayashi Tadamasu, wrote a long inscription, dated 1889 (the year he opened his own business), on the inside cover of the third album (Figure 9). He describes the flowering of *surimono* in the nineteenth century and relates his good fortune in acquiring a large album from the Osaka dealer Yamanaka the year before. He goes on to say that he has remounted it as three albums, repaired the prints, and now passes them along to later generations.

One can safely speculate that the Havemeyers were first led to Hayashi's doorstep in the early 1890s by the American painter Mary Cassatt, who had lived in

Paris since 1874 and was Mrs. Havemeyer's best friend (they had grown up together in Philadelphia). She acted as European guide and adviser to the New York couple in their acquisition of both Old Master paintings and contemporary French Impressionists. Among the Havemeyer prints, works by Utamaro are particularly well represented, and this may reflect the taste of Miss Cassatt, whose own collection of Utamaro hung on the glass-enclosed verandah at her château. Two prints with a similar theme of a mother bathing a child demonstrate this interaction (Figures 10, 11). The Cassatt print is from her well-known series of ten color etchings of 1891, directly inspired by Bing's sale exhibition of seven hundred Japanese prints at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, which she had visited with Degas the year before.<sup>10</sup> The Utamaro was acquired by the Havemeyers and is now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Isolated examples of American Japonisme first appeared around the middle of the nineteenth century in Boston, where the China trade quite naturally provided a link with Japan. The painter John La Farge, married to a grandniece of Admiral Perry, whose ships had forced the Japanese to end three hundred years of isolation, is believed to have acquired Japanese prints as early as 1856, probably in Paris, and was incorporating elements from Hokusai and Hiroshige compositions into his paintings by the 1860s, long before his well-chronicled visit to Japan with Henry Adams in 1886. His *Self-Portrait* in The Metropolitan Museum of Art showing the artist at age twenty-four, the year he started painting, has been cited for its Japanese influence, specifically the high horizon line and flat, decorative shapes. A fish still life of 1865, a year after Whistler's *Golden Screen*, is notably early in its use of Japanese principles of composition (Figure 12). This small panel depicting an Atlantic bonito and a spray of flowers against a gold ground was one of a group of paintings intended as a dining room mural in the Beacon Street home of Charles Freeland, a

8. Louise W. Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector* (New York, privately printed, 1961) pp. 73–74.

9. Aline Saarinen devoted a chapter to the Havemeyers in *The Proud Possessors* (New York, 1958) pp. 144–173.

10. For a discussion of Cassatt and Japanese prints see Colta Feller Ives, *The Great Wave: The Influence of Japanese Woodcuts on French Prints* (New York, 1974) pp. 45ff.; Cassatt visited the show many times and made purchases to hang in her home. See also S. Bing, *Exposition de la gravure japonaise*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1890).

prosperous builder.<sup>11</sup> The yellow ground imitates the gold leaf of a Japanese screen, while the composition recalls Hiroshige's series *A Variety of Fish* (*Sakana Zukushi*), of about 1830 (Figure 13).

La Farge ordered prints from Japan through A. A. Low, a New York importer of Oriental goods, and he shared this interest with a little-known fellow painter named John Chandler Bancroft (1835–1901). Bancroft was a Harvard graduate from a Worcester family, and in the early 1860s spent much time with La Farge in studious retreat at Newport. He, too, visited Japan, although not until 1898, well after his own collection had been formed. Unlike most of his contemporaries, including La Farge, who preferred nineteenth-century artists (especially Hokusai and Hiroshige), Bancroft put together a surprisingly well-balanced group of over three thousand prints spanning the entire history of ukiyo-e.<sup>12</sup> The collection was bequeathed to the Worcester Art Museum.

A younger generation of Harvard-educated Bos-

tonians immersed themselves in the scholarly study of Japan and made a more dramatic and significant contribution to the appreciation of Asian art in America. William Sturgis Bigelow (Figure 14), born of a famous surgeon and a daughter of a wealthy China-trade merchant, studied medicine with Louis Pasteur in Paris for five years in the 1870s and developed a connoisseur's taste for art; he returned with enough Japanese art to sponsor an exhibition of several hundred items at the Museum of Fine Arts in 1881. Inspired to visit the source itself, the restless bachelor left the next year for Japan and stayed on for seven years, until 1889, as a student of Japanese

11. Henry Adams, "A Fish by John La Farge," *Art Bulletin* 62 (June 1980) pp. 269–280. See also idem, "John La Farge, 1830–1870: From Amateur to Artist," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1980.

12. There is very little information about Bancroft, and none of his paintings are known to survive. John La Farge wrote his obituary for the *New York Times* in Oct. 1901.

10. Mary Cassatt (1845–1926), *The Tub*, 1891. Drypoint, soft-ground etching, and aquatint, eleventh state; printed in color, 11 $\frac{5}{8}$  × 9 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (29 × 24.3 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Paul J. Sachs, 16.2.7

11. Kitagawa Utamaro (1753–1806), *Woman Bathing a Baby in a Tub*, late 18th century. Woodblock print, 14 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 9 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (37.3 × 25.1 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, JP1661





12. John La Farge (1835–1910), *Fish*, ca. 1865. Oil on panel. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Grenville L. Winthrop Bequest (photo: Fogg Art Museum)



13. Andō Hiroshige, *Gray Mullet with Camellia*, from the series *A Variety of Fish*. Woodblock print,  $9\frac{7}{8} \times 14\frac{1}{16}$  in. (25.1 × 37 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Bryan Holme, 1980, JP3593

culture and a disciple of esoteric Buddhism. His family fortune allowed him to collect in overwhelming quantities, and he did so with an enlightened breadth of vision that encompassed all fields ranging from Buddhist paintings to sword guards. When his collection was donated to the Museum of Fine Arts, of which he was a trustee, in 1911, the prints alone numbered a staggering forty thousand. (The figure is approximate—no one has undertaken an exact count.) He traveled widely with Bostonians Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, resident in Japan for twelve years from 1878



14. William Sturgis Bigelow (1850–1926) in the 1880s (photo: courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

as a professor of philosophy at the University of Tokyo (Figure 15), and Edward Sylvester Morse (1830–1925), a brilliant Harvard zoologist who taught Darwinism at the University of Tokyo and whose collecting interests focused on pottery. The three Americans would arrive at a small country inn, descend on the local shops, and await the arrival the next morning of eager dealers bearing works of art of all kinds.<sup>13</sup>

Fenollosa, respected and honored even by the Japanese government, is known as the first serious Western interpreter of Japanese culture. But since he was not a man of independent means, he was of necessity an entrepreneur and self-promoter. When he returned to Boston in 1890 to become the first curator of Japanese art at the Museum of Fine Arts, the collection housed there was largely the one he had sold to fellow Bostonian Charles G. Weld some years earlier. Obviously alert to the popular appeal of ukiyo-e, he featured Hokusai at his inaugural exhibition at the museum in 1892–93 and invited Bing to have a sale exhibition of prints at the museum in April 1894.<sup>14</sup>

When Fenollosa was dismissed in 1896 over the matter of his divorce and subsequent marriage to his young assistant in the department of Asian art, he launched a career as a virtuoso lecturer with an impressive platform style, funded by a series of partnerships with print dealers in both Tokyo and New York. His first such venture was a sale, with a catalogue listing no less than 440 prints, in January of 1896 at the Fine Arts Building in New York.<sup>15</sup>

Excitement ran high among the little group of budding collectors who gathered at the Metropolitan Museum the next month to hear Fenollosa lecture on prints and other marvels of Japanese civilization.<sup>16</sup>

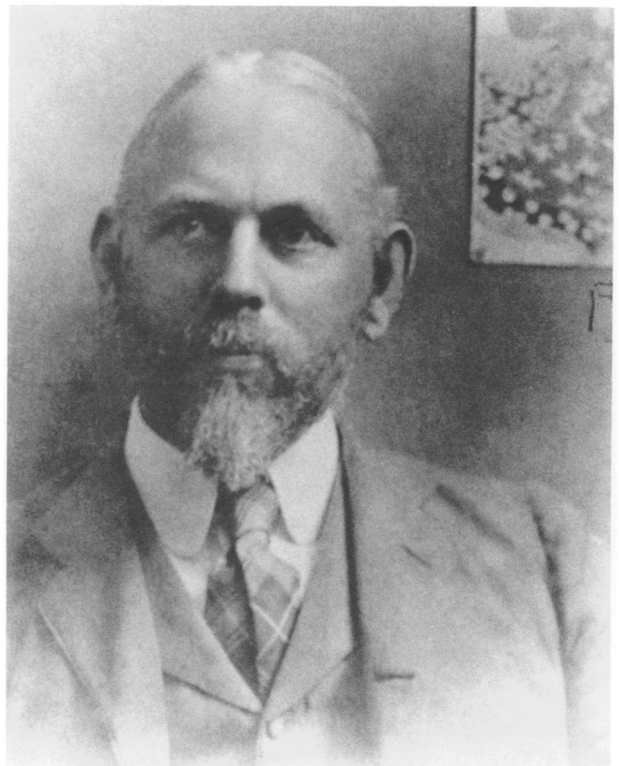
13. Van Wyck Brooks, *Fenollosa and His Circle* (New York, 1962) p. 28.

14. Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, *Hokusai and His School*, exh. cat. (Boston, 1893). Bing's show of Japanese art in New York the previous month at the gallery of the American Art Association had caused something of a sensation, since it was the finest selection that had ever appeared on the market there and the first time that ukiyo-e prints of quality were available for purchase in the United States. See Theodore Robinson diaries, Frick Art Reference Library, New York, entry for Mar. 20, 1894, and Howard Mansfield, "Japanese Prints," *Transactions of the Grolier Club of the City of New York* (New York, 1899) p. 113.

15. Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, *The Masters of Ukiyo* (New York, 1896); see also Lawrence W. Chisholm, *Fenollosa: The Far East and American Culture* (New Haven/London, 1963).

16. "Lectures at the Metropolitan Museum," *The Lotus*, no. 9 (1896) pp. 731–733.

15. Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908) around 1900 (photo: courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)





16. Robert Blum (1857–1903),  
*The Ameya*, ca. 1892. Oil on  
 canvas, 25 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 31 $\frac{1}{16}$  in.  
 (63.7 × 78.9 cm.). The  
 Metropolitan Museum of  
 Art, Gift of Estate of  
 Alfred Corning Clark,  
 04.31



Fenollosa returned to Japan that year to write and to invest heavily in prints, and from 1898 collaborated for several years with the Tokyo dealer Kobayashi Bunshichi (1861–1923), who had earlier been one of Hayashi's chief suppliers. Kobayashi and Fenollosa staged an ukiyo-e print exhibition in Tokyo in 1898 that is thought to be the first ever held in Japan.<sup>17</sup> In 1901, the year Fenollosa returned to America, his wife, Mary, published a book on Hiroshige.<sup>18</sup> He himself subsequently continued to sell and authenticate prints (and paintings) privately, as well as to write gallery catalogues. The year of his death, for example, he wrote the catalogue for a print exhibition at the Yamanaka art gallery in New York, and the gallery in turn sponsored a series of lectures by him at the Waldorf Astoria.<sup>19</sup> Though his credibility was compromised by his commercial activities, Fenollosa certainly helped generate widespread interest in Japanese prints in America. In memoirs and letters, collectors in New York and elsewhere reveal how proud they were to have met him, praising him repeatedly as “preeminently the most competent authority upon the history of Oriental Art in the Far West.”<sup>20</sup>

Stimulated by a series of sales and exhibitions, New York artists became avid print collectors in the 1890s.

Robert Blum, originally of Cincinnati, moved east in 1878 when he was hired as an illustrator for *Scribner's*. On a European trip a few years later he met Whistler in Venice and took up etching as a result. He lived in Tokyo for two years, between 1890 and 1892, on assignment for *Scribner's*, illustrating a series of articles on Japan by Sir Edwin Arnold. He took a small Japanese house and traveled widely in search of exotic subjects. *The Ameya*, an oil painting now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, depicts a Japanese candy blower and was produced toward the end of his stay (Figure 16). It was a great success in the

17. Kobayashi Bunshichi, *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Ukiyoe Paintings and Prints*, exh. cat. (Tokyo, 1898). Kobayashi subsequently sold eighty-nine Japanese paintings, predominantly works by Hokusai, to Charles Lang Freer (1854–1919), who gave his collection to the Smithsonian.

18. Mary McNeil Fenollosa, *Hiroshige, the Artist of Mist, Snow and Rain* (San Francisco, 1901).

19. *The Exhibition of Ukiyoe Paintings and Prints at the Yamanaka Galleries* (New York, 1908). Yamanaka and Co. of Osaka opened a store at 254 Fifth Avenue in 1893. The lectures are described in a letter from Fenollosa to Charles L. Freer of Mar. 12, 1907, in the archives of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution.

20. Frederick Gookin in Fenollosa, *Masters of Ukiyoe*, p. iv.

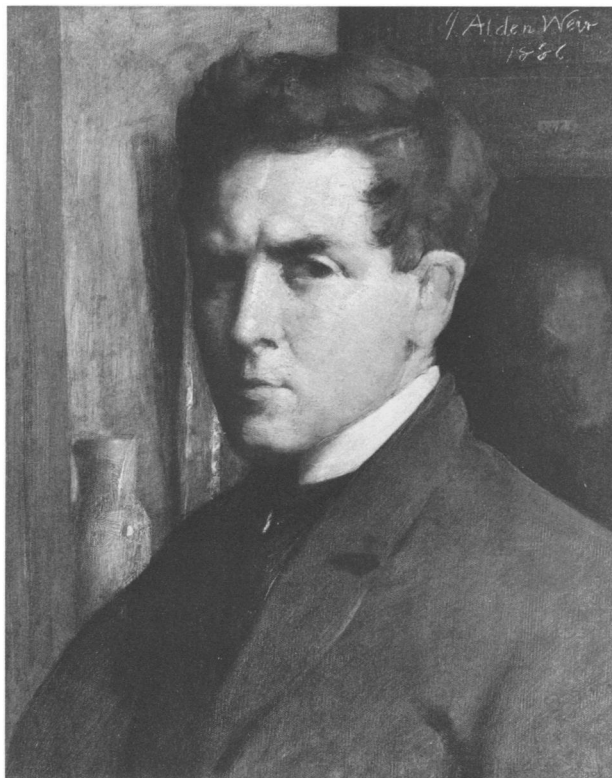
1893 annual exhibition of the National Academy of Design.<sup>21</sup> Blum wrote about his trip that same year in a three-part article for *Scribner's* entitled "An Artist in Japan." He deplored all evidence of modernization and had nothing but scorn for those Japanese who affected Western clothing. One must bear in mind, however, that he had arrived at a time when the Japanese upper classes were absorbing Western culture as rapidly as possible in order to prove themselves civilized equals. In 1892 no Japanese artist would have chosen the simple street peddler as a subject.

Blum returned from Japan with nearly six hundred ukiyo-e prints, including a set of Hiroshige's *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, which he bequeathed to the Cincinnati Art Museum.<sup>22</sup> With the exception of the red seal-shaped square enclosing his signature, which he often used on his prints and drawings, Japanese art had no apparent influence on his highly realistic style, but he did immerse himself in the culture to such an extent that he took lessons in the ancient

dance form of Nō when making a watercolor drawing of the subject. Blum confided to his publisher that it would "be a damned sight nearer than La Farge's nightmare of the thing he called a 'No dancer.'"<sup>23</sup> He must have conveyed his enthusiasm to his circle of friends in New York, and it is more than likely that he mailed them prints from Japan. Having always felt the liveliest curiosity to know how these prints were produced, he visited an ukiyo-e printing establishment and was excited by the possibility of making a woodcut himself for an issue of *Scribner's*—or at least writing an article with seven to ten illustrations showing the process of "A Japanese Print."<sup>24</sup>

Blum's friends included J. Alden Weir (Figure 17). For Weir, the colored woodcut was as vital as it had been for the French Impressionists. He received shipments of prints not only from Japan (an invoice dated 1891 may have been sent to him by Blum)<sup>25</sup> but also from Bing<sup>26</sup> and Hayashi<sup>27</sup> in Paris. That he was a serious collector throughout his life is documented by his purchase of thirty-six prints at auction as late as 1919, only six months before his death. The \$275 he paid for a Hiroshige triptych was the highest bid placed at that entire sale.<sup>28</sup> During his student days in Paris in the 1870s, Weir befriended Whistler, who

17. J. Alden Weir (1852–1919), *Self-Portrait*, 1886. Oil on canvas. New York City, National Academy of Design (photo: National Academy)



21. Doreen Bolger Burke, *American Painting in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1980) III, pp. 301–304.

22. For information regarding Blum's collection of Japanese prints and photographs, I am indebted to the research of Bernice Weisman and Kristin Spangenberg at the Cincinnati Art Museum.

23. Letter from Blum dated Tokyo, Nov. 11, 1890 (published with permission of Princeton University Library). Correspondence with *Scribner's* (Publishers' Archives, Charles Scribner's Sons, Princeton University Library).

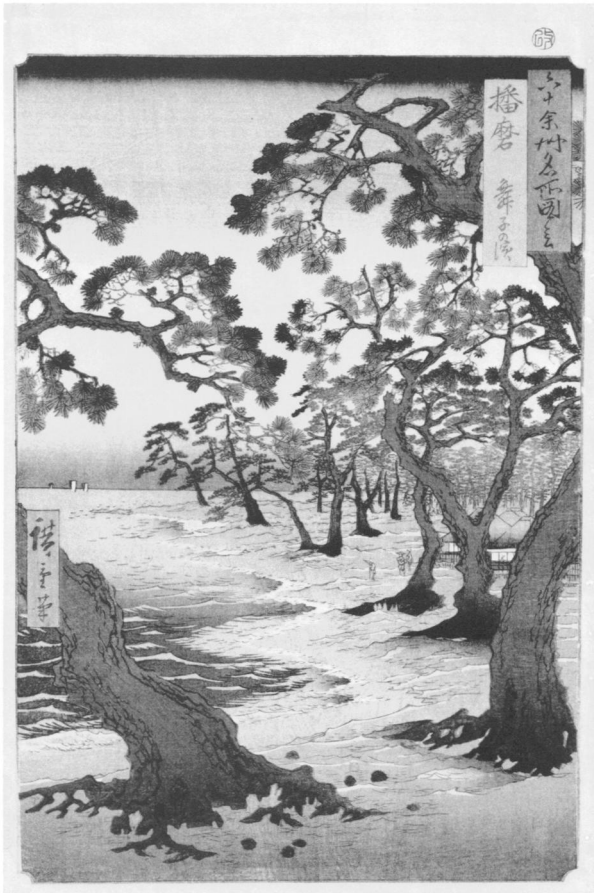
24. Ibid., letter from Blum dated Tokyo, Dec. 26, 1890.

25. Invoice in J. Alden Weir scrapbook dated Meiji 24; Weir's scrapbook also contains an address label for the Fine Art Curio Depot of K. Sano in the Imperial Hotel, Tokyo. I am heavily indebted to Doreen Burke for information concerning the American Impressionists and Japanese prints. See Doreen Bolger Burke, *J. Alden Weir: An American Impressionist* (Newark, 1983) pp. 202–216.

26. Letters of sale from Bing in the Weir scrapbook are dated 1896, 1899, and 1900.

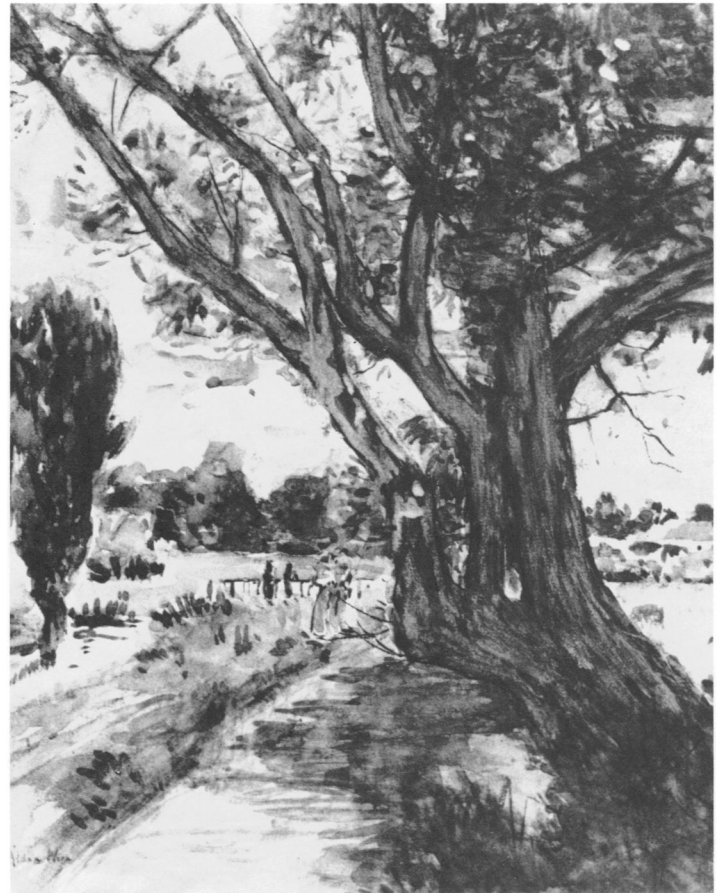
27. A letter in the Weir scrapbook from Hayashi, dated Paris 1894, offers to send a large group of prints from which the artist might select the ones he liked.

28. Annotated copy of the *Illustrated Catalogue of the Collection of Japanese Color Prints, the Property of Mr. Judson Metzgar* (New York, The American Art Association, 1919.) Weir bid a total of \$634.50 at this sale. He bid at the 1916 Metzgar sale as well. See Judson Metzgar, *Adventures in Prints* (San Francisco, n.d.) p. 50.



18. Andō Hiroshige, *Harima: The Shore at Maiko*, from the series *Famous Views of the Sixty-Odd Provinces*. Woodblock print, 12 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 9 in. (31.4 × 22.9 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Howard Mansfield Collection, Rogers Fund, 1936, JP2509

had been a pupil of his father at West Point, and he may have acquired prints at that time. As for his own painting, although he made eleven trips to Europe, he did not embrace an Impressionist style until 1891, a breakthrough year in his career. His work demonstrates very nicely the confluence of French Impressionism and Japanese woodcuts in American painting in the 1890s. If we compare Hiroshige's *Harima: The Shore at Maiko*, a design Weir is known to have owned (much of his collection has survived intact), and Weir's watercolor of an old tree, the painter's indebtedness to the print will be obvious (Figures 18, 19). Weir also experimented with Japanese brush and ink, which he had acquired through Hayashi, occasionally copying reproductions in Bing's *Artistic Japan*. In the summer



19. J. Alden Weir, *Landscape*, 1890s. Watercolor. Private collection

of 1895, Weir painted *The Red Bridge*, now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 20). It "received scant notice when exhibited at the [National] Academy [of Design] the next spring: 'a stiff iron bridge' was evidently not considered a proper subject for art."<sup>29</sup> It is recorded that Weir had at first been dismayed to find that one of the picturesque old covered bridges spanning the Shetucket River near Windham, Connecticut, had been replaced by a stark iron bridge. Then one day, after a fresh coat of vibrant red paint had been applied, he suddenly saw in the modern structure a picture that stirred his soul.

29. Dorothy Weir Young, *The Life and Letters of J. Alden Weir* (New Haven, 1960) p. 187.



20. J. Alden Weir, *The Red Bridge*, 1895. Oil on canvas, 22¼ × 33¾ in. (61.6 × 85.7 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. John A. Rutherford, 14.141

Perhaps it reminded him of a print such as Hiroshige's *Twilight Moon at Ryōgoku Bridge*, a print in his own collection (Figure 21).

Weir's intimate friends included American Impressionists Theodore Robinson (1852–96), John H. Twachtman (1853–1902), and Childe Hassam (1859–1935). Robinson had spent much of his career in France, frequently visiting Claude Monet at Giverny, and when he returned to New York permanently in 1892 he helped introduce Impressionism. In his diary entries between 1893 and 1896, the year of his death, Robinson recorded the interest that he and his fellow artists shared for both French art and Japanese woodblock prints. In October 1893, for example, he reported that Twachtman came back from a trip to

Boston talking about Fenollosa's Hokusai exhibition, and feeling that there was a great deal to be learned from it.<sup>30</sup> Robinson dined with the Weirs regularly on Sundays, looking at Japanese and French art afterward. On November 30, 1893, he wrote:

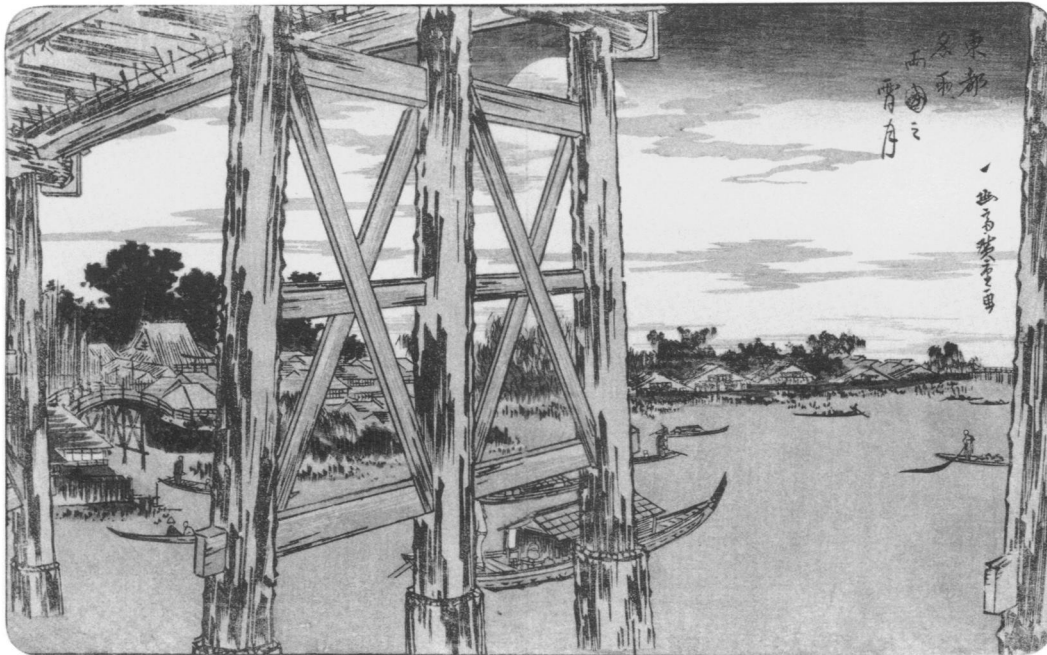
W. enthusiastic over some old Japanese prints. . . . It is very pleasant to sit with Weir at a table and look over proofs, etchings, or Japonaiseries together. . . . I imagine the best men have been influenced for the better by Japanese art, not only in arrangements, but in their extraordinary delicacy of tone and color, and I've often noticed in Monet a subtlety, nearness of two values, almost unknown to other men, that one constantly sees in nature, especially in seas and skies.<sup>31</sup>

After he and Weir bought some Japanese prints at Boussod-Valladon in New York in February 1894 he

30. Theodore Robinson diaries, entry for Oct. 31, 1893.

31. Ibid., entry for Nov. 30, 1893.

21. Andō Hiroshige, *Twilight Moon at Ryōgoku Bridge*, from the series *Famous Sights of the Eastern Capital*. Woodblock print,  $9\frac{3}{8} \times 15\frac{3}{16}$  in. (24.4 × 38.6 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922, JP1312



discussed at length his desire to incorporate elements of the print in his own work: "My Japanese print points in a direction I must take: an aim for refinement and a kind of precision. . . . Japanese work ought to open one's eyes to certain things in nature, before almost invisible . . . their extraordinary combination of the convention and the reality."<sup>32</sup> He and Weir purchased ukiyo-e prints at American Art Association sales in 1894 (this was Bing's sale) and 1895.<sup>33</sup> Finally, he took in the Ketcham sale of Fenollosa prints in 1896.<sup>34</sup>

A mysterious and fascinating dinner guest at the Weir home on April 8, 1894 (along with Robinson and Twachtman), was "Mr. Shugio, a Japanese gentleman who explained certain things about prints and books."<sup>35</sup> Shugio Hiromichi stands out as a pioneer in introducing New Yorkers to the beauty of Japanese woodblock prints and illustrated books. He staged the city's first major ukiyo-e exhibition in 1889 and lec-

tured on the subject well before there were any noteworthy local collections.

Shugio was born into a samurai family in Saga Prefecture on the southern island of Kyūshū and was one of the elite Japanese singled out for leadership in the early years of the Meiji period (1868–1912). In 1869, at age sixteen, he had been sent by his prefectural government to Oxford University for three years of study. His mission was to acquire language skills and expertise in foreign trade. In 1878 he was appointed the first manager of the Hong Kong office of Mitsui and Co., the first and largest international trading

32. Ibid., entries for Feb. 16 and 17, 1894.

33. Ibid., entries for Mar. 20, 1894, and Jan. 30, 1895. Robinson purchased a dozen prints by Isoda Koryūsai (active ca. 1764–88) for \$57.50 at the latter sale.

34. Ibid., entry for Jan. 11, 1896.

35. Ibid., entry for Apr. 8, 1894.





22. Shugio Hiromichi (1853–1927) in New York around 1884 (photo: Grolier Club)

company in Japan.<sup>36</sup> Shugio arrived in New York around 1880 and became director of the First Japan Manufacturing and Trading Co. (later the First Japan Trading Co.), purveyors of Japanese parasols and porcelains on Broadway. He immediately joined the Tile Club, a club for artists, where he must have met fellow members Weir, Twachtman, and Winslow Homer, among others.<sup>37</sup> He also became a member of the Grolier Club, only two months after this prestigious club for bibliophiles and admirers of fine printing was founded in 1884, and before other notables such as John La Farge, Louis Tiffany, Charles Freer, and H. O. Havemeyer. Japanese prints were displayed at the club's inaugural meeting.

An early Grolier Club photo of Shugio reveals a man of evident distinction, affecting Western hairstyle and glasses, and with no overtly Japanese features, qualities that possibly worked in his favor (Figure 22). For his talk at the club on Japanese books and printing in 1887, he displayed actual tools and materials of the printer. He received unanimous praise

from the press, and was described as “a thorough man of the world” and a “gentleman of rare culture and refinement.”<sup>38</sup> (His nickname at the Tile Club was “Varnish.”) He must have been something of a humorist as well: one of the prints he brought out depicted Admiral Perry expressing obvious disgust at the prospect of being offered live fish to eat. An 1889 exhibition of two hundred items at the Grolier Club was drawn entirely from Shugio's reportedly superb personal collection.<sup>39</sup> The show he arranged for the club in April of 1896, however, consisted of loans from Weir and Colman, as well as from Chicagoans Clarence Buckingham (1854–1913), Frederick W. Gookin (1853–1936), and Charles J. Morse.<sup>40</sup>

Shugio's warm friendship with many New York artists can be documented. Robert Blum speaks of him in his correspondence from Japan in 1890,<sup>41</sup> and Weir received the following letter from Shugio in 1894:

Your kind note of May 24th came to me today and I am glad to hear that you are enjoying the pure and glorious country air. Yes by all means I would like to have your complete set of etchings if I can have them in trade for Japanese prints or something that I have for I am so greatly taken by your etchings. Why can I not send you some Japanese paper for you to print them? I think your etchings will look better on Japan paper. I should like to come and spend a day with you when I am in New York early in June, if it is agreeable to you and Mrs. Weir.

I hope you will get Hayashi's prints soon. I send you by this post a reprint of a paper on Japanese wood engraving which I know you will enjoy in reading as it is an authentic account and it will give you a better idea of its methods. You can't buy it and I thought you will value it more for it.<sup>42</sup>

36. Information conveyed to the author in a letter from Shugio Ippei, dated Tokyo, Mar. 30, 1983.

37. J. B. Millet, “The Tile Club,” in *Julian Alden Weir: An Appreciation of His Life and Works* (New York, 1922) p. 78.

38. *Town Topics* (May 12, 1887) and *American Bookmaker* (June 1887).

39. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Japanese Colored Prints and Illustrated Books* (New York, 1889); reviewed in *Critic* (Apr. 13, 1883).

40. Shugio Hiromichi, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Japanese Prints* (New York, 1896).

41. Letter from Blum dated Tokyo, Nov. 14, 1890. Correspondence with *Scribner's* (Publishers' Archives, Charles Scribner's Sons, Princeton University Library).

42. Letter from Shugio Hiromichi to Weir dated Georgetown, May 26, 1894, in the J. Alden Weir scrapbook. Shugio also transcribed the Japanese version of the preface to John La Farge's *An Artist's Letters from Japan* (New York, 1897).

By 1900 Shugio had returned to Tokyo to enter government service as a member of the imperial commission in charge of overseas Japanese art exhibitions. He appeared there in the role of guide and confidant to Frank Lloyd Wright (who erroneously referred to his friend as “Baron” Shugio), when the architect was searching for prints between 1913 and 1922.<sup>43</sup> Shugio retained his membership in the Grolier Club until his death, and often sent gifts, including prints and a large sketch for a painting by Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1798–1861). The latter now hangs over the fireplace in the club’s fifth-floor library.

On the occasion of the Grolier Club’s 1896 print exhibition, Howard Mansfield, a member and later president of the club, delivered the Ladies’ Day lecture (Figure 23). Mansfield was a graduate of Yale and of Columbia Law School and worked for the firm of

Lord, Day and Taylor until his death at age eighty-nine. A man of charm and discriminating taste, he was prominent in the cultural life of New York City for fifty years. His association with the Metropolitan Museum began in 1891, when he was elected a fellow for life. He became a trustee in 1909, the year of the photograph in Figure 24, and served as treasurer until 1921. Mansfield may have come to Japanese art through his first love, Whistler. In fact, he had one of only two comprehensive collections of Whistler etchings and lithographs—the other belonged to Charles Freer, whom he had introduced to Whistler’s work.

43. Julia Meech-Pekarik, “Frank Lloyd Wright and Japanese Prints,” *MMAB* 40, no. 2 (Fall 1982) pp. 49–56; idem, *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japanese Prints: The Collection of Mrs. Avery Coonley* (Washington, D.C., 1983).

23. Ladies’ Day lecture invitation, 1896. New York, Grolier Club (photo: Otto E. Nelson)



24. Howard Mansfield (1849–1938) in 1909. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives (photo: Marceau, New York)



Weir and Mansfield often dined together and discussed Japanese prints.<sup>44</sup> The latter's remarks on the occasion of his Ladies' Day lecture make clear his own strong bias: "Taken as a whole, the art of Ukiyoe . . . prints, is, in my judgment, not only one of the most remarkable phases of art expression in Japan, but deserves to rank as one of the most notable forms of pure art which the world has seen."<sup>45</sup>

In 1915 he went on to write an interesting account of the state of the field entitled "American Appreciation of Japanese Art."<sup>46</sup> Mansfield's collection of more than three hundred outstanding ukiyo-e prints, as well as fine Japanese lacquer, painting, pottery, sword furniture, and textiles, was acquired by the Metropolitan in 1936 (see Figures 2 and 18).

Ukiyo-e collected by two New York artists of the same generation as Weir and Mansfield became the foundation of the Metropolitan Museum's collection. Francis Lathrop and Samuel P. Isham (1855–1914) both enjoyed successful careers, but their reputations as artists have not survived the test of time, and today the Museum does not own a single example of the work of either man. Lathrop (Figure 25), whose portrait was painted by his good friend J. Alden Weir, probably discovered ukiyo-e in London during a period of tutelage under Whistler. He pursued additional studies under Pre-Raphaelites Edward Burne-Jones and William Morris, and subsequently returned to New York to specialize in mural painting and stained glass for churches and college chapels from Maine to New Jersey. During the last fifteen years of his life he accumulated twelve thousand woodblock prints, including four thousand by Hokusai alone. As one of the original members of the Grolier Club, he may have been spurred on by an acquaintance with Shugio Hiromichi, but he also acquired prints from Fenollosa, who catalogued portions of his collection.

Unpublished letters in the archives of the Museum show that a year before his death Lathrop offered to sell his entire collection to the Museum for \$150,000. Museum officials declined this offer, but the prints were offered again by the executors of his estate in 1910. At the time there was not yet a curator of Far Eastern art, and a purchase of a collection of Japanese prints of this magnitude was obviously unthinkable to most of the trustees.

The eventual purchase by the Museum in 1912 of a small group of 164 prints from the Lathrop collec-

tion was almost certainly inspired by Howard Mansfield. From the thousands of prints left in Lathrop's studio in the tower room of the old University Building at Washington Square, Mansfield eventually selected those he thought most suitable for the Museum. The preliminary cataloguing, a formidable task, was carried out by one of the executors (who eventually demanded compensation), the Brooklyn artist and art dealer Hamilton Easter Field (1873–1922).<sup>47</sup> Field was an active leader on the New York art scene as critic, painter, and dealer between 1910 and 1922. He began to buy Japanese prints himself from Bing when he was in Paris in the 1890s as a student of Gérôme, and after he opened his Brooklyn gallery in 1910 he displayed American moderns like Winslow Homer side by side with Japanese prints. Lathrop was among his print clients.<sup>48</sup> Field advertised "Japanese prints at the lowest prices, suitable for Christmas gifts."<sup>49</sup> (In 1922 the Metropolitan Museum purchased forty-nine prints from the Field collection when it was auctioned by the American Art Association.)

At Mansfield's suggestion, the Museum hired the Chicago connoisseur Frederick W. Gookin, regarded as the foremost authority on ukiyo-e prints, to clean, mount, and properly catalogue the Lathrop collection. Gookin published a brief description of this material in the February 1912 issue of the *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, and subsequently went on to catalogue and describe for *Bulletin* readers the more than two hundred prints from the estate of Samuel

44. Theodore Robinson diaries, entry for Jan. 22, 1895.

45. Mansfield, "Japanese Prints," p. 128.

46. Howard Mansfield, "American Appreciation of Japanese Art," in Lindsay Russell, ed., *America to Japan* (New York/London, 1915) pp. 239–250. Mansfield, whose interests were broad, also wrote the introduction to *The Armor and Arms Club Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Japanese Sword Guards Held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1921).

47. Field had written an essay on the importance of the Lathrop collection, "The Art of Kiyonaga as Illustrated in an American Collection," *Burlington Magazine* 13, no. 61 (1908) pp. 241–248.

48. One of the Metropolitan prints from the Lathrop collection (JP737) is stamped with Field's seal.

49. Doreen Bolger Burke, "Hamilton Easter Field and the Rise of Modern Art in America," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1973, p. 21, n. 3. See also William Green, "Hamilton Easter Field (1873–1922)," *Impressions* 8 (Summer 1983) pp. 4–12.



25. J. Alden Weir, *Portrait of Francis Lathrop* (1849–1909), 1884. Oil on canvas. New York, The Hispanic Society of America (photo: courtesy Hispanic Society)

P. Isham, a gift to the Museum in 1914 by the artist's sister in his memory.<sup>50</sup>

Isham was born in New York City, graduated from Yale, and spent a total of seven years studying in Paris, at the same time as Weir. He painted landscapes and figures, exhibited all over America, won medals, and was well regarded in the world of art during his lifetime. Today, however, he is remembered more as an art historian: his magnum opus was a large volume entitled *The History of American Painting*, published in 1905. His writing is sprinkled with references to Japanese painting, and his canvases bear suggestive titles such as *The Lilac Kimono*. It is a tribute to his expertise that in April of 1914 (two months before his death) the Museum invited Isham to write about a newly acquired group of prints for the *May Bulletin*.<sup>51</sup> He was even asked to write the labels for the small exhibition planned concurrently with this publication.

The prints in question were a choice selection of several hundred examples (predominantly Hiroshige) purchased from the Spaulding collection in Boston for the then large sum of \$17,000. Again, the instigator was Howard Mansfield, who apparently became a de facto acting curator. On September 25, 1913, he wrote to Edward Robinson (1858–1931), director of the Museum:<sup>52</sup>

I think you must have heard of the Spaulding Brothers—William S. and John T.—of Boston, and of their wonderful collection of Japanese prints. Very likely you know them as Harvard men.

Well, they have very systematically and thoroughly undertaken to get together as fine a collection as possible, and seem to me to have succeeded. Beginning in Japan and continuing to receive prints from there, buying the prints that Fenollosa turned over to his first wife after the separation; acquiring then the fine collection formed by Dr. Clarence Webster of Chicago; then the remarkable collection of prints by Shunsho and his followers from Carl [*sic*] Wright of Chicago; afterward buying from Yamanaka & Co. the collection of prints by Sharaku, that was shown in the Japan Society's exhibition<sup>53</sup> and the greater part of the princely collection of Baron Sumitomo—the “copper king” of Japan, who then concentrated on Chinese bronzes—the Spauldings have finally acquired from Wright the amazing impressions that he has acquired in Japan during a four month stay early this year. So that now they have a collection that is probably unsurpassed in quality anywhere. . . .

Knowing that in the collections which they had made . . . before . . . acquiring the prints that Wright bought in Japan, there must be many duplicates of splendid quality—as fine as the other impressions from the same block belonging to them, or so fine that it would not be easy to decide between two similar impressions—I urged the Spauldings some time ago to separate the duplicates and let me see them, thinking that I might strain my purse and conscience and secure a few. On Monday of this week I went to Pride's Crossing to look at the duplicates available for purchase. I was amazed at the number

50. Frederick W. Gookin, “The Samuel Isham Gift of Japanese Color Prints,” *MMAB* 10, no. 7 (July 1915) pp. 136–138.

51. Samuel P. Isham, “Japanese Color Prints,” *MMAB* 9, no. 5 (May 1914) p. 122.

52. Robinson graduated from Harvard in 1879. A Greek scholar, he was curator of classical antiquities at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts for seventeen years. He served as director of The Metropolitan Museum of Art from 1910 until his death.

53. See Frederick W. Gookin, *Japanese Colour-Prints and Their Designers*, exh. cat. (New York, 1913) pp. 47–48. The exhibition was held from April 19 to May 19, 1911.

and quality. Taken by themselves, they seemed unsurpassable, and comparison in a number of instances between the duplicate and what was kept left little to choose between them. Then there are some 300 of these duplicates, nearly all worthy of any collection. Of course, I couldn't dream of acquiring but few, and the suggestion is made that our museum might like to purchase a selection at the marked prices, which seem to me moderate and are in no instance, I believe, higher than the cost to the Spauldings and in a number of instances of very costly prints are materially less—an average having been struck, perhaps, between the two impressions. The opportunity is exceptional for obtaining fine and rare prints by Hokusai, in whose work the museum's collection is weak, as is my own. . . .

Now if you think that the museum would like to make a selection from these duplicates, after I have taken my few, the Spauldings will send the prints to New York on approval. The purchase of those that are specially fine and highly desirable, and that would wonderfully supplement the museum's present collection and make it really important and worthy, would require, I should say, the expenditure of about fifteen—possibly twenty—thousand dollars. But then the museum would have a collection worth talking about—of higher overall quality—and importance, perhaps, than that of the New York Public Library.



26. S. C. Bosch Reitz (1860–1938) in Austria around 1936 (photo: courtesy H. M. A. F. Six)

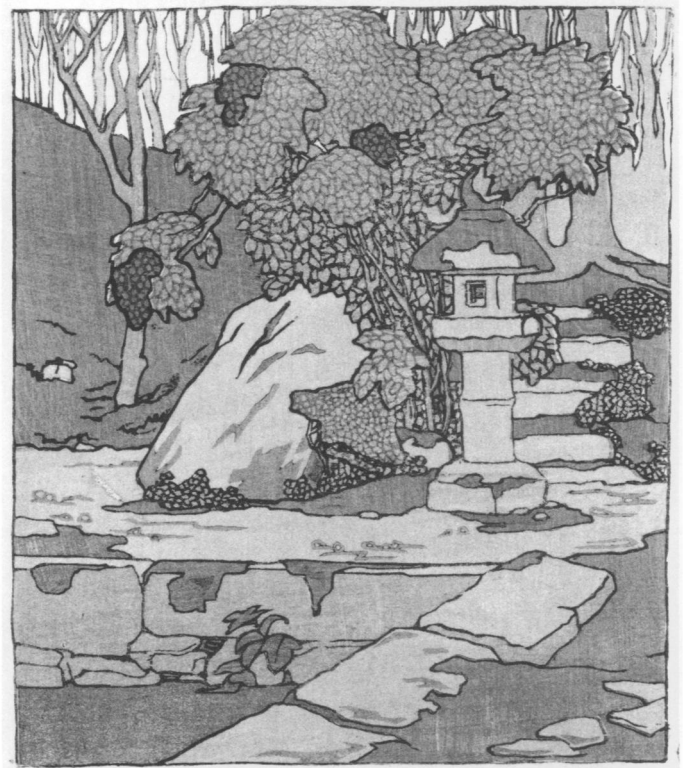
In short, I strongly advise such a purchase, for such a chance may never come again. Japan is pretty well drained of prints, and these particular prints have been carefully chosen by one or another exacting collector for their quality. . . .<sup>54</sup>

Mansfield also persuaded several friends to make a few selections for their personal collections. Robinson himself took seven, and two young men, Louis V. Ledoux and Harold G. Henderson, Sr., each purchased one or two.

The famed Spaulding collection of seven thousand prints, considered the finest in the world, was eventually promised to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in 1921. The prints in the New York Public Library alluded to by Mansfield were the gift, around 1901, of New York philanthropist Charles Stewart Smith (1832–1909), who made his fortune in the dry goods business. A trustee of the Metropolitan Museum from 1889, he gave the Museum his collection

54. Unpublished letter in the MMA Archives.

27. S. C. Bosch Reitz, *Japanese Garden*, 1900. Woodblock print. Laren, Holland, collection of H. S. Six (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting, Amsterdam)

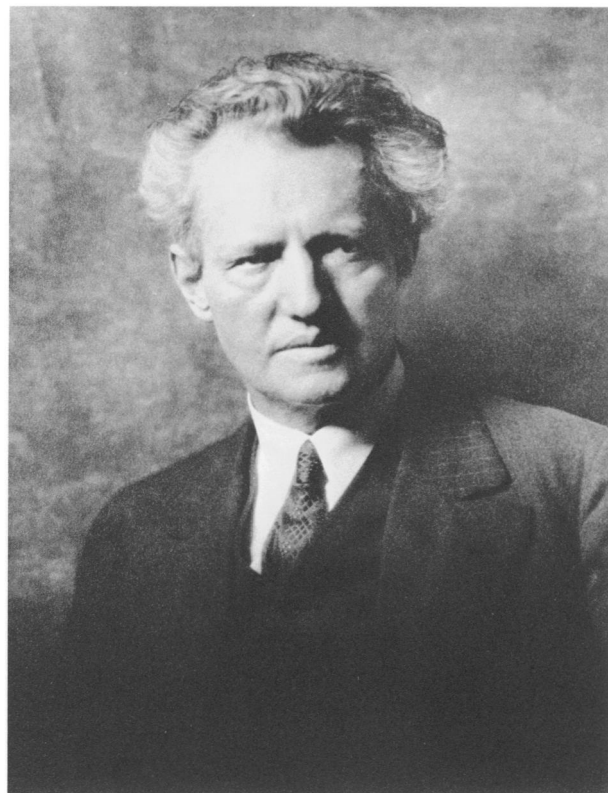




of 522 Japanese ceramics in 1893. He had acquired both the ceramics and prints the year before while honeymooning in Japan with his third wife. An Englishman, Captain Frank Brinkley (1841–1912), active in Japan since the 1860s first as a journalist, author, and military adviser to the Japanese government, and then as a dealer, had apparently sold the Smiths a ready-made collection. In a letter of September 9, 1893, to the director of the Museum, Smith reported on the state of the Japanese art market in a manner that sounds all too familiar: “I have had a letter from Brinkley a few days since in which he says that it would be absolutely impossible to make such a collection now.”<sup>55</sup> In 1896 Smith was pleased to have Fenollosa spend an entire day with him looking over his Japanese prints.

In their meeting of June 14, 1915, the trustees finally voted to establish a Department of Far Eastern Art, and to appoint as its curator S. C. (Sigisbert Chrétien) Bosch Reitz, a native of Amsterdam and descendant of an old and cultivated family of art lovers (Figure 26).<sup>56</sup> Bosch Reitz, trained as a painter in the academic style, entered the Académie Julien in Paris in 1884 (a year after Samuel Isham), and subsequently exhibited in the Paris Salon, where he was awarded a gold medal. In 1900 he went to Japan for a year to study Japanese art, and this was clearly a turning point in his life. While in Japan, Bosch Reitz learned the technique of woodcutting under the tutelage of another European, the Austrian graphic artist Emil Orlik (1870–1932), and one handsome example of the Dutchman’s work in this medium has survived (Figure 27). (The paintings made there were all stolen a few days before he left Japan.<sup>57</sup>) In 1909 he began to devote his time to the study of Oriental ceramics in European museums and in 1914 was offered a cataloguing job at the Louvre. The outbreak of war prevented his accepting that appointment, and he found himself instead in New York, where he was approached by the Metropolitan Museum. Although this was his first museum position, he quickly initiated a program of exhibitions of Chinese and Japanese art, and until his retirement in 1927 (when he returned to Holland and resumed painting), he was remarkably active in the pursuit of prints. He bought heavily at auction, taking advantage of the availability of great collections that were being dispersed by the first generation of collectors.

Arnold Genthe, an American high-society photog-



28. Arnold Genthe (1869–1942), *Self-Portrait*. Photograph. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Clarence McK. Lewis, 54.549.35

rapher of German descent who spent much of his life in New York (Figure 28), was another artist who began collecting ukiyo-e around the turn of the century. He credited Fenollosa with sparking his interest in prints and eventually owned some two thousand examples.<sup>58</sup> Genthe devoted a chapter of his memoirs to Japan, where he traveled for six months in 1908. He was a serious and sensitive visitor, who took the trouble to learn some colloquial Japanese and

55. Letter in the MMA Archives.

56. Edward Robinson, “Department of Far Eastern Art,” *MMAB* 10, no. 7 (July 1915) pp. 135–136.

57. K. G. Boon, “A Dutch Artist in Japan,” in H. M. Kaempfer and Jhr. W. O. G. Sickinghe, eds., *The Fascinating World of the Japanese Artist* (The Hague, 1971) p. 48; see notes compiled by Peter Six, MMA Archives. Miss H.M.A.F. Six also provided information on Bosch Reitz’s family history.

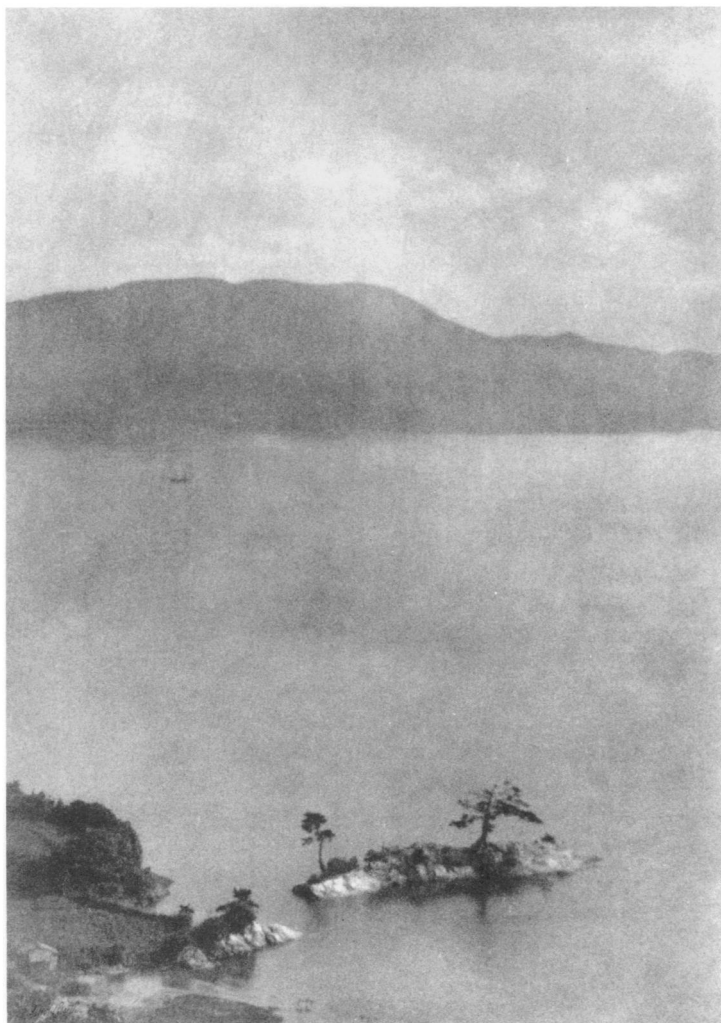
58. Arnold Genthe, *As I Remember* (New York, 1936) p. 145.

practice calligraphy. He climbed Mount Fuji and spent a few months with the Ainu aborigines. He was also ideally situated to collect Japanese art. His host

would have sent word to the curio dealers of the place that a distinguished collector from America was with them and wanted to see some of their wares. Along they would come in the evening with large bundles, and before an audience that included the entire household, the servants in the background at a respectful distance, they spread out a fascinating array of embroideries, hangings, kimonos, *netsukes*, *kakemonos*, prints, illustrated books, ancient swords, etc. There were long sessions with much bargaining and tea drinking in the best Japanese manner. . . .<sup>59</sup>

A comparison of his 1908 bird's-eye view of the Inland Sea and the right-hand portion of a Hiroshige triptych, *Whirlpools at Awa*, suggests that Genthe was trying to see the world through the eyes of a Japa-

29. Arnold Genthe, *The Inland Sea*, 1908. Photograph. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 33.43.224



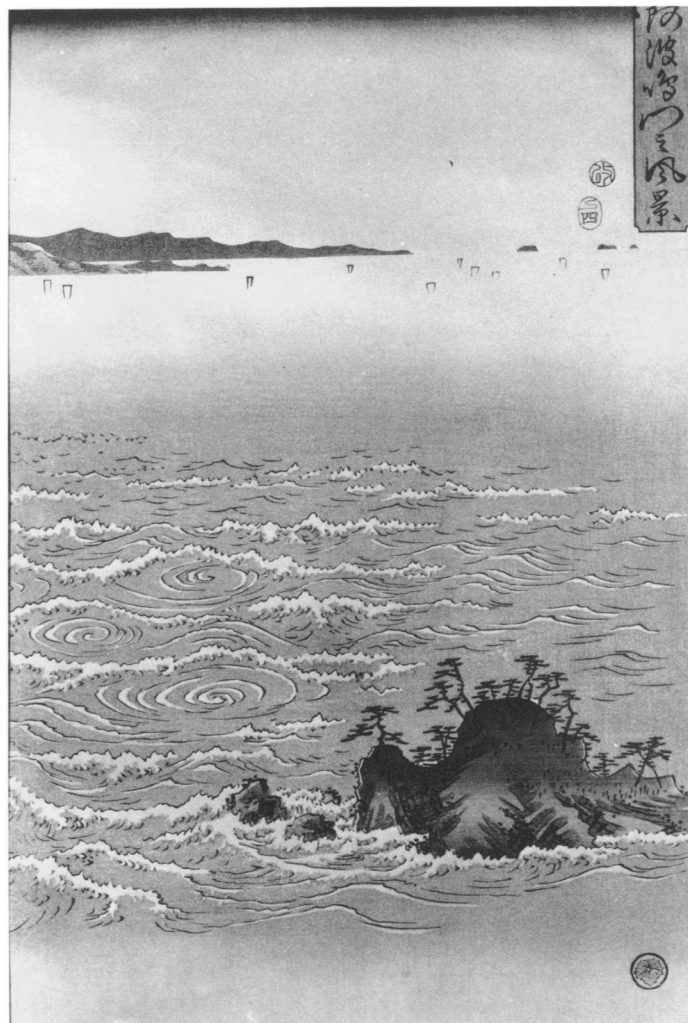
nese artist (Figures 29, 30). When he sold his print collection at auction in New York in 1917 it was to finance a new interest, Chinese painting.<sup>60</sup>

One New York couple who amassed a splendid collection during the teens, the golden age of print collecting in America, were Mr. and Mrs. Henry L. Phillips. They made their purchases between 1911 and 1922 in New York, London, and Paris, but also in Japan. It was apparently at the suggestion of their friend Howard Mansfield that some of their 270 prints were placed on loan to the Museum in 1927. Like Mans-

59. Ibid., p. 225.

60. *400 Japanese Color Prints Collected by Arnold Genthe* (New York, The Anderson Galleries, 1917).

30. Andō Hiroshige, *Whirlpools at Awa*, from the series *Snow, Moon, and Flowers*, 1857, right-hand panel of triptych. Woodblock print, 14½ × 9⅛ in. (36.8 × 24.6 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, JP1892





31. Henry L. Phillips (died 1939). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives

32. Eishi (1756–1829), *Ono no Komachi* from the series *An Elegant Parody of the Six Immortal Poets*. Woodblock print, 14 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 9 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (37.1 × 24.4 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Henry L. Phillips, 1939, JP2815



field, Henry Phillips (Figure 31) had been elected a fellow for life of the Museum in the 1890s. When Phillips died in 1939, his prints (including many fine *surimono*) were bequeathed to the Museum (Figure 32).<sup>61</sup> He must have felt extremely possessive about these fragile works, because he made the rather bizarre stipulation in his will that except when placed on exhibition, the prints could not be shown to visitors. (This restriction was not enforced by the Museum.)

Howard Mansfield's best-known and most gifted disciple in the study of Japanese art was Louis V. Ledoux (Figure 33), president of Ledoux and Co., expert assayers and chemists for mining and metallurgical firms. With his bony face and thin, lean good looks he impressed one admirer as "a truly elegant man, on a par only with Baron Hosokawa." Others recall him in less flattering terms as a nervous aesthete. Educated at Columbia University, Ledoux was

a promising lyric poet and a collector of rare books when he met Mansfield, who treated the young man almost like a son. Ledoux and his wife, Jean, made the first of several trips to Japan in 1920. The experience converted him into a serious collector and scholar of Japanese prints. Because of his literary background, Ledoux was one of the few in his day concerned with translating the poems that are integral to so many of Hiroshige's bird and flower prints, and he was assisted in this work by the New York-based Japanese dealer Matsuki Kihachirō.<sup>62</sup> In 1924

61. Alan Priest, *Japanese Prints from the Henry L. Phillips Collection* (New York, 1947).

62. Louis V. Ledoux, "Pathfinding in Paradise: The Poems on Japanese Prints," *The Arts* (October 1921) pp. 15–22. I am grateful for the personal recollections of Louis Ledoux provided by Charles Greenfield, Alice Boney, Pauline Simmons, and Roland Koscherak.



33. Alexandre Iacovleff, unfinished portrait of Louis V. Ledoux (1880–1948), May 10, 1936. Sepia. Cornwall on Hudson, New York, collection of Louis Pierre Ledoux (photo: Otto E. Nelson)

he organized exhibitions of figure and landscape prints at the Grolier Club, and in 1927 there was a joint display of prints from the collections of Mansfield and Ledoux at the gallery of the Century Association. That same year the Japan Society, where he later served as president, published Ledoux's *The Art of Japan*, in which he cited prints at the head of a list of the most original artistic products of Japan:

Scorned until recently in Japan, because they were made by and for the people of the middle classes and represented merely the joys and sorrows of this fleeting world, prints made an immediate, irresistible appeal to Europe and America. They are distinctively Japanese in scope and feeling, they have the humor, gaiety, the charm of Japan . . . and they depict all this with a consummate mastery of form and line and color that was the heritage of a thousand years of technical achievement.<sup>63</sup>

Ledoux gave several prints to the Metropolitan in 1927 and 1931, and lent his entire print collection to the Museum during the winter of 1928 for a series of rotating exhibitions. These were documented by another New Yorker, Harold G. Henderson, Sr. (1889–1974), who worked with the Museum's prints as an assistant to the curator of Far Eastern Art from 1927

to 1929. Henderson subsequently studied in Japan from 1930 to 1933, then joined the faculty at Columbia University, where he taught the Japanese language and initiated a course in Japanese art. He published books on Japanese grammar, poetry, and art, and later in his life was decorated by the Japanese government with the Order of the Sacred Treasure, the highest decoration given to a foreigner. Former students recall that Henderson conducted small classes at the Ledoux apartment on Park Avenue. The prints were set out one at a time on an easel, and Mr. and Mrs. Ledoux observed the proceedings from the mezzanine-level balcony of their high-ceilinged living room. At the conclusion of each session they came down to chat. In 1939 Henderson and Ledoux coauthored *The Surviving Works of Sharaku*, which was dedicated to the memory of S. C. Bosch Reitz. In this catalogue, for an exhibition shown in New York, Boston, and Chicago, they not only pinpointed for the first time the brief ten-month career in 1794 of the elusive Tōshūsai Sharaku, renowned for his realistic actor portraits, but also influenced the future of ukiyo-e scholarship by insisting on detailed descriptions of individual prints.

The Ledoux collection was no mere random accumulation. More than any of his predecessors, he was a specialist, meticulous about maintaining the high quality of his collection. He did so by deliberately limiting its size to 250 prints, a number he had attained by the early 1920s. Thereafter he was obliged to sell a print for every new example he acquired. This selectivity was a practice inspired by his early master, Howard Mansfield. Ledoux, however, felt the need not only to collect but to record his collection for posterity in a five-volume catalogue, of which the first volume, *Japanese Prints of the Primitive Period*, appeared in 1942. "In the past," he wrote, "these prints have been loved separately by others; for a moment they are together, dear to me; and before the storms of time scatter them, as well they may, their loveliness should be recorded for the study and solace of those who care for beauty in the years that are to come."<sup>64</sup>

63. Idem, *The Art of Japan* (New York, 1927) p. 30. See also p. 12.

64. Idem, *Japanese Prints of the Primitive Period in the Collection of Louis V. Ledoux* (New York, 1942) foreword. Recently a selection of Ledoux prints was reunited by Donald Jenkins, *The Ledoux Heritage: The Collecting of Ukiyo-e Master Prints* (New York, 1973).

The publication of the final two volumes was left to the supervision of Mrs. Ledoux following her husband's death in 1948, and necessitated the sale of the collection itself the following year. Alan Priest (1898–1969), the witty and eccentric curator of Far Eastern Art who succeeded Bosch Reitz and remained for thirty-five years, was given first choice. He selected

34. Torii Kiyonobu (1664–1729), *The Actor Yamanaka Heikurō*. Hand-colored woodblock print, 21¼ × 11½ in. (55.2 × 29.2 cm.). Formerly in the collection of Louis V. Ledoux. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Rogers Fund, 1949, JP3098



the finest of the Ledoux prints for the Metropolitan: all the early examples (see Figure 34), and nineteen by Sharaku (see Figure 35) for which the Museum is still renowned. Priest was never much of a print enthusiast (he was a scholar of Chinese art), and therefore he deserves special credit for taking advantage of this rare opportunity. Ledoux had succeeded in bringing together no fewer than six of the thirty-nine recorded prints of stately courtesans by the Kaigetsudo artists. Two of these six are the only known impressions. He expressed his own strong bias toward these early figure prints in his 1938 *An Essay on Japanese Prints*: "It is fairly safe to say that with a few



35. Tōshūsai Sharaku (active 1794–95), *The Actor Nakamura Nakazō II in the Role of Prince Korekata Disguised as the Peasant Tsuchizo*, 1794. Woodblock print, 12 × 8½ in. (30.5 × 21.6 cm.). Formerly in the collection of Louis V. Ledoux. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Rogers Fund, 1949, JP3129





36. Ichigeisai Yoshitomi (active ca. 1850–73), *An American Drawn from Life*, 1861. Woodblock print,  $14\frac{1}{4} \times 10$  in. (36.2 × 25.4 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1959, JP3329

splendid exceptions . . . most of the figure prints published between 1805 and 1920 are practically worthless as works of art and are printed in glaringly bad colors.”<sup>65</sup>

Ledoux was a specialist and the last of the great

collectors. Among contemporaries he had no competitors as a collector and connoisseur, with the possible exception of the Parisian jeweler Henri Vever (1854–1943). Ledoux appeared at a Parke Bernet print auction in 1948 one month before his death, even though paralyzed by a stroke and confined to a wheelchair. By the time of his death the Japanese print was no longer as sought after as it had once been. When the Mansfield prints were exhibited together for the first time in 1946, one critic for the *New York Herald Tribune* questioned whether the display could effect a resurgence in the taste for ukiyo-e. “While the popularity of Japanese prints reached a state of exquisite connoisseurship some years ago,” he wrote, “this kind of appreciation is hard to recapture in the modern world.”<sup>66</sup>

The last significant group of prints added to the Museum’s collection were the two hundred nineteenth-century examples given by Lincoln Kirstein in 1959 and 1960, but they represented for him no more than a brief infatuation, the result of two short trips to Japan with the New York City Ballet. Still, it is a remarkably personal and focused collection, depicting foreigners and the Western influence that followed the arrival of Commodore Perry (Figure 36). Kirstein discovered a delightful new world, but one that would have been despised as late and decadent by his predecessors.

The early decades of the twentieth century, before the Japanese themselves had entered the market as competitive bidders, were the golden years of print collecting in this country, and the colored woodblock print played a pivotal role in introducing Japanese art to the West. (It should be noted, of course, that in those days paintings, sculptures, and ceramics of fine quality were rarely made available to Western buyers.) Today, following a period of neglect, Japanese prints have become appropriate subjects for serious scholarly research and cataloguing. At the same time a recent resurgence of interest in the medium of woodcut printing itself is luring a new generation of graphic artists to Japan.

65. Louis V. Ledoux, *An Essay on Japanese Prints* (New York, 1938) p. 30.

66. Carlyle Burrows, “Art of the Week: Old Japanese Prints, and Modern Paintings,” *New York Herald Tribune* (Dec. 8, 1946) p. 10.

# The Publications of Gisela M. A. Richter: A Bibliography

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τῷ φιλοσόφῳ

AUGUST 15, 1982, marked the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Gisela Marie Augusta Richter. Miss Richter came to the Metropolitan Museum in 1906 under Edward Robinson, who from 1905 to 1924 was in charge of the Greek and Roman collections in addition to being assistant director (1905–10), then director (1910–31) of the Museum. Miss Richter's first assignment, preparing for exhibition a selection of vases recently purchased from the dealers Cesare and Ercole Canessa, led to her appointment as assistant (1906) in the Classical Department. She advanced to assistant curator (1910), then to associate curator (1922), and in 1925 became full curator, a position she held until 1948. Miss Richter remained on the staff, working on catalogues, until 1952 when she retired to Rome. She lived there until her death on December 24, 1972.

If one were to isolate two distinguishing features of her tenure at the Museum, they might well be her many great acquisitions and the publications that grew out of them. Miss Richter did not buy in Europe for the Museum until the death, in 1928, of John Marshall, who since 1906 had been its purchasing agent abroad, primarily for antiquities. From the beginning, however, she published the pieces that Marshall sent back on an annual or semiannual basis. Throughout her career, the Museum's acquisitions were the seeds of her research and publications, which extended to every period and every medium of ancient art except architecture; they also led her to make pottery and to try metal-working and sculpting in or-

der to understand the technical aspects of the material with which she was dealing. The number and nature of her writings leave no doubt of her concern to investigate an object fully and an equally strong sense of obligation to make her knowledge available in readily comprehensible form. Consequently, anyone with an interest in classical antiquity turns, almost of necessity and usually sooner rather than later, to something Miss Richter has written. The choice is rarely in vain, for her work offers a minimum of speculation and a wealth of observation—descriptive, technical, stylistic—based on the object under discussion and pertinent comparative material.

On the centennial of her birth, therefore, it seemed opportune and appropriate to compile a list of Miss Richter's publications. Two selective bibliographies have already appeared, one by Baldassare Conticello in the *Colloqui del Sodalizio* ([*tra Studiosi dell'Arte*], second series 4, 1973–74, pp. 21–31), the other by Ingrid E. M. Edlund et al. in *Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts, 1820–1979* (Westport, 1981, pp. 296–300). Our attempt here differs in trying to be as complete as possible, though there are surely still omissions. The 580 items are arranged chronologically according to the year of publication or, in the case of periodicals, the year of the volume. Books by Miss Richter appear first, in capital letters, followed by articles, listed alphabetically, first by the publication in which they appear and then by the first significant word of the title. Book reviews within a given year appear last, alphabetically by the name of the author.



1. Gisela M. A. Richter (photo: Johannes Felbermeyer)

In an article on the proper training of museum curators (*Museum News*, 1936), Miss Richter wrote:

A curator's responsibility does not end with having acquired, preserved, and installed an object. . . . The museum curator must publish his new discovery in an ascending scale—in his card index, on his label, in a bulletin article, in a scientific periodical, and finally in a comprehensive catalogue of related material. Unless a curator is able to undertake this arduous task of publication he is not, I think, the right man for the place.

At all times, however, one feels that Miss Richter kept her focus squarely on the work of art, as suggested by her response to Charles Picard's arguments that the *Hermes of Praxiteles* in Olympia was not a Greek original but a Roman copy (review of Picard, 1955):

As one reads page after page devoted to the attack, one might almost be converted oneself, except when one turns again to the statue itself, which seems quite unperturbed by it all, remaining as transcendently lovely as before. A visit to the *Hermes* at Olympia is indeed the best cure for any doubt. The statue there can be compared with excellent Roman copies. . . . The difference between these statues and the *Hermes* is so palpable that if quality is evidence the question is solved.

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#### ABBREVIATIONS

*AJA*—*American Journal of Archaeology*  
*BMMA*—*Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*  
*JHS*—*Journal of Hellenic Studies*  
*MMA*—The Metropolitan Museum of Art  
*Revue Belge*—*Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*

1905  
The Distribution of Attic Vases. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 11 (1904–05) 224–242.

1906  
Architectural Fragments from the Forum of Trajan. *BMMA* 1, December, 162.  
The Boscoreale Frescoes. *BMMA* 1, June, 95–97.  
Collection of Greek and Roman Vases. *BMMA* 1, May, 77–80.  
The Canessa Collection. *Burlington Magazine* 9, 204–211.

1907  
Three Vases in the Metropolitan Museum Illustrating Women's Life in Athens. *AJA* 11, 417–428.  
New Greek and Roman Acquisitions: II. Bronzes. *BMMA* 2, February, 17–20.  
Perseus and Medusa: A White Attic Lekythos. *BMMA* 2, May, 82–83.  
Greek Vase Painting: The Collection in the Boston Museum. *The Scrip* 2, 307–317.

1908  
Oriental Art; Greek and Roman Art. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART: CATALOGUE OF THE COLLECTION OF CASTS. New York: MMA. (2nd ed. 1910.)  
New Accessions in the Classical Department: III. The Bronze Panther. *BMMA* 3, March, 58–59.  
New Accessions in the Classical Department: V. Miscellaneous Bronzes. *BMMA* 3, May, 89–91.  
The New Arrangement of Greek, Roman, and Etruscan Terracottas. *BMMA* 3, December, 218–220.  
The Prehistoric Art of Greece in the Museum. *BMMA* 3, February, 22–28.  
White Athenian Pyxis. *BMMA* 3, August, 154–155.

1909  
Department of Classical Art, the Accessions of 1908: II. Marbles. *BMMA* 4, April, 62–65.  
Department of Classical Art, the Accessions of 1908: IV. Vases. *BMMA* 4, June, 101–105.

1910  
The Boscoreale Frescoes. *BMMA* 5, February, 37–40.  
Cretan Reproductions. *BMMA* 5, May, 113–117.  
Department of Classical Art, the Accessions of 1909. *BMMA* 5, February, 40–41.  
Department of Classical Art, the Accessions of 1909: II. Bronzes. *BMMA* 5, April, 95–99.  
Department of Classical Art, the Accessions of 1909: III. Vases and Terra-cottas. *BMMA* 5, June, 142–146.  
Department of Classical Art, the Accessions of 1910. *BMMA* 5, December, 275–276.

1911  
Accessions to the Collection of Ancient Glass. *BMMA* 6, December, 234–236.  
Cretan Reproductions. *BMMA* 6, May, 109–112.  
Department of Classical Art, the Accessions of 1910: II. Vases. *BMMA* 6, February, 30–36.  
Department of Classical Art, the Accessions of 1910: III. Sculptures, Bronzes, and Terra Cottas. *BMMA* 6, April, 90–94.  
Department of Classical Art, Recent Accessions. *BMMA* 6, November, 210–216.  
The Model of the Parthenon. *BMMA* 6, July, 152–153.  
The Room of Ancient Glass. *BMMA* 6, June, Supplement. (Reprinted 1916, 1930.)

1912  
An Archaic Etruscan Statuette. *AJA* 16, 343–349.  
Colored Cast of an Akropolis "Maiden." *BMMA* 7, November, 218.  
Cretan Pottery. *BMMA* 7, February, 28–35.  
Department of Classical Art—Recent Accessions. *BMMA* [7], May, 93–98.  
Early Attic Vase. *BMMA* 7, April, 68–71.  
Reproductions of Minoan Frescoes. *BMMA* 7, June, 116; December, 228.  
A New Early Attic Vase. *JHS* 32, 370–384.

1913  
Grotesques and the Mime. *AJA* 17, 149–156.  
A Roman Bronze Bust. *Art in America* 1, 120–126.  
Department of Classical Art, the Accessions of 1912: I. *BMMA* 8, February, 28–29.  
Department of Classical Art, the Accessions of 1912: Vases. *BMMA* 8, July, 152–158.  
Department of Classical Art, Accessions of 1912: Sculptures, Terracottas, and Miscellaneous Objects. *BMMA* 8, August, 173–179.  
Department of Classical Art, Accessions of 1912: Bronzes. *BMMA* 8, December, 266–270.

1914  
The Curtis Collection of Ancient Glass. *Art in America* 2, 72–87.  
The Collection of Classical Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Art in America* 3, 2–13.  
Department of Classical Art, Accessions of 1913: [Sculptures; Other Accessions]. *BMMA* 9, March, 59–65.  
Department of Classical Art, Accessions of 1913: Bronzes. *BMMA* 9, April, 90–95.  
Department of Classical Art, Accessions of 1913: Vases and Terracottas. *BMMA* 9, November, 233–236.  
Department of Classical Art, Accessions of 1913: Jewelry and Glass. *BMMA* 9, December, 257–259.

1915

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART: GREEK, ETRUSCAN AND ROMAN BRONZES. New York: MMA.

A Bronze Statue in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. *AJA* 19, 121–128.

Two Colossal Athenian Geometric or “Dipylon” Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. *AJA* 19, 385–397.

Bronze Statue of a Boy. *BMMA* 10, January, 3–5.

A Bronze Statuette of Herakles. *BMMA* 10, November, 236–237.

Department of Classical Art, the Accessions of 1914: [Sculptures; Other Accessions]. *BMMA* 10, February, 23–26.

Department of Classical Art, Accessions of 1914: Geometric Vases. *BMMA* 10, April, 70–72.

Department of Classical Art, Accessions of 1914: Athenian Vases. *BMMA* 10, May, 98–101; June, 122–124.

Department of Classical Art, Accessions of 1914: Terracottas, Bronzes, Glass, and Gems. *BMMA* 10, October, 208–212.

Greek Prehistoric Art. *BMMA* 10, January, 8–11.

1916

ANTIQUITIES FROM THE ISLAND OF CYPRUS. Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum.

A New Euphronios Cylix in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. *AJA* 20, 75; 125–133.

Department of Classical Art, Accessions of 1915. *BMMA* 11, June, 124–129.

Department of Classical Art, Recent Accessions: Three Marble Heads. *BMMA* 11, February, 38–42.

Hellenistic and Roman Glazed Vases. *BMMA* 11, March, 64–68.

Recent Accessions of Greek Vases. *BMMA* 11, December, 253–257.

Reproductions of Cretan Pottery. *BMMA* 11, October, 215–216.

Reproductions of Prehistoric Greek Art. *BMMA* 11, May, 108–110.

1917

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART: HANDBOOK OF THE CLASSICAL COLLECTION. New York: MMA. (2nd ed. 1918; 3rd 1920; 4th 1922; 5th 1927; 6th 1930.)

Two Vases Signed by Hieron in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. *AJA* 21, 1–7.

A Greek Head in the Goldman Collection. *Art in America* 5, 130–134.

Vases from South Italy. *BMMA* 12, April, 81–84.

1918

What an Archaeologist Can Learn at a Modern Pottery School. *AJA* 22, 65.

The Boscoreale Frescoes of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Art and Archaeology* 7, 238–246.

Two Silver Cups in Mr. J. P. Morgan's Collection. *Art in America* 6, 171–176.

Changes in the Cesnola Collection. *BMMA* 13, July, 166–167.

Cretan Reproductions. *BMMA* 13, April, 86–88.

The Educational Value of the Museum's Classical Collection. *BMMA* 13, September, 200–201.

Etruscan Earrings. *BMMA* 13, December, 289–290.

1919

Notes on the Technique of Greek Vases. *AJA* 23, 67.

A Bronze Relief of Medusa. *BMMA* 14, March, 59–60.

“Millefiori” or Mosaic Glass. *BMMA* 14, August, 173–176.

Photographs of Comparative Classical Material. *BMMA* 14, February, 37–38.

Three New Greek Vases. *BMMA* 14, January, 8–10.

1920

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART: CATALOGUE OF ENGRAVED GEMS OF THE CLASSICAL STYLE. New York: MMA.

The Subject of the Ludovisi and Boston Reliefs. *AJA* 24, 84.

Cretan Reproductions. *BMMA* 15, October, 228–230.

Early Greek Vases. *BMMA* 15, November, 253–256.

Loans in the Classical Department. *BMMA* 15, August, 177–180.

Recent Accessions of the Classical Department. *BMMA* 15, May, 107–109.

Reproductions of Cretan Vases. *BMMA* 15, February, 41–42.

The Subject of the Ludovisi and Boston Reliefs. *JHS* 40, 113–123.

1921

Firing of Greek Vases. *AJA* 25, 80.

Classical Accessions: I. Bronzes. *BMMA* 16, February, 32–39.

Classical Accessions: II. Jewelry. *BMMA* 16, March, 55–60.

Classical Accessions: III. Etruscan Pottery. *BMMA* 16, May, 103–106.

Classical Accessions: IV. Roman Portraits. *BMMA* 16, November, 225–229.

Greek and Roman Accessions. *BMMA* 16, January, 9–14.

An Important Classical Loan. *BMMA* 16, January, 20.

Prehistoric Greek Reproductions. *BMMA* 16, December, 250–252.

1922

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART: SHAPES OF GREEK VASES. New York: MMA. (Reprinted 1924, 1928.)



Dynamic Symmetry from the Designer's Point of View (with R. Carpenter). *AJA* 26, 59–76.  
 Notes on Greek Furniture. *AJA* 26, 80.  
 An Archaic Greek Head. *BMMA* 17, July, 148–150.  
 Cretan Reproductions. *BMMA* 17, March, 60–62.  
 Engraved Gems. *BMMA* 17, September, 193–196.  
 Exhibition of Classical Casts. *BMMA* 17, May, 98–99.  
 A Greek Akroterion. *BMMA* 17, December, 255–256.  
 Hellenistic Silverware. *BMMA* 17, June, 133–135.  
 Important Loan of Cretan Antiquities. *BMMA* 17, April, 88–91.  
 A Klazomenian Sarcophagus. *BMMA* 17, October, 215–216.  
 Water-color Copies of the Poros Sculptures in Athens. *BMMA* 17, February, 28–29.

1923

THE CRAFT OF ATHENIAN POTTERY: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE TECHNIQUE OF BLACK-FIGURED AND RED-FIGURED ATHENIAN VASES. New Haven: Yale University Press. (Reprinted 1924.)

Recent News from Athens. *AJA* 27, 65.  
 Red-figured Athenian Vases Recently Acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. *AJA* 27, 265–285.  
 Athenian Pottery: Recent Accessions. *BMMA* 18, November, 253–257.  
 Classical Bronzes: Recent Accessions. *BMMA* 18, March, 72–76.  
 Classical Department: Miscellaneous Accessions. *BMMA* 18, May, 124–127.  
 Early Greek Vases. *BMMA* 18, July, 176–179.  
 A Greek Bronze Horse. *BMMA* 18, April, 89–93.  
 A Greek Bronze Torso. *BMMA* 18, February, 32–33.  
 Three Athenian White Lekythoi. *BMMA* 18, August, 192–194.

1924

Neo-Attic Crater in the Metropolitan Museum. *AJA* 28, 75–76.  
 Early Greek and Etruscan Vases: Recent Accessions. *BMMA* 19, April, 97–100.  
 Exhibition of Casts of Greek Sculpture. *BMMA* 19, July, 164–165.  
 Greek and Roman Bronzes: Recent Acquisitions. *BMMA* 19, March, 68–72.  
 Greek and Roman Jewelry: Recent Accessions. *BMMA* 19, February, 34–38.  
 Greek Terracottas: Recent Accessions. *BMMA* 19, May, 127–130.  
 A Neo-Attic Marble Vase. *BMMA* 19, January, 10–13.  
 Roman Glazed Pottery. *BMMA* 19, April, 94–95.  
 Small Greek Antiquities: Recent Accessions. *BMMA* 19, December, 292–296.

1925

Two Hellenistic Portraits in the Metropolitan Museum. *AJA* 29, 152–159.  
 Athenian Red-figured Vases. *BMMA* 20, May, 128–132.  
 Black-figured Vases: Recent Accessions. *BMMA* 20, December, 297–301.  
 Recent Accessions of Ancient Marbles. *BMMA* 20, April, 104–108.  
 Recent Classical Accessions. *BMMA* 20, February, 48–50.  
 Recent Classical Accessions: Early Terracotta Sculptures and Vases. *BMMA* 20, January, 14–16.  
 A Roman Sarcophagus. *BMMA* 20, March, 77–80.  
 Three Red-figured Greek Vases. *BMMA* 20, November, 261–264.  
 Dynamic Symmetry as Applied to Pottery. *Journal of American Ceramic Society* 8, 131–137.  
 A Neo-Attic Krater in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. *JHS* 45, 201–209.  
 Review of C. Blümel, *Der Fries des Tempels der Athena Nike* (Berlin, 1923); idem, *Zwei Strömungen in der attischen Kunst des V. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1924). *Saturday Review of Literature* 1 (1924–25) 600.

1926

ANCIENT FURNITURE: A HISTORY OF GREEK, ETRUSCAN AND ROMAN FURNITURE. With an Appendix by A. W. Barker. Oxford: Clarendon Press.  
 “Attributed” Vases Recently Acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. *AJA* 30, 32–43.  
 The Basket of the Kanephoroi. *AJA* 30, 422–426.  
 Greek Art in Detroit. *Art in America* 15, 24–35.  
 A Roman Portrait Head in the Metropolitan Museum. *The Arts* 10, 314–315.  
 Classical Casts. *BMMA* 21, December, 278.  
 The Classical Collection: Rearrangement and Important Accessions. *BMMA* 21, April, pt. II, 7–11.  
 Greek Sculpture: Recent Accessions. *BMMA* 21, May, 126–129.  
 Miscellaneous Accessions in the Classical Department. *BMMA* 21, December, 282–286.  
 New Accessions in the Classical Department. *BMMA* 21, March, 80–84.  
 Recent Accessions of Classical Sculpture. *BMMA* 21, November, 255–260.

1927

Right Arm of Harmodios. *AJA* 31, 84.  
 ΤΥΠΙΟΣ and Timotheos. *AJA* 31, 80–82.  
 A Greek Relief. *BMMA* 22, April, 101–105.  
 Pottery from Zygouries. *BMMA* 22, October, 251–252.  
 The Rearrangement of the Later Classical Casts. *BMMA* 22, July, 189–190.  
 Recent Accessions in the Classical Department: Vases and Bronzes. *BMMA* 22, January, 17–21.  
 Three Greek Heads. *BMMA* 22, May, 141–144.

Two Theatre Vases. *BMMA* 22, February, 54–58.  
 A Roman Couch. *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving* 2, 3.  
 Review of A. Körte, *Das Schlusskapitel von Xenophons Symposion*; F. Studniczka, *Ein neues Bildnis des Sokrates* (Leipzig, 1926). *AJA* 31, 136–137.  
 Review of E. Pfuhl and J. D. Beazley, *Masterpieces of Greek Drawing and Painting* (New York, 1926). *The Arts* 11, 50–51.  
 Review of F. Weege, *Dionysischer Reigen, Lied und Bild in der Antike* (Halle, 1926). *AJA* 31, 128–129.

1928

The Right Arm of Harmodios. *AJA* 32, 1–8.  
 A Bronze Prize Hydria. *Antike Plastik* (W. Amelung zum 60. Geburtstag). Berlin. 183–191.  
 A Bronze Statuette of Herakles. *BMMA* 23, November, 266–268.  
 A Greek Bobbin. *BMMA* 23, December, 303–306.  
 A Newly Acquired Loutrophoros. *BMMA* 23, February, 54–57.  
 Recent Accessions of the Classical Department: Bronzes, Terracottas, Glass, Jewelry. *BMMA* 23, March, 78–82.  
 Recent Accessions of Athenian Vases. *BMMA* 23, April, 107–112.  
 Reproductions Recently Acquired for the Classical Department. *BMMA* 23, July, 185–186.  
 Review of *Studi Etruschi* 1 (1927). *AJA* 32, 418.

1929

THE SCULPTURE AND SCULPTORS OF THE GREEKS. New Haven: Yale University Press. (2nd ed. 1930; 3rd 1950; 4th rev. ed. 1970.)  
 Silk in Greece. *AJA* 33, 27–33.  
 Statue of Protesilaos in the Metropolitan Museum. *AJA* 33, 101.  
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